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Cover: Thirteenth-century French castle. Pen and ink by Paul Schuplin.

## Editor's Note

*Though it was in the planning stages long before Columbus Day, 1982, the Cuyahoga Review became an entity, a real thing, on that day celebrated as a testament to new beginnings. The impetus for setting the journal in motion came from the St. Gall Conference, an academic and cultural event culminating in the dedication of St. Gall Farm on October 16, 1982, the feast of the Irish monk who lent his name to the famous abbey described in the pages that follow. Rather than have the conference papers evaporate from the lectern into the vague but pleasant past, we decided to embody these events in permanent form. Thus, with the cooperation of Oscar Crawford, a medievalist steeped in the music, art, and cookery of the Middle Ages and the originator of the conference, and David Cratty, Cleveland Medieval Society member and one whose attention to detail helped to produce a flawless conference, the journal came into being as the vehicle to transport the world of quills and harrows into the twentieth century of phototypesetting and high tech.*

*This issue and those in the future represent an attempt to use various art forms—original works, criticism, pedagogy, illustrations, and photographs—to create an eye-appealing design as the housing for an idea-provoking content. Perhaps the selection of our masthead best illustrates our intention. The typestyle, called Goudy Fancy, is named after the innovative Illinois-born typographer Frederick William Goudy (1895-1947) and represents those substantive, dynamic, and decorative qualities (seen in the bold face, italic cast, and fancy character of the letters) that we would like to strive for in this and future issues. Thus, with enthusiasm bounded only by time, space, and economy—the impinging realities—we set sail.*

*In this, our inaugural number, there are many people to thank, and thank them we will: Paul Shumaker, provost of the Western Campus of Cuyahoga Community College, welcomed the conferees and lent his support to the inchoate Cuyahoga Review; Robert L. Lewis, Scholar-in-Residence, Cuyahoga Community College, and Donald L. Hoyt, project director of the Scholar-in-Residence Program, were participants in that formative Columbus Day meeting; Nolen M. Ellison, president of Cuyahoga Community College, gave his support and encouragement to our fledgling enterprise; Maurice D. Weidenthal, vice president of public affairs and information, provided us with marketing information; Jerome M. McKeever, our associate editor,*

*and editorial-board members James G. Banks, Terrence W. Burke, Barbara A. Charnigo, Duvid M. Cratty, and Dorothy Merchant and advisory-board members Ray B. Browne, David B. Guralnik, Charles W. Jones, Dorothy M. Kennedy, X. J. Kennedy, James D. Lester, Robert L. Lewis, Steen H. Spove, Burry Targan, and Leonard M. Trawick all graciously accepted these roles so important to our success. Thanks also to Toba Jeffery and Jan Jonas for suggestions and support; to Dorothy Kato, Sylvia Spector, and John Twist for their assistance in promoting our journal; to Nick Livaich and Tom Denny for their artistic support. Thanks is also extended to the University of California Press for their kind permission to publish the St. GuN Plan and the photograph of Ernest Born, along with the itinerary of the St. Gall exhibition in the United States. And, of course, thanks to the aforementioned Oscar Crawford, the guiding hand behind the St. Gall Conference. We would also like to express our gratitude for the generous financial support from the following organizations: the Cuyahoga Community College Foundation, and its chairman, H. Andrew Johnson III; The Cuyahoga Community College Chapter of the American Association of University Professors, and its president, Bettie J. Baker; and the Scholar-in-Residence program of Cuyahoga Community College. And to all our contributors and pre-publication subscribers whose support is both appreciated and necessary, we say thanks, and thanks again.*

—R. C.

# The St. Gall Papers: An Introduction

by DAVID M. CRATTY

*The First Biennial Conference on St. Gall was a part of a week of activities at the Western Campus of Cuyahoga Community College designed to increase the awareness of the students about the early Middle Ages. Having a conference which focused on the early Middle Ages on the Continent is a rare occasion, and, thus, the St. Gall Conference attracted a wide array of scholars, as the following papers demonstrate.*

*Joseph Lynch provides an introduction which put the times and the accomplishments of the Abbey of St. Gall in perspective. The achievements that we admire were realized in less than a hundred years and under conditions that only enhance those achievements. In addition, we are reminded that cultural life was truly a luxury in an environment where the struggle for mere survival was all-consuming.*

*Three of the papers use the St. Gall Plan, that detailed plan for an ideal Benedictine monastery conceived by Abbot Hatto, as a basis for examining wider issues. Gary Radke sees in the Plan the "earliest surviving visual record for the form of both the interior and exterior of a distinct medieval palace type which was subsequently adopted by bishops, abbots and popes." The medieval ecclesiastical palace grew from the abbot's place in monastic life and the need, recognized by Benedict in his Rule, that the abbot have a separate dining room in which to take meals with guests so that their comings and goings not disturb the rest of the community.*

*Patricia Quinn discusses the use of architectural forms as a means of implementing the Benedictines' collective program of child rearing. Specifically, she examines the areas given over to the oblates, the segregation of children from adults and the control which is imposed on the children's realms of activity.*

*Edward Segal reviews the evidence which has been used to suggest that the decrees of the Synods of Aachen in 816 and 817 are embodied in the St. Gall Plan. He has concluded that the Plan does not embody*

*the synodal legislation. However, it is possible that Abbot Hailo authored both the St. Gall Plan and the Statuta Murbacensia, a primary source for the Synod of 816.*

*The library at St. Gall was one of the crowning achievements of the monastery. John Butt shows the spectacular growth of that library during the ninth century. Such growth would not have been possible in such a short time without the cooperation of other monasteries. Based on their catalogues, Butt demonstrates the close relationship that existed between the monasteries at St. Gall and at Heichenau.*

*The presence of Irish exegetical texts in the library at St. Gall shows a continuing Irish influence, although without Irish personnel. Joseph Kelly examines the Irish texts that have been previously identified, especially St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek 908, a commentary on Genesis. This text is significant because of its emphasis on the historical sense of Genesis.*

*Using a complex carmen figuratum (Carmen Sangallense, no.5), Michael Herren demonstrates that the quarrel between St. Gall and his mentor St. Columban was not merely a pious hagiographical fiction, but that there, indeed, was a rift between the two men.*

*The final paper is a translation by John Crone of an episode from the Casus Sancti Galli in which Notker does battle with the devil.*



Gregory the Great. Stylized version of a tenthcentury ivory panel. Ink and tempera by Jessie Theriot.



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  - b. Sacristy below, Vestry above
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  - e. Porter's Lodging
  - f. Porch giving access to House for Distinguished Guests and to Outer School
  - g. Porch for reception of all visitors
  - h. Porch giving access to Hospice for Pilgrims and Paupers and to servants' and herdsmen's quarters
  - i. Lodging of Master of the Hospice for Pilgrims and Paupers
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4. Monks' Privy
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6. Monks' Refectory below, Vestlary above
7. Monks' Cellar below, Larder above
8. Monks' Kitchen
9. Monks' Bake and Brew House
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11. House for Distinguished Guests
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13. Abbot's Houre
14. Abbot's Kitchen, Cellar, and Bath House
15. Houre for Bloodletting
16. House of the Physicians
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  - a. Chapel for the Novices
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29. Drying Kiln
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34. House for the Vassals and Knights who travel in the Emperor's Following (Identification not certain)
35. House for Sheep and Shepherds
36. House for Goats and Goatherds
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39. House for Swine and Swineherds
40. House for Brood Mares and Foals and Their Keepers
- W. Manks' Cloister Yard
- X. Monks' Vegetable Garden
- Y. Monks' Cemetery and Orchard
- Z. Medicinal Herb Garden

Above: Index keyed to the St. Call Plan on preceding page. From Lorna Price, *The Plan of St. Gall in Brief* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 11. Copyright 1982 by Lama Price, Walter Horn and Ernest Born. Used with permission.

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Medieval Manuscript. Pen and ink by Debbie Josephs.

# The World of Saint Gall \*

*by* JOSEPH H. LYNCH

In the second half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries, the monastery of Saint Gall in Swabia (modern Switzerland) was a cultural center of great importance. The monks, who never numbered much more than 100, carried to a high point of perfection the arts connected with the liturgy and religious life. The largest objects, the buildings, are gone, but it is still possible to see manuscripts, ivory carvings, and book covers that monk-artists created, and to read the substantial output of chronicles, saints' lives, charters, and liturgical tropes and sequences composed by monks. The cultural life of St. Gall did not flourish in a vacuum. A complex economic, religious, and human environment made it possible and shaped its outlines. I shall attempt to sketch briefly that context, to describe the contours of the World of Saint Gall.'

The phrase "world of St. Gall" has a great deal of ambiguity in it. There were about 350 years from the birth of the Irishman Gall in approximately 560 to the passing of the great generation of St. Gall monks like Notker and Ekkehard I. To put such a time span in perspective, it is roughly the interval that separates us from the pilgrims and puritans in New England, from King James I, or from Louis XIII. Just as colonial Boston would never be confused with twentieth-century Boston, so the world of "Gall the man" is quite distinct from that of "Gall the Saint," whose earthly remains were venerated in a large stone church near Lake Constance. Gall himself had lived his last years in a crude hut in the midst of a rough wilderness while the monk Notker (840-912) passed his life in a little temple city that had made the wilderness productive and that sheltered some of the most sophisticated artists and scholars of the age.

I shall first say something about St. Gall the man and the world in

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This article is a revised version of a paper delivered at the St. Gall Conference sponsored by Cuyahoga Community College, October 15, 1982. I wish to thank especially Professors Oscar Crawford and David Cratty, organizers of the Conference, for their hospitality.

which he lived and then sketch briefly the great monastery that bore his name and possessed his body.

There are three frankish biographies of Saint Gall, one written about 770 by someone whose name we don't know. It survives only in fragments. It experienced the fate of many Merovingian and early Carolingian documents. As the sense of what constituted good Latin rose during the Carolingian Renaissance, the *Life* was thought crude in language and inadequate in scope. In the early ninth century, two monks of Reichenau, a neighboring monastery on an island in Lake Constance, Wettin and Walafrid Strabo, independently rewrote the *Life*, both to improve its literary qualities and to flesh out the account of the saint's miracles. Modern scholars continue to argue vigorously about the reliability of the three biographies, written at least 125 years after the saint's death, steeped in the clichés of the hagiographer and promoting a hidden agenda: they tried to prove the continuity of monastic life at St. Gall from the seventh century and a long tradition of independence of the monastery from the bishop of Constance. In the Carolingian period (750-900), a biography was necessary to assure the glory of a saint, and the lack of a written biography was a serious impediment to the growth of any saint's cult. Gall's biographer Wettin told of a Frankish attack on the church of St. Gall in 710, before there was any biography. The Frankish warriors defended their action by saying, "we don't know of your saint, by whose patronage you believe yourself aided." Walafrid Strabo was very candid about his procedures in hagiography, which was an art form following rigid conventions, a sort of formula. At one point, he tells of the cure of a girl possessed by a demon, and he says that he included it "lest it be thought that this sort of miracle was lacking to the holy man." At another point, he told the reader that he would not list witnesses to the events of the eighth century at Saint Gall (he says their Germanic names are too barbaric to dishonor Latin!), but he added that since none of the miracles recorded is impossible for God and all wonderful and praiseworthy, they don't need witnesses. He seems to invite the reader to conclude that if any particular miracle is questioned, the appropriate response is that it could have occurred (nothing is impossible to God) and it is edifying. Hence, it can be attributed to the saint without much fuss over witnesses.'

## Gall the Man

In spite of hesitations about how much of the various *Lives* we can

believe. Saint Gall certainly existed. We know of him from the seventh-century *Life of Saint Columban* by Jonas, a monk of Bobbio. Gall was an Irishman (his name was probably *Callech* or *Gallech*) who accompanied Saint Columban to the continent in A.D. 590. Assuming that he was then a mature man (he was apparently already ordained a priest), he would have been born in Ireland about the year 560. He lived to a ripe old age (the biographies say 95), and he died in the first half of the seventh century, perhaps on October 16, which in the liturgical calendar is the Feast of St. Gall. He was a contemporary of Mohammed, of Pope Gregory the Great, of the historian Gregory of Tours. His childhood may have overlapped the waning years of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian. But he lived his life in more primitive circumstances than any of those people. The Roman Empire in the west had collapsed more than a century before, and political power in the north and the west was fragmented among Germanic overlords, some of whom were superficially Christianized. The region of modern Switzerland that Saint Gall finally settled in had been Christianized in the later Roman Empire, but had largely relapsed into paganism during the period of Germanic invasions. The tattered remains of Roman culture were still visible, but the inexorable downward spiral of economic activity, urban life, and intellectual activity made for a very primitive world.

Gall may stand as a representative of that Irish monasticism which was so important in the early Middle Ages. Mediterranean Christianity grew up in an urban literate society, and its chief local figure was a bishop. Patrick had introduced Mediterranean Christianity into Ireland in the fifth century, but it was not a wholly successful transplant. Ireland had never been a part of the Roman world, and Mediterranean Christianity had to adapt to an utterly rural, impoverished, and primitive tribal society. In Ireland, where there were no cities, the focal point of church life became the monastery and its head, the abbot. Bishops were figures of secondary importance. Irish monasticism owed much of its spirit to the ideal of the Egyptian monks of the fourth and fifth centuries who had emphasized extreme austerity (much of it incomprehensible to us) and vocal criticism of the world and its values. Irish monastic asceticism had one peculiarity that was fateful for the future: its sanctification of restlessness. In a tribal society, kin ties loom large, and to give them up is a major sacrifice. Irish monasticism valued life-long exile or pilgrimage as an ascetic practice, and for centuries Irish monks left home for the sake of Christ. It was one of the very earliest of these periodic swarmings that brought Columban and twelve companions (Gall being one of them) to the kingdom of the

Franks in 590. Irish monks on the continent were restless, critical of the morals of their Frankish hosts, and marked by liturgical and other peculiarities, including a form of tonsure that differed from the Roman-Frankish norm. Many continental bishops were particularly irked by the independence of the Irish monks, who resisted efforts to make them conform to episcopal authority. In short, they were perceived by many continental Christians in the sixth and seventh centuries as holy pains in the posterior. Columban and his companions lived in Frankish territory for twenty years, during which they founded monasteries, evangelized the natives, rebuked kings and bishops, and tenaciously preserved Irish church practices. Columban's combination of zeal, austerity, vocal criticism of those in charge, and feisty defense of Irish customs was a heady mixture, and the holy man was forced to move several times in his career. In about 610, he arrived on the shores of Lake Constance with his disciple Gall still in his company. When Columban was expelled by the Duke of the *Allemani* for disturbing his hunting grounds, he decided to proceed into Italy. Gall was too ill to accompany him and stayed behind, a stop that proved permanent.

Gall, who was probably in his fifties, became a hermit in the rugged terrain south of the Lake. It was a world of abandoned forts, ruined or shrunken cities, and vast wilderness. In the company of a few disciples, he passed his time in the reading of scripture, prayer, fasting, and austerities so characteristic of Irish monks. (After his death, his disciples found a chain for flagellation—it still existed in the ninth century). He had to gain his living, of course, and his biographers portrayed him as an avid fisherman, although he cultivated a grain field as well. He preached to the native population whose language he apparently learned. Gall did not found anything permanent, even though the biographers argued the contrary. He certainly didn't found the monastery of St. Gall. He lived in rough wooden huts, on relatively good terms with the priest of the nearby village. When Gall died, he was buried in his rude oratory between the altar and the back wall. A succession of priests subject to the bishop of Constance served the church and shrine for about eighty years, and the holy man's grave drew local people seeking help, particularly healing.

### The Monastery of Saint Gall

In the year 720 a priest named Othmar was given custody of the shrine, and it was he who founded a monastery on the site. The monastery of St. Gall thus began its career. In the 740's the monastery

adopted the Rule of St. Benedict, which was more moderate and orderly than the Irish rules, which gradually fell into disuse all over continental Europe. It was from these rather humble beginnings in 720 that the great monastery of Saint Gall grew. The emergence of St. Gall as a cultural center was no overnight event. From its origins to its pinnacle at about 900 was a period as long as the history of Ohio and almost as long as the entire history of the United States from the ratification of the Constitution.

To enter into the world of St. Gall, we must resist the urge to sanitize the past and to make it look like our world, in the naive belief that our world is the normal state of affairs. The tendency to reshape the past to fit modern values is most evident in dealing with great men: the American founding fathers, Luther, Jesus himself. The monks of St. Gall, too, reinterpreted their past to gain prestige for their monastery and independence from the local bishop.

The ninth-century world of the monastery of St. Gall is conventionally placed in the "middle ages," but we must wipe from our imaginations certain stereotypes. This was not yet the world of knights in shining armor or great stone castles, which lay centuries in the future. Western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries was a primitive place that looked pathetic when contrasted with contemporary Byzantium or Islam. It was a rural world in which 10,000 people constituted a really big settlement. Population was stagnant and sparse, perhaps 10,000,000 people in territories where 200,000,000 live today. It was a vast sea of forests with scattered islands of cultivation and habitation; a world in which wolves, bears, and robbers bands threatened those who wandered into the trackless wastes. In a society like ours, it is difficult to imagine such a world in which mere survival was the paramount aim of the vast bulk of human beings. Technology was primitive; metal was scarce. It was a world of wooden buildings, except for some of those devoted to the glory of God or the Frankish king.<sup>1</sup>

Today we admire the achievements of the monastery of St. Gall during a brief three generations of glory (about 850 to about 920). It is well to keep in mind the material conditions under which those achievements were realized. An understanding of those conditions can only enhance our respect for the triumphs of the human spirit that took place at St. Gall.

The first thing that would have struck you and me in the world of St. Gall would have been appalling filth, and once our noses and eyes had adjusted, we would have seen the persistent poverty and the threat of want that hung over that society. An arab traveler, Ibrahim ibn

Yakub, whose sunny Mediterranean world simply assumed things like public baths, gives us an outsider's view of conditions in tenth-century Europe: "One can't imagine people more filthy, deceitful or base. Since they pay no attention to cleanliness they wash themselves only once or twice a year in cold water. They never wash their clothes, which they put on once and for all until they are reduced to tatters." Ibn Yakub's contempt for these Franks is not veiled, but even if his indictment must be taken with a grain of salt, its basic import is incontestable. The ninth and tenth centuries were a very primitive time in the Latin west.

The monastery of St. Gall was situated in the eastern part of the Frankish world, an area that was even more primitive than the norm. In the ninth century, monasteries were not merely religious institutions, but were centers of agriculture, learning, and even military strong points in newly conquered territory. In the Frankish kingdom, there were more than 600 religious houses; indeed, more than four hundred had been founded in the three generations that separated Charlemagne's accession in 768 from the serious Viking raids of the mid-ninth century. Like modern educational institutions, Carolingian monasteries varied immensely in their resources, the impressiveness of their physical plant, their prestige, and their achievements. There were still hermits in desert places, as Gall had been, and there were monasteries and nunneries ranging from poor, small, disorderly places to giants like Centula or Fulda with three hundred monks.<sup>4</sup> St. Gall was more populous than many: late in the abbacy of the founder Othmar there were 50 monks and in 895 there were 101. The monks constituted an elite corps, many of whom had been placed in the monastery as children for mixed motives, as Walafrid's nickname Strabo (the squinter") may reveal. The upper-class character of recruitment became more pronounced in the Carolingian period. The monk Ekkehard boasted that no one of unfree birth had ever been a monk at St. Gall. The monastic officers were always from important families, as were many of the ordinary monks. Life in the monastery had its tensions, and monks sometimes wished to leave. Several of St. Gall's miracles involved leading back gently such apostates, as fugitive monks were called.

It would be a serious mistake to see the monastery of St. Gall as a sort of think tank or a modern department of History or English, where everyone is expected to "do research" and write about it. Monks didn't gain entry because they had high SAT scores or good grade-point averages. The majority of monks were not intellectuals. They passed their lives in the daily round of singing in church and performing

necessary chores within the monastic community. A large monastery was a complex entity, quite bureaucratized actually, and every mature monk served in one or more of the myriad tasks connected with the liturgy, the housekeeping chores, the economic management, and the teaching of the young. Over the course of three generations, during which a couple of hundred monks lived and died in the house, we know of only a handful who wrote something and only a score who were craftsmen or scribes. Even the intellectuals spent much of their time filling the usual roles in the monastic community and devoted only a very modest portion of energy and time to the things we admire in retrospect. In other words, I am reminding us that St. Gall was a monastery in which cultural life only had a modest place. But St. Gall **was** unusual in its commitment to culture. The community supported two schools, one for young monks and an exterior school for lay boys. Some expert scribes were exempted from communal prayers in order to facilitate their work. Considerable resources were diverted to the library, which is still the glory of the monastery. It is well to recall that not every monastery was like that in its support of learning.

The material existence of the monastery of Saint Gall was guaranteed by great landed estates, whose management and defense absorbed much of the monks' talent and energy. This was a world without a stock market in which to invest an endowment, and the only secure and productive thing to own was land inhabited by peasant farmers who paid rents and dues. Technology was primitive, agricultural yields were brutally low, and population was relatively sparse. In such conditions, many peasant surpluses had to be pooled to support 100 monks and their many dependents (slaves, servants, craftsmen, bailiffs, and so on). We can securely imagine another 200 inhabitants of St. Gall in the late ninth century. For the early middle ages, numbers must usually be treated as estimates, best guesses. Even so, the greatest ninth-century monasteries had impressive holdings in land and people. St. Germain-des-Prés near Paris had 39 great estates and 340 small ones with more than 7,300 peasant families (perhaps 20,000 people) to support its 150 monks. Fulda had 15,000 peasant families; Fontanelle had 6,000. It is estimated that Saint Gall had 4,000 peasant families on its lands, which were scattered across a wide area.'

St. Gall himself had been a hermit, having limited contacts with outsiders. The great ninth-century monastery was far more integrated into the fabric of society. The abbots of Saint Gall (who were sometimes simultaneously the bishops of Constance) played a role on the governmental stage, providing kings with troops, advice, and

money. The monastery supported poor men and women and provided free hospitality to travelers of every social rank. The monastery's economic interests shaped the countryside for miles around, and its needs for craftsmen and other specialists sustained a cadre of such people.

The monastery and its main relic, the body of St. Gall, also served as a magnet for pilgrims. The accounts of the saint's miracles, when read with a discerning eye, reveal much about the social-economic context of the world of St. Gall. There are exceptions of course, but most ninth-century miracles have to do with healing. The recorded miracles throw a vivid light on the sanitary and health conditions in the world of St. Gall. Sudden and early death from disease, accident, or violence was an ever-present danger. Such victims of sudden death had no time to seek the saint's patronage. To judge from the miracle stories, the Church of Saint Gall was visited most often by those afflicted with lingering maladies. Anyone familiar with medieval miracle collections knows the steady stream of the crippled and deformed, the demoniacs (whatever they were), the sufferers of infections and eye diseases, the victims of recurring fevers and wasting sicknesses who came or were carried to the saint's tomb, where they or their kinsmen begged long and loudly for relief. Even the monks were petitioners to the saint for cures. One brother contracted a violent infection as a result of flebotomy (bloodletting for medical purposes) and oil from lamps before the shrine cured him. The monk Notker was toothless, and even dental problems were the province of the saint. When you pondered the significance of such stories of disease and cure, you realize that those who doubt the value of "progress" and yearn for mythic utopias of pre-industrialized societies are very wrong. The accounts of St. Gall's miracles are a sobering warning of the greater sum of human suffering which characterized that world.

The miracles of St. Gall also presuppose a struggle to gain the necessities of life. Want and the threat of want were never far away in pre-industrialized society. Productivity was low, surpluses tiny, and human agriculture was at the mercy of weather and insects and disease. The peasants were always under-nourished (they lived on a grain-based diet), and a bad harvest could reduce them to eating bark or, in extreme cases, cannibalism. The monks were, of course, relatively protected from such calamities, but a bad harvest meant belt-tightening for them as well. The monks had other nutritional problems, revolving around the quality rather than the quantity of their food. It is well to recall that the monks' diet was determined by religious demands, and the expertise

of the dietitian had no place in it. They fasted often and when they ate, their food was short on protein and heavy on bread and vegetables. They may not have been under-nourished, but they were malnourished, lacking vitamins and protein. In addition, their health problems were probably aggravated by the practice of regular flebotomy (bloodletting), which remained part of medical practice almost to modern times.

In view of anxieties about nourishment, it is no accident that the kingdom of heaven was sometimes imagined as a feast, a great banquet where the blessed could eat their fill. Food miracles were also a recurring category in early medieval hagiography. Saint Gall supplied his followers with fish and grain; it says something about a society's problems and anxieties when the capture of a large fish is explained as a supernatural intervention. For most of society, artificial lighting must have been a rare luxury. Peasants went to bed at sundown, and lay lords were satisfied with a fire or a few candles. Monks, however, needed to illuminate their churches for the frequent services. The church lamps had an insatiable appetite for oil or fat, the supply of which was irregular. Saint Gall had to be invoked to supply lighting material as well. In short, the world of Saint Gall was far less in control of its environment than we might unconsciously imagine.

It was also a world in which human violence was a constant. Several of St. Gall's miracles turn on the danger from robbers and thieves. The implication of the tales is that a traveler was in peril in the forests and trackless wastes. One miracle involved a man who was saved by St. Gall from having his throat slit by the peasant in whose hut he slept. In the eighth century, when the Frankish kings strove to gain effective control over the duchy of Swabia, their undisciplined armies stole and tortured. Walafrid Strabo reported that on one occasion, the local populace took refuge in St. Gall's church, but to no avail. The soldier/looters broke into the church, put men to the sword, raped the women, and sold the suitable captives into slavery. In the late ninth century, the level of violence rose with the incursions of the Magyars, who had settled to the east in the great plain of Hungary. The monastery of St. Gall was attacked in 925 by the Magyars, and the monks had to flee, though they returned when the invaders withdrew. In 937, a fire destroyed the monastic buildings, and in 954 Moslem raiders penetrated the Alps and harassed the monks of Saint Gall.

The world of St. Gall would have given us an aesthetic shock, particularly in matters relating to religion. Most twentieth-century churches are identified with good clothes, proper decorum and hushed

voices. In northern Europe and North America, an important impulse of religious life since the sixteenth century has been to simplify and to tame religious practice and religious art. One can think of exceptions (snake-handling sects or hot-gospel healers), but in our society they appeal to small constituencies. Such was not the reality of church life at ninth-century St. Gall. Pre-modern Christianity was a very earthy business. The holy and the demonic were palpable, and the strong sense of sacrament, of external symbols for spiritual realities, influenced art and architecture. The present church of St. Gall is an eighteenth-century building, but it is still possible to enter a great romanesque church that can only suggest what St. Gall was like. What one sees today is great space, bare and sober furnishings, expanses of clean stone. We forget that such an aura is in part the product of modern sensibilities, that recent generations have stripped and remade interiors of medieval churches. The ninth-century church of St. Gall, as it can be reconstructed from literary references, was colorful and cluttered with the paraphernalia of devotion. There would have been the shrine of the saint, or more properly of saints, since the monastery accumulated relics and decorated them with a riot of gold and gemstones. The miracles of a saint were often commemorated in physical reminders, thanks-offerings and the like that were displayed in the church. Walafrid Strabo tells us in passing that over the saint's tomb there were various objects suspended: the chain and hairshirt with which Gall had punished his body, a staff reputed to have been a gift from Saint Columban to Gall, and so on. Banners, processional crosses, vestments, statues, and altars would have contributed to the liveliness of the scene.

A great monastic church in the ninth century had lots of visitors. The sick crowded the church during the day, and some favored few were permitted to spend the night lying before the saint's tomb. Some ill or disturbed visitors struck fear even into contemporaries. One miracle story told of a poor man who had committed homicide and in expiation had metal loops fastened around his neck and both arms, so tight that they cut his flesh. He traveled from shrine to shrine seeking some sign of forgiveness. During the night vigils at St. Gall he received a dream in which St. Gall touched the iron band with his staff and the man was freed, amidst howling that disrupted the monks' psalmody.

I hope that I have convinced you that you and I would have found the world of St. Gall, whether that of the man or the monastery, very different from our own; and they were different from one another as well. Against a background of sparse population, grinding poverty, technological backwardness and vulnerability to the fluctuations of

weather and the attacks of microbes, monasteries were a unique institution. They were one of the few institutions of the age, perhaps the only one, that pursued goals beyond mere survival. St. Gall was not a "typical" monastery: most of the others were content with a humbler level of scholarship or artistic achievement. By a happy conjuncture of circumstances, the St. Gall monks possessed relatively great wealth, talented members of the community and several enlightened abbots who permitted the use of a modest portion of that wealth for art and learning. Their motive for doing so was rooted in their understanding of the monastic life. The period from the ninth through the twelfth centuries is sometimes called "the benedictine centuries" and sometimes called "a liturgical civilization." The two notions are complementary. The monks saw their primary task as the praise and worship of God in the most suitable manner and surroundings that they could manage. The yearning for a dignified and beautiful liturgy led the monks to appropriate for God's glory the things that they perceived to be fitting: beautiful language, beautiful buildings, beautiful liturgical objects, beautiful music. To obtain such things they supported schools, copied manuscripts, fostered artists and artisans, built buildings and the like. This was not art for art's sake; it was art for God's sake.<sup>1</sup> I urge you to recall that there was no inevitability about it. Human beings chose, in difficult material circumstances, to praise God by works of beauty.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For an account of cultural life at St. Gall, see James M. Clark. *The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art* (Cambridge, 1926).

The three *Lives* of St. Gall were edited with critical introduction by Bruno Krusch in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum merovingicarum 4* (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), pp. 229-337. *The Life* by Walarid Strabo was translated into English by Maud Joynt, *The Life of St. Gall*. Translations of Christian Literature, Series V, *Lives of the Celtic Saints* (Toronto, 1927).

<sup>1</sup> Jonas, *Vitae Columbani discipulorumque eius libri duo*. book 1, ch. 11. ed. B. Krusch, *M G H Scriptores rerum merovingicarum 4*; pp. 76-77 refers to Gall.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of economy and demography in the ninth and tenth centuries see N.J.G. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe 450 B.C.- A.D. 1330* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 170-226.

Cited in Jean Décarreaux, *Moines et monasteres à l'époque de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1980), p. 60, note I.

<sup>1</sup>Décarreaux, *Moines*, pp. 289-305

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, tr. C. Misrahi (New York, 1961), is an excellent treatment of the monastic spirituality that ~~can~~ in natural beauty the means to praise God.



Notre Dame, 1250. Pen and ink by Sr. Mary Robert Clair, S.N.D.

# The Plan of St. Gall and Medieval Ecclesiastical Palaces

by GARY M. RADKE

As is well known to almost every St. Gall enthusiast, the library of the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland contains one of the great treasures of medieval monasticism—the famed, early ninth-century copy of a detailed plan for an ideal Benedictine monastery. Owing in large part to the research of Walter Horn,<sup>1</sup> we now know more about this utopian monastery which was never built than we do about many complexes which were actually erected.

The plan itself is drawn precisely to scale and is richly annotated. The well-considered, functional arrangement of the structures which are essential to a self-sufficient medieval monastery is at the very root of most later medieval monastic planning. The plan offers an ideal solution to the inherent problem of monastic life: how to provide for the maintenance of the flesh while nourishing and exalting the spirit. The solution consisted of a world focused around the church and cloister. The monk was to eat in silence with his fellow monks in the refectory at the far end of the cloister and sleep with his fellow monks in the dormitory which was perpendicular to it. From the dormitory he would have immediate access to the center of his world, the monastery church. But the joy of the St. Gall plan lies in the fact that its creators did not neglect the support services which made it possible for the monk to follow St. Benedict's sixth-century admonition to balance one's life between prayer and physical labor. The monastery was to be provided with all necessities: latrines and baths, kitchens and storerooms, a bakery, brewery, mill, oil press, barnyard, and garden: in short, everything necessary to maintain the monk from the moment he first learned the rules of monasticism in the novitiate, through times when he required medical treatment in the infirmary or leeching hall, to his eventual demise and burial in the cemetery within the monastery walls.

His communal life was presided over by the abbot, and it is the ab-

bot's position of the monastic complex\* to which I would like to pay particular attention.' Because of his role as head of the monastery, the abbot was called upon as the mediator between the secular world outside the monastery and the spiritual world of his fellow monks within. In his Rule, St. Benedict had already recognized a need for the abbot to have a separate dining room, where he could take his meals with guests and strangers to whom the monastery offered hospitality. Indeed, Benedict stipulated that the 'kitchen of the abbot and the guests be apart, so that strangers, who are never absent from the monastery, coming in at irregular hours, may not disturb the community.' <sup>3</sup> So it would seem natural that the St. Gall plan should provide separate lodgings for guests and the abbot on the far north side of the monastery church. But the St. Gall plan was produced in an era when monastic reformers were questioning the feasibility of such an arrangement.<sup>4</sup> At the Synod of Aachen in 816, abbots were instructed to offer food and drink to guests in the refectory, but neither they nor any of the monks were to eat with guests at the door of the monastery. The abbot was to have no special food or drink and was to content himself with the same portion as the rest of the brethren.<sup>5</sup> It would thus be logical to assume that he was to have no special lodging either. In 817, however, the more lenient edicts of the Second Synod of Aachen did allow for the abbot to have a cell in which at least six monks would live together with him. The Synod also lifted prohibitions against dining with visitors.

On the St. Gall plan the abbot is given a separate residence with sleeping room for eight, along with a separate kitchen, cellar, bath, and quarters for servants. In this case, then, the question of the relationship between the abbot and the outside world had been decided in favor of accommodating the secular and reinforcing the hieratically superior position of the abbot over the general mass of his brethren. He was not to live alone, but neither was he to eat and sleep with the majority of the monks. As we shall see, his distinct status was given particular definition in the architectural articulation of his dwelling and in its very separateness from the cloister.

Just as the basic form of the St. Gall plan is at the root of most medieval monastic planning, so a discussion of medieval ecclesiastical palaces must begin here as well. As far as I know, the plan provides the earliest surviving visual record for the form of both the interior and exterior of a distinct medieval palace type which was subsequently adopted by bishops, abbots, and popes. With the aid of the St. Gall

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<sup>3</sup>See the Plan of St. Gall on pp. 8,9, especially numbers 13 and 14.—Ed.

plan I will sketch the history of the facades of these medieval ecclesiastical palaces. I will then return to the plan to inquire about their interior arrangement and facilities and document in a small way the increasingly lavish, princely world of the high church official in the Middle Ages. The separate, secularized status accorded the abbot on the St. Gall plan will be shown to lie at the root of the elaborate, palatial complexes of later abbots, bishops, and popes.

The architectural shorthand and inscriptions on the plan of St. Gall are more specific about the exterior articulation of the abbot's residence than about any other structure except the cloister. The two long sides of the residence were to have consisted of porticoes lit by a central group of four round-headed openings flanked by two groups of three openings. On the eastern side, the portico is clearly labeled "*porticus arcubus lucida*," while a similar portico is indicated for the west. A storeroom and solarium—evidently a loggiaed gallery—are indicated above. Horn's reconstruction drawing offers a plausible suggestion of the residence's ground floor. The second-floor *solarium* was probably intended to open in a continuous set of windows, as comparisons with other palaces will show.' The arched construction of the ground floor porticoes surely indicates that the building was to have been given special status by being constructed of masonry. The forms of its porticoes and *solarium* were particularly significant as well. The term *solarium*, besides designating an open-galleried loggia or window-lit chamber on the upper story of a palace, was also used in medieval literature as an alternate expression for an entire palace.' *Solarium's* use in this sense was justified by the fact that arcades, loggias, porticoes, and *solaria* were an important part of palace iconography in general. Roman imperial palaces had invariably included arcades, whether they took the form of peristyles, colonnades, porticoes, or loggias. The palaces were multi-storied like the example on our plan, and an elevated loggia or arcade on the facade served as a sign of sovereignty.' The motif and its palatial association were preserved into the Middle Ages by structures such as the Palace of Theodoric in Ravenna (known to us by its representation in the mosaics of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo) and by the example of the pope's Lateran palace, where the pre-ninth-century *macrona* was marked by a similar arcade on its upper story.<sup>8</sup> The representation of William the Conqueror's palace on the late eleventh-century Bayeux tapestry is identified by the same motif, and the abbots' house at San Felju de Cuixols, and the later example at Pomposa, carried the St. Gall motif into the Romanesque period. Bishops, who in many parts of Western Europe had assumed ad-

ministrative control of their cities since as early as the sixth century, also applied similar motifs to their palaces, as at Auxerre, Cologne, Modena, Salerno, and Faenza. In Florence the ground floor of the bishop's palace was marked by a portico, and upper story windows were arranged as a *loggia*.<sup>10</sup> Such an arrangement may well have been intended for the abbot's palace on the St. Gall plan.

All this would seem to place the abbot's palace on the St. Gall plan in the mainstream of medieval palace architecture. The representational character of the abbot's palace on the St. Gall plan, perhaps not so different from the abbot's house at Pomposa, and its north-south orientation had distinguished it from the guest house and external school which were to precede it. The abbot's house would have provided an architecturally impressive culmination to the northern, visitor-oriented area of the monastery. But the palace's interior organization and placement relative to the monastery church are less typical than its formal iconography. At the same time that the abbot's residence was singled out from the residence of his fellow monks, it was bound to the community by its placement due north of the church's transept. It was directly aligned with the monks' dormitory to the immediate south. In general, this is where early medieval monasteries regularly placed their abbots' residences, if they allowed their leader a separate residence at all. When Desiderio (abbot 1058-1087) rebuilt Montecassino, for example, his own residence was located in a position similar to the one on the St. Gall plan, but it was not aligned with the monks' dormitory." Indeed, abbots' residences in general became increasingly independent of the monks' dormitory and the church transept. As I have already noted, the Rule of St. Benedict had granted special privileges and corresponding responsibilities to the abbot. As head of the monastic household, he represented the monastery to the outside world. As his position gained increasing prestige in feudal Europe, even monastic orders which had not allowed him a separate residence began to add abbots' palaces to their monasteries. At Fountains and Kerkstall, for example, the Cistercians added an abbot's palace but hid it behind the cloister.<sup>12</sup> In other cases, however, the siting of the abbot's residence to the north or behind the monastery church may no longer have adequately expressed the abbot's social status. In fact, an alternate position, parallel to the facade of the monastery church and due west of the cloister, replaced the formulation of both Montecassino and the St. Gall plan. This alternative already seems to have been voiced by Haito, bishop of Basel from 803 to 823, when he wrote that "the auditorium of the abbot lies between the claustrum and the gate of the convent, so that he can

receive in conference the brethren without inconvenience to guests, and the guests without inconvenience to guests, and the guests without inconvenience to the brethren."<sup>13</sup> To be sure, there is no clear indication here whether the abbot's auditorium formed part of his residence (it may have been the forerunner of the parlors of later monasteries), but Haito's remarks do suggest that the abbot had need of some sort of reception hall or meeting place. Its placement in front of the monks' cloister made sense functionally, as Haito informs us, but it also may have expressed more accurately and succinctly the abbot's position as head of the monastic church community.

Placing the abbot's house next to the facade of the monastery church became rather popular in the twelfth century. The example of Cluny may have been influential. Around 1125 the abbot's house at Cluny was built in and around the old Galilee or narthex of the second abbey church, that is, to the southwest of the new, third church.<sup>14</sup> In this way, the abbot's residence was linked to the western, public end of the church and marked the entrance to the monks' cloister. The high status of the abbot was made more architecturally evident by moving his residence to the front of the church. At the same time, this position brought the abbot's residence into the cloister itself, establishing a strong relationship with his fellow monks' home. It mattered little that the abbot had long ceased to be just one of the monks; his position as their ruler was well validated by his residence's new location. The St. Gall planners, on the other hand, had intended to balance the abbot's position within the monastery through a link across the church transept. Their intent, however, was best appreciated in plan. Had the monastery been built, the formal relationship of the abbot's residence to the monks' dormitory would not have been evident. The great bulk of the monastery church would have intervened between the abbot's residence and the monks' dormitory. At Cluny and other Benedictine monasteries, however, the great bulk of the monastic buildings were located immediately adjacent to or behind the abbot's residence. The arrangement was a viable one and can be noted, for example, in the plans of the twelfth-century abbot's houses at Chester, Gloucester, Castle Acre, and Bardney. In each case, the abbot's residence took the place occupied by the almonry and cellar on the St. Gall plan, but the cellar itself was often retained as the ground floor of a two-story building.<sup>15</sup> In fact, in the late twelfth century we read of Abbot Donatianus of Rastede, who built a cellar in his monastery with his residence above it.<sup>16</sup> The upper story served as a dining room at Rastede, while at Peterborough, a *solarium* was built next to the abbot's room and over

the ground floor cellar.”

With these examples, we move into a discussion of the interior organization and service buildings of an ecclesiastical palace. The ground floor of the abbot's house on the St. Gall plan was divided into two areas, the *mansio abbatis* or dining/sitting room on the south and the dormitory on the north. Each room was to have been heated by a corner fireplace. The *mansio abbatis* has wall benches, labeled *sedilia*, and two cupboards for dishes and vessels, labeled *toreqmata*. Inside the dormitory were eight beds. A passageway was to have led to the latrine and its six seats. On the upper level was a storeroom (*camera*) and the *solarium*: their intended disposition is not known.

By the late eleventh century, when we find our next surviving corpus of information regarding the form of ecclesiastical palaces, the residence of the abbot regularly was found on the upper story, not the ground floor, of a two-story structure. The division between sleeping and dining areas was maintained, but now the abbot was accorded his own private room or *camera*, which is distinguished in documents from a larger hall. At the abbey of St. Hubert, for example, Adelardus, abbot from 1034-1055, “*aedificavit cameram abbatis cum palatina domo.*”<sup>14</sup> At Croyland in 1091 a fire destroyed both the abbot's hall and his room—two distinct areas according to the contemporary account.<sup>15</sup> The *aula* or hall became an essential feature of the abbot's palace, whether for dining, conferences, or receptions. By the late twelfth century, the plan of the monastery at Bardney shows how a series of small chambers for the abbot's bedroom, wardrobe, second chamber, checker, and kitchen had sprouted from the main hall.<sup>20</sup> The idealized succinctness of the St. Gall plan gave way in many cases to an additive jumble of halls and service buildings. In large part those services had already been provided for on the St. Gall plan. But the planners had not foreseen the need for a private chapel for the abbot, which by the twelfth century became a standard feature of the abbot's residence. The chronicler of St. Blasien gives justification for this new feature. In 1108 Abbot Rustenus built an abbot's chapel, the chronicler says, because it was fitting for a Benedictine abbot to have such a place next to his rooms where he could spend time in quiet contemplation and study.”

As at Bardney, the abbots at Gloucester, Castle Acre, Westminster, and Battle acquired an extra great hall adjacent to their private rooms, perhaps for holding audiences.” The larger halls may have been reserved for banquets and grand gatherings. John, abbot of Evesham from 1282 to 1316, built a number of separate halls, one of which was known as the *domus receptiones*.<sup>23</sup> A similar arrangement of

spaces is documented in early fourteenth-century Avignon and is seen in thirteenth-century papal palaces in Italy." At both Avignon and Viterbo, for example, a series of rooms of diminishing size led from the banqueting hall to an antechamber to the pope's bedroom, and then to the bedroom itself. I would suggest that their relative size and arrangement lies rooted in the forms of medieval abbots' palaces.

Similar forms and functions may have applied to bishops' palaces, too, but in this case our evidence is more circumstantial. Owing to their continuous use, bishops' palaces have tended to be radically remodeled or rebuilt over the centuries. Even when their facades survive intact, as at Auxerre or Salerno, their interior organization and service buildings are not well documented. Still, as we have seen, their formal iconography is often tied to that of other ecclesiastical palaces. Like abbots' residences, they usually contained their own great halls, as at Norwich,<sup>25</sup> and their own chapels as well; documented examples include Cologne, Luttich, Huysburg, and York.<sup>26</sup> Also like abbots' residences, bishops' palaces were not isolated architectural blocks, but were connected to their own kitchens, as documented in the eleventh century at Paderborn, or to the larger, monastery-like structures required by the cathedral canons.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Leo, bishop of Atina in Lucania until 1092, is remembered for having built the bishop's rooms on the western side of the cathedral, along with a dormitory and refectory for the brethren, their kitchen and bakery, and a guest house for noble visitors." In other instances, Bishop Bernardus of Civitas Calinense near Capua built his church and the surrounding houses in which the bishop lived with his clerics;<sup>28</sup> in 1220 the house of the bishop and of all the canons at Salisbury is referred to as a single entity;<sup>29</sup> and Bishop Heubert of Eichstatt built his palace in the cloister of the canons."

The actual location of these complexes varied from city to city. Besides being located next to the cathedral like later abbots' palaces, they are also found behind the cathedral, as at Faenza and Todi, and even opposite it, as at Como, Parma, and Citta di Castello. In towns where bishops acted as heads of the civic government, we also hear of fortified towers and even prisons."

Many bishops possessed their own loggias which almost invariably functioned as the site of a tribunal.<sup>30</sup> At Ely in 1252, Matthew of Paris singled out the bishop's loggia as a particularly noteworthy feature." The term he used to indicate the loggia, *thalamus*, is that used in an inscription which marked Boniface VIII's Benediction loggia of 1300 at the Lateran.<sup>31</sup> In fact, loggias or some sort of porticoed facade were an essential feature of thirteenth-century papal palaces both in and outside

Rome. At Rieti, Orvieto, and Viterbo, for example, the local communes erected what amounted to an outsized abbot's or bishop's palace for visiting popes. In each case, the papal palace was built to the right of the cathedral and was attached to the cathedral transept, leaving room for a piazza in front of the palace. In order to accommodate the functioning of the complex papal bureaucracy, the palaces included halls and offices, chapels and private quarters for the pope, his doctor, the chancellor, treasurer, chaplain and almoner, kitchens and wine cellars, smithies, stables and storerooms.<sup>26</sup>

With the resultant rambling nature of the papal palaces in Viterbo and its great successor in Avignon, we have come a long way from the modest abbot's residence on the St. Gall plan, but, for the most part, all the services necessary to a pope's palace were already included in the overall plan of the monastery. What is more, the porticoes surrounding the St. Gall residence had signalled its own palatial significance. With the move from behind to in front of the monastic church, as at Cluny, the abbot's residence began to assume palatial visibility as well. The various ways in which these palaces then affected bishops' and papal palaces are still to be explored, but in the end, the St. Gall plan and its representation of the abbot's residence will continue to serve as the foundation upon which we will need to erect any history of medieval ecclesiastical palaces.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Walter Horn and Ernest Barn, *The Plan of St. Gall, A Study of the Architecture Economy of, Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

<sup>2</sup> See Horn, I, 321-24

<sup>3</sup> Rule of St. Benedict, Chapter 53, cited and translated by Wolfgang Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe, The Architecture of the Orders* (London, 1972), p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Horn, I, 24-25, like Dopsch, sees the plan as a product of the monastic reform movement and dates the prototype of the plan to 817.

<sup>5</sup> Edicts of the First Synod of Aachen, Chapter XXV, cited and translated in Braunfels, 235.

<sup>6</sup> Horn's reconstruction, I, figures 257, 258 A, B, C, and 259 A, B, C, ignores bath palace tradition and the need to allow sufficient light to enter the upper story of the building.

<sup>7</sup> Horn, I, 322

\* Karl M. Swoboda, "Palazzi antichi e medievali," *Bollettino del Centro di Studi per lo storia dell'architettura*, XI (1957): 6-14 and "Problem of the Iconography of Late Antique and Early Medieval Palaces." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XX (1961): 79 and 84.

Richard Krauthcimer, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980), p. 122.

<sup>10</sup> Gottlieb Leinz, *Die Loggia Rucellai, Ein Beitrag zur Typologie der Familienloggia*, Diss. Rheinischen-Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn 1977, p. 19-20. A porticus is documented in 1236 and a verone in 1258.

<sup>11</sup> For a useful summary, see Braunfels, p. 41

<sup>12</sup> Horn, II, figures 520A and 519A.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted by Horn, I, 22

<sup>14</sup> Braunfels, 59-62. Joan Evans, *The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny* (Cambridge, 1938; reprint Farnborough, 1972), p. 138, says that the abbot's chapel was dedicated in 1118, but there is no surviving information regarding the form of the abbot's house.

<sup>15</sup> See Harold Brakspear, "The Abbot's House at Battle," *Archaeologia*, LXXXIII (1933), Pl. XXXI, and Horn, II, Figure 516 and 518.

<sup>16</sup> Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts für Deutschland, Lothringen und Italien*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1938; reprint, New York, 1971), no. 1193. Abbot Donatianus (died 1180) "*fabricavit etiam cellarium et domum suprapositam, que domus abbatis cenaculum nuncupatur.*"

<sup>17</sup> Otto Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland, vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1955-60), no 3488. "*Ipse [Alex, prior of Peterborough] insuper aedificavit . . . et solarium magnum od hostium camerae abbatis, et subtus cellarium . . .*"

<sup>18</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen Deutschland*, no. 1771. Abbot Adclardus (1034-1055) "*aedificavit refectorium fratrum cum dormitorio, aedificavit cameram abbatis cum palatina domo*"

<sup>19</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen England*, no. 1176. "*aula etiam abbatu et eius camera . . .*"

<sup>20</sup> Brakspear, Pl. XXXI

<sup>21</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen Deutschland*, no. 185. "*Considerans enim, quod quilibet abbatum praecepit ordinis s. Benedicti speculem debet habere capellam contraquam mansioni suae, ubi tempore placito contemplationi et studio vacare possit.*"

<sup>22</sup> For Battle, see Brakspear, Pl. XXXII

<sup>23</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen England*, no. 1657. "Fecit etiam egregiam aulam abbatis, cuius muri omnes de lapidibus perfecti sunt, erexitque super illam mirabilis operis lectura, meremio factam plumboque coopertam, et porticum ad ostium aulae praedictae cum volta, et super illum domum receptionis, plumbo similiter coopertam. Huius itaque aulae coquinam adlunxit, quomodo de lapidibus decenter totam perfecit. Fecit etiam pantriam iuxta coquinam, et cameram abbatis depictam rum historia Ioseph cum parva capella sibi annexa; et sub hac camera volta fortis erigitur, ubi nunc est cellarum vini . . ."

<sup>24</sup> See Sylvain Gagniere, *The Palace of the Popes at Avignon*, (Nancy, 1975) and Gary M. Radke, *The Papal Palace in Viterbo*, Diss. New York, 1980, pp. 235-43.

<sup>25</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen England*, no. 3257. "Idem [Herbertus episcopus 1091-1119] etiam omnes domus episcopalis excepta magna aula construxit."

<sup>26</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen Deutschland*, no. 730 "Cuius rei testes hodieque sunt omnes Colonienses, testis est domus episcopalis immo palatium quod ad perfectum decorem edificavit [Rainoldus, archbishop of Cologne in 1167], plurimis capellis sursus et deorsum in eo dispositis . . .;" no. 1841 "in cappellam, quae cubiculo [W'azonis, eleventh-century bishop] contigua est . . .;" no. 643 "Est autem locus excelsus, fuitque in eo curio Halberstadensis episcopi domuique episcopali adherens capella, quam prior Burchardus episcopus devotissime construxerat." Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen England*, no. 4998. Roger, archbishop of York from 1154 to 1181 "chorum ecclesiae cathedralis s. Petri Eboracum cryptis eiusdem, et palatium archiepiscopale in Eboraco, quod iuxta ipsam ecclesiam situm est, de novo construxit. Condidit etiam capellam s. Sepulcri ad ianuam palatii . . ."

<sup>27</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen Deutschland*, no. 1036. In the eleventh century, Bishop Meinwercus "terminum autem claustralem quieti et utilitati monasterii congruum late prefixit et, quicquid in giro per circuitum monasterii a via publica, quo in urbem iter est rectum, usque in coquinam episcopi adiacet, iuri ipsius ecclesiae oddixit;" no. 1619 speaks of Bishop Henry II Leodiensis, who "innoverat etiam edificia per curios episcopales et quedam a fundamento edificavit." According to Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen England*, no. 3999, Bishop Anlano of Saint Asaph erected special quarters for the canons. "Et quia Assavensis ecclesia cathedralis est tunc diocesi posita in exemplum, sacris canonibus adhaerens statuimus, ut domus decani et canonicorum quamcunq; id fieri poterit, prope et circa ecclesiam construantur. Et ut canonici in claustris ambitu et ecclesiae copas et almucia deferant canonice honestatis, iuxta quod in ecclesiis aliis cathedralibus per provinciam fieri consuevit."

<sup>28</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen Deutschland*, no. 2108. "In eadem ecclesia construxit cameras, in quibus ipse, et suum successores habitarent iuxta maiorem ecclesiam ab occidentali parte, fecit totam domum ubi nunc est collo vinaria; fecit et dormitorium canonicorum; fecit et refectorium ad utilitatem fratrum, fecit et coquinam cum pistrino, et palatium ad susceptionem nobilium virorum."

<sup>29</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen Deutschland*, no. 2/41. "Fabricavit ecclesiam et domos competentes, in quibus episcopus cum suis clericis habitarenti."

<sup>30</sup>Lehmann-Brockhaus. *Lateinische Schriftquellen England*, no. 4075. "Eodem anno [1220] auctoritate domini papae, Salesbiriensis ecclesia cathedralis infra castrum silo pro. cinctum, translata est ad veterem Salesbiriuni, iuxta cursum aquae fluentis constituta. Et iam domus episcopi quam omnium canonicorum circumquaque collocatae sunt."

<sup>31</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus. *Schriftquellen Deutschland*, no. 338. "Igitur noster ille [Hebertus episcopus], dirutis antiquis et inverteatis veterum episcoporum aedificiis, nova subvexit, eaque in australi monasterii latere, ubi prius claustrum nostrum erat, apposuit."

<sup>32</sup> The Vescovado in Ivrea, Italy, and the Palazzo Vescovile in Citta di Castello still have their medieval towers. Two documented examples include Hamburg (Lehmann-Brockhaus. *Schriftquellen Deutschland*, no. 516. "Aliam deinde rith domum lapideam fecit, turribus et propugnaculis valde munitam.") and Utrecht (no. 1486. "Episcopum Godefridum in turri episcopali obsederunt."). The bishop's palace in Modena (Giuseppe Pistoni, *Il palazzo arcivescovile di Modena*, [Modena, 1976], p. 27, n. 70) included a prison.

<sup>33</sup> Leinz, pp. 18-21

<sup>34</sup> Lehmann-Brockhaus *Lateinische Schriftquellen England*, no. 1582. "Idem quoque episcopus regale palatium cum thalamis et aliis aedificiis ad idem pertinentibus in curia sua Elyensi gloriose aedificaverat . . ."

<sup>35</sup> See Charles Mitchell, "The Lateran Fresco of Boniface VIII," *154500 Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIV (1951), 1-6.

<sup>36</sup> Krautheimer, p. 203 and Radke, pp. 232-35.



Medieval Warrior. Pen and ink by Margaret Meek.

# Benedictine Child Rearing: Architectural Clues from the St. Gall Plan

by PATRICIA A. QUINN

Oblation, the practice whereby parents donated their sons to the monastery,' formed a major means of recruitment for the Benedictines in the Carolingian period.' Specially designated monks, called the masters of the children, collectively supervised, educated, and cared for the oblates from the time of their donation, usually between ages five and seven, until the time of profession at fifteen. Some glimpses of oblates' lives during those first seven to ten years emerge from the *Rule* and its Carolingian expositions,' the reminiscence of a contemporary like Walafrid Strabo,<sup>4</sup> or canons from the Synods of Aachen of 816 and 817.<sup>5</sup> These sketch such features as the circumstances of dedication, parental rights, and protocol in school. They do not, however, present a broad picture of the methods or philosophy that masters adopted with their charges. Neither do they suggest by themselves the quality of relationships that developed among oblates, and between oblates and their masters. No definitive treatise provides the historian with a description of the Benedictines' collective program of child rearing.<sup>6</sup> That overview lies in what at first appears an unlikely place, namely, the St. Gall Plan.

## The Plan

The St. Gall Plan presents two recurring themes specific to the context of child rearing—the segregation of children from adults, and the control placed on children's physical realms of activity. Numerous architectural forms combine to reinforce these themes, among which zoning and elimination of private space constitute the most frequent and effective of techniques.

An insistence on the separation of children and adults in monastic living quarters stems from the *Rule*,<sup>7</sup> where Benedict imitated his predecessor Basil:

Of course they must not be immediately placed in the community of the brothers or arranged among them ... but they must be reared in holiness as the communal children of the brothers. Besides this the residences and the activities of the children ... must be separated.<sup>4</sup>

The second theme of the Plan involving residents' lack of privacy belongs to the Benedictines' own repertoire of innovations in monastic living arrangements. Its implications shaped the experience of all monastic residents, but especially that of the institution's most impressionable members, the children.

### The Novitiate

Our attention focuses on the small cloister southeast of the church's east end. The inscription on the Plan written in the cloister's four corners reads *Hoc claustro oblati pulsantib(us) adsociantur*. This area is the novitiate and while one of its resident groups, the oblates, are familiar to us, the other group, the *pulsantes*, require mentioning here.

The term "*pulsantes*" applied to those who entered the monastery of their own volition, that is to say, those who "knocked" at the monastery's door. These novices were secular individuals, usually adolescents or young men, who felt a religious vocation.<sup>5</sup> Their residence in the novitiate, unlike the oblates', lasted less than a year,<sup>10</sup> and although they too were engaged in training for the monastic life, their education took place under the constant attendance of a tutor monk in the company of the adult brothers." While the *pulsantes* slept, ate, and probably spent the daily periods of personal prayer in the novitiate, their preparation for profession largely took place apart from that of the oblates."

One additional class of persons resided in the novitiate along with oblates and novices. These were the masters of the children, whose presence can be verified by an inscription on the plan in the westernmost room of the cloister's south wing, *mansio magistrorum*.

The novitiate resembles the cloister complex of the monks in many of its general aspects, the most obvious of which is the building's orientation around a rectangular courtyard. This particular feature which became a commonplace of Benedictine institutions represents a unique Carolingian contribution to the physical layout of a monastic settlement.<sup>11</sup> The novitiate comprises a miniature version of the complex of the adult monks. a fact not at all accidental.

## Zoning

One of the most striking of overall impressions one receives from an examination of the St. Gall Plan is the designer's\* care to segregate persons and occupations to three zones which are clearly defined by architectural barriers. A second motive is recognizable in the placement of entrances within those buildings, for these barriers serve also to control and direct the flow of traffic throughout the complex.

Three zones form the large plan: one zone encloses the living space of the monks, one constitutes an area largely occupied by the monastery's *Jamuli* (the serfs and hired laborers of the institution), and a third zone is clearly designated for the use and housing of guests at the settlement..

The first zone encloses those professed to the monastic vocation and those aspiring to it; in other words, all the individuals within the first zone practice the special lifestyle of the cenobite. This area constitutes the heart of the complex in terms of the plan as well as in terms of the institution's purpose.

To the south and the west of the monks' zone lay the workshops, the monastery's storage barns, and the residences of the *Jamuli*. In this area the *jamuli* might carry out their daily labors without ever engaging one of the brothers. Each group's respective daily occupations and schedule, plus the physical barrier of the cloister wall, kept religious and secular persons isolated from one another.

The third zone of the St. Gall Plan's monastery lies north and northwest of the church. The three guest houses occupy a large portion of this area; one housed the poor, one provided for visiting monks, and a third serviced distinguished guests. The outer school is also numbered among the buildings of this zone. Lying on the north-central edge of the monastery grounds, this school for secular children was further isolated from the other building by a fence or hedge. Finally, the abbot's house, at the eastern extremity of this zone,<sup>18</sup> marked the boundary between this area for outsiders to the monastic settlement and the territory relegated to the brothers, novices, and the monastery's children.

### The Novitiate Precinct

Inscribed within the first zone at this northeast end, the novitiate recalls in its shape the larger rectangle of the monks' cloister. In

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See the Plan of St. Gall on pp. 8-9. The first zone is numbered 1-9 and 13-19; the second zone is 20-40 and X; the third zone is 10-12 and 31 - Ed.

reference to function, however, the activities of the small rectangle must be broadly identified as educational, as well as liturgical. All the children's activities, save those occasions of group worship in the church or an occasional dinner in the monks' refectory on certain feast days, were carried on within the buildings of this precinct. As witnessed already in the divisions of the overall site plan, a definite formula guides the subdivision of space in the St. Gall Plan—difference of function dictated separation of buildings.

The novitiate area remains quite clearly distinct from the realm of the adult monks; that is to say, it does not constitute a sub-space within the brothers' cloister complex but is architecturally distinct and physically removed from the living space of the adult members of the monastic community.<sup>16</sup> The novitiate precinct also achieves its isolation from that of the brothers through devices of entrance and exit. Only one entrance exists to the novitiate, from the northwest corner of the cloister's covered walkway. The only buildings to and from which direct passage to the novitiate exists are the novitiates' bathhouse and kitchen, and the church. Even the infirmary, which occupies the northern half of the total complex east of the church, is completely isolated from the novitiate by lack of means of egress. The infirm brothers and the occupants of the novitiate do not share the chapel which divides the building complex. Rather, the chapel itself is divided in half by a wall. The oblates, *pulsantes*, and the *magistri* used the east end while the infirm had access to the west end. A simple walk from the infirmary to the novitiate required routing oneself through the church or walking around the entire infirmary and novitiate.

One additional feature of the novitiate's isolation may be noted, specifically that it is cut off from the work precinct of the monastery by the cemetery. One can speculate about the psychological repercussions of the children's situation between the infirmary and the cemetery, that is, between the dying and the dead. Clearly, however, their site buffered them from the adult spheres on all sides. The suggestion that the children's living quarters remain apart from those of the adult brothers echoed throughout monastic rules, commentaries, and *capitula* since before the time of St. Basil." Until the organization of a monastic settlement on the lines suggested by the St. Gall Plan during the Carolingian reform movement, however, this segregation had not been so thoroughly implemented in an architectural scheme.<sup>16</sup>

Besides its isolation from the work areas and the adult monks' living quarters, the novitiate was removed from the area reserved for secular guests. In fact, a glance at the Plan reveals that it lay situated at

the extreme opposite of the monastery's gate. Whereas a hallway adjoining the church and the cellar of the monks' cloister complex constituted a neutral area where monks might meet secular guests or members of their families, no such meeting place figures on the Plan for the novitiate complex. While this circumstance may be explained as an omission due to the copying of the Plan, or one based on lack of writing space,<sup>18</sup> the other elements defining the novitiate's isolation would suggest that the absence of a neutral meeting place of secular persons and the children in the area of their living quarters was deliberate.<sup>20</sup> The only adults allowed to visit the children's precinct were the abbot and the prior; the only adults allowed to reside within their precinct were their masters and the novices." Their liturgical activities in the church notwithstanding, the children remained effectively sequestered off from any adult zone within the settlement, be it a work precinct, the living quarters of the brothers, or the area reserved for secular outsiders.

### Physical Characteristics of the Location

Still other features of the novitiate's location on the Plan demonstrate the monks' foresight on account of the children—and their occasional lack thereof. For example, the novitiate lies southeast of the church. In this location it was likely to receive a maximum of sunlight, without any taller buildings to cast shadows on the area. The winds of a trans-Alpine location most frequently blow out of the west and northwest, and for both directions the novitiate complex was shielded by the church and double-storied monks' cloister complex on the west and northwest, and the infirmary on the north. While protected from winds and enjoying the maximum exposure to the sun, the residents of the novitiate did, however, lack a covered entranceway leading to the church. Although only a small area spans the distance between the church and the entrance to the *porticus* of the novitiate (approximately 40 Carolingian feet), on a rainy day this open span was enough to expose the children to a drenching. Anyone who has stood inside a stone church for any length of time on a cold or rainy day can immediately grasp the disadvantage and health hazard this open stretch involved.

The proximity of the infirmary to the novitiate also raises some questions regarding the health sense of the designers of the St. Gall Plan, especially in regard to the children. In sharing the same area with the infirmary, the residents of the novitiate were more exposed to the possibility of illness. While the infirm and the children normally did not

visit each other's vicinity," the germ-carrying vermin that resided in the building walls, cellars, and straw roofs did not have to respect the limits set down and built in for human traffic. If one considers the quality of medieval medicine," proximity to the infirmary bestowed no particular advantage upon the children even in cases of emergency. Other aspects of care for *oblats* mitigate the initial negative impression one draws from the novitiate-infirmary layout. Their discussion follows later when we examine the individual rooms of the novitiate.

A subtle feature of the novitiate complex concerns its scale, which was more attuned to a child's step than the large monks' cloister. The area enclosed by the novitiate and its bathhouse and kitchen measures approximately one quarter of that occupied by the adult monks. Consequently, the children were not required to walk distances in their daily rounds equivalent to those covered by the adult monks. For the older boys this made little difference, but for the five to seven year olds the smaller scale of the novitiate was an important feature. They were thereby enabled to imitate the daily round of the adults and yet, to do so in a space more attuned to small legs. The scale of the novitiate served a double purpose, the advantage to the children constituting only one-half of the story. Advantages also accrued to the children's caretakers; these become more obvious when describing the individual chambers within the novitiate.

## Motives

At this point of the discussion a review of the features which contributed to the novitiate's unique position in the total monastery complex suggests that the planners had certain definite motives in mind when choosing this location. The isolation of the children was designed both to protect and to control them in their relations with the adults. Their placement outside the brothers' cloister discouraged the development of a close relationship between a brother and a child. Any such relationship, dangerous because of its potential homosexual overtones, constituted a distraction from the monk's and oblate's spiritual duties, even if exercised in a spirit of innocence and discretion.<sup>24</sup> Also, one cannot forget that a fulfillment of the monastic ideal required a spirit of communality before personal interest. Close personal relationships, especially tempting in the case of childish charm, threatened this basic monastic tenet.

As a group, as well as individually, the children constituted a potential distraction to the older brothers. Their lessons required sing-

ing and recitation out loud. On occasion they enjoyed playtime.<sup>28</sup> Such activities, whether delightful interruptions or annoying spectacles, would attract attention had the brothers not occupied a separate residence. One can imagine the extent of the distraction which a group of children reciting the psalms could cause the brothers, when Benedict in the Rule recommends that even one brother reading alone remove himself from the earshot of the other brothers lest he disturb them.<sup>29</sup>

The control of the children constituted a further reason for their isolation in the novitiate. If the children had been housed with the brothers, the occasions for confusion would have been multiplied by the circumstances of numbers. In small groups persons are more easily regulated and absentees more rapidly detected.<sup>30</sup> Since they were not ordinarily allowed in the brothers' quarters, children trespassing into this zone would be immediately noticed. Likewise, any adult other than the masters, the abbot, or the prior entering the area designated as the children's would be detected almost immediately.<sup>31</sup>

The single entrance to the novitiate stands at the farthest end of the cloister from the children's dormitory. Had a visitor any intention of communicating with a child during the night hours when children and masters were sleeping, his chances of detection would be increased by the single long route of access. The deans on their nightwatch would simply have to patrol the one entrance to the complex.

The novitiate was carefully segregated from the secular areas of the monastery. In this instance the segregation involved not only adults but also other children. The outer school of the monastery, located within this secular zone, represented one of the compromises in the St. Gall Plan. According to the reformers of the synods of 816 and 817, the monks were to instruct no one but the *oblato*.<sup>32</sup> From the Plan of St. Gall the monks appear not to have ceased instructing the sons of secular lords but, instead, to have conducted their studies in an area completely separated from that of the monastery's children. Oblati were denied free social interaction with other children though the existence of two schools. Walafrid Strahó's reminiscences of his school days at ninth-century Reichenau attest to such a separation.<sup>33</sup> This circumstance, as well as a different curriculum in the inner school, constituted two features insulating the oblato especially against secular "contamination."<sup>34</sup> Selectively denied information about alternative lifestyles, that is, those outside the monastery, oblato were disinclined to seriously consider leaving the cloister when reaching the age of profession. The presence in the novitiate of thepulsantes who had actively

denied their secular occupations to enter the monastery could also reinforce the children's negative assessment of life outside the institution.

The issue of leaving the monastery, in fact, received a great deal of attention at just this time when a monk of Fulda known as Godescalc the Saxon brought suit against his abbot, no less a personality than Hrabanus Maurus." Godescalc charged that Hrabanus Maurus had forced him to remain in the monastery against his will on the grounds that the vow of oblation made by his parents outweighed Godescalc's personal decision to leave. Although Godescalc appears in the various contemporary accounts of the incident as an eccentric, at times heroic, and probably an exceptional personality (the monks at Fulda had nicknamed him "Fulgentius" when he was an oblate), his decision may not have been such an unusual one. The institution of two schools, while inefficient in terms of the use of facilities, served as a further feature toward insulating the *oblato* from ideas such as those presented by Godescalc.

A child who, despite all the precautions against his leaving the monastery, attempted an escape would have had a difficult time leaving the settlement unnoticed. The same features which prevented outsiders from penetrating the precinct of the novitiate served to keep the residents of this complex inside it. A child unaccompanied by at least two other persons, one of whom would have had to have been an adult brother, signaled immediately that something was amiss. If one assumes the settlement as enclosed by a wall or fence, only a few possible routes to the outside could have been used. An examination of the St. Gall Plan reveals that any route chosen would have led through "populated" or off-limits areas where the chance of detection was high.

A parent suffering from a change of heart about his or her child's dedication would have had a difficult time retrieving the child without the brothers' cooperation. Accusations against the monks, claims that the brothers had lured their children into the monastery, had appeared in the Carolingian courts." Whether these suits represented the predicament of distressed parents whose other heirs died or the objections of those whose sons independently chose a religious vocation, the retrieval of their child was no simple matter. Kidnapping attempts were considerably complicated by the territorial definitions and access patterning within a monastic settlement which implemented the spatial controls of the St. Gall Plan.

One must not forget, in this discussion of escape attempts and parental kidnapping, that others had interests in runaways. Child slavery remained a lucrative business during the Carolingian period.

Young boys constituted the principal category of slave exported from Frankish lands to Spain and other parts of the Mediterranean world. Liutprand of Cremona, a ninth-century observer, described boys' capture and subsequent castration at Verdun, a site he called "the great eunuch factory" of the West."

## Summary

This analysis of the placement of the novitiate in the overall site plan demonstrates the consistent and subtle use of architectural features to promote and insure the "protective" isolation of oblates. But for what purposes? Donated children, relegated to the areas where they learned monastic discipline by imitation, nonetheless remained in accord with Benedict's mandate of segregating brothers and boys. Oblates, denied intercourse with secular persons, looked to their masters and to one another for their intellectual and emotional needs. The creation of strong interpersonal dependencies among oblates seems a primary aim of the segregation and control themes of the St. Gall Plan. A look at the organization of the cloister complex of the novitiate itself continues to reinforce this impression.

## Inside the Novitiate Cloister<sup>s</sup>

The novitiate proper includes the small building south of the apse and the southern half of the building directly tangent with the church's east end. The smaller rectangular edifice is subdivided into two rooms of equivalent area, the northernmost serving as the novitiate kitchen (*coquina*), and the southern room constituting a bath house (*balnearii domus*). The second area of concern to us, the cloister of the novitiate and the various chambers surrounding it, constitutes the living quarters of the *pueri* and their masters. This complex included six rooms: the *camera*, the refectory, the *mansio magistri eorum*, the sick room, the dormitory, and warming room, as well as the eastern half of the double-apsed chapel lying on the cloister's north side.

## The Porticus

The rooms facing onto the cloister and the half of the chapel accessible to the residents of the novitiate are connected by a walkway which continues around all four sides of the central square and

separates the rooms from this open-air core. The Plan contains no indications of direct connections between adjacent rooms; one may assume that all routes of access within the novitiate pass through the porticus. Conveniently, this walkway was a covered one, insuring that no one would get wet in the event of rain or snow and reducing the likelihood of falls on a slippery or icy pavement.

Through situating living quarters around a square central court the design coordinated well to a communal lifestyle. For one thing, it could be expected to encourage among the residents a sense of shared ownership and, hence, shared responsibility for the upkeep and surveillance of the semi-private space at the complex's core. This phenomenon of shared responsibility can be observed in the behavior of residents in a modern apartment complex consisting of individual private residences;<sup>26</sup> it does not, consequently, appear unsafe to assume a similar reaction when substituting monastic residents and their quarters for secular ones. In the instance of a Benedictine monastery, it might also be noted that all the surrounding rooms constituted shared space. In the cloister scheme the porticus would further promote a sense of shared ownership and responsibility among the residents because it facilitates the easy recognition of persons who belong (and those who do not belong) in the area.

The duplication of the cloister arrangement in the novitiate functions as a subtle yet extremely important technique in predisposing the child recruits to the adult values of the settlement. In other words, even the very form of the architecture of the novitiate constituted an instructive tool in the oblates' rearing experience. Since the St. Gall Plan presents one of the first arrangements of monastic living quarters around a central, rectangular cloister,<sup>27</sup> and its creation can be directly linked to the monastic reform at Aachen, it is clear that the shape of the novitiate derived from the pedagogical potential of its form.

None of the space of the cenobitic monastery could be characterized as private, although rooms possessing varying degrees of semi-privacy and completely public spaces are readily located in the St. Gall Plan. In the case of the novitiate, one finds a semi-private enclave inhabited solely by recruits, the majority of whom were children, plus a few masters. Rooms within this enclave are designated by respective activities, a feature which limited the amount of personal autonomy individuals might exercise within that space. On the other hand, in an area such as the *porticus*, naturally well lit and large enough for lingering yet undefined as far as specific function, the opportunity for personal choice of activity was higher than in, say, the chapter.

The psychological importance of the porticus to a cenobitic institution derives from its provision of a "breathing space" within the confines of the complex of living quarters. Here a degree of privacy could be found, a situation not so easily accessible in the group living quarters, group dining quarters, and group discussion chamber. The existence of such an area in which an individual could escape specific task-related demands on his attention, one where he had license to direct his own thoughts, is a requirement especially essential in an institution where daily activity centers around the group. Without such an area, individuals' problems would be more likely to "spill over" into other daily activities. In a communal-living arrangement the maintenance of status depends upon the maintenance of personal status depends upon the maintenance of status within the group; group status constitutes, therefore, a fundamental base of a member's psychological security, his sense of worth. Should, for instance, an oblate lose face on account of some form of misbehavior (for which he was publicly accused and upbraided in chapter), continued exposure to his comrades would constitute continued exposure to his shame and, as a result, perpetrate a sense of even lower group status on his part. Escape to the porticus could serve to lessen the pressure of peer exposure at such a time and, consequently, spare the offender any further loss of face.

The importance of the function of the porticus as an emotional buffer zone from the stress of communal living can be construed from the amount of area it included within the novitiate complex. Its circumference measures approximately one hundred twenty-five Carolingian feet (English equivalent = 13.3 in Carolingian feet; 147 feet) with a total area of roughly two thousand twenty-five Carolingian square feet. Since a porticus appears as a prominent feature of the two other areas of monastic living quarters, the large cloister and the infirmary, we cannot designate the need for such a buffer zone as a unique requirement of the novitiate residents, that is, of the children alone. Indeed, the need for an area in which the privacy of thoughts might be obtained becomes more pronounced as a child nears adolescence. This phenomenon has been observed for children reared collectively in the kibbutz<sup>38</sup> as well as those reared in a nuclear family situation.<sup>39</sup> Boys in the kibbutz studies evidenced an even greater need in this respect than girls.<sup>40</sup>

Neither ninth-century commentaries on the Rule nor *Con-suetudines* of the tenth and eleventh centuries hint at any separation of children according to age group. Therefore, one must assume that the older boys shared the same living quarters with children from five years

onward. Under such circumstances, the provision of a buffer zone within the novitiate would help to relieve bullying on the part of the older children against the younger."

Let us turn now to the buildings surrounding the *porticus*. The south wing of the cloister complex subdivides into two rooms, designated on the Plan as the *mansio magistrī eorum* and the *infirma domus*. Both chambers contain fireplaces and exits to adjoining lavatories.

The former chamber, as evidenced by its descriptive name, was designated for the use of the children's masters. We have already discussed the function of the cloister walkway as a buffer zone within the novitiate's communal quarters; the *mansio magistrī eorum* presents yet another such semi-private area. If the *porticus* benefitted the children, then the *mansio magistrī eorum* provided the adult masters (and possibly the adult *pulsantes*) with a retreat from their charges. It is likely that this room served as sleeping quarters for some of the masters," although according to later Customs, the masters not only slept in the same dormitory as the *oblati*, but actually slept in between their charges.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, the adults who accompanied the *pueri* throughout the monastery, instructed them, ate with them, and were obliged to constant supervision of the children also required an area where they might discuss in private the problems involved in their care, or simply retreat temporarily into adult companionship.

The room adjacent to the *mansio magistrī eorum* served as the novitiates's infirmary. As in their daily occupations, and in their dining and sleeping arrangements, the children were also segregated from the adult monks in illness. If one takes into consideration the rate of child mortality in the early Middle Ages and the greater vulnerability of children to certain diseases, their segregation from the adult infirmary appears to be a decision as much dictated by common sense as by the principles of Carolingian reformed monasticism.

Several other features of the novitiate's house infirmary further testify to monastic foresight regarding sick children. The two basic commandments of pediatric care might be summarized as, first, keeping the child warm and, second, making sure that he rests. Provisions for these fundamentals appear in the *infirma domus*. A fireplace occupies the southeast corner of this room; also, the southern orientation of the room insured a maximum of solar heat as well as light for the infirm. A lavatory leads directly off from this room, eliminating any need on the part of a patient to hazard exposure to the outside. This feature, of course, also lowered the possibility of patients contaminating their

companions.

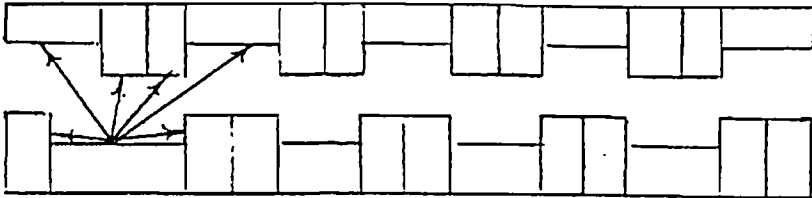
The situation of the infirmary insures a better chance for the second basic of pediatric care: that the patient remain quiet and rest as much as possible. The infirmary adjoins the dormitory of the children and the *mansio magistri eorum*, two rooms which during the day would have been relatively quiet or unused. The *porticus* also contributed to the patients' chances for sleep by cutting down the amount of noise travelling from other rooms about the novitiate.

These features, as well as the proximity of the novitiate to the infirmary proper and the house of the physician in the event of an emergency, indicate a very real concern on the part of the designers of the St. Gall Plan for the physical well-being of the *pueri*.

### *The East Wing—Dormitorium and Pisasalis*

The children's dormitory and a room designated *pisalis* make up the eastern section of the cloister rectangle. The *dormitorium*, a larger chamber than either of the rooms in the south wing, has a narrow passageway leading off from it at the southeast corner to a large lavatory (*necessarium*) of six compartments. In the sleeping quarters proper there appear no indications of beds, as in the case of the monks' dormitory; neither are there indications of this sort in the main infirmary building to suggest the number of occupants whom the novitiate was capable of housing. However, the children's dormitory covers one-fourth the space of the monks' sleeping quarters. If a similar arrangement of beds were used in the novitiate, the room could sleep approximately thirty persons."

The arrangement of the beds in the dormitory may be conjectured from that in the adult monks' dormitory. Even in this minor detail an incentive to communality can be detected. Through increasing the brothers' observation of one another, a sense of group identification is enhanced. As Figure 1 demonstrates, a monk was able to observe the



activity of at least six other brothers while in bed.<sup>45</sup> This increased surveillance promoted the group's self-regulation of institutional norms. One could expect a similar arrangement of beds in the novitiate's dormitory.

The sleeping quarters of the children were located next to the warming room, the *pisalis*. This large warming room to the dormitory's north contains an oven (*camina*) and an opening (*hic fumi exiunt*) through which the smoke was channeled out of the building. The southwest corner of the dormitory backs up against the fireplace of the infirmary. The novitiate's dormitory, a small chamber, could have been tolerably warmed from the body heat of the thirty persons sleeping there, in addition to the heat from the two adjoining rooms. The location of a fireplace in the room itself would have engendered problems with the smoke, an uncomfortable and potentially unhealthy situation for sleepers.<sup>46</sup>

Besides its part in heating the dormitory, the *pisalis* served as a small bakehouse where the morning bread was baked.<sup>47</sup> The distribution of this extra provision was one of the special privileges of the children.

### *The West Wing—Refectorium and Camera*

Two features are noteworthy concerning the location of the refectory in the novitiate: it lies just across the way from the novitiate's kitchen, and it is located in the wing closest to the exit from the complex.

The *camera* lies at the northwest corner of the complex, also in a position close to the novitiate's exit and the entrance to the church. The positioning of the refectory and the *camera* enabled the children to use the shortest and most time-saving route to and from the liturgical activities held in the church when these activities were interrupted during the day for meals and chapter. The chapter of the adult brothers, located at the northeast corner of their cloister, corresponds in position to the children's chapter by the fact of its proximity to the church, if not in actual location within the cloister rectangle. Nonetheless, the guiding principle dictating the location of the two chapter halls remains the same.

### Conclusions

One of the ingenious aspects of the St. Gall Plan lies in the

designers' incorporation of architectural features into the layout which served as psychological cues to group territoriality and a spirit of communality among the monastic residents. The chief component of the Carolingian reformers' architectural psychology, the cloister arrangement, appears only in those areas specifically designed for the use and residence of the monks and monastic recruits. Significantly the residence of the abbot, the institution's foremost individual, does not employ the cloister scheme.

In the area of our special interest, the novitiate, the implementation of the cloister arrangement incorporates a didactic purpose as well as a social one. Through a near-complete duplication in scheme in the novitiate to the adult cloister, yet one reduced in size to accommodate children's proportions, the novitiate developed as a space in which the pueri were cued to identify with the social principles of the institution while at the same time living apart from the adult monks.

The overall seclusion of the novitiate from the other zones of secular activity further reinforced the children's education in communal life by eliminating from their world any active knowledge of alternative lifestyles. One striking difference between the main cloister and the novitiate is the latter's absence of workshops where the recruits may have contacted the monastery's *famuli*. It cannot go without mentioning that this seclusion was also intended to protect the oblati and *pulsantes* from the sexual advances of the institution's adults, and also from the interference of outsiders. Invaders and robbers remained a potential danger, even to imperial monasteries. The children, located at the rear of the settlement, farthest from the gate, were in a position of relative security. One might even interpret the novitiate's proximity to the cemetery as an impediment to prowlers wandering into the area, and pueri considering wandering out of it.

The assignment of specific activities to the various rooms within the novitiate constituted a psychological safety valve, especially in regard to the smaller children. Collectively reared children on the contemporary kibbutz who, due to the building program of their settlement, were obliged to hold their lessons in the same room where they slept were unable to localize their problems with school. Because the same group shared the same space for different functions, the tension of problems encountered in one situation "spilled over" into the second. In a communal rearing situation this inability to localize a problem by reference to the architectural surroundings not only increased the child's anxiety by lack of physical escape, but also lowered the child's esteem among members of the group. The allocation of specific ac-

tivities to specific rooms within the novitiate prevented this compounding of anxiety among the younger children. In addition, the cloister walkway provided a second area where persons could temporarily escape the pressure of constant exposure to the group. Its benefits applied more directly to the older boys.

Finally, one notices that a real sense of concern for the children's physical well-being permeated the architectural features of the novitiate.<sup>4\*</sup> The positioning of the children's sickroom within the novitiate, the heating technique employed in the dormitory, the facilities for an extra morning provision of food, and the proximity of the residence to the physician's house are features which all testify to monastic foresight in this regard.

What conclusions were the novitiate's residents designed to draw, consciously or not, from these architectural safeguards to their physical and psychological well-being? The conclusion that the communal lifestyle of the monastery constituted a healthy and secure existence, one which, therefore, easily deserved their allegiance.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Chapter 59 of *Benedict's Rule for Monks* contains the provisions for donating children to the monastery:

If persons of noble rank wish to dedicate their sons to the service of God in the monastery, they shall make the promise for him, according to the following form: They shall bind his hand along with the written promise along with the consecrated host in the altar cloth and thus offer him to God. And in that document they shall promise under oath that their son shall never receive any of the family property, from them or any other person in any way whatsoever. If they are unwilling to do this, and desire to make some offering to the monastery for charity and the salvation of their souls, they may make a donation from that property, reserving to themselves the usufruct during their lives, if they wish. This shall all be done so clearly that the boy shall never have any expectations that might lead him astray, as we know to have happened. Poor people shall do the same when they offer their sons; and if they have no property at all they shall simply make the promise for their son and present him to the monastery with the host before witnesses.

From Oliver J. Thatcher and Edgar Holmes McNeal's translation of the *Rule in A Source Book for Medieval History* (New York: Scribner's, 1905), pp. 432-92; Latin Quotations from the Rule employ Rudolphus Hanslik, ed., *Benedicta Regula in Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 85, (Vienna, 1960), hereafter referred to as Reg. Ben.

<sup>1</sup> Oblation as an important means of recruitment lasted into the eleventh century for the Benedictines. A manuscript of eleventh-century Winchester, British Museum, Stowe MS 944, lists the names of all the monks of New Minster from 960 on with an identification of each as abbot, priest, deacon, boy, convert, or lay convert. It is easy to see that oblation still played a major role in forming the community there. See Christopher Brooke, *The Monastic World 1000-1300* (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 88, for further discussion and a depiction of folios 21v and 22 of the Stowe manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> *Pauli Warnefridi Diaconi Casinensis in sanctam regulam commentarium*, ed. by the Monks of Monte Cassino (Abbey Press, 1880), cited hereafter as Paul; R. Mittermueller, *Expositio regulae ab Hildemaro tradita*, Part III of *Vita et regula SS. D. Benedicti una cum expositione regulae a Hildemaro tradita* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1880), cited hereafter as Hildemar; for English translation see Mary Alfred Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism As Reflected in the Warnefrid-Hildemar Commentaries on the Rule* (New York: AMS Press, 1961).

<sup>3</sup> James Butler, trans., "The School Life of Walafrid Strabo," *Bibliotheca Sacra: A Theological Quarterly* 40 (1883), 152-72.

<sup>4</sup> Resolutions of the 816 council are the so-called Statutes of Murbach in Joseph Semmler, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 1 (Siegburg: Franciscum Schmitt, 1963), 437-30, under the title *Actuum praellinarium synodi primae Aquisgranensis commentationes sive Statuta Murbacensis*. Resolutions of the 817 council are the *Capitulare manasticum* in Alfred Boretius, MGH, Leg. Sec. II, cap. I (1883), 343-49; Albus, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 1 (1963), 469-810, under the title *Synodi secundae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica*.

<sup>5</sup> The early background of oblation is sketched in Johannes Nepomak Seidl, *Die Gott-Verlobung von Kindern in Moenchs-und Nonnen-Kloestern* (Munich: Verlag der J. J. Lentner'schen Buchhandlung, 1872) and Joseph R. Riepenhoff, *Zur Frage des Ursprungs der Verbindlichkeit des Oblateninstituts* (Emsdetten, Westfalen: Dissertations-Druckerei Heinrich und J. Lechte, 1939). For later applications in the High Middle Ages, see L. Oligier, "De pueris oblati in ordine minorum," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 8 (1913), 389-447.

<sup>6</sup> Reg. Ben., Chap. 63.

Basil, *Regulae sive Tractate interrogatio* 15, MPG, XXXI, col. 951 ff.; W.K.L. Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of St. Basil* (London, 1925), p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Reg. Ben., Chap. 58, 3: "Ergo si veniens perseveraverit pulsans et inlata sibi injurias et difficultatem ingressus post quattuor aut quinque dies visus fuerit patienter portare et persistere petitione suae . . ."

<sup>8</sup> Hildemar, p. 534; Paul, p. 440; Schroll, p. 66. A Carolinian innovation places such newcomers in a cell in the guests' house for the first two months of their year's novitiate, despite the *Rule's* recommendation: ". . . et sit in cella hospitem paucis diebus. Postea autem sit in cella novitiorum, ubi meditetur et manducet et dormiat." Reg. Ben. Chap. 58.

<sup>11</sup> This distinction between oblates' and novices' training began with their induction ceremony. See Riepenhoff, pp. 61-68.

<sup>12</sup> Reg. Ben., Chap. 58. See note 10 above.

<sup>13</sup> Walter Horn, "On the Origins of the Monastic Cloister." *Gesta* 12 (1973), 13-52 and especially n. 2, p. 48; Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). vol. I, pp. 240-46. The latter work is hereafter cited as PSG.

<sup>14</sup> Bernhard Bischoff first established Reichenau as the probable source of the plan in "Die Entstehung des Klosterplanes in palaeographischen Sicht." *Studien zur St. Galler Klosterplan*, ed. Johannes Duft, *Mitteilungen zur Vaterländischen Geschichte*, no. 42 (St. Gall: Historiker Verein der Kantons St. Gallen, 1962), pp. 67-78. Walter Horn discusses the authorship of the Plan and its relation to the 816 and 817 reform synods in "The Plan of St. Gall—Original or Copy?" *Ibid.*, pp. 79-102; "On the Authorship of the St. Gall Plan and the Relation of the Plan to the Monastic Reform Movement." *Ibid.*, pp. 103-27; and in PSG, pp. 9-34. Later, he mentions that the Plan's author, Haito, was himself a former oblate: PSG, 1:339.

<sup>15</sup> One cannot help but note that the abbot was the only individual allotted private housing in the complex. Privacy becomes an indicator of his status. See Horn's comments, PSG. 1:323-24.

<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to note in this connection that in certain later reformed orders that purposely excluded oblate, such as the Cistercians and Carthusians, the novitiate usually constitutes a subspace of the brothers' cloister. See Wolfgang Braunfels, *Abendlandische Klosterbaukunst* (Cologne: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, 1969), pp. 111-68.

<sup>17</sup> See Hugh G. Evelyn White. *The Monasteries of the Wādi 'N Nairūn*, 3 vols., Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, vol. 8 (New York, 1932), 2:154 and n.4. Abbot Macarius foretold the desolation of Scetis on account of this: "When ye see a cell built near the marsh, know that her desolation is nigh; when ye see trees, it is at the doors; but when ye see boys, take up your melotes and depart." Isaac the Priest confirmed this prediction in a later century: "Nolite huc pueros adducere. In Scetis enim quattuor ecclesiae propter pueros ad solitudinem sunt redactae." Also see *Ibid.*, pp. 192-93 for admission of boys at Scetis.

<sup>18</sup> Walter Horn and Ernest Born, "The Dimensional Inconsistencies of the Plan of Saint Gall and the Problem of the Scale of the Plan," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966), 298; PSG. 1:319-20.

<sup>19</sup> Horn, "The Plan of St. Gall—Original or Copy?" p. 81; Bischoff, p. 73

<sup>20</sup> From the Life of Saint Bavo, one can deduce monastic attitudes about visits from or to parents. An oblate returned home for a visit on his twelfth birthday, where his father had prepared a welcoming banquet. Suddenly, in the midst of the festivities, the child died. The chronicler held the father liable for his son's death by having taken him out of the monastery. See *Miraculorum S. Bavonis Candavensis Liber III*, in Jean Mabillon, ed. *Acto sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, 4 vols. (Paris. 1935-40), 2:415.

<sup>21</sup> Paul, pp. 492-93, 346, 136 and 272-73; Hildemar, pp. 419, 203, 333-35; Schroll, pp. 65, 143-45.

<sup>22</sup> When Lanfranc wrote his *Decreta* for the monastery at Christ Church, Canterbury in the eleventh century, he forbade the children to enter the infirmary even to prepare one of their deceased companions for burial. Every other group in the institution—monk, conversus, or famulus—buried its own. The exception in the case of the children may indicate a deeper medical or psychological awareness on the part of the adults. See *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. David Knowles (London: Thomas Merton & Sons Ltd., 1951), p. 124.

<sup>23</sup> Some background on the state of pediatrics in the Middle Ages is provided in Albrecht Peiper, *Chronik der Kinderheilkunde*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: VEB Georg Thieme, 1957). For Benedict's instructions on care of the sick, see Reg. Ben., Chap. 36; and Hildemar's additions, see Hildemar, p. 406. See also Horn's discussion, PSG, 1:314.

<sup>24</sup> Even a monk of the stature of Odo of Cluny, though innocent, would be called up on this account, as his biographer related. See John of Salerno, *St. Odo of Cluny*, trans. Dam Gerald Sitwell (London: Sheed and Ward, 1958), pp. 34-35. Odo, master of the children at Baume, forgot to carry a lantern when escorting two oblates to the lavatory one night. Hildemar outlined a series of precautions lest a master or other brother be isolated with a boy. See Hildemar, p. 333, and Horn's discussion, PSG, pp. 252-53. One would expect monks to be especially sensitive to this issue after Charlemagne's public declaration of 802:

For a most pernicious rumor has come to our ears that many in our monasteries have already been detected in fornication and in abomination and uncleanness. It especially saddens and disturbs us that it can be said, without a great mistake, that some of the monks are understood to be sodomites, so that whereas the greatest hope of salvation to All Christians is believed to arise from the life and chastity of the monks, damage has been incurred instead. Therefore, we also ask and urge that henceforth all shall most earnestly strive with all diligence to preserve themselves from these evils, so that never again such a report shall be brought to our ears. And let this be known to all, that we in no way dare to consent to those evils in any other place in our whole kingdom; so much the less, indeed, in the persons of those whom we desire to be examples of chastity and moral purity. Certainly, if any such report shall come to our ears in the future, we shall inflict such a penalty, not only on the guilty but also on those who have consented to such deeds, that no Christian who shall have heard of it will ever dare in the future to perpetrate such acts. (trans. in D.C. Monro, ed., *Laws of Charles the Great*, Reprints, 6, n.d., p. 21; MGH, Legum II, Capitulare Missorum Generale, Capit. 1, 1883, p. 94).

<sup>25</sup> The poems of Paul the Deacon provide an idea of the recreations in monastic schools. See "la poesia enigmistica e faceta di Paolo Diacono," *Medio Evo latino* (Modena, 1938), pp. 137-40. Also see Walafrid Strabo's description in Butler, p. 156.

<sup>26</sup> Reg. Ben., Chap. 48; Paul and Hildemar tell us that monks reading in the cloister sat apart from one another so that they might "give themselves up to contemplation or

tears." Schroll, p. 118; Paul, p. 396; Hildemar, p. 483. Also see my discussion of the function of the porticus for the oblates, above, pp. 43-45.

<sup>27</sup> Hildemar explained the rationale behind the children's constant surveillance: "Since this age is weak and unable to keep itself, it is necessary that it be helped by others; if thus the boy is aided while in these weaker years, he will become a stronger character and more solicitous in the service of God. But if he is not helped while young, he will always be tepid and negligent." (Schroll, p. 145; Hildemar, p. 578).

<sup>28</sup> The vigilance of the circatores was so efficient that even abbot Ruodman of Reichenau, when stealing into the dormitory of the monks at St. Gall (where he had himself been an oblate) on a nocturnal inspection of their monastic rigor, was caught immediately. For this amusing story, see Horn, PSG, 1:261.

<sup>29</sup> *Synodi Primae Aquilgranensis Decreta Authentica* in Semmler, v. 474: "Ut schola in monasterio non habeatur nisi eorum qui oblata sunt." See Horn on the outer school, PSG, 2:168-75.

<sup>30</sup> Butler, pp. 152-75; for the situation at Fulda, see Seidl, p. 45

<sup>31</sup> In the eleventh century Eadmer would still distinguish between oblates and adult entrants on this score: "Asserunt enim nutriti se nulla crimina commisisse, nec se in saeculi sordibus coinquinasse, sed quia mundam ab infantia vitam duxerunt, et in Dei servitio semper laboraverunt...At contra conversi, quia scientiam exteriorem habent..." (*S. Anselmi Similitudines*, cap.78, MPL 158, col. 649.)

<sup>32</sup> The account of Godescalc's battle is found in MGH Ep. 5, 519 ff; MGH conc. 2, 602-05; MGH Poetae lat. 3, 708 f..For Hrabanus Maurus' refutation see *Liber de oblatione puerorum*, MPL 107, col. 419-40.

<sup>33</sup> MGH leg. s.2, 1. 278; MGH leg.s.2, 1, 285.

<sup>34</sup> Charles Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe medievale*, 3 vols.(Bruges, 1955), vol. 1: *Peninsule iberique-France*, pp. 715-16

<sup>35</sup> See Horn's description of the rooms of this complex in PSG, 1:311-21

<sup>36</sup> This phenomenon of "territoriality" has been extensively researched by architect Oscar Newman in his *Defensible Space* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

<sup>37</sup> Already prior to the appearance of the St. Gall Plan the monasteries of Fontenelle, Fulda, and Monte Cassino employed a cloister arrangement though nowhere near so thorough-going an application as in the St. Gall Plan. See Braunfels, pp. 41-51. For Bishop Hildebod's cathedral at Cologne and Benedict of Anfone's at Inden, see Horn's discussions in "On the Origins of the Medieval Cloister," p. 45 and PSG, 1:241-47.

<sup>38</sup> In his *Children of the Dream* (London: Paladin, 1971), Bruno Bettelheim relates adolescents' need of private space to the kibbutzniks' attachment to a particular feature of nature, "a hill, a glen; or some other small place which, by loving, he had made his own." (p. 238). Melford Spiro also commented on adolescents' frustration at the kibbutz's lack

of private areas in *Children of the Kibbutz: A Study in Child Training and Personality* (New York: Schocken, 1969), pp. 288, 367-69.

<sup>39</sup> Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1963), pp. 202-05.

<sup>40</sup> Eleanor Emmons Maccoby and Carol Nagy Jacklin, *The Psychology of Sex Differences* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 268-71.

<sup>41</sup> Spiro remarked that scapegoating constituted a feature common to collective rearing in general. Spiro, pp. 170-71. Other mechanisms existed in the monastery to prevent this as well, including the practice of delation and the constant custody of the children by adults.

<sup>42</sup> Horn, PSG, 1:313.

<sup>43</sup> *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. Knowles, p. 117: ". . . lectos suos ante, vel inter, lectas magistrorum habere."

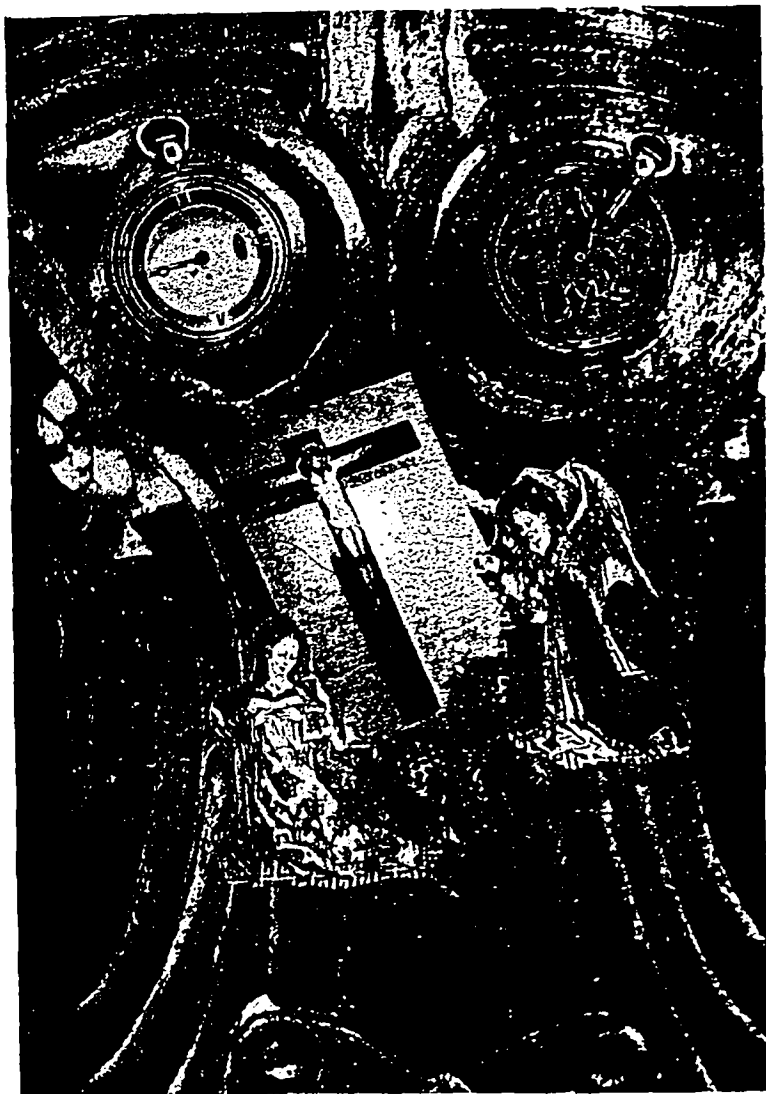
<sup>44</sup> My estimate exceeds Horn's estimate of twenty, PSG, 1:313, and Adalhard of Corbie's recommendation of twelve. See *Consuetudines Corbeenses*, Chap. 1, in Semmler, 1:366.

<sup>45</sup> Especially so since a night lantern burned all night. *The Decretals of Lanfranc*, ed. Knowles, p. 117: ". . . in nocte cum accensis candelis" and again in the same section ". . . postea accensa laterna, si nox est . . ." The necessary night lantern figures prominently in Odo's misadventure. See John of Salerno, trans. Sitwell, p. 34.

<sup>46</sup> The chimney was a product of eleventh-century ingenuity.

<sup>47</sup> Reinhardt, p. 14; Horn, PSG 1:313, 11:131.

<sup>48</sup> By the eleventh century at Cluny the monk Bernard would brag, ". . . difficile mihi videtur, ut ullus Regis filius majore diligentia nutriatur in palatio, quam puer quilibet parvulus in Cluniaco." (M. Herrgot, *Vetus disciplina Monastica*, Paris, 1726, p. 210).



**"Timeless Revelations." Electro-static imagery by George P. Kemp.**

# The Plan of Saint Gall and the Monastic Reform Councils of 816 and 817

by EDWARD A. SEGAL

Early in his reign, Louis the Pious gave imperial sanction to several legislative enactments which were designed to insure governmental unity and religious uniformity within the Frankish realm. From a political perspective the most notable decree was the *Ordinatio Imperii* of July, 817.<sup>1</sup> This document confirmed Louis' eldest son, Lothair, as co-emperor and successor to his father's title. Lothair's brothers received land within the empire, but remained kings without any share of the imperial dignity. Furthermore, they were to abide by the wishes of their older brother in all matters of foreign policy.<sup>2</sup> Louis' desire to maintain the unity of the empire after his death is evident from the *Ordinatio Imperii*. Virtually simultaneous legislation, known as the *Monastic Capitulary*, demonstrates an analogous concern with the establishment of a standard form of cenobitic life throughout the realm.<sup>3</sup> Although Louis was not the first Carolingian monarch to legislate in favor of monastic uniformity, it was only after his accession to power that such standardization became a major focus of imperial policy.<sup>4</sup> The ultimate objective of this paper is to examine the Plan of Saint Gall in light of the reform movement sponsored by Louis the Pious. But the history of this movement is complex, and the recent publication of previously unknown source material makes it essential to re-consider the two synods held at Aachen in 816 and 817. These councils marked the culmination of the reform movement, and without a detailed knowledge of the monastic legislation which they produced, it is impossible to arrive at definitive conclusions about their relationship to the creation of the Plan of Saint Gall.

## I

The *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, by Bernhard Simson, contains no mention of synodal activity at Aachen during the year 816.<sup>3</sup> This omission was an error, but the fact that a scholar of Simson's stature should make such a mistake is ample indication of the difficulties inherent in the sources for this synod.<sup>4</sup> Many of the Frankish annals do not note synods in either 816 or 817. The royal annals mention only the synod of 817, and concentrate upon the coronation of Lothair, providing no commentary about religious affairs.<sup>5</sup> Other pertinent narrative texts of a more literary nature are also fraught with difficulties. The biography of Saint Benedict of Aniane describes imperial confirmation of the *Monastic Capitulary*, but conflates the events of two years into a single synod.<sup>6</sup> Astronomus, as the unidentified author of the *Vita Hludovici* is called, describes the publication of a book standardizing canonical observance and lists a variety of privileges bestowed upon Benedict; yet he also condenses the event into the course of a single year.<sup>7</sup> The lengthy narrative poem *In Honorem Hludovici*, by Ermoldus Nigellus, provides valuable information about the ideological basis of Louis' reform policy, but once again there is no evidence for the existence of more than one synod.<sup>8</sup>

In fact, there is only one obscure annal among all of the numerous Carolingian narrative sources which clearly indicates that there were synods held at Aachen in both 816 and 817. This is the Fulda Codex of the *Annales Laurissenses Minores*.<sup>9</sup> In addition to its mention of two separate synods, this document informs us that at the first gathering two codices were compiled, regulating the lives of both canons and nuns. The author also states that monks were commanded to sing their psalms in accordance with Benedict of Nursia's *Rule*, but there is no indication that a written decree was promulgated for cenobites. It is our good fortune that both of the codices described in this annal have survived. Attributed to Amalarius of Metz, they are the *Institutio Canonicorum* and the *Institutio Sanctimonialium*.<sup>10</sup> Both in title and in subject matter they correspond to the description contained in the Fulda Codex. Their prologues, which indicate the third year of Louis' reign as their date of promulgation, provide corroborating documentation for the existence of a synod at Aachen in the summer of 816.

The annalistic evidence for a gathering at Aachen in the year 817 is much more substantial than for the previous year. This is due to the importance of Lothair's coronation, which unfortunately resulted in a corresponding lack of commentary about religious events. The poverty of Frankish documentation is amply indicated by the fact that, of all

the relevant medieval texts, it is not a Carolingian source but one from the eleventh century which comes closest to the modern scholarly consensus in its depiction of these synods. This is the *Chronicon* written by Ademar of Chabannes.<sup>13</sup> Ademar based his work upon a variety of extant texts, and only after the year 830 is his work considered to be independent. Nevertheless, if Ademar did employ written sources in composing his account of the monastic reform councils, they no longer survive. Ademar describes gatherings in both 816 and 817. He also associates the promulgation of the *Institutio Canonorum* and the *Institutio Sanctimonialium* with the synod of 816 and attributes their creation to the churchman Amalarius of Metz. Finally, Ademar describes the promulgation of the *Monastic Capitulary*, and places this event during the course of the second synod.<sup>14</sup>

Narrative sources which survive provide only the vaguest impression of cenobitic affairs at the Aachen synods. In recent years, however, the publication of all known monastic legislation from these synods has permitted a more detailed analysis of the nature of the reform, and the issues which it involved.<sup>15</sup> Of the documents edited by Josef Semmler, there are five which are essential to an understanding of the monastic reform councils.<sup>16</sup>

A source of primary importance for the first synod is the so-called *Statuta Murbacensia*.<sup>17</sup> This text, first ascribed to Abbot Simpert of Murbach, is now generally attributed to Haito, Abbot of Reichenau and Bishop of Basel.<sup>18</sup> It exists in a single medieval manuscript, now in Colmar, and consists of a prologue addressed to a monastic community, twenty-seven *capitula*, with commentary by the author and a conclusion. The author's remarks in the *Statuta Murbacensia* are particularly notable because they indicate the nature of the controversies which arose during the first synod.

Semmler also provides the first edition of a recently discovered source, extant in a single manuscript in Rouen, and dating from the late tenth or early eleventh century.<sup>19</sup> This Rouen Codex consists of twenty-nine *capitula*. It is untitled and may be incomplete at the end.<sup>20</sup> The *capitula* embedded in the *Statuta Murbacensia* and those contained in the Rouen Codex are so strikingly similar, both individually and in their order, that there can be no doubt of some textual relationship between them.<sup>21</sup> Although the exact nature of this connection is not known, both sources provide information bearing upon the synod of 816.

The only other text pertaining to the synod of 816 is entitled by Semmler *Synodi Primae Aquisgranensis Decreta Authentica* (henceforth abbreviated SPDA).<sup>22</sup> It contains thirty-six *capitula* and a

prologue which lends it an official tone and provides the date of August 23, 816. Although there are a variety of reasons to doubt that this was an official proclamation appearing at the end of the first synod, such uncertainty does not negate the document's relevance to the first council.<sup>31</sup>

The two documents which pertain to the second synod have extremely different histories of preservation in manuscript form. The *Monastic Capitulary* already mentioned survives in a large number of codices from the Carolingian epoch and later. It was this document which was used in subsequent ages of Benedictine monasticism, and it was clearly perceived during the Middle Ages to be the definitive result of Benedict of Aniane's reform program. The other text pertaining to the second synod survives in a single medieval manuscript dating to the twelfth century. Nevertheless, Semmler insists that this is the official decree and entitles his edition *Synodi Secundae Aquisgranensis Decreta Authentica* (hereafter abbreviated SSDA).<sup>32</sup> In so doing, Semmler pushes back the composition of the *Monastic Capitulary* to "818/819?"<sup>33</sup> It seems more likely that the traditional opinion should be retained, which holds that the *Monastic Capitulary* was the official proclamation sanctioned by Louis the pious in 817.

If it is not possible to definitely associate each of the documents with a particular moment in the history of the monastic reform movement or to resolve all of the problems involved in their interpretation, it is at least feasible to arrange them in a relative chronological order. The Rouen Codex and the *Statuta Murbacensia* provide information about the synod of 816. Although the SPDA was perhaps composed some time between the conclusion of the first synod and the beginning of the second, it can only be taken as information pertaining to the former. The *Monastic Capitulary* was certainly compiled last of all, for it contains most clauses from the first synod, and also a redacted version of those contained in the SSDA. For our purposes it is sufficient to assume that the first three documents contain legislation from the first synod. Those decrees found in the SSDA and the *Monastic Capitulary* which do not originate in the legislation of the first synod may be considered products of the gathering of 817.

## II

It was ninety years ago when Hugo Graf first suggested that there might be a direct connection between the enactments of the council of

817 and the Plan of Saint Gall.<sup>20</sup> Although Graf considered only the *Monastic Capitulary*, he was able to anticipate an important direction of research. Graf concentrated upon those *capitula* which increased segregation between monks and laymen. In so doing, he noted several *capitula* which were reflected in the Plan of Saint Gall. In Graf's opinion, a ruling which forbade laymen to enter the monks' refectory found its counterpart in the inclusion of separate kitchen and refectory facilities in the guest house of the Plan. Another *capitulum* directs that a dormitory be constructed for visiting monks "iuxta oratorium." Graf correctly observed that just such a dormitory appears on the Plan, immediately to the west of the north transept of the main church. Despite the acumen of Graf's comments, they have been generally ignored by subsequent scholars. Most authors mention Alfons Dopsch as the first to state that there was a direct connection between the Plan and the monastic reform movement.

Dopsch brought forward this thesis in the year 1916.<sup>21</sup> Seeking to explain the connection between the gardens in the Plan of Saint Gall and the *Capitulare de Villis*, Dopsch came to view the Aachen synods as the most likely environment in which the author of the Plan might have come into contact with a document of southern French provenance, as Dopsch believed the *Capitulare de Villis* to be.<sup>22</sup> Dopsch also believed that the Aachen councils were an appropriate time for the composition of a paradigmatic plan, but did not consider the relationship of individual *capitula* in the monastic legislation to specific aspects of the Plan. His failure to do so gives little support to an intimate connection between the Plan and the monastic synods.

In 1952, Hans Reinhardt expressed his disagreement with the thesis propounded by Dopsch.<sup>23</sup> Reinhardt thought that the inclusion of a separate house for the abbot and of baths for the healthy monks contradicted prescriptions contained in the *Statuta Murbacensia*. A few years later, Walter Boeckelmann came out in support of a causal link between the reform movement and the Plan of Saint Gall.<sup>24</sup> He suggested that the majuscule inscription running through the church, and reducing the length of the building to two hundred feet, was a direct reflection of the reformists' desires. Boeckelmann saw in the synod of 816 a conflict between two factions. On the one hand, there existed a group of men from the time of Charlemagne who wished to preserve the attitude which had prevailed under the greatest of Frankish emperors. On the other hand, there was a party of reformers under the leadership of Benedict of Aniane who sought, with the support of Louis the Pious, to regularize and increase monastic asceticism within the

realm. Boeckelmann viewed the shortening of the church as a reflection of the reformists' opposition to what they perceived as a grandiose building project, similar to the one undertaken by Abbot Ratger at Fulda.

Less than a decade thereafter, Edgar Lehmann denied the connection between the Plan and the reform movement.<sup>31</sup> He reiterated Reinhardt's arguments, and continued by suggesting that the large school and correspondingly large library and scriptorium were facets of the Plan which were incompatible with the reformists' attitude, and which reflected instead the more "*kulturfreundlich*" attitude which had prevailed under Charlemagne. Finally, Lehmann stated that the size of the monastery, so much larger than the one built by Benedict at Inden, also militated against a direct connection between the Plan and the reform movement.

All of the opinions noted above are brief remarks contained in larger essays. Only Walter Horn has examined in detail the relationship between the Plan and the monastic reform movement. Horn considered the issue in three separate publications.<sup>32</sup> Believing the Plan of Saint Gall to be a copy, Horn posited that the original, or prototype plan, had been created by someone in the Palace School during the Aachen synods.<sup>33</sup> The similarity between the church depicted on the Plan and the Carolingian church at Cologne led Horn to suggest that the author of the prototype had worked "in close association with Bishop Hildebold of Cologne," who was responsible for the design of the cathedral in his city.<sup>34</sup> Horn also examined most of the pertinent clauses from the monastic legislation, and was of the opinion that they supported the connection between the reform councils and the genesis of the Plan. Horn believed that the Plan had been discussed during the synods, although some of its details had evoked controversy.<sup>35</sup> Because Horn's work is now a point of departure for future studies of the Plan of Saint Gall, this essay may be seen as a response to the position which he has taken. In the following section I shall examine all of the relevant decrees from the monastic legislation and then return to a consideration of the impact which certain new discoveries may make upon the validity of the theories propounded by Horn.

### III

There are seven decrees in the legislation of the monastic synods which might have had an effect on the architectural layout of a

paradigmatic monastic plan.

(1) Dormitories for Visiting Monks. As Both Graf and Horn noted, *capitulum* 55 of the *Monastic Capitulary* provides for the existence of a "dormitorium iuxta oratorium....ubi supervenientes monachi dormiant."<sup>88</sup> An identical provision is found in *capitulum* 24 of the SSDA, and there is no doubt that the decree emanated from the second synod. A corresponding dormitory is found on the Plan, just to the west of the north transept of the church. Its inscriptions, "susceptio fratrum supervenientium" and "dormitorium eorum," reflect not only the intention, but also the vocabulary of the monastic legislation.

(2) The Workshops. All of the sources for the first synod contain the provision that "fratres in quoquina, in pistrino et in ceteriis offitiis artium propriis oparentur manibus et vestimenta sua lavent."<sup>89</sup> As it stands, this *capitulum* provides little information of an architectural nature. However, the commentary contained in the *Statuta Murbacensia* indicates that the author understood it as a directive to move the workshops "from an extramural to an intramural location."<sup>90</sup> This is reflected in the Plan, where a large area is occupied by the various workshops. In this case, the Plan is completely in keeping with legislation which originated in the synod of 816, as interpreted by the author of the *Statuta Murbacensia*.

(3) The Abbot's House. Hans Reinhardt believed that the fourth *capitulum* of the *Statuta Murbacensia* was contradicted by the Plan's inclusion of a separate house for the abbot.<sup>91</sup> The text of the *capitulum* decrees that "abbates communes esse debeant suis monachis in manducando, in bibendo, in dormiendo...."<sup>92</sup> Horn rebutted this view by noting that only if interpreted in its "most restrictive sense" would this decree have deprived the abbot of his right to a separate house. Furthermore, a separate abode for the abbot is assumed in the *Rule of Benedict of Nursia*.<sup>93</sup> Horn posited further, that the SPDA contained a significant emendation of the text in the *Statuta Murbacensia*. He thought that the addition of the phrase, "quando in aliis non fuerint utilitatibus occupati," was an escape clause which permitted the abbots to retain their traditional right to a separate kitchen and a private house. Nevertheless, Horn ignored the most telling emendation of the decree, for the SPDA demands only, "Ut ea quam monachi sui habent mensura sint abbates contenti, in manducando, in bibendo, in dormiendo, in vestiendo, in operando...."<sup>94</sup> The alteration indicates that the issue revolves around *mensura*. Abbots are forbidden to exceed their monks in the amount of food and drink consumed; they are not to work less, sleep more, or dress better than the other monks. This does

not indicate that the synod attempted to take away the abbot's house, but rather that it sought to insure that abbots did not live in a more lavish style than the brothers. The inclusion of a house for the abbot in the Plan of Saint Gall is not a contradiction of the legislation from the Aachen synods, but neither is it strong evidence for a connection between the Plan and the reform movement. The existence of a separate abode for the abbot is attested well before the Carolingian period and is provided for in the *Benedictine Rule*.

(4) The School. The *Monastic Capitulary* contains the following stricture: "Ut scola in monasterio non habeatur nisi eorum qui oblatisunt."<sup>44</sup> It is difficult to arrive at a satisfactory interpretation of this decree because its apparent rejection of lay education in monasteries runs so contrary to our knowledge of actual Carolingian practice. Horn has adopted the view that "in monasterio" actually means "in claustris" and thus provides for the separation of inner and outer schools.<sup>45</sup> This had already been suggested by Hugo Graf in 1892, who similarly posited that the education of the oblates would have occurred in the cloister and living area assigned to them, southeast of the church.<sup>46</sup> To date, this is the most plausible solution. Although the dimensions of the structure make it tempting to posit that it represents a common school for both laymen and monks, this is probably not the case. Consequently, the Plan appears to reflect an ambitious program of lay education, with twelve separate study rooms and an equally large number of *necessaria*.

(5) The Baths. The *Statuta Murbacensia* contains the following decree embedded within it: "usus balnei interdictus omnino est excepto quibus necessitas infirmitatis insistit."<sup>47</sup> In their arguments against a connection between the Plan and the reform movement, both Reinhardt and Lehmann cited this decree as an instance where the wishes of the council were not reflected in the Plan. Walter Horn noted that the second synod had changed the ruling on this subject and left the taking of baths "in arbitrio prioris."<sup>48</sup> Horn believed this to be important evidence which associated the Plan with the council of 817, rather than the synod of the preceding year; but he failed to notice that it is only the *Statuta Murbacensia* which contains such a strict decree. Both Rouen Codex and the SPDA permit healthy monks to take baths at least twice a year, on Christmas and Easter.<sup>49</sup> These rulings, although not as lenient as those from the second synod, are at least sufficient to make the existence of baths on the Plan reconcilable with decrees from both synods. The commentary contained in the *Statuta Murbacensia* expresses disagreement with the ruling and demonstrates that this

author also held opinions in keeping with the Plan's inclusion of baths.

(6) The Refectories. Hugo Graf first noted that the *capitulum* contained in the *Monastic Capitulary* which forbid laymen to enter the monks' refectory was reflected in the Plan by the inclusion of separate kitchen and dining facilities in the guest house.<sup>43</sup> Kitchen facilities are found in a variety of locations on the Plan. Not only the guest house, but also the almonry, the infirmary, the novitiate, and the abbot's house are all equipped with cooking areas. The large number of kitchens is certainly not in conflict with the monastic legislation, but from their existence one need not infer that they directly reflect the reform movement. Access to the monks' refectory was always difficult for laymen to attain, and it seems highly unlikely that any monastery of the size pictured on the Plan of Saint Gall would rely upon a single kitchen.

(7) The Jail. No scholar has yet commented upon the *capitulum* which provides for the existence of a jail. This decree appears in all of the documents pertaining to the first synod, and also in the *Monastic Capitulary*.<sup>44</sup> The inhabitants of this building seem to have been monastic rather than lay offenders, and the text indicates that it was specifically intended for brawlers and for those who attempted to flee the monastery. The absence of all commentary on this ruling is surprising, for it also contains architectural instructions which would directly affect the drafting of a monastic plan. The legislation indicates that the jail should be constructed in such a way that "in hieme ignis possit accendi et atrium iuxta sit quo possint operari quod eis iniungitur."<sup>45</sup> Unless one is willing to risk the unlikely contention that the extremely spacious, but now anonymous, building in the northwest corner of the Plan, is in fact this jail, then the Plan contains no indication of a jail at all. This fact strongly militates against the contention that the Plan was a direct result of the reform synods, for if this were the case, the provision concerning the jail would have been realized graphically.

#### IV

The analysis above does not warrant the conclusion that the Plan of Saint Gall was a product of the monastic reform movement. The absence of a jail is strong evidence that the Plan was not meant as an architectural embodiment of the decrees of either of the synods. Furthermore, the existence of certain facets of the Plan which do coincide with rulings of the councils does not necessarily indicate that they were special implementations of these decrees. Thus, the existence of baths

for the healthy monks, of a separate house for the abbot, of a school, and of separate refectories are aspects of monastic architecture which do not owe their origin to the rulings of the reform synods. It would be foolish to conclude from their existence that the Plan was a direct result of these councils. Finally, it is well to note that of the seventy-seven *capitula* contained in the *Monastic Capitulary*, only seven can be interpreted as having any architectural significance. The councils do not seem to have been overly concerned with legislating on the physical structure of monasteries; they were more attentive to spiritual order.

If the evidence in the legislation does not support a connection between the reform movement and the genesis of the prototype Plan, it can perhaps provide us with some other useful information. The *Statuta Murbacensia*, in particular, is a document worthy of consideration. Haito of Basel is generally thought to have written this text, and it is also assumed that he transmitted the Plan to Abbot Gozbert. In light of these facts it seems worthwhile to note that the opinions expressed in the commentary of *Statuta Murbacensia* are always in accord with the composition of the Plan. It is only through this testimony that we are made aware of the architectural significance of the decrees pertaining to the abbot's house and the intramural workshops. In both of these cases the Plan may be seen not as a reflection of the conciliar rulings, but rather of this author's commentary. In his remarks about the jail, it appears that he does not consider this decree to be particularly important. He states that for the present the building employed in his monastery will continue in use, until new buildings can be constructed. The absence of a jail from the Plan may reflect a similar attitude, in which there is no need perceived for a special building intended only for the incarceration of erring monks.

The foregoing analysis is made all the more significant by the fact that Norbert Stachura has recently called into question the general assumption that the Plan as we have it is a copy of an earlier work.<sup>12</sup> Stachura gives clear evidence, including photographs, of the use of a compass to draw the towers, and of underdrawing. Even more fascinating, he reveals several structural changes on the westwork of the church. This crucial discovery indicates that Bishop Haito may indeed be responsible for the creation of the Plan of Saint Gall. If the Plan had been an official document, Haito's alterations would hardly have been proper. However, there is no reason to believe that he could not have made changes in a schema which he himself had devised. This would make his dedicatory note to Gozbert more understandable. He tells Gozbert that the Plan is for the recipient's eyes alone, which makes little

sense if Haito was transmitting an official, or semi-official, plan drawn up in the monastic reform councils.

An acceptance of Haito as the author of the prototype plan alleviates other problems in the interpretation of the document. If Haito began his work on the Plan after the conclusion of the synods, it would explain the presence of factors in the Plan which coincide with the monastic legislation. Furthermore, the knowledge which the originator of the Plan had about the garden in the *Capitulare de Villis* may be explained by the fact that Haito was often involved with affairs at Aachen, and may have easily come into contact with the *Capitulare de Villis* there. That Haito began his career during the time of Charlemagne may also account for the "kulturfreundlich" attitude of the Plan.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the captions which are included in the church may perhaps be explained as instructions to Gozbert, if he had specifically asked for information about Haito's church at Reichenau. Haito, instead of altering the composition of the Plan, may have simply written in the dimensions at Reichenau.<sup>2</sup> This would also account for the use of the imperative mood in these captions, rather than the indicative which is employed in all of the other inscriptions.

In conclusion, although a careful analysis of the legislation of the Aachen synods provides little evidence that the Plan is a direct embodiment of their decrees, it does provide support for another conceptual home of the prototype plan. The intellectual coherence between the Plan and the *Statuta Murbacensia* may be interpreted as evidence supporting their creation by a single individual. The possibility that Haito is the creator of the Plan of Saint Gall is supported further by Stachura's studies which demonstrate that creative thought went into the copy of the Plan which we now possess and which is generally attributed to Abbot Haito. The original work appearing upon a partially traced background is best explained by the supposition that, when a copy of the Plan was requested, Haito made a few modifications to a prototype which he had devised. All of this evidence, considered cumulatively, indicates that Haito should be seriously considered as a possible author not only of the Plan which we possess, but also of the prototype upon which it was based.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Alfredus Boretius, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, (Hannover: 1883), pp. 270-273.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 7, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Boretius, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-349; Bruno Albers, *Consuetudines Monasticae*, (Monte Cassino: 1907), V.3, pp. 115-144; Kassius Hallinger, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, (Siegburg: 1963), V.1, pp. 500-536; MGH *Legum*, V.1, pp. 200-204. This document has been edited in different ways. Boretius and G. H. Pertz, who is responsible for the MGH edition, produce a "longer version," while Albers and Semmler eliminate several *capitula* which are considered later interpolations. It has been titled variously, *Capitulare Monasticum*, *Capitula Monachorum*, *Capitula Aquisgranensia* and *Regula Sancti Benedicti Anlanensis*.

<sup>3</sup> For a report of similar legislation under Charlemagne, see *Annales Moissiacenses*, sub anno 802, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum* (henceforth abbreviated MGH SS), V.1, pp. 306-307.

<sup>4</sup> Bernhard Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, (Leipzig: 1874), Band I, pp. 64-77.

<sup>5</sup> F. L. Ganshof has demonstrated the error of Simson's account in his article, "Note sur la date de deux documents administratifs émanant de Louis le Pieux," in *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel*, (Paris: 1955), V.1, p. 512.

<sup>6</sup> MGH SS V.1, pp. 203-204.

<sup>7</sup> MGH SS V.15, part 1, pp. 215-216.

<sup>8</sup> MGH SS V.2, pp. 621-622.

<sup>9</sup> Ermoldus Nigellus, *In Honorem Hludovici*, Edmond Faral, ed., (Paris: 1932), pp. 88-97.

<sup>10</sup> MGH SS V.1, pp. 19-39. The pertinent entries are to be found under the years 816 and 817, (p. 22). One other Carolingian source, the *Chronicon Moissiacense*, contains data comparable to that found in the *Annales Laurissenses Minores, Codex Fuldenses*. Although the corresponding entries appear under the years 815 and 817, the frequent errors of a year or more in this chronicle and its agreement with the Fulda Codex on certain details indicate that it should at least be noted as a source supporting the account in the Fulda Codex.

<sup>11</sup> MGH *Concilia*, V.2, part 1, pp. 307-456.

<sup>12</sup> Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, J. Chavanon, ed., (Paris: 1897). Ademar seems to have been well informed about the ecclesiastical history of the Carolingian period. In his composition of the *Chronicon* he employed the Royal Frankish Annals, the *Gesta Regum Francorum*, the *Chronicle of Fredegar*, and a variety of minor annalistic sources. In his role as a scribe, Ademar contributed to several manuscripts containing conciliar legislation, and, from the Carolingian period, the *Capitularies* of Theodulf, the *Liber Pontificalis*, and the *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis* by Amalarius of Metz. It therefore seems reasonable to accept Ademar's testimony without undue scepticism, despite its late date of composition.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

<sup>11</sup> Hallinger, *op. cit.*, V.1, pp. 423-582.

<sup>12</sup> In this paper I shall forego all consideration of the later compilations edited by Semmler, the *Legislationis monasticae Aquisgranensis collectio sancti Martialis Lemovicensis* and the *Collectio capitularis Benedicti Levitae monastica*, which appear in Hallinger, *op. cit.*, V.1, pp. 537-561.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 437-450.

<sup>14</sup> The reasoning employed has, however, led to scepticism. See Josef Semmler, "Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung und zur Verfasserschaft der Statuta Murbacensia," in *Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz IX* (1959/60), pp. 273-285.

<sup>15</sup> Hallinger, *op. cit.*, pp.437-450.

<sup>16</sup> Josef Semmler, "Zur Überlieferung der monastischen Gesetzgebung Ludwigs des Frommen," in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters XVI* (1960), pp. 323-324.

<sup>17</sup> Josef Semmler indicates the extent of this relationship in the titles which he applies to these documents, calling the Rouen Codex, *Synodi Primae Aquisgranensis Acta Praeliminaria*, and the other *Actuum Praeliminarium Synodi Primae Aquisgranensis Commentationes sive Statuta Murbacensia*.

<sup>18</sup> Kassius Hallinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-468.

<sup>19</sup> Because I have not personally examined the documents in question, I am hesitant to make a definitive statement about the relationship between the Rouen Codex, the *Statuta Murbacensia* and the SPDA. Nevertheless, it seems extremely unlikely that the only two unofficial compilations emanating from the synods in question should have been written by men who left the synod before its conclusion. Yet this is the hypothesis which Semmler suggests in order to account for the re-structuring and expansion found in the SPDA. Although this document does indeed contain an important incipit, the fact that the SSSDA and the *Monastic Capitulary* contain an almost identical prologue leads me to suggest that the SPDA may have been a statement of work in progress which was prepared by Benedict of Aniane or one of his associates at some time between the end of the first and the beginning of the second synod. This document may have been presented to the returning monks and then expanded and modified in light of the work accomplished at the second synod. Such a hypothesis would explain the relationship between the three documents emanating from the first synod, and would also explain the alterations found in the official capitulary. I hope to be able to consider these questions at greater length in the future, after having examined the documents personally.

<sup>20</sup> Kassius Hallinger *op. cit.*, pp. 469-481.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 501.

<sup>22</sup> Hugo Graf, "Neue Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der kreuzförmigen Basilika," in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft XV* (1892), pp. 327-331.

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<sup>17</sup> Alfons Dopsch, "Das Capitulare de Villis, die Brevium Exempla und der Bauplan von St. Gallen," in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* XIII (1916), pp. 41-70.

<sup>18</sup> Debate continues on the question of the origins of this capitulary. For a summary of the dispute, see F. L. Ganshof, *La Belgique Carolingienne*, (Brussels: 1958), p. 162.

<sup>19</sup> Hans Reinhardt, *Der St. Galler Klosterplan* (Saint Gall: 1952), p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Walter Boeckelmann, "Der Widerspruch im St. Galler Klosterplan," in *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* XVI (1956), pp. 131-132.

<sup>21</sup> Edgar Lehmann, "Die Architektur zur Zeit Karls des Grossen," in Wolfgang Braunfels, *Karl der Grosse*, (Dusseldorf: 1965), Band III, p. 312. See also, by the same author, "Kaisertum und Reform in hochkarolingischer Zeit," in Ursula Schlegel and Claus Zoege von Manteuffel, *Festschrift für Peter Metz*, (Berlin: 1965), pp. 84-89.

<sup>22</sup> Walter Horn, "On the Author of the Plan of St. Gall and the Relation of the Plan to the Monastic Reform Movement," in Johannes Duft, *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan* (Saint Gall: 1962), pp. 103-127; Walter Horn and Ernest Born, "New Theses about the Plan of Saint Gall," in Helmut Maurer, *Die Abtei Reichenau* (Sigmaringen: 1974), pp. 407-480, especially pp. 415-418; Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of Saint Gall* (Berkeley: 1975), V.1, pp. 20-33. These works are hereafter cited by their dates of publication.

<sup>23</sup> Beneath the regularized representation of the Plan which appears as the frontpiece of Volume II, Horn provides the following caption, "PARADIGMA ICHONOGRAPHIAE AEDIFICIORUM MONASTERII BENEDICTINI IN SYNODIS AQUISGRANENSIS A.D. 816-817 ELABORATUM." (The caption continues by noting Gozbert as the Plan's recipient). Horn translates this, "A master plan for the buildings of a Benedictine monastery worked out in synods of Aachen A.D. 816-817." See Horn (1975), *op. cit.*, V.2, pp. xii and 1.

<sup>24</sup> Horn (1975), *op. cit.*, V.1, p. 31.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, V.1, p. 29.

<sup>26</sup> Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 328; Horn (1962), *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122. In the text employed by Graf, the number of the *capitulum* was 58.

<sup>27</sup> Hallinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 435, 443, 464. This *capitulum* is also retained in the *Monastic Capitulary of 817*. Hallinger, *op. cit.*, p. 521.

<sup>28</sup> Horn (1962), *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>29</sup> Reinhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>30</sup> Hallinger, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

<sup>31</sup> Horn (1975), *op. cit.*, V.1, p. 22.

" Hallinger, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

" Hallinger, *op. cit.*, p. 526, c. 58.

" Horn (1962), *op. cit.*, pp. 122-125.

" Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-328.

" Hallinger, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

" *Ibid.*, p. 528.

" *Ibid.*, pp. 435 and 459.

" Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

" Hallinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 436, 446, 468, 524.

" *Ibid.*, p. 436. The text is substantially the same in the Rouen Codex, the SPDA, and the *Monastic Capitulary*.

" Norbert Stachura, "Der Plan von St. Gallen — ein Original?" in *Architectura* VIII, 2 (1978), pp. 184-186; and by the same author, "Der Plan von St. Gallen: Der Westabschluss der Klosterkirche und seine Varianten," in *Architectura* X, 1 (1980), pp. 33-37.

" The size of the Carolingian cathedral at Basel may indicate that Haino was not opposed to large buildings, measuring up to a hundred yards.

" On this subject, see the essay by Thomas Puttfarcken, "Ein neuer Vorschlag zum St. Galler Klosterplan," in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* II (1968), pp. 78-95. Although all of Puttfarcken's conclusions need not be accepted, the computations which he makes concerning the inscriptions are significant in pointing out the relationship with the church at Reichenau.



Medieval Castle and Horseman. Pen and ink by Jim Rizen.

# The Ninth-Century Library at St. Gall

by JOHN J. BUTT

The ninth-century library at St. Gall provides graphic evidence of the spectacular growth of the monastery and substantive evidence of the Carolingian "renaissance." Examination of the library holdings also testifies to the interaction between intellectual centers in the Carolingian empire, as St. Gall could not have expanded its library as quickly as it did without the assistance of other monastic centers, especially neighboring Reichenau.

The ninth century is the earliest century from which there are full library catalogues. There are no booklists or catalogues for any library before the eighth century, for monastic centers usually had no more than a few volumes.<sup>1</sup> In the ninth century, spurred by the Carolingian renaissance, there was a tremendous growth in monastic libraries. As these libraries grew to collections of one hundred volumes or more, the need arose for lists of the books. Catalogues filled the need to keep track of the volumes and to inform members of the monastic community of the books available. Since none of these early libraries has remained intact, the catalogues are an invaluable source of information.

There are eight monasteries from which ninth-century catalogues exist; six of the eight have more than one catalogue, and there are twenty-five in all: St. Wandrille has three, Fulda has three, St. Riquier has two, Bobbio has one, Murbach has one, Lorsch has four, Reichenau has six, and St. Gall has five. St. Wandrille's catalogues are all copies of lost manuscripts, Fulda has one extant catalogue, St. Riquier's are only in chronicles of the monastery, Bobbio's was lost after being copied in the eighteenth century, and Murbach's catalogue is a fifteenth-century copy. Lorsch has all four of its catalogues extant, while most of Reichenau's catalogues were lost after being copied.<sup>2</sup>

St. Gall is extremely valuable, for it has five extant catalogues, all five still in the town of St. Gall. They are found in St. Gallen codex 728, from the middle of the ninth century; St. Gallen 267, a ninth- or

possibly tenth-century copy of 728 which also contains a list of books added to the library under Abbot Grimald (841-872) and a private book collection of Abbot Grimald; and St. Gallen 614, a list of books added under Abbot Hartmut (872-883) and also a private collection of Abbot Hartmut from the year 883.<sup>3</sup>

What is remarkable about these library catalogues is their evidence of the tremendous growth in prosperity and importance of the monastery of St. Gall in the ninth century. In the eighth century St. Gall was considered "the poorest and smallest abbey in the Carolingian empire."<sup>4</sup> But under Carolingian patronage it began to expand in the ninth century. Under Abbot Gozbert (816-836) the monastery began its ambitious rebuilding in 830 following the general guidance of the famous ground-plan.<sup>5</sup> Abbot Gozbert was also concerned with scholarship and purportedly founded the monastic library.<sup>6</sup> There were certainly a few books there, but the great expansion of the library seems to have begun around 830, the same time as the commencement of the building program.

By this date Reichenau, a much wealthier monastery, had over 400 volumes. Lorsch had several hundred and St. Riquier 243. The first catalogue from St. Gall dates possibly from the installation of Grimald as abbot in 841. It lists 428 volumes. This would indicate that St. Gall acquired at least several hundred books within a decade or two. These acquisitions may have come from its own scriptorium or as purchases from the outside. Emperor Louis the Pious had recently freed the monastery from the control of the Bishop of Constance and taken over direct jurisdiction. In fact Grimald was Louis' chaplain and chancellor when Louis appointed him abbot of St. Gall.<sup>7</sup> The flow of royal donations increased under Grimald and may have included books for the library.<sup>8</sup>

During Grimald's abbacy there were 70 books added to the library as well as Grimald's personal collection of 35 volumes. Under Abbot Hartmut the St. Gall library added 28 titles and another 25 from Hartmut's private collection. By the time Hartmut was relieved of his office in 883 (he became a recluse and had himself literally walled in),<sup>9</sup> the library at St. Gall had become one of the largest and most complete in all of Europe. In the eighth century the few manuscripts produced were of very low quality.<sup>10</sup> Under Gozbert, Grimald, and Hartmut the quality as well as the quantity increased dramatically. By the end of Hartmut's abbacy the number of additions to the library had slowed down, but this was not due to a slackened interest, but to the fact that St. Gall had acquired most of the important patristic works that were available.

It is clear that St. Gall must have borrowed works from other Carolingian monasteries. St. Gall borrowed manuscripts which they desired, copied them in their scriptorium and returned the models.<sup>11</sup> For this borrowing Reichenau was probably the most important source.

St. Gall certainly had strong ties with Reichenau. The author of the building plan for St. Gall was probably Haito, Bishop of Basel and abbot of Reichenau (806-823).<sup>12</sup> Haito and Abbot Gozbert were apparently well acquainted, and Reichenau assisted in the reconstruction of St. Gall. Naturally this could have carried over to the expansion of St. Gall's library collection since Reichenau's library was extremely large even in 822. The accessibility of Reichenau's library was of fundamental importance. It would have been time consuming and costly to borrow books from as far away as St. Riquier or even Fulda or Lorsch. Reichenau, however, about 20 miles away, could easily be walked to in one day.

The patristic collections in Reichenau's and St. Gall's libraries were very similar. Even less common treatises point to a liberal exchange between the two monasteries. Aldhelm's works, which were quite rare, were available in several copies at both St. Gall and Reichenau. There were times, however, when they did not exchange works. St. Gall had the only real work by Cyril of any of the Carolingian libraries, yet Reichenau never made a copy, probably because it was considered insignificant. But more often Reichenau's and St. Gall's libraries were similar. Reichenau had seven titles by Gregory I while St. Gall had eight. For some reason Reichenau never copied St. Gall's "Song of Songs." St. Gall's title "Instructions" by Junilius was bound with Jerome's "Hebrew Questions" just as was Reichenau's, indicating that one monastery copied from the other since the works are not found together at any other monastery.

St. Gall built a fabulous library collection during the ninth century and did it very rapidly. At the beginning of the ninth century, as a small and poor monastery, it had few books and these were of poor quality. During a fifty year period from 830 to 880 St. Gall was able to expand its collection to include nearly 300 titles of patristic authors alone. The St. Gall library over-all was probably only surpassed by those at Reichenau and Lorsch. It was able to expand because of several fortuitous conditions. It was heavily endowed by Carolingian kings; it had the great fortune of having three abbots, Gozbert, Grimald, and Hartmut, who were interested in expanding the library; and it happened to be located within a day's walk of what was probably the largest library in Europe in the early ninth century—Reichenau. These conditions

were part of the Carolingian renaissance which enabled St. Gall to establish itself as a leading center of education in Europe.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> E.A. Lowe, "An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian Manuscript from Wurzburg and its Probable Relations to the Laudian 'Acts'," *Speculum* III (1928). Alcuin devoted twenty-seven lines of a poem to a description of the library at York, but the works listed are only ones which would scan in the poem. Cassiodorus' *Divine Letters* listed works which he felt were important for monks to study, and may have been similar to the books available at his monastery of Vivarium, but this is far from certain. The ninth-century monastery at Murbach selected their books from Cassiodorus' *Divine Letters*; see Wolfgang Milde, "Der Bibliothekskatalog des Klosters Murbach aus dem 9. Jahrhundert," *Euphorion* (1968).

<sup>2</sup> For St. Wandrille see Gustav Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, (Bonn, 1885); Fulda: K. Christ, "Die Bibliothek de Klosters Fulda im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, (Liepsig, 1933); St. Riquier: d'Achery, "Chronici Centulensis sive S. Richarii," *Spicilegium* II (1727); Bobbio: M. Esposito, "The Ancient Bobbio Catalogue," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 32 (1931); Murbach: Wolfgang Milde, *op. cit.*; Lorsch: B. Bischoff, "Lorsch im Spiegel seiner Handschriften," *Munichener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung*, (Munich, 1974); Reichenau: Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, (Munich, 1918).

<sup>3</sup> Codices 728 and 267 were first published in full by Karl Weidmann in *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen*, St. Gall, 1841. Codex 614 was first published in Melchior Goldast, *Scriptores rerum Alemannicarum* in 1730. They are all printed in Paul Lehmann, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> According to Notker Balbulus, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Scriptores* II, 756.

<sup>5</sup> See Johannes Duft, ed., *Studien zum St. Gallen Klosterplan*, (St. Gall 1962).

<sup>6</sup> J.M. Clark, *The Abbey of St. Gall*, (London, 1926), 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Walter Horn, "On the Author of the Plan of St. Gall and the Relation of the Plan to the Monastic Reform Movement," J. Duft, *op. cit.*, 105.

<sup>9</sup> J.M. Clark, *op. cit.*, 9.

<sup>10</sup> Karl Weidmann, *op. cit.*, 4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 369.

<sup>12</sup> Walter Horn, *op. cit.*, 106.

# Early Medieval Irish Exegetical Texts at Saint Gall \*

by JOSEPH F. KELLY

The initial founding of the site of Saint Gall was an inadvertently Irish one, the abandonment of Gall by Columbanus in 612 when the former protested he was too ill to cross the Alps into Italy. Gall survived, attracted some few disciples, and died sometime after Columbanus (d.615). The original foundation declined in the later seventh century, and when the monastery entered its period of historical importance under Abbot Othmar (720-759), it did so largely independent of Irish personnel. But the presence of Irish exegetical texts in the Saint Gall library testifies to a continued Irish influence.

According to a *vita* of Gall, Irish exegesis began in the saint's lifetime when he gave *interpretationes divinarum librorum* to his disciple Johannes.<sup>1</sup> Such an occurrence is not impossible because Gall had spent twenty years with Columbanus, who was an exegete of the psalms and possibly of the gospels<sup>2</sup> and who would certainly seem to it that his disciples learned something of the Scriptures. But there is no way to trace this instruction to written works of later centuries.

Several Irish biblical manuscripts, especially of the gospels, survive in Saint Gall manuscripts of the Early Middle Ages; these have been studied by James Kenney,<sup>3</sup> E. A. Lowe,<sup>4</sup> P. McGurk,<sup>5</sup> and, most recently, Johannes Duft.<sup>6</sup> In addition, an Irish manuscript of Pelagius' *Expositiones* on the Pauline epistles is from Saint Gall.<sup>7</sup> These are generally peripheral to this paper, but it is worth noting that Irish interest in the Bible was not limited to producing their own exegetical works.

What of Irish exegesis at Saint Gall? There are five examples from Saint Gall, although the most famous of these is no longer there; indeed, may not be extant at all. This is the commentary on the psalms by

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Columbanus, which is listed in a ninth-century catalogue of the Saint Gall library, published in 1918 by Paul Lehmann.<sup>8</sup> The entry reads *Expositio sancti Columbani super omnes psalmos, volumen I*. [Actually the first word is *expositi* with the final *o* added by a later hand.] Scholars have been puzzled by the *volumen I* because a tenth-century catalogue of manuscripts at Bobbio, Columbanus' Italian foundation, has the entry *Liber sancti Columbani in psalmos II*.<sup>9</sup> How should *II* be understood? Was the commentary in two volumes, of which Saint Gall possessed a copy of the first and Bobbio a copy of the second, or did Bobbio have two copies of a one-volume work? The question is unanswerable since neither manuscript survives, and perhaps the commentary also does not survive, although several scholars have "discovered" it in other manuscripts.<sup>10</sup>

Virtually all that can be said of the Saint Gall manuscript is that it is no later than the ninth century. One might argue that it is a copy which dates from a period when Columbanus had come to be regarded as a saint, but it is equally possible that the manuscript was written before that happened, and the cataloguer, aware of the author's sainthood, included *sancti* in the title. In 1926, J. M. Clark made the suggestion that a copy of Columbanus' psalm commentary would have been part of Gall's personal library.<sup>11</sup> This is quite plausible. The two Irishmen had been together for two decades, and psalter played an important role in Columban monasticism,<sup>12</sup> so it is likely that the abbot would have had his psalm commentary copied by and for his monks. Since the Irish are known to have travelled with books in satchels, it is equally plausible that Gall would have been able to bring a copy of the commentary on his journeys.

Columbanus' psalm commentary may not survive at Saint Gall, but another Irish psalm commentary does, in Saint Gall Stiftsbibliothek 261, pp.146-274, dated to the early ninth century.<sup>13</sup> The text has been partially edited by Martin McNamara but not from this manuscript.<sup>14</sup>

The work is entitled *Ecloga* or *Eclogae Tractatorium in Psalterium*, reminiscent of the title of Lathcen's abbreviation of Gregory the Great's commentary on Job, *Egloga de Morabliis Iob*.<sup>15</sup> Not surprisingly, the commentary derives mostly from the great Latin Fathers such as Hilary, Isidore, Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose, but McNamara has proved that the chief source was Theodore of Mopsuestia's psalm commentary in Latin translation. This work is cited in several Irish texts, including one of major importance, Milan Ambrosiana C 301 Inf., of the mid- to late-eighth century.

Saint Gall 261 has parallels to the psalm commentary of a gigantic,

whole-Bible commentary, which Bernhard Bischoff has called simply *das Bibelwerk*,<sup>18</sup> which is usually translated into English as the 'Reference Bible.' This 'Reference Bible' has not been published in its entirety,<sup>19</sup> and its size and complexity will make publication a formidable and expensive project. Unfortunately, it also has not been heavily studied. The final form dates to the late eighth century, and McNamara has said that it has behind it "a century and a half of Irish exegetical activity."<sup>20</sup> The relation of the ninth-century *Eclogae* on the psalms to the eighth-century 'Reference Bible' suggests that the Saint Gall psalm commentary stands in the mainstream of Hiberno-Latin exegesis.

The third Hiberno-Latin exegetical text is an anonymous commentary on the epistle to the Hebrews, preserved in Saint Gall Stiftsbibliothek 73, pp. 231-260, and of the ninth century. It was edited in 1901 by Heinrich Zimmer, whose text was reprinted by Adolf Hamman.<sup>21</sup> This commentary, which exists in another version represented by ten manuscripts,<sup>22</sup> has a complicated history.

The Hebrews commentary is part of a larger commentary on the Pauline epistles (the Middle Ages considered Hebrews Pauline), a commentary by the great Irish favorite, Pelagius.<sup>23</sup> The text, however, is not that of Pelagius as established by Alexander Souter in 1926<sup>24</sup> but an interpolation with additional elements, including the Hebrews commentary. In 1974 Hermann Frede published a Budapest manuscript of *circa* 800 which he identified as a copy of a late fourth-century commentary on the Pauline epistles with a Hebrews commentary.<sup>25</sup> Frede concluded that Pelagius had made use of this work, and the similarities between the two had caused the Budapest text to be considered a version of Pelagius' commentary. The Hebrews commentary in the Budapest text formed the basis for later Hebrews commentaries which were associated with the text of Pelagius. Thus the study of the Saint Gall Hebrews commentary is inextricably bound up with the textual tradition of Pelagius' commentary. For example, it is uncertain as to what form of the earlier commentary was known to the Irish, and the question of original and independent Irish elements in this commentary remains open.

The fourth Irish commentary from Saint Gall is on Matthew, a fragment studied and edited by Bernhard Bischoff whose discussion we shall follow.<sup>26</sup> In an Irish Genesis commentary in Saint Gall Stiftsbibliothek 908, a manuscript to the late eighth or early ninth century, is a citation headed *Sedulius in tractatu Mathei* (pp. 23-24). The citation deals with Matthew 21:19, the cursing of the fig tree, and it associates

the fig tree with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in Genesis 2-3; both are considered types of the synagogue. The date of the manuscripts precludes the famous Sedulius of Liege as the author, so Bischoff calls him 'Sedulius Senior.' Bischoff also found a parallel between this fragment and a section of the eighth-century 'Reference Bible.'

Sedulius Senior is otherwise unknown, but the question can be advanced slightly beyond Bischoff's study. The author of the Genesis commentary cited Sedulius by name, a compliment also paid to Augustine, Isidore, Jerome, Ambrose, and John Chrysostom. This indicates Sedulius was a figure of some standing, and not just for the author of the Genesis commentary, who assumed that his readers would know who Sedulius was. A single surviving reference in an anonymous commentary proves the writer was not well-known. It is more likely that the commentary had made the author worthy of being mentioned with important Latin Fathers. If this speculation is correct, the commentary would have been written in the middle of the eighth century to give it time to win its limited reputation. Possibly an edition of the 'Reference Bible' might make Sedulius Senior more comprehensible.

The fifth Hiberno-Latin commentary is the aforementioned one on Genesis in Saint Gall Stiftsbibliothek 908, pp. 1-27, of the late eighth or early ninth century. Genesis represented an exegetical challenge to the Irish. Including the 'Reference Bible' commentary, they produced five Genesis commentaries, two sets of *interrogationes et responsiones* derived from Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram*, an epitome of that patristic work, and the Pseudo-Isidorian *Liber de Ordine Creaturarum*, the title of which is self-explanatory and which utilizes Genesis heavily.<sup>31</sup> The Saint Gall Commentary confines itself to the first three chapters of the biblical book, but more than three-fourths (21 pages) deals with chapter one and virtually none of it with chapter two.

Bernhard Bischoff claimed in a brief paragraph<sup>32</sup> that the work was Irish. Gratefully acknowledging his lead, I will examine the work in some detail, but with the caveat that only a critical edition can adequately explicate the commentary.

The manuscript is enormously complicated. Saint Gall 908 has the distinction of garnering thirteen entries in E. A. Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores*,<sup>33</sup> so diverse are its scripts. Lowe identified the script of the Genesis as minuscule with Insular elements and abbreviations and with a probable provenance of North Italy but possibly Switzerland. Bischoff said probably Switzerland for the provenance. The scribe used

several Insular *ds*, including a long and elaborate one with a large triangular end to the shaft (p.24). Bischoff suggested the scribe might be a certain Amprosius, whose work is known from another manuscript.

The orthography includes many variations characteristic of Early Medieval Latin in general, but which are quite common to the Irish. *Inter alia* these include *au* for *a* (*auctuali*, p.21), *ae* for *e* (*diaebus*, p. 7), *e* for *ae* (*celos*, p. 6), *i* for *e* (*stillae*, p.2), *i* for *o* (*diabilis*, p. 10), *y* for *i* (*Ysidorus*, p. 3), *y* for *hi* (*yemalis*, p.18), *h* added (*himaginem*, p. 21), *u* for *o* (*sulum*, p. 4), *b* for *p* (*scribtura*, p. 10), *c* for *g* (*ficura*, p. 14), *g* for *c* (*Grisostymos* [Chrysostom], p.7), and a doubled consonant (*cottidie*, p. 24), this last example being particularly Irish.

The commentator listed five patristic sources: Ambrose, Augustine, Isidore, Jerome, and John Chrysostom, the latter certainly in Latin translation. The first four sources were standard for the Early Middle Ages, the last not so standard although also not surprising. Translations of his major works were so available that Albert Siegmund has called him one of the best known Greek writers to the Latin Middle Ages.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the Irish frequently affected a knowledge of Greek words and Greek sources.

The Genesis commentator also mentioned a sixth source, Sedulius, the Matthean commentator. The parallel between his fragment and the 'Reference Bible' furthers the Irish character of the Genesis commentary.

Another, unnamed, source likewise points to the Irish. In a rare moment in the commentary, Lucifer speaks in the first person. He cannot endure the idea that man will be made in God's image and likeness, and so he says: *Non adhorabo creaturam post me factam* (p. 8), a quotation from the apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae*,<sup>25</sup> a work the Irish both knew and used.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the use of apocryphal material in exegetical literature was an Irish trait.

Thus the palaeographical evidence, the orthography, and a brief source analysis either support or do not challenge Dr. Bischoff's claim that the work was Irish. Further parallels to Irish works will emerge as this paper turns to the main question, what does this commentary reveal about the Irish exegesis of Genesis?

The commentary does not start auspiciously. The first page contains a flourish of Greek erudition, quoting Apocalypse 1:8: *Ego sum alpha et omega*, with the two letters written in Greek. The alpha is correct, but the second curve of the omega is upside down (p.1).

The commentary has an academic tone. There are references to

heresies: *Alii afferebant mundum sine initio (sive) sine fine esse. Alii dicebant tres tantum extitisse simul deum et exemplaret materiam. Alii confirmabant terram deum esse* (p. 2 - *sive* seems a likely omission since it would have been alongside *sine* in the text). Ireland itself was free from heresy, and these heresies were not seriously threatening anyone in the eighth century, although the first, an Aristotelian idea, was being discussed.<sup>31</sup> The commentator used Isidore in *libro differentiarum* to refute them.<sup>32</sup> He later returned to the theme, citing *philosophii* (p. 16) who deny there can be waters above the firmament. Ambrose discussed this,<sup>33</sup> but Isidore is again called on for refutation of the critics.

There is a mild anti-feminist tone, but nothing unusual for the period. Eve's emergence from Adam's side is interpreted; *sic et mulier fidem et consilium mariti fideliter custodire debet* (p. 23), and later, *primum mendacium in mundo a muliere exortum* (p. 25).

The author also exhibited a typical monastic preference for the contemplative life. In discussing Genesis 1:24-25, the creation of reptiles and birds, he said: *reptilia, id est, auctuali vitae adherentes, volatilia vero theoricam gerentes* (p. 21), linking the earth-bound reptiles with the active life and the heaven-soaring birds with the contemplative life. This parallels a passage in an Hiberno-Latin commentary on the Catholic epistles, specifically on 1 Peter 3:20, by a Pseudo-Hilary<sup>34</sup> in which men represent the active life and birds the contemplative life. The text's editor, Robert McNally, dated it between 690 and 708 and assigned its provenance to England or Ireland.

When the Saint Gall exegete quoted the Fathers by name, he generally did so in a matter-of-fact way, *N. dixit*, but when quoting Augustine on how there could be evening and morning *antequam fierent luminaria*,<sup>35</sup> he phrased it *Augustinus subtili sensu* (p. 12), showing some discrimination in the use of authorities.

This discrimination shows up in another, perhaps important, way. The exegete had the typical Irish interest in what happened for the first time; for example, the first voice was God's, saying *fiat lux* (p. 11). But this interest takes a different turn. Eve committed the *primum mendacium* (p. 25) when she told the serpent that God said neither to touch nor to eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, when, in fact, He said only not to eat. This is not a patristic interpretation; furthermore, it contradicts John Chrysostom who said in a Johannine homily that the devil told the first lie when he told Eve that Adam and she would not die (Genesis 3:5).<sup>36</sup> Regrettably I have not been able to determine in time for publication whether this particular homily was available to the Early Medieval Irish, although given John's aforemen-

tioned popularity in the Latin West, it would not be surprising. The same interpretation as John's appears in the 'Reference Bible's' Genesis commentary where the devil tells the *primum mendatium*.<sup>40</sup> This interpretation was thus available to the Saint Gall exegete at least from the Irish tradition, if not from John. By itself this would not be important, but the Saint Gall exegete went on to identify the devil as the *primus hereticus* and his words to Eve, *eritis sicut dii*, as the first heresy (p. 26). This is also non-patristic, and it too contradicts a great Father, in this case Augustine who said the first heresy arose *in discipulis Christi*,<sup>41</sup> and he said it in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, a work definitely known to the Irish.<sup>42</sup> It would be precipitous to read a great deal into a possible double rejection of patristic authority, but it does represent a refreshing independence.

Perhaps this text's real significance for the history of Early Medieval exegesis is its emphasis on the historical sense. Treating Genesis historically may not seem a real achievement since Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram* was well known in the period, especially among the Irish.<sup>43</sup> But Augustine had also written *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* which favored the spiritual interpretation, as did Ambrose's *Hexameron*, which was known to the Saint Gall Genesis commentator. Isidore of Seville interpreted the major personages in Genesis allegorically in his *Allegoriae Quaedam Sacrae Scripturae*.

The non-Antiochene Greek tradition supported this. Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa were not as well known in the Latin West as John Chrysostom, but their comments on Genesis were available in translation. Rufinus of Aquileia (d.410) had translated several of Nazianzus' homilies, including one which described Adam as the *virgultorium et arborum immortalium colonum, id est, divinorum sensuum cultorem*.<sup>44</sup> In the sixth century Dionysius Exiguus had translated Gregory of Nyssa's *De Opificio Hominis*; chapter twenty of this offers *Mystica interpretatio eius quod de omni ligno quod in paradiso erat homo edere permittebatur*.<sup>45</sup> Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram* notwithstanding, an historical interpretation of Genesis was hardly a foregone conclusion. Furthermore, the Irish exegete did not rely that heavily on Augustine.

Much of the Irishman's historical interpretation deals with scientific questions, especially where Genesis and other parts of Scripture seem to clash. Thus he wants to reconcile the sequence of creation with the words of Sirach 18:1, *qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia simul* (p. 4). Although relying on an apocryphal work, he does give a fairly narrative account of the fall of the angels (pp. 6-8). He gives dates for the

creation of the sky and the earth, as well as the Greek and Latin views on the question (p. 12). He tries to understand how there could be morning and evening before the sun and moon had been created (p. 12). He writes about the center of the world (p. 13), the distance from the moon to the second heaven (p. 14), the nature of the earth's axis, the poles, the hemispheres (p. 14), the waters above and below the firmament (p. 16), the phases of the moon (p. 18), the wanderings of the planets (p. 20), and the birth of living things on earth (p. 21).

The Saint Gall exegete said little original, and he took much of his information from Isidor's *De Natura Rerum*; for example, the definitions of the axis, the poles and the hemispheres are verbatim citations, slightly shortened.<sup>44</sup> Significantly, Isidore wrote the work as a scientific treatise, not an exegetical one. He naturally relied upon Scripture and the Fathers, especially Ambrose's *Hexameron* which mixed science with exegesis, but Isidore also cited pagan writers such as Lucretius and Hyginus. He was not a scientist by later standards. He certainly would not have placed pagan sources on a par with Scripture or even the Fathers, much less cite them against Scripture or the Fathers, but in general his work has a clearly (Early Medieval) scientific tone. The Irish exegete's preference for this work demonstrates his genuine desire to find the historical meaning of the biblical text.

The exegete was, on the other hand, a monk. As such, he would read the Scriptures for a spiritual meaning, and that is not lacking in this commentary. For example, he followed Ambrose in seeing the sun and the moon as figures of Christ and the Church, and the waters gathered together as the Gentiles entering the Church (pp. 17, 19).<sup>45</sup> But the spiritual meaning usually follows the literal, and it receives shorter treatment. It would be too much to expect the exegete to have eschewed the spiritual meaning altogether, but he definitely relegated it to second place.

Indeed, in one passage he used allegory to save the historical meaning. The three heresies mentioned earlier (p. 8) are part of a discussion as to how Genesis can say that God created the sky and the earth *in principio* when He created the sky on the second day (Genesis 1:6) and the earth on the third (1:10). The commentator said: *Istas tres hereses refutate sunt per verbum Spiritus sancti dicentis, In principio fecit Deus caelum et terram. Igitur hic Spiritus sanctus pro utilitate tali allegorice locutus est et non simplicitatem historiae locutus est* (pp. 2-3). He then cited *in libro differentiarum Ysidorus*<sup>46</sup> who explained the matter *clarissime* with this interpretation: *Angelicam videlicet creaturam et informem materiam et inde Moyses caelum dixit pro informitate*

*caelestium, id est, angeli et animae, et terram dixit pro informi materia terrestrium* (p. 3). Such a use of *caelum et terra* is not formally allegory but rather a figure of speech. The key point is that the Irish exegete used what he thought had been said *allegorice* to save the historical meaning of the text by claiming it was an allegory of a scientific explanation, namely, the unformed matter from which God made celestial and earthly things.

Space does not permit a more detailed study of this commentary, and I hope that the space spent on the Genesis commentary does not leave the impression that the psalm commentary or the Hebrews commentary or even Sedulius Senior have been sufficiently studied. Furthermore, this paper dealt with only those exegetical texts already identified as Hiberno-Latin by previous researchers. It is unlikely these texts represent all those at Saint Gall, and the diligent researcher will surely not be disappointed in a search for more texts. Hiberno-Latin exegesis is a young Medieval discipline,<sup>47</sup> and one with great potential for scholars. *Messis quidem multa operarii autem pauci* (Matthew 9:37).

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Clark, *The Abbey of Saint Gall* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Fleming, *Collectanea Sacra* (Louvain, 1667), praefatio, mentions a possible *expositio evangeliorum* once preserved at Bobbio.

<sup>3</sup> James F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland, 1: Ecclesiastical* (New York, 1929; repr. 1966), # 364(v), 450, 470, 486; pp. 558, 627, 640, 649.

<sup>4</sup> E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* 7 (Oxford, 1956), # 901,902, 976a.

<sup>5</sup> P. McGurk, "The Irish Pocket Gospel Book," *Sacris Erudiri* 8,2 (1956), 249-269.

<sup>6</sup> Johannes Duft, "Irische Handschriftenüberlieferung in St. Gallen," in *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. Heinz Lowe (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 916-937.

<sup>7</sup> Kenney, *Sources*, # 514, pp. 663-664.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* (Munich, 1918), p. 76.

<sup>9</sup> Martin McNamara, "Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73 C (1973), 251-253.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 221-225.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *Abbey*, p. 24.

<sup>12</sup> Columbanus, *Regula Monachorum VII, Sancti Columbani Opera*, ed. G. S. M. Walker, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 2 (Dublin, 1957), 128-133.

<sup>13</sup> Bernhard Bischoff, "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter," *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1 (Stuttgart, 1966), f 6b, pp. 238-239.

<sup>14</sup> McNamara, "Psalter Text," pp. 285-290, from CLM 14715, sac. ix.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Edited by M. Adriaen *Corpus Christianorum series latina* 145 (Turnholt, 1969).

<sup>16</sup> Bischoff, "Wendepunkte," p. 231-236.

<sup>17</sup> References in Bischoff, "Wendepunkte," p. 231; add excerpt in McNamara, "Psalter Text," (cf. note 14).

<sup>18</sup> McNamara, "Psalter Text," p. 227.

<sup>19</sup> Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 420-448; A. Hamman, *Patrologiae Latinae Supplementum* 4 (Paris, 1970), 1627-1653.

<sup>20</sup> Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta* 3 B, *Instrumenta Patistica* 4 (Steenbrugge, 1970), f 485, pp. 390-391.

<sup>21</sup> J. F. Kelly, "Pelagius, Pelagianism and the Early Medieval Irish," *Mediaevalia* 4 (1978), 99-124.

<sup>22</sup> A. Souter, *Pelagius's Expositions of the Thirteen Epistles of Saint Paul*, Texts and Studies 9, 2 (Cambridge, 1926).

<sup>23</sup> H. J. Frede, *Ein neuer Paulustext und Kommentar, Vetus Latina* 7-8 (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1974).

<sup>24</sup> "Wendepunkte," p. 249.

<sup>25</sup> Thanks to a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, this writer has prepared a catalogue of Hiberno-Latin exegetical works which is being revised for publication; this information is derived from that catalogue.

<sup>26</sup> "Wendepunkte," p.237.

<sup>27</sup> Lowe, *Cla* 7 (Oxford, 1956), f953-965.

<sup>28</sup> A. Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur* Munich, 1949), p. 91; for Latin translations of Chrysostom's works, cf. pp. 91-109.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. J. H. Mozley, "The Vita Adae," *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1928-1929), 132, for the citation. My thanks to Mr. Charles Wright of Cornell University for this reference. Mr. Wright is preparing a study of the fall of Lucifer in this commentary.

- <sup>11</sup> Martin McNamara, *The Apocrypha in the Irish Church* (Dubin, 1975), pp. 23-24.
- <sup>12</sup> Cf. John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre* (Cambridge, 1981), for the study of Aristotle in this period.
- <sup>13</sup> *Liber Differentiarum* II, 2; *Patrologia Latina* 83, 74C-75A.
- <sup>14</sup> *Hexameron* II, 3, 8-10; ed. C. Schenkl, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 32, 1 (Vienna, 1897), 46-49.
- <sup>15</sup> *CCSL* 108 B (Turnholt, 1973), 91, lines 578-579.
- <sup>16</sup> *De Genesi ad Litteram* I, 17; ed. J. Zycha, *CSEL* 28, 1 (Vienna, 1894), 26.
- <sup>17</sup> Bischoff, "Wendepunkte," p. 222.
- <sup>18</sup> *Homilia in Iohannem*, LIV, 3; *Patrologia Graeca* 59, 299.
- <sup>19</sup> I cite the version of the 'Reference Bible' in Paris, BN lat. 11561, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>, saec. IX<sup>med-2</sup>.
- <sup>20</sup> *Enarratio in Psalmum* LIV, 23; ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, *CCSL* 39 (Turnholt, 1956), 673, lines 3-5.
- <sup>21</sup> Cf. J. F. Kelly, "Augustine in Hiberno-Latin Literature," *Augustinian Studies* 8 (1977), 139-149.
- <sup>22</sup> Michael Gorman, "An Unedited Fragment of an Irish Epitome of St. Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram*," *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 28 (1982), 76-85.
- <sup>23</sup> Rufinus, *De Epiphaniis sive de Natali Domini* 12, ed. A. Engelbrecht, *CSEL* 46 (Vienna, 1910), 98.9-12, quoting Gregory Nazianzus, *Oratio* 45, 8, *PG* 36, 631-634.
- <sup>24</sup> *PL* 67, 379-380.
- <sup>25</sup> *De Natura Rerum*, XII, 3, ed. G. Becker (Berlin, 1857; repr. Amsterdam, 1967), pp. 26-27.
- <sup>26</sup> *Hexameron* III, 1, 3; IV, 2, 7; *CSEL* 32, 1, 60; 114-115.
- <sup>27</sup> For the Isidorian citation, cf. note 32. Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram* I, 3-4, *CSEL* 28, 1, 7-8, has a similar discussion. The citation of Isidore further proves that Augustine was not the chief source for the Irishman's scientific interpretation.
- <sup>28</sup> For the *status quaestionis*, cf. J. F. Kelly, "Hiberno-Latin Exegetes and Exegesis," *Annuaire Mediaevale* 21 (1981), 46-60.



**Golden Chalice of Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria; Lion Monument erected by Henry the Lion in Brunswick, 1166. Pen and ink by Kathy Folcik.**

# The Quarrel between Gallus and Columbanus

by MICHAEL HERREN

Popular saints at the hands of historians seem to suffer one of two fates: either they are exploded, somewhat like Mr. Bumbry, or they are multiplied. St. Patrick suffered the latter destiny, St. Gall, the former. This is not to say that Gallus' existence has been wholly denied by anyone. Yet a number of influential historians have argued passionately that our entire picture of this figure is based upon a pious Carolingian fiction. They allege that the real St. Gall was not an Irishman who accompanied Columbanus from his native land and followed him on his mission as far as Switzerland, where they quarrelled and parted company, but rather an obscure native Alemannian for whom "international credentials" were provided through association with a famous missionary.<sup>1</sup> The object of this magnification was to gain authority for the patron of an abbey beset by numerous political difficulties in its early history. The "revisionists," led by Professor Jäschke, emphasize the paucity of reference to Gallus in Jonas' life of Columbanus; they query the early dating of the *Vita Vetustissima*; they emphasize that Gallus was a speaker of Swabian and that the earliest attested form of his name in the St. Gall charters is Gallo, not Gallus. The name Gallo, they argue, is plausibly Swabian.<sup>2</sup>

I do not intend here to enter the controversy over St. Gall's name or re-open the question of the dating of the *Vita Vetustissima*. What concerns me is the image of the relation between the two holy men that is projected in the various lives, including the *Vita Vetustissima*, the lives by Wetti and Walafrid Strabo, as well as Jonas' life of Columbanus, and to view this material in the light of some evidence provided by Latin poetry that has not been considered previously.

The three extant prose lives of Columbanus<sup>3</sup> are concerned with the relationship between the two apostles only after the arrival of Columbanus' mission in Switzerland. Wetti and Walafrid introduce supplementary material from Jonas' life of Columbanus but relate no

episodes about Gallus prior to those in Arbon / St. Gall. Yet this silence cannot be used per se to bolster the argument that Gallus had no real connection to Columbanus, since Jonas of Bobbio, our oldest witness, relates a tale about Gallus and Columbanus which was told to him often by Gallus himself. The setting of the tale is near Luxeuil, thus showing that the material of the episode is prior to the Arbon sequences, and hence that the two saints were in association before the "Swiss period." We shall deal with this tale presently.

But let us first deal with the accounts of the quarrel. It is almost certain that the *Vita Vetustissima* contained a section dealing with the quarrel episode, but this has been lost. All that remains is the account of Columbanus' forgiveness of his disciple, including the removal of excommunication (that is the word used in the life!) and the conferral of the *cambutta*, Columbanus' staff, upon Gallus.<sup>4</sup>

The first full account is given by Wetti.<sup>5</sup> There we learn of Duke Gunzo's intent to expel Columbanus and his mission and also of acts of violence—theft and homicide—committed against the brethren. Columbanus consoles his disciples by telling them that an angel of God will lead them to the king of Italy who will find a peaceful home for them. We then are told that Gallus has been afflicted with fever and begs his abbot on bended knee to be excused from the journey. Wetti's version of Columbanus' response is curious. He portrays the senior man as speaking with "cheerfulness of mind" and has him say: "If you do not wish to become a sharer in my labours, then you shall not celebrate the Mass in my lifetime." Wetti ends the episode with two authorial comments that appear to be contradictory in tone. The first seems to reproach Gallus for ingratitude towards Columbanus: "And so through his own free will he was left behind—a man long nourished by the teaching of others." Then immediately afterwards: "But we believe that this was brought about by divine providence, so that Gallus, the chosen of God, might be kept for the eternal profit of this people." One might well wonder whether these apparently contradictory judgements reflect Wetti's own thinking, or whether, even in the early ninth century, there still survived a tradition of hostile reproach against Gallus for his action.

Walafrid's account of the same event<sup>6</sup> is somewhat fuller; it is also made without editorial comment. The description of the episode is quite similar to that of Wetti's, but Walafrid portrays Columbanus as attempting to understand Gallus' motives for his refusal. Columbanus thinks that Gallus has been detained by his love of the locality: *amore loci detentum*. After pronouncing his prohibition of the priestly office

upon Gallus, Columbanus departs abruptly, and Walafrid turns his attention to another incident.

Despite their obvious differences in style and management of events, the two accounts agree in the essentials: Gallus is stricken by fever; illness is the reason given by Gallus for his refusal to accompany his mentor; Columbanus apparently not accepting the excuse pronounces an injunction forbidding Gallus to celebrate the Mass during Columbanus' lifetime. Both accounts underscore Gallus' attachment to the locality: in the *Wetti* it is implied in the editorial comment; in Walafrid *amor loci* is presented as Columbanus' own inference. The metrical *Vita Sancti Confessoris*, which follows Walafrid's account chapter by chapter,<sup>7</sup> emphasizes Columbanus' scepticism even more strongly than Walafrid: "The reverend father Columbanus pondered the excuse of fever with doubtful mind / believing it not the sort of thing an unwavering companion and saintly priest would say."<sup>8</sup>

If we look now to the earlier portrait of the relation between the two men provided by Columbanus' contemporary Jonas, we note that it is consistent with the later Carolingian portrait. The value of Jonas' testimony is enhanced by the fact that the Carolingian tradition (which stems from, and to some extent includes, the *Vita Vetustissima*) is only partially dependent upon it. The eighth- and ninth-century prose lives use Jonas only to fill in background regarding Columbanus. They do not mention the one incident about the two men recited by Jonas. Nor does Jonas refer to Gallus in connection with Columbanus' sojourn in Arbon. In Jonas' words, Gallus "often told of himself" a certain story,<sup>9</sup> which, on closer analysis, appears to be paradigmatic of the relationship between the two men. On one occasion Columbanus bade Gallus to fish in a particular stream. In Jonas' account, Gallus misunderstood the command and went fishing in another stream—needless to say, without success. The mistake was rectified once Gallus reported his failure to Columbanus. But the "moral" of the tale is that obedience to the will of the holy abbot is rewarded with success, disobedience with failure. We therefore have a paradigm of Gallus, the disobedient follower, that derives not from hagiographical imagination, but from Gallus' own living words.

If we are to sustain the hypothesis that the quarrel between the two missionaries was genuine and not a "mere" parable of disobedience followed by a curse, such as we find frequently in the Irish saints' lives,<sup>10</sup> it is important that we establish an historically plausible motivation for the disagreement. In challenging the hypothesis that the quarrel is a hagiographical commonplace, it is crucial to observe

that Columbanus' injunction was only partially effective. It is clear that the prohibition stymied Gallus' career to some extent, but it did not prevent him from establishing a community in Arbon under the patronage of the local *dux*—if we may trust the Carolingian “Vulgate” that far. Is there any evidence that Columbanus was genuinely envious of Gallus' talents? that Gallus succeeded where Columbanus had failed?

I turn now to some evidence provided by Latin poetry that has not yet been considered in this question; I refer to the contents of *Carmen Sangallense*, no. 5,<sup>11</sup> a highly complex *carmen figuratum* or “figure poem” comprising thirty-five hexameter lines. The figure is composed of two crossing hexameter lines, with four sets of adonics set into the four sides of the figure in double-V formation. The diagonal hexameters of the figure reveal clearly that the poem is addressed to St. Gall:

Galle, tuos famulos magna pietate reserva  
Qui retines regnum da nos captare polorum.

Gallus, save your devotees through your great love—  
You who occupy the kingdom of heaven, grant that we  
too may attain it.

This difficult poem relates a number of scenes from the life and miracles of St. Gall. It contains a curious group of lines near the beginning that refer somewhat cryptically to Gallus' abandonment of his homeland and the adoption of the name of Seth; or at least the lines imply a comparison with the biblical Seth (11.3-7):

Galle, Dei cultor; nam te decus intulit arvo  
Lux lucens isti data, portans gaudia nobis.  
Florea spes pacis defers huc vota salutis,  
Qui patriae sedes et sanae laudis honores  
Hic veluti animo liquisti nomine pro Seth.

Gallus, worshipper of God; For goodness brought you to  
our land (and) a light given (by God), shining upon it,  
bringing joy to us. O flourishing hope of peace, you  
bring hither the promise of salvation, you who left your  
ancestral seat and the honours of wholesome praise  
as if in exchange for the soul(and)name of Seth in this  
place (*sc.* Arbon).

Alternatively, the final line might be translated: "in exchange for the name of Seth here (in this place) for the benefit of your soul, as it were."<sup>12</sup> However, the meaning is only a little altered. In whichever way we translate the lines, Gallus is somehow indentified with Seth.

Curiously, the anonymous author of this ninth-century poem<sup>13</sup> quotes two hexametrical line endings from the poem "Ad Sethum" attributed to *St. Columbanus* (the author of this poem names himself as *Columbanus*<sup>14</sup>). The lines occur in the V-figure repeated at the top and bottom of the *carmen figuratum*; these are *mente serena*, echoing line 1 of "Ad Sethum" and *carmina vates* which echoes line 14 of the same poem. Moreover, the adonic line *accipe mitis* in the same figure may also have been intended to capture the flavour of *Columbanus'* adonic poem beginning with the words *accipe quaeso*.<sup>15</sup>

Now the *Columbanus* who wrote "Ad Sethum" does not tell us to whom the biblical *Deckname* Seth is intended to refer. Nor, to my knowledge, are there any manuscript glosses or commentaries that inform us that the intended recipient of "Ad Sethum" was really Gallus. Nonetheless, I think it a certainty that the author of the *Carmen Sangallense 5* was himself convinced that the poem written by someone named *Columbanus* to someone named *Seth* was really the work of the *Columbanus*, Saint of Bobbio, to the *Gallus* who founded the community that came to be known by his name.

It remains to ask, what was the point of our anonymous poet's allusion to the "Ad Sethum"? To answer this question we must examine the content of *Columbanus'* poem. The opening lines of this work clearly state its intention: it is a letter of warning by *Columbanus* to *Seth*:

Favourably accept, Sethus, and read with a quiet mind  
The words of *Columban* who warns you with faithful voice;  
and though they lack the ornament of cultured language,  
Yet they show my devotion and the love of a dutiful mind.<sup>16</sup>

A large portion of the sermon that follows deals explicitly with the evils of wealth and of the vanity of acquiring earthly goods. Though much of the language of the poem is conventional, one cannot assume that the entire work is a concatenation of mere topoi lacking all intent. Of particular interest is line 30: "What profit the gifts of princes? Or the banquets of a rich table?" Has *Columbanus* accused his *Seth* of greed, or even worse, of accepting bribes?

There are strong reasons to believe that *Carmen Sangallense 5* was

intended as a reply to the implied accusations of "Ad Sethum." I think this is clear from the following lines (11.20-23):

Hanc primum cellam sub noto numine factam  
 Totis iam votis cumulabas fretus ab altis  
 Mole dein natos non passe periri novellos  
 Rem bene iam dignam rexisti, maxime doctor.

This cell first built according to heaven's clear approval  
 you continually increased through your prayers and faith  
 in God, not suffering your young ones to suffer from want:  
 you always ruled your estate well, great doctor!

The message is subtly stated, but nevertheless clear. Gallus did not found his monastery in disobedience to his superior but rather in obedience to God's voice. The patron increased his substance not through reliance on worldly favour (as implied by the author of "Ad Sethum"), but through prayer and faith in God. Moreover, Gallus' motive in seeking worldly goods was pure: this was done to ensure the survival of a holy foundation.

The question of who really wrote "Ad Sethum"—St. Columbanus of Luxeuil and Bobbio or some eighth-century figure of the same name—remains, perhaps ultimately, an insoluble problem. I do not regard the case for eighth-century authorship as proven.<sup>17</sup> However, the historical problem raised here is not affected by the outcome of this literary-historical riddle. What is important is that a ninth-century Alemannian poet<sup>18</sup> still believed it necessary to reply to inferences *thought* to have been made by Gallus' superior against Gallus. This suggests to me that Gallus' reputation had been impugned in the ninth century in certain quarters and that a defense was called for. Such an attack on a holy patron would have had to rest on the old charges of disobedience levelled by Columbanus, which the Carolingian hagiographers attempted—not always successfully—to smooth over.

One problem remains. We have no other evidence apart from these two related poems that Gallus was known by the name Seth, or even compared with that figure. One hypothesis that suggests itself is that Seth was a private nickname for Gallus by Columbanus. Whatever poet with the name Columbanus wrote the "avarice poems" printed in Walker's edition seemed to have employed this practice in one other poem,<sup>19</sup> and we have solid evidence that St. Columbanus was fond of sound and sense plays on names.<sup>20</sup> Two reasons suggest themselves for

the choice of Seth as a *Deckname* for Gallus. First, the quotation from Genesis 4,25: "God hath given me another seed for Abel, whom Cain slew" (Douay). Columbanus may have seen Gallus as the seed planted by God in Alemannia in place of himself (Columbanus). Secondly, the biblical Seth lived to be 912 years old (according to Genesis 5,8). "Ad Sethum" discourses on the ills of old age at length and alludes specifically to "Seth's" personal desire for a long life (lines 76-77).

Is there any other basis for believing that Columbanus suspected Gallus of avaricious behaviour or accused him of such? I think that there is. Walafrid tells us the tale of Gunzo's proffered gift of gold and silver vessels intended for Gallus' new foundation (I,19). Gallus rejects the gifts with the following words addressed to Magnoaldus: "Silver and gold are not for me. See to it that you give the vessel to the poor, lest you be found to act contrary to good example. For my holy teacher Columbanus is accustomed to offer the sacrifice of the Lord in brazen vessels, as it is told that our Saviour was fastened to the Cross with nails of the same metal." Is this story told to show that there was no basis to Columbanus' (perceived) allegation, or at least no need for his admonition? We shall doubtless never recover the historical truth of the matter, but the story of Gunzo's goblets can indeed be viewed as an attempt to justify Gallus in this matter and to show his adherence to Columbanus' precepts. With regard to Gunzo, we must recall that his was the same *dux* who expelled Columbanus from Arbon! We should also recall that Gallus accepted both land and money from Sigibert (Walafrid = Wetti, I, 21). Had Gallus succeeded where Columbanus failed? Was the real basis of the quarrel Columbanus' jealousy of his disciple's success? Was it this jealousy that led to the composition of "Ad Sethum"?

There is at least one other poetic attempt to justify Gallus' use of wealth. This occurs in lines 1093-97 of the metrical *Vita Sancti Galli Confessoris*,<sup>21</sup> which are based on chapter 26 of the first book of Walafrid's prose life:

Construit interea virtutum cultor opimus  
Basilicam Gallus, summae bonitatis amator,  
Per gyrum statuens habitacula fratribus apta,  
In quis sufficerent socialem ducere vitam,  
Aeterna per quam possent mercede potiri.

Meanwhile Gallus, a wealthy cultivator of virtues  
and lover of the highest good, built a church

and established dwellings around it suitable for the brethren, in which they would have enough to lead their communal life through which they would be able to obtain eternal wealth.

The reference to Gallus as “wealthy” in his cultivatin of virtues and the juxtaposition of temporal and eternal wealth remind us of the defensive tone assumed in the *Carmen Sangallense* lines 20-23 (cited above). Both passages define the legitimate uses of wealth in monastic circumstances. But why would such apparent justifications be required in either poem, if it were not felt that the patron’s conduct in respect of wealth had been impugned?

All of the evidence we have examined so far portrays the relationship between the two missionaries as strained in the extreme. The hagiographers do not deny the rift, but they do everything in their power to show that Gallus attempted to make amends to his mentor through his subsequent good conduct. As we have already noted, Wetti even seems to side briefly with Columbanus in the account of the quarrel and separation. Two poets feel constrained to justify Gallus’ successful accumulation of property, and Walafrid underscores the notion that Gallus’ attitude towards wealth is in conformity with that of his *praeceptor* Columbanus. This aspect of the mid-ninth-century Gallus tradition appears to represent a response to “Ad Sethum”—a work believed to be a genuine composition of Columbanus, founder of Luxeuil and Bobbio. Then again, we have Jonas’ word that Gallus himself told a story dealing with the difficult side of his relation with Columbanus. From such variegated, yet consistent, evidence, the modern hypothesis of the Gallus-Columbanus relationship as a hagiographical fiction appears nothing short of preposterous. If we may give Professor Walther Berschin the last word: “If the hagiographers had wished to metamorphose a simple Swabian native named Gallo into an Irish companion of Columbanus named Gallus, they might have thought of better ways to honour their saint than to refer to a cancellation of excommunication—a matter that was obviously embarrassing to them.”<sup>22</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, “Kolumban von Luxeuil,” in: A. Borst, ed., *Mönchtum, Episkopat und Adel zur Gründungszeit des Klosters Reichenau* (Sigmaringen, 1974), pp.77-130, esp.115-30.

<sup>2</sup> For a history of this controversy, see J. Duft, “Irische Einflüsse auf St. Gallen und Alemannien,” in: A. Borst, op. cit., pp.14-19.

- <sup>3</sup> These lives along with Jonas' life of Columbanus are edited by B. Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum IV* (Berlin, 1902).
- <sup>4</sup> *Vita Vetustissima* I,1.
- <sup>5</sup> Chs. 8-9.
- <sup>6</sup> I,9.
- <sup>7</sup> This poem is printed by E. Duemmler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Aevi Carolini II* (Berlin, 1884), 428-73. On this poem, see G. Bernt, *Das lateinische Epigramm im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter* (Munich, 1968), pp.264-5.
- <sup>8</sup> Lines 157-60. Translations of this poem are my own.
- <sup>9</sup> Jonas, *Vitae Columbani* I, 11.
- <sup>10</sup> For a study of the differences between Irish and continental saints' lives in the Merovingian period, see Jean-Michel Picard, "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, 1981), pp.91-104.
- <sup>11</sup> Edited by E. Duemmler, *op. cit.*, pp.478-9 (see the last page of this article for the figure-poem). I discuss this work in considerable detail in my "A Ninth-Century Poem for St. Gall's Feast Day and the 'Ad Sethum' of Columbanus," *Studi Medievali*, forthcoming. The English translation of the poem in this paper is my own.
- <sup>12</sup> For two recent discussions of these lines, see M. Lapidge, "The Authorship of the Adonic Verses 'ad Fidolium' Attributed to Columbanus," *Studi Medievali* 18,2 (1977), 249-314, esp. pp.302-03; H. Löwe, "Irische Genealogien aus St. Gallen und ihr historischer Hintergrund," in: N. Kamp and J. Wollasch, eds., *Tradition als Historische Kraft* (Berlin, 1982), pp.138-55, esp. pp.149-50.
- <sup>13</sup> For the questions surrounding the dating and authorship of this work, see my "A Ninth-Century Poem," *op. cit.*, note 11.
- <sup>14</sup> In the opening lines of the poem, quoted below.
- <sup>15</sup> So, rightly, Michael Lapidge (*op. cit.*, note 12), p.303.
- <sup>16</sup> G. S. M. Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin, 1957), pp.186-87 (lines 1-4).
- <sup>17</sup> The controversy over the dating and authorship of this and other poems ascribed to St. Columbanus has been quite lively during the past dozen years or so, beginning with the published doctoral thesis of J. W. Smit (*Studies on the Language and Style of Columba the Younger (Columbanus)*, Amsterdam, 1971), which advances the Carolingian hypothesis. A good summary of the scholarship to 1977, along with new arguments, for a Carolingian dating, are to be found in Lapidge (*op. cit.*, note 1), pp.249-53. Adversaria to Lapidge are given by H. Löwe, "Columbanus und Fidolius," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 37,1 (1981), 1-19. Two recent studies of Columbanus' poems

appear in H. Löwe, ed., *Die Iren und Europa im Früheren Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1982); P. C. Jacobsen, "Carmina Columbani," pp.423-67; D. Schaller, "Die Sieben-silberstrophien *de mundi transitu* – eine Dichtung Columbans?", pp.468-83.

<sup>18</sup> See note 11.

<sup>19</sup> See Löwe, "Columbanus und Fidolius" (*op. cit.*, note 17), 15-16; my "The Pseudonymous Tradition in Hiberno-Latin: An Introduction," in: J. J. O'Meara and B. Naumann, eds., *Latin Script and Letters A.D.400-900. Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler* (Leiden, 1976), pp.121-31.

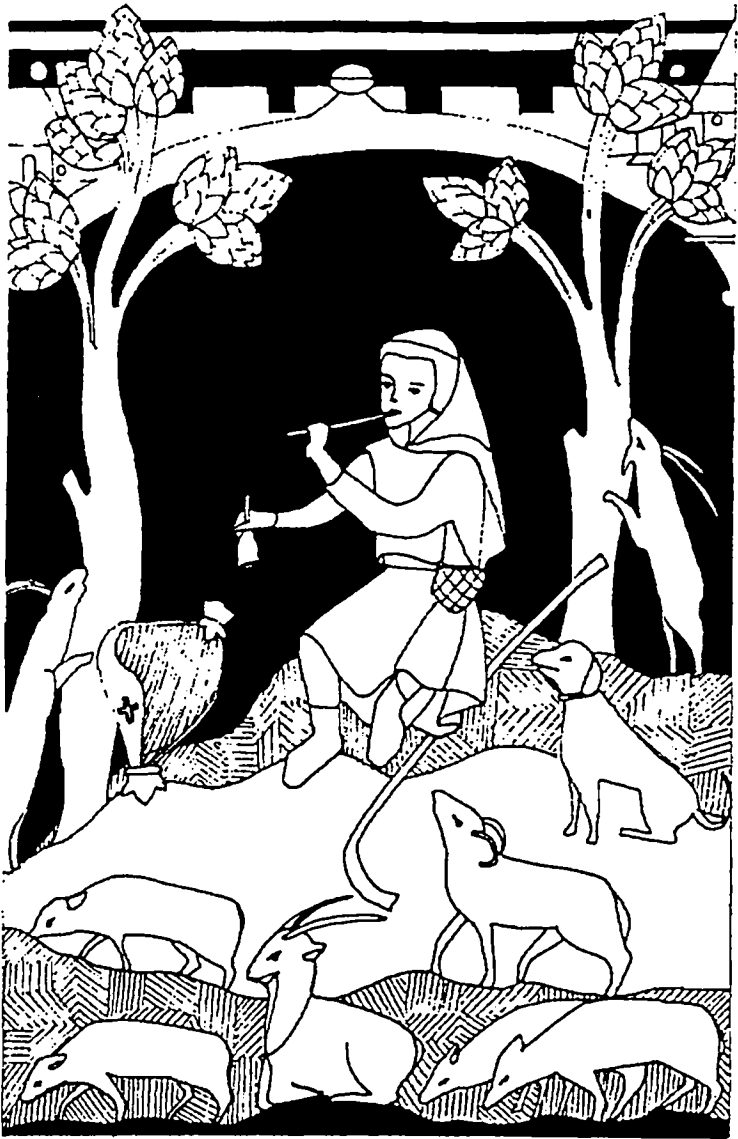
<sup>20</sup> Smit (*op. cit.*, note 17), pp.149-158; also my "A Ninth-Century Poem" (*op. cit.*, note 11).

<sup>21</sup> See note 7.

<sup>22</sup> "Die Anfänge der lateinischen Literatur unter den Alemannen," in: W. Hübener, ed., *Die Alemannen in der Frühzeit* (Bühl/Baden, 1974), pp.132-33.

AD SANCTUM GALLUM

GRATES AC VOTUM POTIS EST CAPTARE SERENUM  
CARMINA CIRCUIENS IN SIGNI ANOMINE SUA VI  
GALLE DEI CULTOR NAMED ECUS IN TULITARYO  
LUX LUCENSISTIDA TAPORTANS GAUDI ANOBIS  
FLOR EAS PES PACIS DEFERSHUCVOTASA LUTIS  
QUI PATRIA ES EDESET SANAEL AUDISHONORES  
HIC VELUTIANI MOLIIQUISTI NOMINE PROSETH  
TU DECUS OMNEPII SPULGES IN PARTE POLORUM  
NUNCTUTUS REGNOTERRAS MISERA REFOVENDO  
IAM CELSUS FESTIS INTERRA APTARE COACTIS  
ACRE QUI EMCAELIDASCANDERE TERREAQUALI  
FLOREUS INTEMPLOTU CARPIS PACTASUPERNO  
ORBIS DE OCCASUPERGENS PLACITUREQUEEOD  
ABBAINSILVICOLA FULGES CARISSIMETURBA  
FLORECATUS NIVEOPELLISQDIFLUMINENOTO  
PLENA SFRAUDELUESACPONIS GAUDI AFONTES  
PESTE DEINVAQUASE MUNDANS FAMINETERRAS  
OMNIA REPARITER PACASTIADTEBONE RECTOR  
ATQUE CREATOR IDASDIGNAM FLORECATERVAM  
HANC PRIMUM CELLAM SUBNOTONUMINE FACTAM  
TOTIS IAM VOTIS CUM LABA SFRETUS ABAL TIS  
MOLE DEI NNATOS NON PASSI PERIRE NOVELLOS  
REMBENEIAM DIGNAM REXISTI MAXIME DOCTOR  
HINC ERIMUS FEESTIS ACCITIDENIQUE RECTIS  
ATQUE BEATORUM MENSPARTERITACTADEORUM  
CUM NOSTRIS VOTIS INTERSIT GRATIA FONTIS  
QUOTURBAEREGNITANTAE MITTUNTUR HONORI  
ATQUE BONOCAELI GAUDENTI NSORTENITENTI  
ONUNCVIMTOTOMISERATESI NAETHEREMUNDO  
DAPASTOR PATERACNOSTER QUALDCEPERENNI  
FULGEATETSPERETDEFENDI EXVISIBUS SAGNI  
ACPRIMUM TIGETESTUTOR MISERA REFIDELES  
QUI TEMET COMUNT NORUNT ET IN ARTESEPERKA  
TUM EADICTALEGENSEAETERNOPROMISINARVO  
QUESODAVENIAM SCCELERATO APESTE SUPREMA



Shepherd's Peace. From a French Bible, 1250. Pen and ink by Sr. Mary Robert Clair, S.N.D.

# The Chronicles of St. Gall

notes and translation by JOHN D. CRANE

*Great institutions often develop a personality of their own, and this is certainly true of the monastery of St. Gall. We are fortunate to have a work which captures this personality vividly: the Casus Sancti Galli, a chronicle of the events and the people involved in them at this fascinating place. The chronicles were begun by a monk named Ratpert and continued by Ekkehart IV, who is the author of the selection translated below.*

*Ekkehart IV was born about 980 and died in the last half of the eleventh century after spending most of his life at St. Gall. He was a member of a famous family whose founder, Ekkehart I, was also a highly esteemed member of the St. Gall community and a writer of some note.*

*The style of the work makes it a delight to read. Many chronicles from this period are merely unelaborated records of names and events listed in chronological order. This work, however, uses a swift-moving anecdotal style of narrative which is reminiscent of Herodotus. The aim is often didactic; the writer entertains and instructs the reader by relating edifying and amusing stories centering on one or more characters who were well known in the St. Gall community. The Latin used is simple and colloquial, often reflecting the German vernacular in its structure. Parallel construction, rather than subordination, is the norm; one seldom finds the long periodic sentences so familiar in Cicero and Livy, but the style fits the material perfectly.*

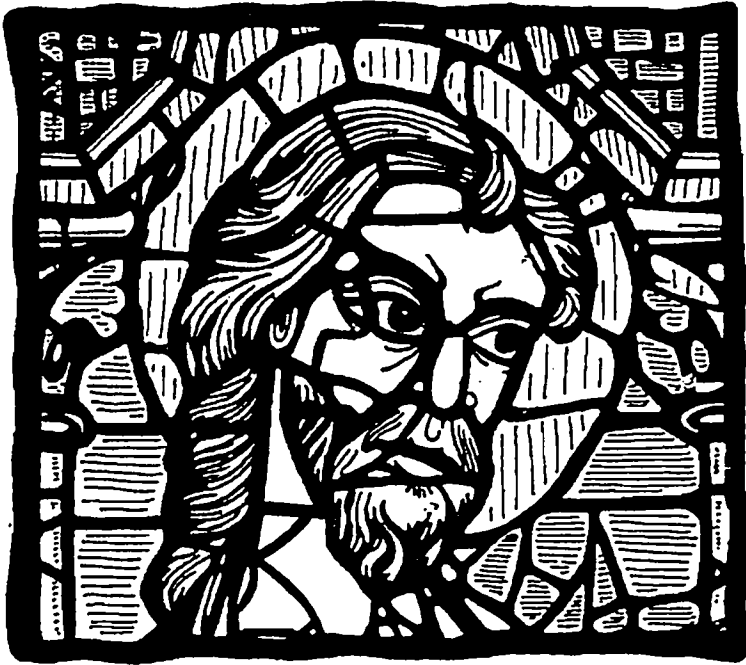
*To give some idea of the charm of these chronicles, I have translated chapter 41, a section which exemplifies the best qualities of the work. In the translation I have tried to preserve the tone and style as much as is possible and also to stay fairly close to the literal meaning of the text. The standard edition of the Latin text of the whole work is that of G. Meyer von Knonau in the series Mittheilungen zur Vaterlaendischen Geschichte, published at St. Gall in 1877. The excerpt translated below, as well as a few other selections from the work (Latin text only), is readily available in K. P. Harrington's Mediaeval Latin (University of Chicago Press, 1962).*

## Notker Meets the Devil

Notker, as we have said, was strong in spirit. As his friend Tuotilo was mighty against men, so was Notker mighty against demons, although his body was lean and delicate from fasting and vigils. Now one night he happened to arrive at the church early. As was his custom, he went to the altar and prayed. He then went into the crypt of the twelve Apostles and Saint Columbanus, and while his eyes were shedding bitter tears behind the altar, he heard what seemed to be the snarling of a dog. When he also heard the sound of a grunting pig mingled with the snarling, he then realized it was the tempter. "Are you there again?" he said. "How do you like grunting and snarling now, you wretch, after the glorious voice you had in heaven?" Then he took up a light and tried to find in which corner the devil was lurking. Now when he drew near to the left corner, the tempter tore at his garments like a mad dog. "Oho!" shouted Notker; "I have enough trouble with you outside the crypt. I guess the punishments you are said to suffer now are not enough for you, so I will give you something even more bitter. In the name of these saints and of my Lord, I order you to wait right here for me in the same canine form you now inhabit. "I will do it," replied the devil, "if I want to." Notker went off swiftly, saying, "I trust in the Lord that, whether you want to or not, you will wait for me." He went in haste to the altar of St. Gall and took the staff which had belonged to the Saint and his master and which had worked many miracles. He also took a famous globe fitted with the holy cross. He placed the globe in the right entrance of the crypt and from the left side attacked the devil, who was still in the shape of a dog. Now when he began striking him with the holy staff, the beast gave forth once more his snarling and grunting, but this time more shrilly. He finally took flight from Notker's blows, but when he reached the holy globe, he was unable to proceed further and had to halt. By now he could no longer endure the blows and strokes and cried out, using the vulgar tongue, "*Au we! Mir we!*"--woe is me.

In the meantime, the sacristan had entered the basilica, and when he heard the terrible cries, he hurriedly picked up a light and rushed to the crypt. Now Notker gave such blows to the devil at the end that he broke the staff in places, and if the sacristan had not picked up the globe when he saw it and thus allowed the dog to escape, Notker would still be beating him. The sacristan was astounded when he saw the damaged staff and said, "You defiled the holy staff, good sir, on a

dog?" When the monk did not answer, he added, "Who in the world was that who shouted '*Au we?*'" Thinking that the monk out of piety was hiding some thief, the sacristan went on foot through the whole church, hoping to catch someone. But when he found neither thief nor dog, he was puzzled, for he had closed the church behind him when he entered. He walked around a while wondering what had happened. He could not presume to question so pious a monk, especially one who had once already refused to answer. But Notker, being both humble and wise, called the sacristan aside and took him into his confidence. He gave a blessing and said, "My son, I have broken the staff, and so unless you help me, my secret will have to be made known. But it is not right for me to walk in the glory of great and marvelous things which are above me, so I ask you to give me your pledge of silence concerning what has happened." And so he explained the affair to him in all its details. The sacristan then had the staff repaired secretly by a skilled craftsman and concealed what had actually occurred. But with the passage of time, the whole affair, just as it happened, came into the open.



**Habakkuk. Stained-glass window at Bourges Cathedral, early thirteenth century. Pen and ink by Paul Schuplin.**

# The St. Gall Festival

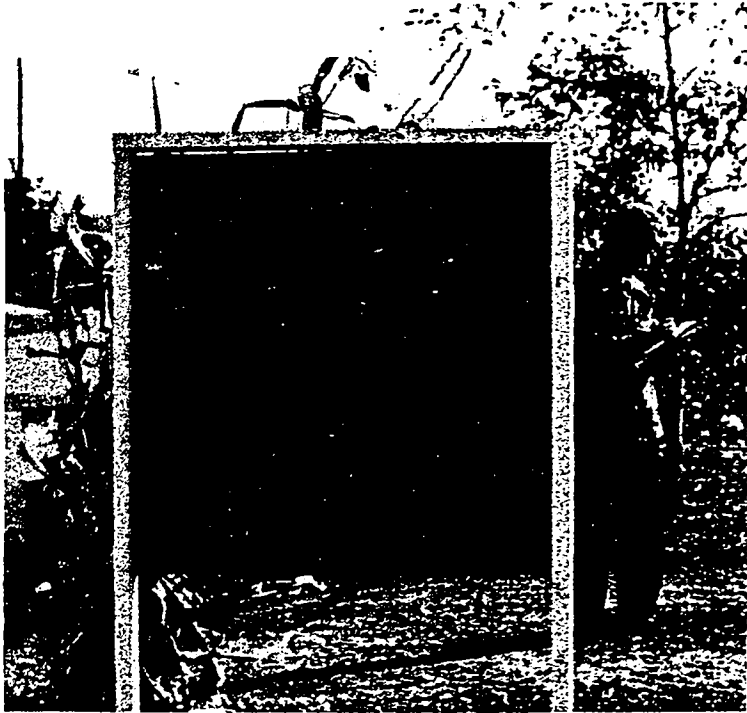
by RICHARD CHARNIGO and JEROME M. McKEEVER

The academic conference on St. Gall was but one part of the week-long schedule of activities that imparted a medieval flavor to the north-eastern Ohio city of Parma, named after the Italian city famous for its twelfth-century cathedral and the frescoes of Correggio. Numerous other activities went along with the conference, and what was to be a productive series of events began on Monday, October 11, 1982. The classrooms of Cuyahoga Community College provided the vehicle for the intellectual tours conducted by professors Hairston, Halarewicz, Matthews, Colson, Laughlin, Stagliano, and Howard through feudal cultural values, Gothic architecture, the medieval Church, German medieval history, and the chemistry, astronomy, and music of the Middle Ages. Their classroom activities were thus devoted to an understanding of the times and values of this corridor through which modern culture has been transmitted.

On Tuesday, the Society for Creative Anachronism, a fourteen-year-old organization begun at Berkeley, California, now with local organizations throughout the country, demonstrated such medieval arts as weaving, calligraphy, and dancing, along with a demonstration of hand-to-hand combat, prior to a showing of Ingmar Bergman's *The Seventh Seal*, a film which explores the medieval legend of the knight who engages Death in a chess game.

On Thursday, Thom Hoffner and Company provided a noon-time gathering with a look into medieval magic as a means of defense as well as a look at sword-fighting in the Middle Ages. Later that same evening, Lydia Colson, who just two months earlier had traveled to St. Gallen, Switzerland, gave a slide presentation through this modern Swiss city (population 75,000), now the cultural and commercial center of eastern Switzerland, but formerly a wooded area near a lake where the Irish monk Gall established his hermitage in the early part of the seventh century. With recordings on the baroque organ of St. Gallen cathedral as well as Gregorian chants of Benedictine choirs from the Maria Einsiedeln serving as background, Dr. Colson commented on the city of St. Gallen, the Abbey, and the cathedral.

On Friday, after introductions and comments by David Cratty, the



**A reporter from the Ashland, Ohio, *Gazette* takes notes at the entrance to St. Gall Farm on the day of its dedication.**

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moderator; Paul Shumaker, provost of the Western Campus of Cuyahoga Community College; Oscar Crawford, originator of the conference; and Peter Broder, honorary consul of Switzerland, the academic portion of the week's events began, the papers presented therein occupying the preceding pages of this issue.

On Friday evening, the Ensemble Sanz Cuer, a quartet of musician-singers from Montreal, entertained a theater audience with music from the Middle Ages. Performing on such instruments as recorders, lutes, and dulcimers, Susan Palmer, Judith Cohen, Ariane Dind, and Karla Holmes provided their audience with a "fascinating evening," according to Robert Finn, music critic for Cleveland's *Plain Dealer*. "Most of the music," Finn noted, "was in dance forms and



**Pictured above is a portion of the crowd attending the St. Gall Festival on this unseasonably cool October day.**

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rhythms, the harmonies simple and the whole effect indescribably charming . . . " Their music, Finn continued, reminds us "that there are other, simpler and far older ways to gladden the spirit and set the feet to dancing."

On Saturday, the conclusion of the week-long activity that centered around St. Gall and the Abbey took place in Congress, Ohio, about forty miles southwest of Cleveland. Sheltering themselves from the subnormal temperatures and the autumn sky alternating between brilliant sun glints and the leaden premonition of winter, the procession of clergy, faculty, and guests entered the large white barn of St. Gall Farm—today a wooden cathedral enchanted by the sounds of the Gregorian music. During the vesting of the officiating Benedictine ab-



Oscar Crawford (right) readies faculty for the procession into the farm's large white barn, site of the dedication.

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bot, the Right Reverend Roger Gries, the fourth abbot of St. Andrew's Abbey in Cleveland, the St. Olaf Schola Cantorum of St. Olaf's College in Northfield, Minnesota, with James May conducting, sang the "Gaudeamus Omnes." David Cratty, professor of English at Cuyahoga Community College, then welcomed Abbot Gries on behalf of the Cleveland Medieval Society. David Richardson, Cleveland State University English professor, extended his welcome to the abbot on behalf of the Spenser Society and read excerpts from the *Faerie Queene*, wishing St. Gall Farm a "continuall spring, and there a harvest



**Abbot Gries officiates at the dedication and blessing of St. Gall Farm.**

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/ Continuall" (III. vi. 42). The third greeter, Oscar Crawford, host of the conference and festival, welcomed Abbot Gries, commented on St. Gall's influence on Western civilization, and encouraged the preservation and study of Gregorian chant. After the ceremonial reception of the abbot and the singing of the "Te Deum Laudamus," Abbot Gries addressed the assemblage, noting the continuation of traditions of the Middle Ages to the present time. His greeting was followed by the "Veni Creator Spiritus," a song medieval in origin, said to have been written by Charlemagne himself. The first of several scripture readings was read by the Reverend Michael Hackman of Congress Community Church. After the singing of the "Laudate Dominum," Father Paul Hackman of St. Stephen Church in West Salem, Ohio, read the epistle.



**After the ceremony, Abbot Gries talks with Vasili, a member of the Society for Creative Anachronism.**

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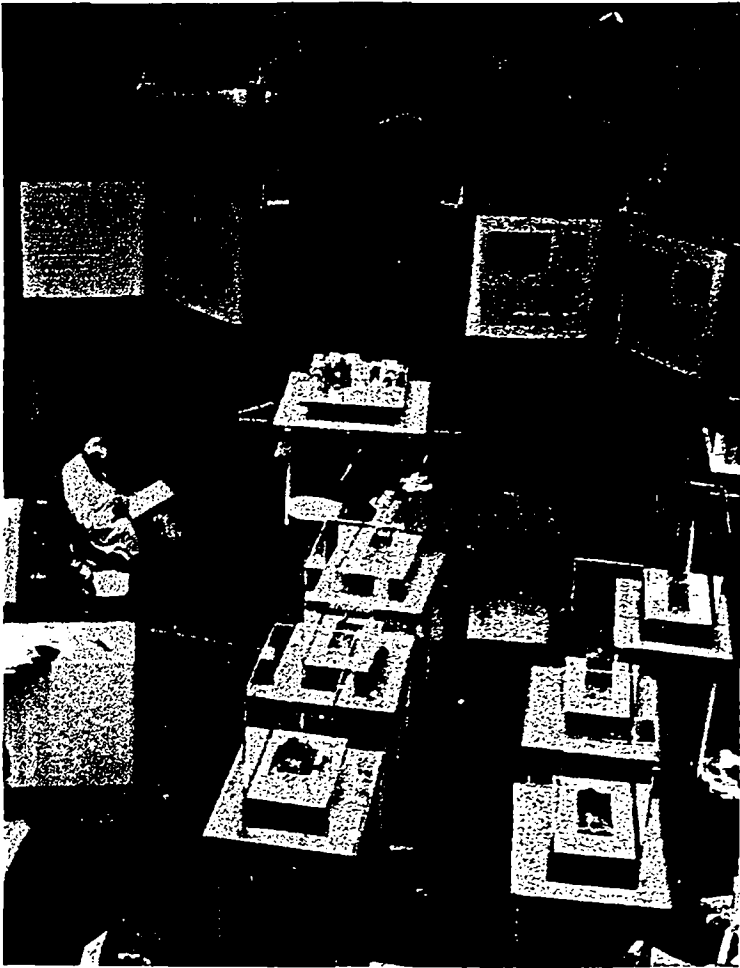
Then, after the singing of the "Nunc Dimittis," Simeon's prayer, by the St. Olaf Schola Cantorum, the Gospel was sung in four



**Priscilla Zirngibl, seneschal of the Society for Creative Anachronism, plays the autoharp, a modern-day cousin to the psaltry, at the St. Gall Festival.**

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languages—Latin, Greek, Coptic, and English—by Fathers Lang, Metallinos, Mikhail, and Abbot Gries, signifying both the universality of the worship and the commonality of worlds orient and occident.



**Ernest Born prepares the St. Gall Exhibit at the University Art Museum in Berkeley, California.**

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After the singing of "Holy God, We Praise Thy Name," and the Litany of the Saints, Abbot Gries blessed St. Gall Farm, and the richly festive ceremony was concluded.

### The St. Gall Exhibition: 1983-1985

Though the conference and festival have concluded for the bienium, the St. Gall Exhibition, the architectural reconstruction by Ernest Born and Walter Horn of the St. Gall Plan, will continue for those two years. Dr. Richard Clancy, chairman of the English Department, John Carroll University, viewed the exhibit while on sabbatical last fall at Winchester College, Winchester, England. "Agog" at the display, Dr. Clancey recommends it highly, as does Max W. Sullivan, director, University of Texas Art Gallery, who reports that the exhibit was well received by students in Arlington. The "very beautiful" and "fascinating" show appeals not only to Medievalists, according to director Sullivan, but also to students of art, architecture, philosophy, and urban planning. The exhibit covers approximately 2,000 square feet. Listed below are the dates, locations, and contact persons for the U.S. exhibition:

**1983**

January 7 - February 20

Museum of Art, University of Iowa  
Iowa City, Iowa 52242  
Joann Moser, Curator of Collections  
(319) 353-3266

March 7 - April 17

University Art Gallery, U. of Texas  
P. O. Box 19089 UTA Station  
Arlington, Texas 76019  
Max W. Sullivan, Director  
(817) 273-2891

May 9 - June 19

Arkansas Arts Center  
MacArthur Park  
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203  
Townsend Wolfe, III, Director  
(501) 372-4000

July 13 - September 11

Indiana University Art Museum  
Bloomington, Indiana 47405  
Thomas T. Solley, Director  
(812) 335-5445

October 10 - November 20

William Benton Museum of Art  
University of Connecticut  
Storrs, Connecticut 06268  
Mrs. Stephanie Terenzio, Asst. Director  
(203) 486-4520

1984

January 16 - February 26

Bell Gallery, Brown University  
Providence, Rhode Island 02912  
Nancy Verace, Director  
(401) 863-3153 or 863-2421

March 19 - April 29

Emory University  
Atlanta, Georgia 30322  
Professor Thomas W. Lyman  
Art History Department  
(404) 329-6282

May 21 - July 1

Sunrise Foundation  
746 Myrtle Road  
Charleston, West Virginia 25314  
Nancy Beers, Curator of Fine Arts  
(304) 344-8035

July 16 - August 19

Dunbarton Oaks Library  
1703 32nd Street N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007  
Cary Vikan, Associate Curator  
Byzantine Collection  
(202) 342-3256  
(Giles Constable, Director)

September 2 - October 14

Museum of Art, University of Oklahoma  
410 West Boyd Street  
Norman, Oklahoma 73019  
Sam Olkinetsky, Director  
(405) 325-3272

December 12 - January 20 (1985) Amarillo Art Center  
P.O. Box 447  
Amarillo, Texas 79178  
John Cates, Curator  
(806) 372-8356  
(David Turner, Director)

## Notes on Contributors

JOSEPH H. LYNCH is associate professor of History and Director of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at the Ohio State University. Dr. Lynch has published on monastic history and is currently completing a book on baptismal sponsorship and godparents in early medieval society.

GARY M. RADKE is an assistant professor of Art History at Syracuse University. In addition to preparing biographies of ten Italian architects for the *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, he is the author of "Medieval Frescoes in the Papal Palaces of Viterbo and Orvieto" in *Gesta* (forthcoming). Dr. Radke was a Fulbright-Hays Fellow in Italy and was a David E. Finley Fellow at the National Gallery of Art. For 1983-84, he has been awarded a Mellon Fellowship for study at the American Academy of Rome.

PATRICIA A. QUINN is currently finishing a study of oblation in the Benedictine Order. As Adult Opportunity Coordinator at the University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire, she is also engaged in research concerning adult student enrollments in contemporary American universities.

EDWARD A. SEGAL is currently a graduate student in Medieval Studies at Yale University, concentrating on early medieval history and serving as co-chairman of the Yale Medieval Consortium. As an undergraduate, he attended Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, where he received a B.A. *summa cum laude*, in 1980. His Senior Honors Thesis was an analysis of the Frankish military under Charlemagne and he continues specialized research on the Carolingian epoch.

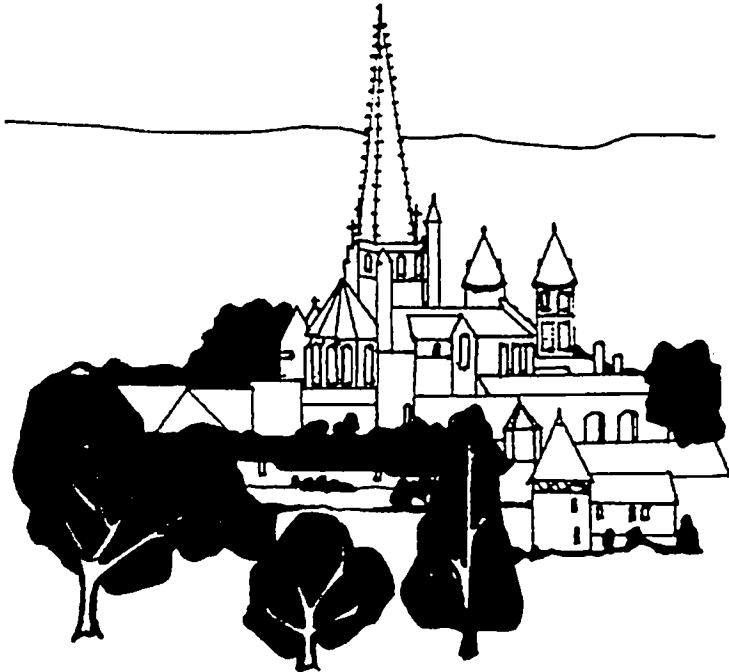
JOHN J. BUTT teaches history at Westminster Choir College in Princeton, New Jersey. He is currently preparing an article on the Peasants' Revolt of 1381.

JOSEPH F. KELLY is professor of Church History at John Carroll University, Cleveland. Dr. Kelly is a specialist in Early Medieval biblical exegesis, especially that done in the British Isles. He has edited a volume for the *Corpus Christianorum* series and has contributed ar-

ticles to *Revue Benedictine*, *Mediaevalia*, *Studia Patristica*, *Augustinian Studies*, and *Manuscripta inter alia*. He has received grants and fellowships from the Medieval Academy of America, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Northwest Area Foundation, and the American Philosophical Society.

MICHAEL HERREN is professor of Humanities and Classical Studies as well as chairman of the Department of Humanities at Atkinson College, York University. The editor of *Insular Latin Studies* in the Papers in Medieval Studies series, Dr. Herren has also written extensively on the early middle ages. During 1981-82, he was a Research Fellow at the Insitut fur die lateinische Philologie des Mittelalters, University of Munich.

JOHN D. CRANE is an assistant professor of Philosophy at Cuyahoga Community College, where he teaches humanities and philosophy. In addition to his interests in mathematics and music, Professor Crane translates Greek and Latin as part of a scholarly regimen.



Cathedral of Autun, twelfth-century. Pen and ink by Sr. Mary Robert Clair, S.N.D.