



Índex

EDITORIAL	i
TRIBUNA: Perfilant els paisatges del primer monacat occidental: A propòsit del I Seminari Internacional <i>Paisatges Patrístics del Monacat Primitiu a Occident</i> (s. IV-VII) (Barcelona, 2021)	
Jordina Sales-Carbonell, Marta Sancho i Planas, Raúl Villegas Marín	1
GEOGRAFIA, ASCETISMO E MONACHESIMO NELLA PENISOLA ITALICA DOPO <i>ITALIA ASCETICA ATQUE MONASTICA</i> DI GEORG JENAL (1995)	
Roberto Alciati	7
LEANDRO DE SEVILLA Y EL CENOBITISMO FEMENINO: UNA VIRGINIDAD SUBORDINADA	
Pablo C. Díaz Martínez	22
VISIGOTHIC MONASTIC HISTORY: OLD PATHS AND NEW DIRECTIONS	
Roger Collins	40
MONASTIC LANDSCAPES: A NEW APPROACH TO COLUMBANIAN MONASTICISM	
Albrecht Diem	70
RESSENYES	97
BIBLIOTECA	105
NOTÍCIES	110
LLISTAT D'ÀVALUADORS	125



Revista de Cultures Medievales

Núm. 20 (Tardor 2022), i-iii | ISSN 2014-7023

Editorial

Comitè Editorial de SVMMA

e-mail: revistasvmma.ircvm@ub.edu

doi: [10.1344/Svmma2022.20.1](https://doi.org/10.1344/Svmma2022.20.1)

Si les activitats ordinàries de l'IRCVM, com les Jornades de Cultures Medievales, o les conferències i seminaris organitzades al voltant del màster i del doctorat, són una bona mostra de la vitalitat i dinamisme d'aquest Institut de recerca, la celebració del que ha estat el segon congrés internacional de l'IRCVM fa palesa la capacitat de convocatòria, d'organització i l'exigència científica dels seus components i els seus grups de recerca. També fa palesa la ferma voluntat dels membres del comitè organitzador per dur-lo a terme; si bé, com tots sabem, organitzar un congrés internacional no sempre és una tasca planera i plaent, en aquest cas encara es va veure complicada pels successius ajornaments a causa de la pandèmia.

El congrés internacional *Digitalitzar l'Edat Mitjana*, que es va celebrar a la Universitat de Barcelona, del 5 al 7 d'octubre de 2022, ha estat el segon congrés internacional que ha organitzat l'IRCVM. El primer havia tingut lloc el 2018 amb el títol *Escriure i llegir a l'Edat Mitjana*, i aquest segon hauria hagut de celebrar-se el 2020 si no hagués estat per la pandèmia. La voluntat de no fer-lo en línia sinó de manera presencial, cosa que en va provocar l'ajornament, ha permès recuperar el contacte entre els investigadors, les discussions i intercanvis d'opinió en persona, ja sigui en els debats al final de cada bloc de comunicacions o en les pauses de mig matí i mitja tarda, o en els àpats. Prova de la importància d'aquests contactes personals és el fet que, del congrés, n'han sortit algunes iniciatives de projectes en col·laboració. És a dir, el congrés no és només el resultat de les sinergies transversals entre les diferents línies i projectes de recerca al sí del mateix institut, sinó que també ha propiciat la creació de nous contactes entre persones i projectes exteriors a l'IRCVM i, per això, és una iniciativa molt valuosa.

La tria d'un tema com el del món digital, que és alhora actual i llaminer i, al mateix temps, presenta tants reptes, va tenir com a resultat la presentació d'una setantena de comunicacions que van quedar incloses en diversos blocs temàtics i que

foren emmarcades per cinc conferències plenàries i tres taules rodones. Pel que fa a l'estructura de les tres jornades, la primera se celebrà a la Facultat de Geografia i Història i les dues següents a la Facultat de Filologia i Comunicació. A més de la conferència inaugural i la de clausura, cada jornada s'inicià i clogué amb una conferència o taula rodona plenàries i la resta del temps estigué ocupat per les comunicacions que, a causa del seu nombre, es feren en dues sessions paral·leles.

La inauguració oficial va estar presidida pel rector de la Universitat de Barcelona, Joan Guàrdia, els degans Javier Velaza, de la Facultat de Filologia i Comunicació, i Ricardo Piqueras, de la Facultat de Geografia i Història, així com per la directora de l'IRCVM, Meritxell Simó. La conferència inaugural del congrés anà a càrrec d'Ilaria Manzini, de la Time Machine Organization, que presentà aquest ambiciós projecte amb el títol "The Digital Cultural Heritage panorama today: a point of view from the Local Time Machine projects".

Seguidament el congrés es desdoblà en dues sessions paral·leles de comunicacions que s'agruparen en diversos blocs temàtics: els blocs temàtics que regiren la divisió de les sessions de comunicacions durant tot el congrés foren "GIS – mapping", "bases de dades", "3D", "xarxes socials" i "gamificació". Aquesta primera jornada es clogué amb la taula rodona "Digitalitzar, per a què?" coordinada per Milagros Guàrdia (UB) i amb la participació de Norbert Zimmermann (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Roma), Giulia Bordi (Università di Roma Tre), Juan Naya (empresari), i l'Equip VirVIG (Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya).

El segon dia de la jornada s'inicià a la facultat de Filologia i Comunicació, amb la conferència plenària d'Helena Bermúdez de la Universitat de Neuchâtel (Suïssa) que oferí les seves reflexions sobre "La filología digital: nuevas metodologías (nuevos problemas)". A la tarda s'incloué la taula rodona coordinada per Daniel Piñol sobre el tema "Fuentes documentales i humanitats digitals: algunes experiències", on Pau Castell (Universitat de Barcelona – IRCVM), Gabriele Capone (Soprintendenza archivistica e bibliografica per la Campania) i Gemma Colesanti (CNR-ISPC) presentaren les seves recerques, presentacions que foren seguides d'un animat debat. Per últim, va tenir lloc la conferència plenària de José Manuel Fradejas (Universidad de Valladolid), amb el suggestiu títol "TEI o no TEI, esa es la cuestión".

La darrera jornada s'inicià amb la conferència plenària de Ruth Ahnert (Queen Mary University of London) que presentà les possibilitats de l'explotació de dades de les relacions en xarxa amb el títol "The Network Turn: New Perspectives on the Premodern World". Després de tot el matí amb comunicacions en paral·lel, el congrés es clogué amb dues sessions plenàries successives: la taula rodona coordinada per Antoni Conejo, "Museus i humanitats digitals", on diversos responsables de museus presentaren les seves experiències: Montserrat Gumà (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya), Carme Comas (Museu Episcopal de Vic), Alexandre Cervelló (Museu de Reus), Marc Ferran (Museu de Reus) i Josep Giralt (Museu de Lleida Diocesà i Comarcal); i finalment la ponència de clausura de Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar

(Universidad de Murcia) amb un tema que tocà un altre cop la gamificació: “Simuladores de historia y aventuras gráficas de la Edad Media: el rol del medievalista en el universo del videojuego”. Abans del sopar de comiat, el congrés es tancà amb les intervencions de Meritxell Simó, directora de l’IRCVM, i Jordi Garcia, Vicerector de Recerca de la Universitat de Barcelona.

Vist el seu gran nombre, no podem donar aquí un resum de totes les comunicacions i conferències, però sí que posarem en relleu algunes impressions i conclusions que, creiem, es poden treure d’aquests tres densos dies. En primer lloc cal celebrar la quantitat i qualitat de les comunicacions presentades; mostren que la medievalística, en tots els seus camps (arqueologia, història, història de l’art, filologia, filosofia) continua fent molta i bona feina. També cal destacar les comunicacions presentades per investigadors més joves que demostren l’empenta de les noves generacions i garanteixen el futur de la nostra recerca.

Però també cal destacar alguns aspectes que generen certa inquietud o preocupació. D’una banda, la constatació, òbvia, que la digitalització, tot i aportar eines extraordinàriament útils per a la recerca, ha de tenir un objectiu i un sentit i no pot ser un objectiu *per se*. Però, sobretot, hi ha la inquietud sobre el futur i la preservació dels materials digitals que s’elaboren: les bases de dades, edicions digitals, i altres resultats han de ser conservats de manera perenne i, certament, no dependre del final del finançament d’un projecte de recerca o la jubilació dels investigadors que les han elaborat. En aquest sentit, seria desitjable una intervenció de les institucions universitàries a fi de garantir la perdurabilitat d’aquests resultats.

D’altra banda, també és un tema a resoldre la compatibilitat i interconnexió entre els diferents projectes, tant els que treballen en camps afins com fins i tot els que treballen en camps diferents. En això hi intervé no només la part tècnica sinó també la comunicació i generositat entre els investigadors.

La darrera conclusió, que es va expressar en la sessió de clausura i que també havien fet seva molts dels participants, és el desig que es creïn i promoguin laboratoris d’humanitats digitals com a serveis de les universitats. Essent els diferents grups de recerca i investigadors de l’IRCVM tan actius en aquest àmbit, la creació d’un laboratori d’humanitats digitals és una desiderata a la Universitat de Barcelona. I certament afavoriria també la recerca en altres àmbits que no són la medievalística.

Maria Reina BASTARDAS I RUFAT



Revista de Cultures Medievales

Núm. 20 (Tardor 2022), 1-5 | ISSN 2014-7023

TRIBUNA:

**Perfilant els paisatges del primer monacat occidental:
A propòsit del I Seminari Internacional *Paisatges Patrístics del
Monacat Primitiu a Occident (s. IV-VII) (Barcelona, 2021)***

Jordina Sales-Carbonell

Universitat de Barcelona

jordinasales@ub.edu

ORCID: 0000-0003-2464-8058

Marta Sancho i Planas

Universitat de Barcelona

msancho@ub.edu

ORCID: 0000-0002-6916-5220

Raúl Villegas Marín

Universitat de Barcelona

rvillegasm@ub.edu

ORCID: 0000-0001-8214-7724

doi: 10.1344/Svmma2022.20.2

Aquest número monogràfic ha estat coordinat per Jordina Sales-Carbonell i Marta Sancho i Planas.

Durant el 3 i 4 de novembre de 2021, la Facultat de Geografia i Història de la Universitat de Barcelona va organitzar i acollir el *Seminari Internacional Paisatges Patrístics del Monacat Primitiu a Occident (s. IV-VII)*. Certament, va consistir en una activitat acadèmica més de les que acull la nostra Facultat, però també volem destacar una característica que la va fer singular: tres membres de tres àrees diferents del Departament d'Història i Arqueologia d'aquesta Facultat, como són: Jordina Sales-Carbonell de Prehistòria i Arqueologia, Marta Sancho i Planes d'Història Medieval i Raúl Villegas Marín d'Història Antiga ens conjuràvem per organitzar una jornada científica de caràcter internacional. Desconeixem si és el primer cop que tres àrees de coneixement treballen juntes, però el que sí constatem diàriament és que, malauradament, treballar a tres bandes i, per tant, d'un mode transversal, tot i l'especificitat del tema analitzat durant el Seminari,) no és un fet molt habitual a la nostra Facultat. Per això ens congratulem triplement de l'èxit d'aquesta trobada científica i de la bona sintonia entre els seus organitzadors. Aquest èxit i sintonia creiem que hauria de ser normalitat si volem emplenar de contingut la tant anhelada interdisciplinarietat que prediquem des dels faristols acadèmics.

Així doncs, la iniciativa va aconseguir assolir els objectius que ens havíem marcat. Però això va ser possible no només per la interdisciplinarietat de l'equip organitzador, sinó també, i sobretot, per la qualitat de l'elenc de ponents que vam aconseguir reunir a Barcelona. Com a conseqüència de tot plegat, l'alt número de participants inscrits (tant presencials com en la modalitat *online*) validaria la proposta i demostraria l'interès creixent pel monacat cristià més primerenc.

També volem posar de relleu com des del primer moment, el Sr. Marçal Díaz Ros, investigador pre-doctoral a la Universitat de Barcelona, va ocupar-se amb eficàcia de la Secretaria Tècnica i va ser un gran suport logístic i garant de que els dos dies de celebració fluïssin amb les mínimes incidències. Però durant la concepció, projecció i posta en escena d'aquest seminari, han intervingut també i han estat de gran ajuda les generoses col·laboracions de diversos dels nostres col·legues del projecte *Monastic Landscapes*¹ en aspectes puntuals de l'organització.

En quant al mètode, cal destacar com durant les sessions de treball es va posar de manifest la importància de les fonts patrístiques —i, més generalment, de les fonts escrites de transmissió manuscrita— per a l'estudi dels entorns paisatgístics i dels contextos materials del primer monacat cristià a l'Occident llatí. La informació proporcionada per aquestes fonts s'ha de complementar amb l'evidència fornida per l'arqueologia, encara de relativament poc volum si se la compara amb la que disposem per al monacat de l'Orient mediterrani. Malgrat que són relativament poc

1. *Monastic Landscapes. Representations and Virtualisations of Medieval Spiritual and Material Realities in the Western Mediterranean -6th-16th centuries*, Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades (PG2018-095350-B-I00), 2019-2022, IP: Marta Sancho Planas i Núria Jornet Benito (Universitat de Barcelona) <https://www.ub.edu/proyctomonastic/es/sobre-paisajes-monasticos/>

freqüents els casos en què, per a una comunitat monàstica testimoniada a les fonts patrístiques, disposem també d'inequívoca evidència arqueològica —el cas del monestir fundat per Paulí de Nola al costat del santuari de Sant Fèlix, a l'actual Cimitile, és relativament excepcional en aquest sentit —, les notícies sobre els *realia* de la vida monàstica que ens proporcionen les fonts escrites poden ser d'enorme utilitat a l'hora d'identificar espais monàstics en el registre arqueològic tardoantic.

Les fonts patrístiques relatives al monacat llatí de l'Antiguitat tardana presenten per a l'investigador l'avantatge d'estar escrites exclusivament en llatí, a diferència de les orientals, on trobem una riquíssima literatura monàstica en llengua siríaca, copta, etc. al costat de la grega. Aquestes fonts, però, tenen les seves limitacions i s'han de tractar amb precaució. En primer lloc, perquè ofereixen una visió esbiaixada del riquíssim i heterogeni monacat cristià tardoantic: la visió, en definitiva, de l'Església oficial. Cal no oblidar que el primer ascetisme cristià tingué sovint un caire “anàrquic”: la cerca d'una relació íntima i personal amb Déu i la recuperació d'un model de lideratge de la comunitat cristiana, basat en el carisma personal, qüestionaven el rol de mediadors imprescindibles entre la divinitat i els homes exercit per la jerarquia institucional eclesiàstica. D'aquí que els conflictes entre monjos i bisbes fossin freqüents en els inicis del moviment monàstic. Finalment, el monacat que s'imposà —i que es veu reflectit en les fonts patrístiques — - fou un monacat “controlat” per l'Església. No s'oblidi en aquest sentit que fou un bisbe, el patriarca d'Alexandria Atanasi, qui escrigué la popularíssima *Vida d'Antoni*, la qual fou ben aviat traduïda al llatí en dues versions i tingué una importància cabdal en l'expansió de l'ideal monàstic a Occident: poc sorprendrà que Atanasi mostri un interès especial a subratllar la deferença que Antoni hauria mostrat sempre envers els bisbes... Cal no oblidar tampoc que les fonts patrístiques silencien les experiències monàstiques desenvolupades en el si de les comunitats cristianes dissidents (“herètiques” o cismàtiques), o bé ens en donen notícia deformada i denigrant?: pensi's, per exemple, en la comunitat monàstica maniquea romana de la que parla Agustí en el seu *De moribus Manichaeorum*, o en el monacat donatista nord-africà, tan poc conegut. L'Antiguitat tardana occidental conegué nombroses experiències monàstiques que no han deixat rastre a les fonts escrites, però que l'arqueologia podria anar rescatant de l'oblit...

També es dona la situació contrària: moltes experiències monàstiques testimoniades a les fonts patrístiques són, i romandran sempre, “invisibles” per a l'arqueologia, bé perquè no generaren una arquitectura específica (pensem en el fenomen del monacat domèstic), bé perquè ni tan sols estigueren associades a un espai determinat i permanent: recordem, per exemple, el cas del monjo Pelagi, de qui no sabem que habités mai en un monestir i qui, de fet, passà la major part de la seva vida “en moviment”, de Roma a Palestina passant pel nord d'Àfrica, fugint ara dels gots, ara de les autoritats eclesiàstiques que el condemnaren com a heretge, mai “lluny del Món”, sinó molt implicat en la política eclesiàstica del seu temps -i no sabem que ningú qüestionés mai el seu dret a dir-se “monjo”. A l'Antiguitat tarda-

na occidental hi hagué potser molts, moltíssims més monjos que cenobis o cel·les d'anacoretas que no podrà trobar mai l'arqueologia. Però això no ha de ser obstacle perquè arqueòlegs, patròlegs i especialistes en les fonts escrites en general continuïn col·laborant en ampliar el nostre coneixement sobre el monacat tardoantic en l'Occident llatí.

En aquesta línia, durant la primera sessió del 3 de novembre, titulada *La informació literària sobre el primer monacat al NW de l'Àfrica romana (ss. IV-VI)*, Carles Buenacasa Pérez (Universitat de Barcelona, UB) va dibuixar les línies mestres de la irrupció del monacat a l'Àfrica Occidental i, dins aquest marc, va exposar les últimes novetats interpretatives. A continuació, Jordina Sales Carbonell (UB), a *La moda monàstica en la Hispania tardorromana: ¿una cuestión aristocrática?* va sintetitzar les dades que ens parlen sobre l'aspecte extern dels individus monàstics a Hispània, i va relacionar aquesta moda de caràcter més 'tèxtil' i estètica amb la moda conceptual monàstica que arribava d'Orient. La insistència de la Patrística en la superioritat del cenobitisme sobre la virginitat consagrada practicada dins l'àmbit familiar va ser escodrinyada per Pablo de la Cruz Díaz (Universidad de Salamanca) a *El cenobitismo femenino en la Hispania visigoda: un monacato subordinado*. La llarga carrera i el mestratge de Roger Collins (University of Edinburgh) van permetre presentar una retrospectiva i un magistral estat de la qüestió sobre el coneixement general del primer monacat peninsular a *El monacato hispano primitivo desde el punto de vista de un hispanista inglés*. Va tancar aquesta primera sessió una apartat dedicat a l'exposició de tesis doctorals en curs enmarcades per la ponència de Mattia Chiriatti (Universidad de Granada): *Methods and strategies for the research of Late Antiquity and Early Medieval monastic sources*, i una taula rodona final.

La segona sessió que es va celebrar el 4 de novembre es va obrir amb la Intervenció de Roberto Alciati (Università degli Studi di Firenze): *Twenty-five years after Jenal's 'Italia ascetica atque monastica'. A reassessment*, on es va posar sobre la taula el valor heurístic de la perspectiva geogràfica en la història del monacat antic, així com la relació entre ascetisme i monacat segons la visió de Jenal. Dins l'àmbit de la geografia gal·la, Raúl Villegas Marín (UB) a *El desierto en la Côte d'Azur: El paisaje simbólico del monacato galo tardoantiguo en las Fuentes literarias* va extreure i assenyalar la dimensió simbòlica que les fonts van conferir al paisatge de les illes de Lérins com a pas previ per a l'accés legítim d'alguns dels seus monjos a determinades cattedres episcopals. Precisament, Albrecht Diem (Syracuse University), mitjançant la seva contribució *A farewell to Iro-Frankish monasticism*, va exposar les diferents accepcions de 'paisatge monàstic' que va aconseguir expandir i implantar el moviment iniciat per Columbà i que, conferint certa continuïtat al monacat precedent, va saber continuar mes enllà del personatge. La darrera ponència, a càrrec de Robert Wiśniewski (University of Warsaw), *Monks and relics in the late antique West*, va analitzar l'estreta relació establerta entre els primers cenobis occidentals i les relíquies que -com el propi monacat- arribaven d'Orient a la vegada que anaven sorgint també a nivell local i, com

a objectes devocionals de primer ordre, eren convenientment instrumentalitzades també pels monestirs. Una taula rodona final va cloure la sessió i el Seminari.

El Seminari constitueix una unitat, però aquest número monogràfic que ara teniu a les mans recull només els textos d'Alciati, Collins, Díaz Martínez, i Diem. Les contribucions restants (Buenacasa Pérez, Chiriatti, Sales Carbonell, Villegas Marín) es troben actualment en fase d'edició en un nou volum de la *Sèrie Mvnera*, que està previst que vegi la llum durant el segon semestre de 2023. El conjunt d'ambdues publicacions conformarà la plasmació per escrit de les idees i reflexions generades durant aquest seminari.

En definitiva, amb la celebració de la trobada científica i la publicació d'aquests textos seleccionats, ens enorgulleix haver contribuït a posar una mica més de llum a l'arribada i expansió del primer monacat cristià a les nostres latituds, en aquesta ocasió des de la perspectiva de les fonts escrites. Però, quan aquest nou volum de SVMMA vegi la llum, s'haurà celebrat ja un segon seminari dedicat al monacat occidental primitiu (16-17 de novembre de 2022), que aquest cop haurà posat el focus en les dades arqueològiques. Una trobada científica que, de nou, serà acollida per la Facultat de Geografia i Història i que tancarà un cicle breu, però no menor, amb el qual el projecte *Monastic Landscapes* haurà contribuït a conèixer una mica millor l'arribada i recepció del monacat a Occident, així com la seva acolorida expansió i, sobretot, la seva enorme influència social, econòmica i paisatgística —en totes les seves accepcions possibles— exercida en aquells primers segles d'implantació. I que, a mesura que anem estudiant i coneixent, ens sorprèn i meravella més i més.



Revista de Cultures Medievales

Núm. 18 (Tardor 2021), 6-21 | ISSN 2014-7023

**GEOGRAFIA, ASCETISMO E MONACHESIMO
NELLA PENISOLA ITALICA DOPO *ITALIA ASCETICA*
ATQUE MONASTICA DI GEORG JENAL (1995)**

Roberto Alciati
Università di Firenze
roberto.alciati@unifi.it

Rebut: 8 settembre 2022 | Revisat: 28 novembre 2022 | Acceptat: 30 desembre 2022
| Publicat: 22 desembre 2022 | doi:10.1344/Svmma2022.20.3

Abstract

Scopo di questo saggio è analizzare il valore euristico della prospettiva geografica nella storia del monachesimo cristiano antico. Il libro *Italia ascetica atque monastica* di Georg Jenal (1995) rappresenta un ottimo esempio per valutare vantaggi e limiti di questo approccio. A distanza di quasi venticinque anni dalla pubblicazione, le recenti tendenze storiografiche, soprattutto in campo archeologico, paiono mostrare i limiti di analisi di questo tipo. A questo si aggiunge infine il modo in cui Jenal tratta il rapporto fra ascetismo e monachesimo.

Parole chiave

Ascetismo, monachesimo, Italia, storia, archeologia, Georg Jenal

Abstract

The purpose of this essay is to analyze the heuristic value of the geographical perspective in the history of early Christian monasticism. Georg Jenal's book *Italia ascetica atque monastica* (1995) provides an excellent example for assessing the advantages and limitations of this approach. Almost twenty-five years after its publication, recent historiographical trends, especially in the field of archaeology, seem to show the limits of analyses of this kind. Finally, how Jenal deals with the relationship between asceticism and monasticism will be examined.

Key Words

Asceticism, Monasticism, Italy, History, Archaeology, Georg Jenal

Introduzione

Nel 1995, la casa editrice Hiersemann di Stoccarda pubblica un libro di Georg Jenal (1942-2022), in due volumi, intitolato *Italia ascetica atque monastica. Das Asketen- und Mönchtum in Italien von den Anfängen bis zur Zeit der Langobarden (ca. 150/250-604)* (JENAL 1995). Con le sue quasi 850 pagine, l'opera si presenta come molto ambiziosa, candidandosi a diventare presto un testo di consultazione sull'argomento. Nonostante l'Italia sia l'oggetto della ricerca, le recensioni più articolate vengono scritte soprattutto da studiosi stranieri (MARKUS 1996; O'DONNELL 1997; SULLIVAN 1997; LÖHR 1998; KERNER 2000), i quali, pur nella diversità di giudizio, riconoscono unanimemente la rilevanza dell'impresa. Gli storici, scrive Löhr, ad esempio, devono essere grati a Jenal per avere realizzato una ricognizione completa delle fonti disponibili, con la prudenza, l'equilibrio e la competenza che un vasto tema come questo richiedeva da tempo (LÖHR 1998: 199). Ma gli dovrebbero tributare riconoscenza i tardoantichisti e i medievisti, che finalmente potranno trovare, in un unico volume, informazioni complete e dettagliate sulle varie comunità laicali che si organizzano secondo un criterio religioso (O'DONNELL 1997: 745).

Alcuni infine sottolineano lo stretto legame, quasi di emulazione e filiazione (MARKUS 1996: 382; O'DONNELL 1997: 744; KERNER 2000: 297), con *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich*, la monografia pubblicata da Friedrich Prinz (1928-2003) esattamente trent'anni prima (PRINZ 1965). Il confronto è pertinente, anzitutto perché Jenal è un allievo di Prinz, essendosi laureato sotto la sua direzione all'Università del Saarland con una tesi su Annone II, vescovo di Colonia dal 1056 al 1075, e poi perché *Italia ascetica atque monastica* viene pubblicata nella serie "Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters" diretta proprio da Prinz. Ma c'è di più. È infatti lo stesso Jenal ad affermare che il primo incoraggiamento a intraprendere una ricerca del genere si deve ad alcune conversazioni avute con Prinz, maestro al quale resterà legato per tutta la vita, come dimostra la curatela di ben due *Festschrift* dedicategli per il 65° compleanno (JENAL, HAARLÄNDER 1993a; JENAL, HAARLÄNDER 1993b). In un certo senso, sembra essere proprio Prinz a suggerire al proprio allievo di continuare il lavoro da lui inaugurato nel 1965 con il fortunato libro sui monaci di Francia. La somiglianza fra i due lavori, almeno in termini di contenuto, è dunque evidente, e così Jenal ne parla alla fine dell'introduzione:

Damit ist freilich nicht geleugnet, daß die Untersuchung in einem Forschungszusammenhang steht und letztlich Ziele verfolgt, die sich selbstverständlich nicht als explizite Probleme in den Quellen finden, vielmehr heutigem wissenschaftlichen Interesse an der Vergangenheit entspringen. So ist mit diesem Unternehmen schließlich beabsichtigt – im Kontext der großräumigen Forschungen von Prinz (zu Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern), von Linage Conde und Colombás (zu Spanien), Gavigan und Zumkeller (zu Afrika), Knowles (zu England) und Penco (zu Italien)

– einen Beitrag zum frühen Asketen- und Mönchtum Italiens zu leisten, darüber hinaus zur Klärung des Kontinuitätsproblems zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter beizutragen und somit das Wissen über Geschichte und Kultur des werdenden Abendlandes zu enveitern und zu präzisieren. (JENAL 1995: I, 8)

Jenal, dunque, non solo riconosce un debito verso Prinz, ma colloca consapevolmente la propria ricerca in un contesto (*Forschungszusammenhang*) più ampio che ha il criterio geografico come caratteristica principale. Jenal menziona anche la *Storia del monachesimo in Italia* di Gregorio Penco (1961), opera pionieristica che per la prima volta ridimensiona il peso attribuito a Benedetto. I meriti di Penco, secondo Jenal, sono molti, ma il lavoro non può certo considerarsi esaustivo dal momento che manca una ricognizione completa delle testimonianze scritte relative a monachesimo e ascetismo¹, e quindi una conseguente mappatura esaustiva di tutte le attestazioni. Un altro aspetto che Jenal intende privilegiare è poi il rapporto tra forme di vita ascetiche e strutture monastiche. Jenal, infatti, ritiene che sino a quel momento la storiografia ha teso, più o meno consapevolmente, a privilegiare la storia dei monasteri a quella dei singoli asceti, giungendo a una “monasticizzazione” della storia religiosa dell’Italia tardoantica e altomedievale. Questa tendenza, determinata soprattutto dalla lettura selettiva delle testimonianze storiche, determina ciò che Jenal chiama il *Kontinuitätsproblem*, ossia la possibilità di scrivere una storia unitaria di ascetismo e monachesimo che vada dal II al VII secolo.

Volendo sintetizzare il rapporto ascetismo-monachesimo e l’Italia (ossia la prospettiva territoriale) sono le due parole chiave della monumentale monografia di Jenal, ma sono anche le due questioni che, negli ultimi venticinque anni sono state profondamente ripensate dalla storiografia.

La struttura di *Italia ascetica atque monastica*

Prima di addentrarci nell’analisi di questi due problemi, del modo in cui Jenal li affronta e di come oggi sono messi a tema, è necessario descrivere brevemente la struttura del libro che, per mole e organizzazione interna, si presenta come una lettura tutt’altro che facile. Come scrive un recensore, il lettore che si accingesse a “digerire” questa enorme opera si troverebbe di fronte a una grande sfida: 842 pagine di testo che trattano una galassia di persone, luoghi e materie la cui semplice elencazione ha richiesto un apparato indicale di quasi sessanta pagine. Per giunta, Jenal ha messo a punto un imponente sistema di citazioni interne che fa riferimento a una bibliografia finale di quasi cento pagine (SULLIVAN 1997: 838). Tutto questo

1. Secondo Jenal, Penco avrebbe trascurato molte fonti agiografiche, restituendo così un quadro distorto delle presenze monastiche nella penisola italiana, e parte della letteratura scientifica sul tema prodotta soprattutto al di fuori dell’Italia (JENAL 1995: I, 4).

sfuerzo è dedicato principalmente a elencare le testimonianze relative all'emergere della vita ascetica e monastica nella penisola italiana e nelle isole maggiori che ora appartengono amministrativamente all'Italia (Sardegna e Sicilia) a partire dalla metà del II secolo, sino alla morte di Gregorio Magno (cioè all'inizio del 604). Il secondo obiettivo è di organizzare questa ingente massa di dati in modo da descrivere e spiegare lo sviluppo del fenomeno monastico, certamente nuovo nella storia del mondo mediterraneo tardoantico.

Uno sguardo allo schema dell'indice può essere utile. Partiamo dal primo volume, che ha come sottotitolo *Der Bestand*. Il periodo di tempo preso in esame da Jenal è diviso in tre archi cronologici, che costituiscono le tre parti nelle quali si articola il testo: 150-500 (prima parte), 500-590 (seconda parte) e 590-604 (terza parte). Complessivamente, si va dal II al VII secolo, anche se i dati storici più consistenti fanno data a partire dal IV. Per ogni periodo Jenal attinge a diverse fonti con l'intento di ottenere una quantità sufficiente di dati per una trattazione prosopografica, topografica e fenomenologica della forma di vita ascetica e monastica in Italia. Ognuna delle tre parti menzionate sopra si divide in due capitoli che riportano sempre lo stesso titolo (cap. 1: *Prosopographie, Topographie und Phänomenologie*, cap. 2: *Zur Struktur und Typologie der Gemeinschaften in...*). Il secondo volume ha invece il seguente sottotitolo: *Die Ausbildung des italischen Asketen- und Mönchtums in seinem religiösen und gesellschaftlichen, kulturellen, kirchlichen und staatlichen Umfeld*. È soprattutto in questo tomo che si trovano le analisi più interessanti. Proviamo dunque a sintetizzare questi temi, suddivisi in otto parti e descritti in nove pagine di indice. Protagonista della prima parte è Girolamo e il suo influsso sull'ascetismo e sul monachesimo italiano (sei capitoli), a cui segue la seconda (tre capitoli) riservata a Rufino di Concordia, l'antagonista per eccellenza di Girolamo. La terza parte è dedicata invece a quanti hanno criticato in vario modo questa particolare forma di vita cristiana (Rutilio Namaziano, Elvidio, Gioviniano, Vigilanzio...). Le parti quarta e quinta si occupano di due aspetti centrali nella storiografia monastica: la riflessione sulla povertà individuale e la proprietà comune (due capitoli) da una parte, il rapporto che esponenti dell'ascetismo e del monachesimo cristiano intrattengono con la cultura non cristiana contemporanea dall'altra. In dieci capitoli si prendono in esame scritti di Ambrogio, Girolamo, Rufino, Paolino di Nola, Eugippio, Fulgenzio, Cassiodoro, Gregorio Magno e alcune regole monastiche. La sesta e la settima parte (otto capitoli in tutto) trattano invece dell'importante tema del rapporto che asceti e monaci intrattengono con la Chiesa, intesa come istituzione, con lo Stato imperiale e con il clero, inteso come gruppo organizzato. L'ultima parte è infine dedicata al pontificato di Gregorio Magno.

La quantità di dati raccolta nel primo volume e l'articolata analisi condotta nel secolo rendono il libro ancora un'importante opera di riferimento per chi vuole farsi un'idea delle varie forme di vita monastica nell'Italia tardoantica e altomedievale. Lo schematico elenco di materie appena esposto non lascia alcun dubbio

e testimonia come Jenal non abbia tralasciato nulla. Ciò nonostante, a una lettura più approfondita alcune criticità emergono, in modo particolare quando ci si concentra sul rapporto ascetismo-monachesimo e sulla prospettiva geografica adottata dall'autore.

La geografia monastica (e l'archeologia)

Cominciamo dalla geografia. Notoriamente, e in modo particolare a partire dalla seconda metà del Novecento, molte sono state le ricerche condotte nel campo della geografia umana e spaziale in relazione agli insediamenti monastici. La letteratura sul tema è quasi incontrollabile, ma una cosa pare certa: se nel linguaggio comune si tende a distinguere fra luogo e spazio secondo un criterio quantitativo – ritenendo, ad esempio, che il luogo sia una porzione di spazio che “raccolge” oggetti e cose, che sono da esso generati e che lo generano, ma anche un luogo di e per la memoria culturale –, nella letteratura scientifica tutto si fa più complicato dal momento che questa relazione non è definita in modo univoco². Un luogo, infatti, può essere un toponimo, un punto su una mappa geopolitica o una serie di strutture materiali all'interno delle quali esseri umani costruiscono relazioni e si muovono. Ma un luogo rivela anche relazioni di potere materiali e immateriali, reali e immaginarie, civiche e religiose; infine, un luogo può tracciare geografie immateriali di desiderio, odio e devozione (DE CERTEAU 1990). Sono questi, in sintesi, gli elementi che vengono in mente quando si pensa agli spazi, ai luoghi, e quindi alla geografia, reale o immaginaria.

Per tutte queste ragioni, intraprendere una storia dell'ascetismo e del monachesimo su un arco cronologico di cinque secoli connotandola geograficamente deve indurre a qualche riflessione preliminare. Qual è, insomma, il *proprium* di una storia regionale o geografica di un fenomeno come il monachesimo? La lista dei “precursori” e dei “modelli” enunciata da Jenal alla fine della sua introduzione e citata precedentemente mostra che una storia del monachesimo così intesa ha goduto di un certo successo sino alla fine del secolo scorso e sembra essere passata indenne attraverso le molte “svolte” che hanno interessato la storiografia religiosa negli ultimi cinquant'anni.

Jenal non dedica pagine a questo problema teorico, ma certamente non si può dire che faccia un uso inconsapevole della dimensione geografica, come prova la presenza di sei mappe geografiche. La prima mostra la localizzazione dei singoli individui che optano per la vita ascetica secondo le fonti raccolte: nell'arco cronologico va dal 150 al 500, Jenal è in grado di mostrare nove toponimi nell'Italia settentrionale, sei in quella centrale e due al sud. Una presenza esigua, tutto sommato. L'ultima cartina geografica è invece riservata alla città di Roma. Più interessanti sono però le altre quattro

2. Per farsi un'idea dei molteplici modi di definire luogo e spazio, anche in un'ottica di semantica storica, è utile la lettura di RAU 2019.

mappe che contengono quasi esclusivamente insediamenti monastici databili fra IV e VI secolo. La *Karte II* si incarica di descrivere le comunità monastiche fra 350 e 500, e anche in questo caso i dati riportati sono esigui: cinque o sei cenobi nel centro Italia e altrettanti a nord, gli uni concentrati nell'area romana e attorno a Nola (Campania), gli altri a Vercelli e a Milano, ossia dove hanno operato i vescovi Eusebio e Ambrogio. La *Karte III* si riferisce invece al VI secolo, ma il numero di insediamenti monastici non aumenta significativamente. Le uniche novità si trovano in Sardegna (un toponimo) e in Sicilia (due). Rispetto alla mappa precedente, tuttavia, il nord scompare. La situazione cambia sensibilmente con le altre due mappe, entrambe redatte sulla base delle testimonianze di Gregorio Magno. La *Karte IV* contiene le comunità e i luoghi abitati da singoli asceti rinvenibili nei *Dialogi*. Non stupisce molto quindi notare che il grosso delle menzioni si concentri nell'area dell'Italia centrale, ossia di quella porzione della penisola a cui Gregorio Magno è più interessato o di cui ha più informazioni. Nella *Karte V*, infine, sono registrati tutti gli insediamenti monastici noti all'epoca del pontificato di Gregorio, indipendentemente dal fatto che siano menzionati o meno nei suoi scritti. Qui è interessante notare come, ad eccezione di Lodi e Trento (la cui certezza è minata da due punti interrogativi), tutti gli altri luoghi si trovino al di sotto del Po, rendendo questo fiume un'involontaria "linea di confine" monastica. Altra eccezione rispetto alle cartine precedenti è l'aumento dei luoghi in Sicilia, sino a questo momento area povera di asceti e monaci.

Nelle osservazioni conclusive, Jenal tiene a precisare che, alla luce delle *hagiographische Zeugnisse* prese in esame, nel periodo compreso tra il 350 e il 500, risultano attestate, in tutta la penisola italiana, circa 27 comunità e circa 50 asceti singoli che vivono fuori da contesti comunitari. Di queste attestazioni, un terzo circa si concentra nella città di Roma. Tra il 500 e il 590 il numero complessivo è sostanzialmente invariato, ma il rapporto fra asceti e monaci si inverte: i cenobi salgono a 50 unità mentre gli asceti solitari scendono a 20. La crescita dei cenobi aumenta vertiginosamente nei quattordici anni del pontificato gregoriano (590-604), periodo per il quale conosciamo l'esistenza di più di 100 comunità. Gli asceti non cenobiti rimangono numerosi, ma non sono più registrati in modo completo da Gregorio. Pertanto, si può dire che, sotto Gregorio papa, il numero delle comunità è sostanzialmente raddoppiato (JENAL 1995: II, 832). Numeri di questo tipo e le relative progressioni sono senz'altro utili per farsi un'idea sulla fortuna delle due forme di vita, tuttavia non va dimenticato (e Jenal certamente ne è consapevole) che tutte queste informazioni sono desunte principalmente da "testimonianze agiografiche", come scrive lo stesso autore. Ma volendo realizzare una mappatura degli insediamenti monastici e ascetici, sono queste tipologie di fonti sufficienti?

Negli ultimi decenni, grazie soprattutto ai risultati conseguiti dagli archeologi, la storia del monachesimo ha subito un ripensamento radicale, determinando la possibilità di ricostruire uno spazio d'azione del monaco d'Occidente quasi completamente inaccessibile servendosi della sola documentazione testuale. Messa in dialogo con la

storia, ecco che l'archeologia si mostra un'alleata decisiva nella ricostruzione della forma di vita monastica. Ciò nonostante, l'archeologia pare assente dai due tomi di Jenal. L'indice delle cose notevoli, ad esempio, non contiene la parola "archeologia", e per la verità neppure "geografia". Guardando le cartine citate prima, ci si potrebbe chiedere se quelle localizzazioni di monasteri e asceti hanno riscontri archeologici, ma di questo l'autore non parla affatto. È singolare, ad esempio, che proprio nel secondo volume, quello dedicato all'analisi fenomenologica della vita monastica in Italia, manchino pressoché del tutto riferimenti alla *uilla* tardoantica, la cui storia, ormai da quasi cinquant'anni, è stata messa in relazione a quella del *monasterium*. È noto come la difficoltà maggiore che gli storici del monachesimo si trovano a fronteggiare sta nella persistente riluttanza a incrociare le fonti letterarie con le evidenze archeologiche, ed è forse questa limitazione alla base della persistente sottovalutazione del ruolo della *uilla* tardoantica nello sviluppo degli insediamenti monastici. Tuttavia, ogni qualvolta questo confronto si rende possibile, i risultati confermano una tendenza generalizzata: i cosiddetti monasteri delle fonti letterarie sono sempre stati fondati in spazi già precedentemente antropizzati (CITTER 2021; STASOLLA 2017; MARAZZI 2015). In particolare, fra le molte forme residenziali della tarda antichità mediterranea, la *uilla* si colloca indubitatamente al primo posto fra gli insediamenti riutilizzati (PERCIVAL 1997; BOWES 2011). Questo pare, insomma, il modello d'insediamento monastico preferito nel periodo più antico della storia del fenomeno, nonostante nell'immaginario persista il monastero con chiostro, chiesa e refettorio, che tuttavia non ha riscontri archeologici inequivocabili prima dell'VIII secolo³.

Di tutto questo, Jenal non tiene conto né si serve in alcun modo di fonti archeologiche. Ma se la critica concorda nel dire che la costruzione di *monasteria* come edifici di nuova concezione è tarda (VIII-IX secolo) anche per l'Italia, allora parlare di monasteri prima di quel momento comporta un approccio diverso. Non accennare in nessun modo al problema rischia di portare fuori strada il lettore che alla parola "monastero" non collega immediatamente la *uilla* tardoantica. Abbiamo dunque una mappatura topografica del monachesimo antico che non tiene conto delle tipologie di insediamento abitativo più documentate. Ma se la *uilla* ha un ruolo importante nella storia del monachesimo, allora le zone extra-urbane, dove sorgevano questi complessi residenziali, dovrebbero avere maggior rilevanza; e in ogni caso si dovrebbe procedere con molta cautela quando si definiscono monasteri sia la *uilla* di Cassiodoro a *Vivarium* sia il palazzo sul Celio di Gregorio Magno.

Inoltre, se è la tipologia insediativa a ricoprire un ruolo rilevante nella storia del monachesimo, dal Portogallo all'Albania, dal confine franco-olandese all'Africa

3. Ancora agli inizi dell'VIII secolo, in Italia, la *uilla* "resiste". Basti guardare al complesso di San Vincenzo al Volturno, monastero che si ritiene fondato proprio a quell'altezza cronologica, non certo in un luogo mai abitato prima e inospitale, ma al contrario all'interno di una *uilla* tardoantica a cui era già stata affiancata in precedenza una chiesa. Vedi MARAZZI 2014.

setentrionale, che senso ha una storia del monachesimo dal punto di vista geografico? Nella sua recensione, Sullivan se lo chiede espressamente: «was there something unique represented by ‘Italic’ monastic life? If so, what was it, and how did it relate to monastic life in a more Mediterranean setting?» (SULLIVAN 1997: 840). La domanda non è banale, come dimostrano le obiezioni di Robert Markus, il quale non dimentica di segnalare che la menzione di figure come Martino di Tours, Cassiano, Fulgenzio sono giustificate, nell’ottica di Jenal, solo perché i tre hanno (o avrebbero) soggiornato in Italia. Martino inizia la sua esperienza di eremita sull’isola Gallinara di fronte ad Albenga, Cassiano parrebbe essere stato a Roma per un periodo imprecisato, Fulgenzio sconta il suo esilio in Sardegna. Ma la loro presenza è dovuta a una qualche caratteristica particolare dell’Italia che avrebbe favorito la loro scelta ascetico-monastica? Come mostrano le biografie di Cassiano e Martino, il soggiorno italico è effimero, ed è difficile scorgere un *imprinting* monastico “italico” nelle loro esperienze successive. Pertanto, resta indubitabile il fatto che «the threads that link monastic leaders and writers knew no provincial boundaries; in this sense, Italy seems to be a purely arbitrary division in this context» (MARKUS 1996: 383).

Ascetismo e monachesimo

Per quanto riguarda invece la seconda caratteristica del libro, ossia il nesso ascetismo-monachesimo, Jenal è meno reticente e nell’introduzione tratta la questione. La posizione assunta è chiara: benché, scrive Jenal, la storia dell’ascetismo preceda quella del cristianesimo, scopo del libro non è affrontare una storia comparata delle varie forme che l’ascetismo assume nel Mediterraneo a partire dall’antichità né offrire un contributo alla comprensione dell’ascetismo come *geistesgeschichtliches Problem* (JENAL 1995: I, 6-7). Al contrario, come intende mostrare il titolo, la finalità della ricerca è dimostrare quella intima e unione fra asceti e monaci: storicamente, precisa Jenal, gli uni non si danno senza gli altri, dal momento che dal II secolo e ininterrottamente sino al IV, le origini dei due fenomeni sono intrecciate, al punto da diventare indistinguibili. In un certo senso, l’uno, l’ascetismo – almeno nella sua storia italica – lascia progressivamente il posto al secondo, il monachesimo. Questo significa, secondo Jenal, che alla fine dell’arco di tempo considerato, nella penisola italica, l’ascetismo è stato completamente assorbito dal monachesimo. Jenal sembra alludere anche a una seconda questione, non meno rilevante e controversa, vale a dire alla possibilità di scrivere una storia della vita ascetica e monastica senza necessariamente parlare di pratiche ascetiche precristiane. Jenal sembrerebbe postularlo, quasi assecondando quella linea storiografica che sostiene la novità radicale e l’autonomia del cristianesimo nella storia secolare dell’ascetismo nel Mediterraneo antico⁴.

4. Per una lettura più “continuista” del fenomeno ascetico vedi FINN 2009.

Se si guarda a un (qualunque) libro di storia delle religioni – ammesso che si trovi una parte dedicata a questo argomento – si riscontra un impiego disinvolto dei termini “ascetismo” e “monachesimo”, in genere con una predilezione per la prima parola, perché meno connotata della seconda, la quale è perlopiù intesa come precipuamente cristiana e buddhista. Limitatamente alla storia del fenomeno nell’Occidente latino, non sono mancate, tuttavia, importanti eccezioni. È certamente il caso di Friedrich Prinz, il quale, nella premessa a un’antologia di saggi sul monachesimo altomedievale pubblicata nel 1976, nota come, per un’eteronomia dei fini, il programma ascetico di separazione dal mondo messo in atto dai “pionieri” della vita monastica diventa invece, grazie all’organizzazione gerarchica, un elemento fondamentale della vita del “secolo”. Prinz ritiene che questo mutamento si metta in azione nel corso del VII secolo, quando la scrittura agiografica appare come la legittimazione morale della potenza aristocratica e il bagaglio concettuale ellenistico-romano è messo a servizio della scrittura teologica. Per il periodo precedente, ossia la tarda antichità, la forma di vita monastica sembrerebbe invece basarsi su una “controcultura”⁵.

Torniamo al libro di Jenal. Come abbiamo già detto, stando al titolo, la prima attestazione citata risale alla metà del II secolo. Si tratta di una fugace citazione tratta dalla *Prima apologia dei cristiani* di Giustino⁶. Jenal la riporta in nota e si limita ad aggiungere: «Die ältesten Belege für die Existenz asketisch lebender – allerdings in historischer Anonymität noch verharrender – Personen Italiens weisen auf Rom und reichen bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrhunderts zurück» (JENAL 1995: I, 29). Se questa è la prima menzione, per quanto anonima, di una forma di vita ascetica a Roma, Jenal avrebbe almeno dovuto accennare al grande (e studiato) tema della verginità fra i seguaci di Gesù dei primi secoli, ma questo avrebbe comportato contravenire a quanto detto nell’introduzione a proposito della non intenzione di affrontare il problema dell’ascetismo e delle pratiche connesse, come quella della continenza, in termini di storia culturale e religiosa.

Nelle righe successive passa dunque ai primi asceti di cui si conosce il nome e che, anche in questo caso, sarebbero vissuti a Roma: il *presbyter* Novaziano e la vergine martire Agnese.

Novaziano, morto nel 258, avrebbe dato prova di ascetismo perché decise di abbandonare temporaneamente il suo ufficio di presbitero per poter vivere indisturbato e lontano dal mondo. Il suo *De bono pudicitiae*, un trattato sulla castità in cui si affronta il difficile rapporto tra verginità e matrimonio, tradirebbe la sua vicinanza all’ideale ascetico. Jenal è il primo – e forse l’unico – a collegare il nome di Novaziano alla storia dell’ascetismo. Di lui sappiamo molto poco. Il luogo e la data di nascita

5. PRINZ 1976, ma già PRINZ 1963. Curiosamente, Jenal non fa mai riferimento esplicito a queste considerazioni del proprio maestro.

6. Si tratta di Ius., *Apolog.* I,15,6. Inspiegabilmente Jenal cita il testo in latino.

sono sconosciuti, ma è certo che scambiò lettere con Cipriano di Cartagine (tre sono giunte attraverso l'epistolario di quest'ultimo), dalle quali apprendiamo che Novaziano era noto per essere di tendenza rigorista, cioè poco o per nulla incline a riammettere tutti i *lapsi* nella comunità cristiana. Ed è per questo motivo che nell'elezione all'episcopato di Roma si oppose a Cornelio, considerato molto più moderato. Entrambi vennero eletti, ma l'uno fu considerato legittimo, mentre l'altro, Novaziano, scismatico. Il *De bono pudicitiae*, tramandato senza nome dell'autore dai manoscritti contenenti gli scritti di Cipriano, si rivolge a una comunità dalla quale Novaziano è momentaneamente assente. Ma, mentre gli altri suoi trattati sono motivati da una richiesta o da una contingenza specifica, qui la ragione della composizione non è chiara, anche se l'autore si dichiara interessato al bene di tutti i suoi corrispondenti, che siano *virgines*, *continentes* e sposati (*in matrimoniis*). L'uditorio è dunque abbastanza ampio, e d'altronde le sue esortazioni e i suoi avvertimenti sono abbastanza scontati – per non dire abusati – così come gli esempi biblici che riporta. È difficile dire che il contenuto del *De bono pudicitiae* apporti qualcosa di nuovo rispetto a quanto si legge già in Cipriano (e Tertulliano). Ma né Cipriano né Tertulliano sono abitualmente additati come i “primi” asceti del cristianesimo. Tutti e tre invece condividono una preoccupazione propria dei loro tempi, ossia la possibilità o meno di riammettere nella comunità dei credenti in Gesù coloro che avevano sacrificato agli dei pagani⁷.

Decisamente meno problematico è il caso della martire Agnese, che diventa, effettivamente, un modello di ascetismo femminile nella Roma tardoantica, tuttavia non certo nel momento (peraltro ignoto) del martirio. L'*inventio* di Agnese si deve infatti al vescovo di Roma Damaso e ad Ambrogio, che gli dedicano alcuni versi⁸. Entrambi, com'è noto, intraprendono una promozione dell'ascetismo cristiano, ma cronologicamente siamo ormai in pieno IV secolo, quando anche in Occidente è giunta l'eco delle imprese ascetiche dal Mediterraneo orientale.

La scelta di questi due esempi è dunque discutibile, ciò nondimeno risulta coerente rispetto alla decisione preliminare presa da Jenal. Se, secondo Jenal, ascetismo e monachesimo hanno sempre avuto una storia intrecciata, allora i casi di Agnese e Novaziano, per quanto sparuti, giustificano una tendenza che è antica. Così facendo però si corre il rischio di operare qualche forzatura, come nel caso di Novaziano, o di avallare storicamente la rivendicazione genealogica di Damaso e Ambrogio.

Conclusioni

Nonostante queste criticità, venticinque anni dopo la pubblicazione *Italia ascetica atque monastica* resta indubbiamente un'opera di riferimento importante, ma da utilizzarsi, soprattutto, come punto di partenza, come un ricco contenitore a cui

7. Per un'introduzione a Novaziano vedi ora MARCOS 2019.

8. Sul culto di Agnese vedi MILAZZO 2015, mentre su Damaso promotore dell'ascetismo vedi ALCIATI 2021.

attingere dati preziosi per nuove ricerche e per fornire risposte nuove a quel *Kontinuitätsproblem* che lo stesso Jenal menziona nella sua introduzione. È proprio in riferimento al monachesimo e all'ascetismo che, forse, la storiografia del nuovo secolo ha dato un contributo significativo alla risoluzione del problema continuità/discontinuità tra tarda antichità e alto medioevo.

Per decenni, i manuali di storia del cristianesimo e di storia del monachesimo hanno proposto una logica narrativa lineare che leggeva la storia della vita monastica nell'Occidente latino come un fenomeno religioso che sarebbe emerso nel deserto selvaggio dell'Egitto e della Palestina del IV secolo, per poi debordare a ovest, raggiungendo l'Italia, la Gallia, la Spagna e infine le isole britanniche. Contro questo approccio, molti studiosi hanno più recentemente sostenuto che il passato monastico non dovrebbe essere studiato come una catena continua di tentativi coordinati di realizzare un unico ideale storico, ma piuttosto come una situazione in cui esistevano contemporaneamente molti ideali di questo tipo, molti tentativi diversi di metterli in pratica e molti centri di diffusione. Questo approccio decostruttivo ha incoraggiato gli specialisti a riaprire casi che da tempo considerati chiusi: basti pensare alla già menzionata presunta unicità e novità del monastero o alla storia delle regole monastiche (DIEM 2021: 31-34). Qualcuno ha così proposto, proprio come per la storia del cristianesimo antico in generale, di usare la forma plurale della parola, "monachesimi", proprio come si preferisce ora parlare di "cristianesimi" per i primi tre secoli dell'era volgare. Molto recentemente la parola "monachesimi" è assurta a fasti isperati sino a poco tempo fa, campeggiando nel titolo di un libro particolarmente utile per questa nostra riflessione (VANDERPUTTEN 2020).

Quasi una guida per orientarsi fra le molte linee di ricerca monastica degli ultimi anni, il libro di Steven Vanderputten mantiene, nonostante la novità del titolo, una struttura convenzionale, non disdegnando una trattazione del problema monastico su base regionale (Italia, Gallia, penisola iberica...); tuttavia, sensibilmente diverso è l'approccio rispetto a quello di Jenal. A proposito di Gregorio Magno come fonte per la ricostruzione del monachesimo italico, ad esempio, si legge:

Whilst living in Rome, Gregory also witnessed many forms of monastic community life there, some of which were dedicated to prayer and contemplation, whilst others took up an active role in urban society as hospices, pastoral centres, and such likes. [...] Gregory's account [...] functioned first and foremost as a means to express the author's preference for a tightly organized, communal forms of monastic life [...]. In his letters and the *Dialogues*, the pope fulminates against wandering monks and warns that some household ascetics end up losing their commitment (VANDERPUTTEN 2020: 25-26).

Sempre nel 2020 vengono anche pubblicati i due volumi della *Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West* (BEACH, COCHELIN 2020). Anche in questo

caso, nonostante si tratti di un'opera enciclopedica con un impianto tradizionale, le due curatrici propongono di invertire sensibilmente la rotta, precisando che, nonostante il titolo, «there was no fixed border in the Roman Empire between the Greek East and the Latin West, and one cannot understand Western monasticism without appreciating and studying its Eastern origins» (BEACH, COCHELIN 2020: I, 10-11). Ciò nonostante, «as early as the sixth century, and certainly by the eight century, the differences between Greek and Latin forms of monasticism had become sufficiently significant to justify confining the focus of the rest of the book to the Latin world» (BEACH, COCHELIN 2020: I, 11). Queste poche frasi sono sufficienti per comprendere l'impianto dell'opera, e in modo particolare quello del primo volume, che arriva sino all'XI secolo. La parola d'ordine, per così dire, è "varietà". Anche qui, non certo a caso, l'archeologia e il rapporto conflittuale fra ascetismo e monachesimo hanno un ruolo rilevante.

Com'è noto, gestire la pluralità è certamente più difficile che riconoscere l'esistenza di una norma dominante o di una storia evolutiva (e inesorabile) di un fenomeno religioso. Jenal, con la sua *Italia ascetica atque monastica*, ha mostrato chiaramente che la pluralità delle esperienze e delle pratiche è un tratto saliente del monachesimo italico, ma l'interpretazione fenomenologica del *monastic landscape* che ci restituisce è quella di un progressivo convergere verso una normalizzazione che ha in Gregorio Magno il suo culmine. Questo è difficilmente contestabile se si attribuisce un peso preponderante (se non unico) alla documentazione scritta, ma se si vuole guardare al fenomeno da un punto di vista geografico tutto questo pare oggi decisamente meno convincente.

Bibliografia

ALCIATI, Roberto, 2011. “L’ascetismo romano fra Damaso e Siricio”, *Hieronymus Romanus. Studies on Jerome and Rome on the Occasion of the 1600th Anniversary of his Death*, Ingo Schaaf (ed.), Turnhout, Brepols: 237-258.

BEACH, Alison I., COCHELIN, Isabelle, 2020 (eds.). *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2 voll.

BOWES, Kim, 2011. “Inventing Ascetic Spaces: Houses, Monasteries and the ‘Archaeology of Monasticism’”, *Western Monasticism “ante litteram”*, Hendrick W. Dey, Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), Turnhout, Brepols: 315-351.

CITTER, Carlo, 2021. “Établissements monastiques, environnement et exploitation des ressources dans le Haut Moyen Âge: analyses spatiales et postdictives”, *Labeur, production et économie monastique dans l’Occident médiéval. De la Règle de saint Benoît aux Cisterciens*, Michel Lauwers (ed.), Turnhout, Brepols: 283-296.

DE CERTEAU, Michel, 1990. *L’invention du quotidien, vol. I: Arts de faire*, Paris, Gallimard.

DIEM, Albrecht, 2021. *The Pursuit of Salvation: Community, Space, and Discipline in Early Medieval Monasticism*, with a Critical Edition and Translation of *The Regula Cuiusdam ad Uirgines*, Turnhout, Brepols.

FINN, Richard, 2009. *Asceticism in the Graeco-Roman World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

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

JENAL, Georg, HAARLÄNDER Stephanie, 1993a (eds.). *Gegenwart in Vergangenheit. Beiträge zur Kultur und Geschichte der Neueren und Neuesten Zeit. Festgabe für Friedrich Prinz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, München, Oldenbourg.

— 1993b (eds.). *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kultur. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Friedrich Prinz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart, Hiersemann.

KERNER, Max, 2000. “Kurzrezension”, *Romanische Forschungen*, 112,2: 297-299.

LÖHR, Winrich, 1998. "Asketen und Mönche im spätantiken Italien", *Theologische Rundschau*, 63: 192-199.

MARAZZI, Federico, 2014. *San Vincenzo al Volturno. Guida alla città monastica benedettina*, Cerro al Volturno, Volturnia.

— 2015. *Le città dei monaci. Storia degli spazi che avvicinano a Dio*, Milano, Jaca Book.

MARCOS, Mar, 2019. "The Making of Novatian the Heretic and the Early Geography of Novatianism", *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 85/1: 77-94.

MARKUS, Robert A., 1996. "Review", *The English Historical Review* 111: 382-384.

MILAZZO, Vincenza, 2015. "Verginità e martirio. Agnese in Damaso, Ambrogio e Prudenzio", *Ex pluribus unum. Studi in onore di Giulia Sfameni Gasparro*, Concetta Giuffré Scibona, Attilio Mastrocinque (eds.), Roma, Quasar: 397-413.

O'DONNELL, James, 1997. "Review", *The Catholic Historical Review* 83,4: 744-745.

PENCO, Gregorio, 1961. *Storia del monachesimo in Italia dalle origini alla fine del Medio Evo*, Roma, Paoline.

PERCIVAL, John, 1997. "Villas and Monasteries in Late Roman Gaul", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48: 1-21.

PRINZ, Friedrich, 1963. "Zur geistigen Kultur des Mönchtum im spätantiken Gallien und im Merowingerreich", *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 26: 29-102.

— 1965. *Frühes Mönchtum in Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert)*, München, Oldenbourg.

— 1976. "Einleitung", *Mönchtum und Gesellschaft im Frühmittelalter*, Friedrich Prinz (ed.), Darmstadt, WBG: 1-11.

RAU, Susanne, 2019. *History, Space, and Place*, London-New York, Routledge.

STASOLLA, Francesca R., 2017. "Il monachesimo in Italia dalle origini a Gregorio Magno: modalità insediative, architetture, organizzazione topografica e spaziale", *Monachesimi d'Oriente e d'Occidente nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo: 321-358.

SULLIVAN, Richard E., 1997. "Review", *Speculum* 72,3: 838-840.

VANDERPUTTEN, Steven, 2020. *Medieval Monasticisms: Forms and Experiences of the Monastic Life in the Latin West*, Berlin, De Gruyter.





Revista de Cultures Medievales

Núm. 20 (Tardor 2022), 22-39 | ISSN 2014-7023

LEANDRO DE SEVILLA Y EL CENOBITISMO FEMENINO: UNA VIRGINIDAD SUBORDINADA

Pablo C. Díaz Martínez

Universidad de Salamanca

pcdiaz@usal.es

ORCID: 0000-0001-6706-2781

Rebut: 8 setembre 2022 | Revisat: 18 novembre 2022 | Acceptat: 30 novembre 2022
| Publicat: 22 desembre 2022 | doi: 10.1344/Svmma2022.20.4

Resumen

El texto *De institutioni virginum*, escrito por Leandro de Sevilla en torno al 580, es prácticamente el único testimonio sobre la existencia de un monacato femenino organizado antes de la conversión oficial del reino visigodo al catolicismo en el 589. El texto está destinado a mostrar la superioridad de la virginidad frente al matrimonio, y a convencer a la destinataria del mismo, su hermana Florentina, profesa en un monasterio, de que ha tomado una decisión acertada. Sin embargo, incluye otros dos aspectos que interesan al estudio del cenobitismo femenino tardo-hispano. Por un lado, la insistencia en la superioridad de la vida monástica comunitaria sobre la virginidad consagrada en el ámbito familiar. Por otra parte, una percepción ideológica que traslada al ámbito de la profesión ascética los mismos criterios de minusvaloración de la mujer que son recurrentes en la sociedad del momento. La consecuencia es una visión de la religiosa como un ser débil en lo moral y necesitada de la protección masculina en lo físico. La legislación conciliar bética sobre la vida monástica femenina, emanada del concilio de Sevilla del 619, evidencia que estas ideas se plasmaron en la sujeción de los monasterios femeninos a la tutela de los masculinos como norma general.

Palabras clave:

Leandro de Sevilla, virginidad, monacato, mujer, legislación religiosa

Abstract

The text *De institutione virginum*, written by Leander of Seville around 580, is practically the only evidence of the existence of an organized female monasticism before the official conversion of the Visigothic Kingdom to Catholicism in 589. The text is aimed both at showing the superiority of virginity over marriage, and convincing its addressee, his sister Florentina, a professed virgin in a monastery, that she has made the right decision. However, it includes two other aspects of interest to the study of late-Hispanic female cenobitism. On the one hand, it insists on the superiority of monastic community life over consecrated virginity in the family environment. On the other hand, it reveals an ideological perception which transfers to the sphere of the ascetic profession the same criteria that served for undervaluing women and were recurrent in the society of the time. As a consequence, virgins were considered morally weak and physically in need of male protection. The Betic conciliar legislation on female monastic life, emanating from the Council of Seville in 619, shows that these ideas were embodied in the subjection, as a general rule, of female monasteries to the tutelage of male monasteries.

Keywords:

Leander of Seville, Virginity, Monasticism, Women, Canon Law

La ausencia de testimonios sobre un cenobitismo femenino en el espacio ibérico con anterioridad a la conversión visigoda al catolicismo en el año 589 apenas es compensada por los testimonios que podemos extrapolar del texto *De institutione virginum*,¹ un manual de instrucciones para la correcta vida de la virgen en un monasterio que el obispo de Sevilla Leandro escribió para su hermana Florentina (GIORDANO 1987). La redacción del texto se podría fijar en torno al año 580, inmediatamente antes de su destierro a Constantinopla (CAMPOS, ROCA 1971: 12), ya que da la sensación de que el obispo sevillano no evidencia conocer aún los trabajos de Gregorio Magno con quien coincidió en la capital imperial (WOOD 2016: 35-36). Aunque el documento es descrito frecuentemente como una regla monástica (DOMÍNGUEZ DEL VAL 1981: 152-157), responde mejor al modelo de los tratados de elogio de la virginidad (*De laude virginitate*) que proliferaron desde el siglo IV, donde virginidad de cuerpo y de espíritu se someten a la ficción de un matrimonio espiritual con Cristo (TAZDAÏT 2016). Esto no impide que en su articulación se prevea una estructura monástica y los consejos afecten tanto a la preservación de la virginidad, a sus motivos y a sus beneficios, como a la ordenación de las relaciones de convivencia en el interior de una comunidad monástica. Aunque, en este sentido, el texto atiende mucho más a elementos ideológicos que a factores pragmáticos, en su desarrollo no se describe un régimen diario de trabajo, ni encontramos una exposición precisa de tareas, factores esenciales en la definición de una regla (VOCÜÉ 2007: 89-103). El texto está ordenado en dos partes, que responden, de alguna manera, a esa doble intencionalidad de elogio de la virginidad, donde recuerda tanto a Ambrosio, que igualmente había dedicado a su hermana un tratado equivalente, como a Jerónimo o Agustín, y de instrucciones para vivir esa virginidad íntima en la convivencia de un monasterio. De hecho, la intencionalidad del documento en su conjunto la expresa el mismo Leandro: «Aun cuando mis palabras (*sermo*) van dirigidas a ti, hermana, he extendido mis recomendaciones a lo que puede ser interés de muchas. Sin embargo, no pretendo imponer a nadie este yugo, únicamente aconsejo lo que considero honesto».² En este sentido, es probable que el documento pasase a incrementar los textos de lectura que los monasterios utilizaban como guía en su vida cotidiana y que, como se recuerda en el mismo, servían para la lectura educativa de las profesas (*De inst. vir.* 15). Es un tratado íntimo, un testamento espiritual antes de la partida hacia Oriente, donde el monasterio y la comunidad aparecen en segundo plano (GIORDANO 1987).

La primera parte está estructurada como una carta a su hermana, donde recuerda el esquema que Isidoro había atribuido al tratado de la virginidad escrito por

1. *De institutione virginum et de contemptu mundi libellus* (CPL 1183). Ed. VELÁZQUEZ ARENAS 1979: 97-174 (texto), 175-215 (traducción castellana).

2. Leandro, *De inst. vir.* 27.7. Isidoro, en la biografía dedicada a su hermano, lo llama *libellum*, sin mayor precisión sobre su finalidad, añadiendo que estaba dividido en apartados (Isidoro, *De vir. ill.* 28).

Ossio de Córdoba y que algunos autores sostuvieron que pudiese haberse conservado hasta el periodo visigodo, aunque esto no deja de ser una conjetura sin fundamento (MADOZ 1946: 280). Sin embargo, la mayoría de los estudiosos parecen decantarse por una influencia más inmediata de los grandes teóricos latinos ya recordados, especialmente Ambrosio (GIORDANO 1987: 30-32) y Agustín (MANRIQUE CAMPILLO 1969; CAMPOS 1977), a los que habría que añadir las *Institutiones (De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis)* de Casiano (MADOZ 1949; VELÁZQUEZ ARENAS 1979: 31-40). La motivación aparente es una reflexión de Leandro sobre la herencia que quiere dejarle a su hermana, descarta dotarla de bienes materiales, que solo le traerían congoja y preocupación, y piensa que es preferible armarla con unos consejos que le sean útiles para llegar al cielo, donde encontrará «*praemiun et patrimonium virginitatis*» (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 10). Tenemos algunas noticias de la familia de Leandro, buena parte de ellas proceden del último capítulo del mismo texto que analizamos (*De inst. vir.* 31). Parece que Florentina era la única hermana de una familia emigrada desde los territorios bizantinos, de la zona de Cartagena probablemente, donde todos los hermanos varones han seguido la vida eclesiástica (FONTAINE, CAZIER 1983; BELTRÁN TORREIRA 1993). Leandro, el hermano mayor, quizás pendiente ya de su marcha a Constantinopla, seguramente se sintiese en la obligación de ejercer la tutela de su hermana a la que estaba obligado en su condición de *paterfamilias*. El futuro de Florentina pasaba bien por un matrimonio conveniente o, como ahora se propone, intentando hacerle ver todas las ventajas que ello conllevaba, por la profesión de virginidad. En su caso, sometida a la disciplina de un monasterio.

Los argumentos sobre la virgen como esposa sagrada los tomaría Leandro de los mencionados Ambrosio y Agustín, para quienes la virginidad es un matrimonio perpetuo e indisoluble con Cristo (CASTELLI 1986: 71). Nuestro autor presenta sus razonamientos de manera tan vehemente que algún estudioso ha hablado de una verdadera obsesión (LINAGE CONDE 1972: 312-317), cuanto menos una idea clara de que la virginidad es superior al matrimonio, idea que repetirá Isidoro en sus *Sententiae* (2.40.2; ed. CAMPOS, ROCA 1971: 226-525). Su argumento es contundente: las mujeres que se casan reciben una dote y regalos a cambio de su pureza; Cristo, como recompensa por la entrega de su virginidad, les ofrece su propia sangre, la salvación (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 16). Esta idea de la virgen como esposa de Cristo, donde de alguna manera se reproducía un ceremonial de conveniencia social (CLARK 2008), será luego desarrollada por la temprana liturgia hispánica, probablemente por influencia directa de las elaboraciones de Leandro (IHNAT 2016), aunque el impacto directo posterior de su obra como tal, a pesar de haber sido incorporada por Benito de Aniano a su *Codex regularum*, queda desdibujado frente a la omnipresencia de las ideas de los Padres de la Iglesia.

En su razonamiento, destinado a ganarse el ánimo de su hermana, hay argumentos que parecen implicar una resistencia; por ejemplo, la ventaja que supone no estar

sometida a la voluntad de un marido, lo que sería una esclavitud voluntaria a cambio de una dote terrena. Este es un factor de peso en una sociedad patriarcal donde la sumisión de la mujer al esposo era absoluta e incuestionable. Pero Leandro argumenta otras ventajas físicas que la virginidad le ha de proporcionar, por ejemplo, evitar «*pondus uteri graviditate, dolor partus plerumque ad discrimen mortis perveniens*» (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 44). Alternativamente, los hijos de la virgen serán los sentimientos de su corazón y las virtudes que sea capaz de mostrar (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 52-53). Las penas del matrimonio y los dolores y riesgos del parto son un lugar común entre los autores que hicieron propaganda de la virginidad, tanto en Oriente como en Occidente; sufrimientos físicos a los que ocasionalmente se añadirían las aflicciones del alma, como los celos o el temor por la pérdida de los hijos (CASTELLI 1986: 69-71). La alternativa a la atadura legal, a la sumisión al marido y a los dolores del parto es la libertad, la salvación proporcionada por la sangre de Cristo:

Cur, uirgo, dare uis corpus uiro quod est redemptum a Christo? Alius te redemit et alio nubere cupis? Alterius pretio libertatis militas et spontanea te seruitute condemnas? Si mundus omnis titulo dotis scribitur, quid pretiosius sanguine Christi quo redemptus est mundus? Adpende mercedem et pretium, ut uideas pluribus ualere qui redemit, quam id quod redemit (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 18).

La pérdida de la libertad asociada al matrimonio es recordada más adelante, cuando directamente afirma Leandro que con el matrimonio esta libertad se pierde al tiempo que la virtud, al recibir la dote su virginidad cae en un cautiverio (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 46). El argumento parece incontestable, la virgen que rechaza esta oferta está rechazando la salvación. Aún más, las vírgenes son ya lo que esperan todos los santos, pues «vosotras estáis saboreando ya la gloria de la incorrupción» (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 20). La santidad de la virgen es equiparada a la de los mártires.

A continuación, expone toda una serie de principios sobre la antropología cristiana del pecado: la herencia de la condenación original, la maldad que corrompió la naturaleza que Dios había creado íntegra. Para Leandro, conservarse virgen, «*qualis Dei formata es manibus*», constituye, de alguna manera, cumplir la voluntad de Dios, que «habría creado íntegra a la que estaba destinada a la integridad» (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 21). Sus siguientes argumentos toman una deriva sacrificial: las vírgenes son la primera ofrenda de la Iglesia, oblaciones gratas a Dios, «*in supernis altaribus consecratae*» (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 24). El premio es el ascenso directo al cielo, donde la espera Cristo, y la virgen María. Aquí Leandro introduce su teología sobre la madre del Salvador, que es presentada como portadora de una fecundidad que con su parto pobló el mundo, madre de la incorrupción, engendró a su esposo y engendró con su ejemplo a todas las que siguen su modelo, sin despojarse de su velo de virginidad, recibió el cielo como recompensa (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 27). Las ideas de Leandro sobre la virgen María siguen los modelos patrísticos recordados,

desde Tertuliano y Cipriano a Ambrosio y Jerónimo, con una retórica reiterativa que parte de los textos evangélicos y llega a los concilios de Éfeso (a. 431) y Calcedonia (a. 451), de donde toma su definición de la virgen como *Dei genetrix* (VELÁZQUEZ ARENAS 1978; GÓMEZ COBO 2004: 66-81). Sus ideas influirán el *Liber de virginitate perpetua Sanctae Mariae* de Ildefonso de Toledo (RUCQUOI 1998).

La profesión de virginidad redundará en la salvación de Florentina, pero Leandro espera que sea igualmente mitigadora de sus propios pecados (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 33-34), insiste varias veces en la idea a lo largo del texto, y hará partícipe de su gloria a sus padres, compensados por haber engendrado una hija que se ha conservado incólume (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 42). También le ruega que rece en favor de su hermano menor, Isidoro, cuyo cuidado los padres encargaron a los tres mayores (*De inst. vir.* 31.11).

Otra parte de las enseñanzas que Leandro parece querer inculcar a su hermana se refiere a aquellos elementos de apariencia y comportamientos que deben evitar cualquier confusión «inter nubentes et virgenes» (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 39). Leandro recoge una serie de lugares comunes sobre aquello que invita al apetito ajeno, a la pasión, como los adornos brillantes, perlas, piedras preciosas y joyas, pendientes, collares, anillos y pulseras, los afeites y el color, el rojo o el blanco, aplicados al rostro o a los ojos, la vestimenta lujosa, los perfumes, artimañas todas para atraer las miradas de los hombres, excitar sus sentimientos y fascinar su razón. La virgen debe evitar cualquier ocasión semejante, huir de la compañía de esas mujeres que solo brillan por sus obras carnales, porque es propio de meretrices tratar de gustar a ojos ajenos, pues la mujer casta viste con sencillez y se adorna con buenas costumbres (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 38-39; 47-48; 58-62). Frente a este modelo de comportamiento, la virgen «sexus necessitatem ignorat; feminae fragilitatis oblita, rigore uirile subsistit» (*De inst. vir., Praef.* 49), donde compendia toda una declaración de intenciones: solo la virtud viril puede controlar la debilidad pecaminosa del sexo femenino. La insistencia en evitar esos contactos, difíciles para una religiosa cenobítica, que se repiten posteriormente en diversos capítulos, incluso la comparación que veremos entre las vírgenes que viven en la ciudad y las que viven en comunidad, puede justificarse porque Florentina, al menos cuando se escribe la carta introductoria, todavía vive su virginidad en el entorno familiar (DREWS 2006: 39-40), que a Leandro puede parecerle demasiado cercano al mundo y por lo tanto un peligro para su profesión y su voluntad.

Probablemente es esta percepción de Leandro sobre la debilidad intrínseca de la voluntad femenina lo que justifica que la segunda parte de su texto, articulada en 31 capítulos, esté dedicada a los consejos de cómo llevar a cabo su profesión de virginidad en el seno de una comunidad monástica. Una pregunta retórica incorporada al texto resume de alguna manera lo que Leandro considera el ideal de vida de una virgen: «Quid ad te, qui habes regulam quam sequaris?» (*De inst. vir.* 23). Nada debe preocupar a la virgen que tiene una regla que seguir, una guía que marca su proceder en cada momento. Más adelante insistirá sobre el particular, añadiendo que

quienes viven en el monasterio sometidos a una regla conservan una vida apostólica, y recibirán la recompensa de aquellos cuyo ejemplo imitan (*De inst. virg.*, 26). Esta idea de la conversión como un camino firme hacia la salvación aparece en toda la literatura ascética hispana (DÍAZ MARTÍNEZ 2019a), por extensión debe entenderse como un lugar común dentro de la literatura ascético-monástica desde sus orígenes. Las especulaciones sobre si el texto era una regla parecen resolverse a través de la propia lectura del mismo, da la sensación que el monasterio en el que vive Florentina cuenta con una norma, pero es una preexistente, a la cual la receptora de sus consejos debe adaptarse. La idea de la superioridad de la vida monástica sobre la virginidad individual es remarcada por Leandro de manera constante; así cuando le aconseja: «No imites a esas vírgenes que habitan en las ciudades en pequeñas celdas, agobiadas por multitud de inquietudes» (*De inst. virg.*, 26.1). Un cúmulo de molestias para su correcta profesión entre las que incluye la necesidad de agradar al mundo circundante, o atender a las preocupaciones domésticas, descuidando atender a Dios. Resulta de gran interés que en este momento Leandro introduzca una idea de cuál es el origen de la costumbre de la virginidad doméstica y cuál el de la vida colectiva:

La vida individual llegó a la Iglesia procedente de las costumbres de los gentiles; como los apóstoles no los pudieron reducir a su género de vida, permitieron a los cristianos de origen pagano vivir individualmente y servirse de sus propios bienes. Los hebreos, por el contrario, que obtuvieron el don de la fe en época de los apóstoles, observaron la misma normativa que ahora mantienen los monasterios.³

Al margen que la afirmación sea o no contrastable, y de que sorprende este aparente elogio de la sociedad hebrea, resulta interesante la apreciación, por cuanto la comparación entre los retiros individuales de las vírgenes y el retiro en sus casas de la aristocracia pagana ha sido valorado reiteradamente (LOMAS SALMONTE 1990). La huida de la vida individual va acompañada en Leandro de la exigencia de permanecer en el monasterio, donde sacará provecho de los ejemplos de las virtudes de las hermanas (*De inst. virg.* 25), y de rechazar la idea de volver al mundo: «Ne uelit virgo reverti ad saeculum» (*De inst. virg.* 31). Vida comunitaria que pasa por someterse a la superiora (*De inst. virg.* 27-28), además de huir de todo contacto con seculares, sobre todo con hombres, pero también con mujeres ajenas a la profesión porque, como ha advertido previamente, sus intereses son dispares (*De inst. virg.* 1). Según anota, la mera proximidad del hombre y la mujer puede excitar la *lex naturae*,

3. Leandro, *De inst. virg.* 26.2: «Privatam ehim vitam de usu gentilium traxit Ecclesia; quos, dum non quiverunt Apostoli ad norma suae vitae transducere, Ecclesiae venienti ex gentibus permiserunt private vivere propriisque rebus utere. Ceterum, qui sub Apostolis crediderunt ex hebraeis, eandem normam quam nunc tenent monasteria servaverunt».

la cual conlleva siempre la concupiscencia;⁴ especialmente si son jóvenes, pues la ensoñación de su figura, el recuerdo de su cuerpo, puede provocar el deseo lascivo (*De inst. virg.* 3). La sociabilidad por lo tanto debe reducirse al monasterio, la virgen debe estar a disposición de sus hermanas, aunque sin participar de intimidades que no sean evidentes a todas, aliviar a las enfermas, responder con el bien incluso a la que la desprecie o la calumnie, nunca murmurar de las demás (*De inst. virg.* 4-5; 7-8; 14). El pudor, garante de la humildad y de la templanza, debe presidir todos sus comportamientos, le ayudará a reprimir el movimiento del cuerpo, a no mostrar su rostro con descaro, a bajar la mirada, a evitar las conversaciones deshonestas; al fin y al cabo, anota Leandro, la *libertas* y la *auctoritas*, que en hombre pueden ser virtudes, en la virgen se entienden como vicio (*De inst. virg.* 6); un capítulo entero está dedicado a la reprobación de la risa (*De inst. virg.* 21). El pudor y la modestia sobre los que Leandro insiste reiteradamente son, evidentemente, adornos imprescindibles de la virgen, pero lo son igualmente de la buena esposa, en general son valores que reputan a toda mujer, afectan a su papel en el comportamiento social, pero también en la sumisión doméstica y en la expresión de las emociones; de alguna manera define el papel supeditado de la mujer que debe evitar toda notoriedad y protagonismo (CONSOLINO 1986; WILKINSON 2015: 117-161). Pero aún peores considera Leandro los vicios del alma, «prostituta demonum» es la virgen «superba», la iracunda; mejor sería que se sometiese al yugo del varón aquella virgen que «furibunda et effrenata» se entrega al imperio del demonio (*De inst. virg.* 21); donde el contrapunto es evidente, la virgen debe ser humilde y paciente (*De inst. virg.* 11-12). El autor considera igualmente reprobables las amistades particulares en la comunidad, las conversaciones privadas, con el argumento de que lo que pueda conocer una deben conocerlo todas, mientras lo reproducible no interesa a nadie, en toda conversación debe haber siempre dos o tres testigos, lo que afecta tanto a las que se mantienen entre las hermanas como con cualquier visita del exterior (*De inst. virg.* 17 y 30).

Algunas instrucciones recogidas en la introducción se repiten en la segunda parte. De manera especial la dedicada al vestido de la profesa, donde se insiste en que solo debe agradar a Cristo y vuelve a repetir sus críticas sobre el efecto de las ropas caras que pueden suponer un estímulo para la lubricidad (*De inst. virg.* 10).

4. Leandro, *De inst. virg.* 2. La percepción de Leandro sobre el contacto sexual es inflexible, la castidad conyugal juzga que es punto menos que imposible; aún más, en su descripción del cortejo nupcial resulta evidente una percepción perversa del sexo femenino (*De inst. virg., Praef.* 56-57). En la comparación entre las casadas y las vírgenes no encuentra Leandro sino desprecio para las primeras, de paso para la procreación misma, y su discurso sobre el particular lo resume con una cita del evangelio de Lucas: «Beatae steriles quae non genuerunt et uera quae non lactauerunt» (Lc. 23.29; *De inst. virg., Praef.* 51). Pareciera que en el designio divino las nupcias solo tuvieran como justificación engendrar vírgenes: «Verum est quod Deus praecepit nuptias, sed idcirco, ut esset unde nasceretur virginitas; ut multiplicata virginum successione lucraretur in prole quod perdiderant nuptiae in radice» (*De inst. virg., Praef.*, 42). Una lectura de los procesos de represión sexual y su transformación en virtud ascética en HARPER 2013, donde analiza el modelo de castidad de Casiano, autor que Leandro ha leído y utilizado.

Curiosamente, lo que de nuevo desmiente que estemos ante un texto normativo, se ignora cualquier principio definido sobre el hábito monástico, sobre las prendas que deben llevarse; su idea es de nuevo reducir el atractivo de la virgen a los ojos de los hombres, no legislar. En cualquier caso, la única prescripción parece ser la de una vestimenta humilde y que denote honestidad (AUGÉ 1976). Mismo principio de rechazo del cuerpo, probablemente porque es concebido exclusivamente como un instrumento del pecado, se sigue al indicar que el baño solo se tomará por exigencias médicas (*De inst. virg.* 10). En la carta introductoria se elogia a la virgen que, por su virtud, aunque haya heredado el cuerpo de Eva, no se ha hecho acreedora de su castigo (*De inst. virg., Praef.* 49). Donde subyace el principio de Agustín de que la concupiscencia que acompaña al acto sexual constituye un elemento capital en la transmisión del pecado original (McFARLAND 2010: 32-58; ELY 2018: 108). Y podríamos decir lo mismo de las prescripciones sobre la alimentación. El cuerpo debe ingerir solo lo imprescindible para vivir, la virgen debe estar sana, pero no necesita parecerlo. Florentina debe tomar los mismos alimentos que sus compañeras, lo contrario sería ocasión de escándalo, siempre los alimentos usuales, con una condimentación escasa y a la hora señalada, evitando así que comer se convierta en un acto de «intemperantia» (*De inst. virg.* 13). La dieta es el primer principio curativo de la medicina clásica, en la percepción cristiana la misma debe atender tanto al cuidado del cuerpo como a la salud del alma (DÍAZ MARTÍNEZ 2020). Al fin y al cabo, en el esquema de los vicios y las pasiones, la gula apenas está un escalón por debajo de la lujuria (CASTILLO MALDONADO 2002). Los ayunos son adecuados para los cuerpos saludables, o en aquellos casos en que resulta necesario aplacar el deseo carnal, y son desaconsejados en caso de enfermedad (*De inst. virg.* 18). Pero tampoco en este caso tenemos una regulación de horarios, ni una prescripción dietética que suele acompañar a cualquier regla monástica. En este capítulo introduce una nota biográfica, Florentina parece debilitada por constantes enfermedades; y su debilidad crónica es recordada un poco más adelante (*De inst. virg.* 24). Solo en caso de enfermedad es aconsejable la ingestión de vino, la embriaguez es comparada al homicidio, el adulterio o la fornicación (*De inst. virg.* 19; MENÉNDEZ BUEYES 2019: 29); aún de manera más estricta en el caso de la carne, reservada a quienes desempeñan los trabajos más duros, en caso contrario alimentarse de carne fomenta los vicios (*De inst. virg.* 24).

Llegados a este punto resulta necesario reconocer que apenas sabemos nada del monasterio en el cual profesa Florentina. Es razonable pensar que se localizase en la Bética, incluso en las proximidades de Sevilla, pero es meramente especulativo, más aún que el monasterio estuviese en su casa familiar (SEJOURNÉ 1929: 23). Se alude a una regla del monasterio, aquella a la que Florentina estaría sometida, probablemente inspirada en las propuestas regulares de Agustín; con las cuales los consejos de Leandro no entran en contradicción. Esto se ha argumentado en relación a la prescripción sobre el baño (MANRIQUE CAMPILLO 1969: 492-494), aunque

en Agustín la prescripción sobre el estado de salud que demandase este tratamiento correspondía al médico (LAWLESS 1987: 96-97 y 116); igualmente parece evidente en la asimetría social de las profesas que se incorporan al monasterio. Las siervas que han ingresado en la comunidad –debemos entender que para ello han recibido una carta de libertad– deben ser respetadas por la igualdad de profesión, sin embargo, da por supuesto que deberían asumir su origen y prestar asistencia a Florentina, con ella a todas las que ingresaron en el monasterio desde la condición de mujeres libres (*De inst. virg.* 22). Pero si en este caso puede haber alguna ambigüedad, esta se disipa cuando se refiere a cuál debe ser el comportamiento de la superiora con cada profesas, donde esta debe usar de una discrecionalidad acorde con la necesidad de cada una:

La que gozó en el mundo de elevada posición y poseyó riquezas, ha de ser tratada en el monasterio con más delicadeza; si una dejó en el mundo valiosos vestidos, merece en el monasterio tener uno de calidad superior. En cambio, la que en el mundo vivió en la miseria careciendo de abrigo y alimento, dichosa deberá estar de no padecer frío ni hambre en el monasterio; y no criticará el que se ofrezca un trato más delicado a la que en el mundo vivió con comodidad (*De inst. virg.* 27.2).

Donde, de nuevo, parece evidente la influencia de la regla agustiniana (LAWLESS 1987:80-83 y 110-111). La postura se justifica a continuación porque si no se atiende al origen disímil de cada una, la que procede de la humildad, «*quae fuit paupera vel ancilla*», se puede hacer engreída, y la que fue pudiente puede sentirse rebajada en el interior del monasterio.

Todo lo expuesto cabe aplicarlo al vestido, alimento, bebida o trabajo respecto a las enfermas o delicadas, de modo que sea tratada con ciertos miramientos la que no puede soportar lo más pesado. Por lo demás, con las que han demostrado tener fuerzas suficientes, también la superiora se comportará con discreción, pero al considerar la anterior vida de bienestar que algunas llevaron o la débil salud de otras, no les debe conceder las prerrogativas reservadas a las más antiguas, si se convirtieron en época posterior a éstas (*De inst. virg.* 27.6).

Este capítulo, que pareciera intentar compensar alguna deficiencia de la norma seguida en el monasterio, da igualmente ciertas claves sobre la estructura interna de la comunidad. La figura de autoridad en el monasterio es la *senior*, término técnico que precede al de *abbatissa* que no irrumpirá en las fuentes hispanas hasta el siglo siguiente (SÁNCHEZ SALOR 1976: 201-202). El texto alude a una Turtura, que a veces se ha interpretado como su madre (*matrem*), y preferentemente como la superiora (*magistram*) de la comunidad (*De inst. virg.* 31.10); sin embargo, el carácter críptico del pasaje podría interpretarse en un sentido alegórico, haciendo alusión a

la Iglesia (KAMPERS 2018: 54-55), lo cual hace inservible el testimonio en relación a la realidad monástica donde Florentina desarrolla su vida. La idea de que ella misma alcanzase a ser la superiora de la comunidad parte de una lectura forzada de la *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori* de Braulio de Zaragoza.⁵ De hecho, el epitafio, probablemente procedente de la catedral de Sevilla, que recuerda a Leandro, Isidoro y a ella misma, la denomina «Deo uota perennis» (VIVES 1942: n° 272.3), sin aludir a que alcanzase una dignidad específica. Estrictamente hablando, lo único cierto es que la comunidad estaba sometida a una superiora, por debajo de ella, al margen de la discrecionalidad por la procedencia social, era la antigüedad la que marcaba el lugar en la comunidad, lo que se acomoda a la norma masculina que Isidoro, hermano y sucesor de Leandro en la sede de Sevilla, redactará unos años después (ed. CAMPOS, ROCA: 1971: 90-125).

La participación en la vida común implica la prohibición de poseer bienes privados (*peculio*), guardarse algo propio es un delito y cualquier obsequio que llegue a manos de una profesa debe ser entregado a la superiora para disfrute común (*De inst. virg.* 28). La vida cotidiana parece ordenada en torno a la oración y la lectura que se alternan durante toda la jornada; la lectura de otra persona continuará atrayendo la atención de quien come o realiza algún trabajo ocasional, con el objetivo de mantener ocupados los oídos y evitar cualquier ociosidad que diese ocasión a pensamientos indeseados (*De inst. virg.* 15). El texto parece presuponer que las integrantes de la comunidad, al menos una parte de ellas, leen autónomamente, sin duda alguna Florentina, que podría contar con una preparación teológica, como darían a entender sus inquietudes intelectuales.⁶ Las lecturas seguidas no son precisadas; como ocurre en las reglas masculinas contemporáneas, debemos imaginar que habría unas recomendaciones esenciales, los Padres de la Iglesia, la literatura monástica y esencialmente las Escrituras que, caso de necesidad, serían comentadas o explicadas en conferencia, o por una profesa experta, de preferencia la superiora, aunque esto no se anota.⁷ En cualquier caso, Leandro se adelanta aclarando que el Antiguo Testamento no debe entenderse en su literalidad, especialmente en los extremos de violencia y concupiscencia allí recogidos; de manera especial previene

5. Braulio, *Renotatio: postulante Florentina germana sua propósito virgine* (ed. MARTÍN IGLESIAS 2006: 199-207). Donde FONTAINE 2000: 432, leyó *praepositu virginum*, dándole un sentido jerárquico que las fuentes visigodas ignoran para los monasterios femeninos.

6. En los años 614/615, Isidoro dedicaría a Florentina el *De Fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* (PL 83, cols. 449-450), aparentemente escrita por su petición para instruirla en los errores del judaísmo («ob aedificationem studii tui tibi dicavi»). La afirmación de que el libro fue escrito a petición de Florentina está igualmente en la mencionada *Renotatio librorum domini Isidori* escrita por Braulio de Zaragoza. Ver DREWS 2006: 39.

7. Isidoro de Sevilla considera que las integrantes de la comunidad deben «instruendis mentibus peritae atque paratae» (*De eccl. Officiis* 2.16.17; ed. LAWSON). En su regla para varones, Isidoro prohíbe que se lean libros de paganos o herejes, en su caso las dudas sobre los pasajes que no entendiesen serían resueltas por el abad en *conlatione aut post vesperam* (*Reg. monach.*, 8).

sobre una lectura no alegórica del *Cantar de los Cantares*, ya que, aunque son símbolos del cuerpo de Cristo y del amor de la Iglesia, «carnalem inlecebram terreni amoris insinuat», pudiendo provocar, en quien no entiende su sentido espiritual, deseos libidinosos y sensuales (*De inst. virg.* 16).

Un monacato subordinado

Antes de finalizar conviene remarcar un hecho que enlaza cronológica y contextualmente con el monacato al que se adscribe la figura de Florentina. Cuando en el año 614/615 Isidoro escribió su tratado contra los judíos, Florentina aún estaba viva; cuatro años después un concilio celebrado en Sevilla, presidido por el mismo Isidoro, va a legislar sobre el monacato femenino, y nos va a permitir entender bastante mejor la realidad difusamente descrita por Leandro. Frente a la imagen de centros aparentemente dedicados a la oración y la lectura, donde el trabajo apenas era visto como algo ocasional, el concilio va a presentar entidades productivas, aunque subordinadas y sometidas a los monasterios masculinos, a los cuales corresponde «*administratione ac praesidio*», lo que es aplicable a todos los monasterios femeninos de la provincia Bética⁸. Respecto a lo que implica esa tutela, el texto aclara «*non solum gubernaculis tueri sed etim doctrinis aedificari possint*». Los monjes cuidan de la administración del monasterio y además tutelan doctrinalmente a las vírgenes. Es cierto que el texto advierte que los monjes no podrán acercarse sin excusa a la portería del convento femenino, ni podrán intervenir «*ad institutionem morum pertinet*», lo que preservaba la propia conducta marcada por el monasterio, sin el acuerdo de la superiora, pero es indudable que hay una minusvaloración de la autonomía del monasterio femenino. Frente a la omnipresencia del abad en los monasterios masculinos, la responsable del femenino solo es recordada como «*quae praeest loqui virginum*», la que está al frente.

El esquema de un monasterio de varones que ejerce el control sobre uno femenino, sin implicar un monacato dúplice, cuya problemática excede nuestro interés ahora, suponía una funcionalidad complementaria que generaba vínculos de simbiosis cuya relación práctica, sin duda, exigía regulaciones específicas (ORLANDIS 1971: 22). El canon prevé que monjes y vírgenes estén «*longe discretis*», pero eso no oculta un esquema multilateral de interdependencias que, de alguna manera, exigía la figura reguladora del obispo. A éste corresponde aprobar el nombramiento del monje elegido por el abad («*unus monachorum probatissimus*») para:

Administrar las fincas de las religiosas, tanto rústicas como urbanas, construir los edificios y si necesitan alguna otra cosa proveerla conforme a las necesidades del monasterio, para que las siervas de Cristo, solícitas únicamente del aprovechamiento de

8. *Conc. II Spal.* a. 619, c. 11 (Ed. y trad. VIVES 1964: 163-185).

sus almas, se entreguen solamente al culto divino y se consagren a sus tareas (*Conc. II Spal.* a. 619, c. 11).

No hay ninguna razón para que el monasterio en el cual vivía Florentina no respondiese a este esquema que el concilio prevé para toda la provincia dependiente del metropolitano de Sevilla. Como tal, el monasterio es una estructura productiva, con una zona central de residencia y propiedades que se ordenan tanto en la ciudad como en el medio rural. Es un modelo de entidad económica en el que resulta fácil reconocer el que desarrolla Isidoro en su regla masculina y que constituye un sistema casi “perfecto” de ordenación económica de una gran propiedad dispuesta idealmente para hacer del monasterio una célula autosuficiente en cuanto a sus necesidades alimenticias y, en la medida de lo posible, a su equipamiento (DÍAZ MARTÍNEZ 2019b). Las vírgenes son liberadas de la administración económica y de las tareas de construcción e intendencia, no sabemos por tanto cuál era su nivel de independencia a la hora de gestionar los beneficios. De hecho, donde Leandro hablaba de trabajos ocasionales, el canon alude a «operibus suis». Y se precisan cuáles son y en qué condiciones se realizan esos trabajos:

Y ellas a su vez tejerán los trajes (*vestes faciant*) necesarios para aquellos cenobios de los cuales esperan protección (*tuitionem*) y de los que, como se ha dicho, van a recibir los frutos del trabajo (*laborum fructus*) y ayuda en la gestión de los negocios (*curationis suffragium*) (*Conc. II Spal.* a. 619, c. 11).

El término *tuitio* implica probablemente una subordinación jurídica; como en la relación de Leandro con su hermana, los monasterios femeninos viven sujetos a la discreción de los masculinos, una relación que, según se aprecia en el texto, podía ser multilateral, un monasterio femenino podía vincularse con uno o más masculinos, no sabemos con qué régimen de relación contractual en cuanto al reparto de fincas y propiedades, pero que exigían una contrapartida única, las vírgenes se encargaban de la elaboración de las prendas de vestir. El trabajo de la lana y la preparación de vestidos aparece tradicionalmente como una esfera esencial del trabajo femenino y ocupa un lugar importante en las reglas femeninas más tempranas, como la de Cesáreo de Arles, que a diferencia del texto de Leandro presenta un alto grado normativo (VOGÜÉ, COURREAU 1988: 171-291), pero igualmente Jerónimo o Ambrosio habían recomendado que las vírgenes ocupasen su tiempo en el hilado y la costura, donde resulta evidente una traslación del modelo tradicional de la matrona romana (COON 1997: 42). El trabajo textil seguiría asociado a las tareas de la élite aristocrática femenina durante toda la Alta Edad Media europea y claramente como una actividad de los cenobios femeninos (GARVER 2009: 224-268). En su tratado sobre los oficios eclesiásticos, Isidoro aclara que los monasterios femeninos están separados y alejados de los de varones, y recoge el mismo esquema de relación que

acabamos de ver, las profesas trabajan la lana y preparan los vestidos de los monjes, intercambiando con ellos lo necesario para vivir.⁹ Resulta difícil saber si participaban en todas las fases de la elaboración de las vestiduras, y si además de la lana trabajaban también el lino, aunque los procesos asociados con la elaboración de los atuendos (de lana y lino) están muy poco detallados en las fuentes monásticas tardohispanas, en comparación con otras actividades (DÍAZ MARTÍNEZ 1987:102-108).

Las indicaciones del canon sevillano han culminado el itinerario que va de la profesión individual de virginidad como una imitación del modelo ideal de la mujer cristiana representado por la virgen María, a la institucionalización monástica donde el cenobio es centro de convivencia, pero también una estructura de producción y consumo. En el caso de los cenobios femeninos, esta estructura se encuentra bajo la tutela de los monjes varones, los cuales administran las actividades, realizan algunos trabajos físicos y a cambio obtienen una compensación en la forma de prendas confeccionadas de ropa. En un principio pudiera entenderse como una distribución de tareas, pero cuando se analiza el tono global de los textos se percibe una perpetuación del rol sometido de las mujeres respecto a los hombres; en este caso la sumisión al poder patriarcal se sustituye por la aceptación de una tutela que parece perpetuar la percepción de minusvalía (*imbecillitas*) que el mundo antiguo extendió de manera generalizada sobre el universo femenino (GACTO FERNÁNDEZ 2013).

9. Isidoro, *De eccl. Officiis* 2.16.17: «Lanificio etiam corpus exercent atque sustentant, uestesque ipsas monachis tradunt, ab his inuicem quod uictui opus est resumentes». El texto parece haberse redactado antes del 615, previamente a la celebración del concilio (LAWSON 1989: 14*).

Bibliografía

AUGÉ, Matías, 1976. “L’abito monástico dalle origine alla regola di S. Benedetto”, *Claretianum*, 16: 33-95.

WOOD, Jamie, 2016. “A Family Affair. Leander, Isidore and the Legacy of Gregory the Great in Spain”, *Isidore od Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: transmitting and transforming knowledge*, A. Fear, J. Wood (eds.), Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press: 31-56.

BELTRÁN TORREIRA, Federico M., 1993. “San Leandro de Sevilla y sus actitudes político-religiosas (nuevas observaciones sobre su historia familiar)”, *Actas I Coloquio de Historia Antigua de Andalucía*, J. F. Rodríguez Neila (ed.), Córdoba, Publicaciones del Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba: 335-348.

CAMPOS, Julio, ROCA, Ismael, 1971. *Santos padres españoles. II. San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso. Reglas monásticas de la España visigoda. Los tres libros de las Sentencias*, Madrid, Editorial Católica.

CAMPOS, Julio, 1977. “La virginidad consagrada en el pensamiento de san Leandro hispalense”, *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel II (Studia Silensia 2)*, Silos (Burgos), Abadía de Silos: 25-38.

CASTELLI, Elizabeth, 1986. “Virginity and Its Meaning for Women’s Sexuality in Early Christianity”, *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 2.1: 61-88.

CASTILLO MALDONADO, Pedro, 2002. “*Gastrimargia y abstinentia gulosa* en la normativa monástica hispanovisigótica (I): Leandro de Sevilla”, *Florentia Iliberritana*, 13: 33-52.

CLARK, Elizabeth A., 2008. “The Celibate Bridegroom and His Virginal Brides: Metaphor and the Marriage of Jesus in Early Christian Ascetic Exegesis”, *Church History*, 77.1: 1-25.

CONSOLINO, Franca E., 1986. “Modelli di comportamento e modi di santificazione per l’aristocrazia femminile d’occidente”, en A. Giardina (ed.), *Società romana e impero tardoantico: istituzioni, ceti, economie*, Roma, Laterza: 273–307.

COON, Lynda L., 1997. *Sacred Fictions. Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

DÍAZ MARTÍNEZ, Pablo C., 1987. *Formas económicas y sociales en el monacato visigodo*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca.

— 2019a. “La conversión personal como instrumento de salvación en el eremitismo y en el monacato visigodo”, *Ouvrier pour le salut. Moines, chanoines et frères dans la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Âge*, A. de las Heras, F. Gallon, N. Pluchot (eds.), Madrid, Casa de Velázquez: 17-38.

— 2019b. “Isidore’s Enterprise: The Monastery as ‘Perfect Villa’ and Beyond”, *La vie quotidienne des moines en Orient et en Occident (IV^e-X^e siècle). II. Questions transversales*, O. Delouis, M. Mossakovska-Gaubert (eds.), Le Caire-Athènes, Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale-École Française d’Athènes: 373-391.

— 2020. “Teoría y práctica de la medicina visigoda. Del enciclopedismo de Isidoro a la enfermería monástica”, *Asclepio*, 72.1: 1-16.

DOMÍNGUEZ DEL VAL, Ursicino, 1981. *Leandro de Sevilla y la lucha contra el arrianismo*, Madrid, Editora Nacional.

DREWS, Wolfram, 2006. *The Unknown Neighbour. The Jews in the Thought of Isidore of Seville*, Leiden·Boston: Brill.

ELY, Peter B., 2018. *Adam and Eve in Scripture, Theology, and Literature. Sin, Compassion, and Forgiveness*, Lanham, Lexington Books.

FONTAINE, Jacques, CAZIER, Pierre, 1983. “Qui a chasse de Carthaginoise Sévérianus et les siens? Observations sur l’histoire familiale d’Isidore de Séville”, *Estudios en Homenaje a Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años*, Buenos Aires (Anexos de *Cuadernos de historia de España*), Instituto de España- Universidad de Buenos Aires, I: 349-400.

FONTAINE, Jacques, 2000. *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths*, Turnhout, Brepols.

GACTO FERNÁNDEZ, Enrique, 2013. “Imbecillitas sexus”, *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, 20: 27-66.

GARVER, Valerie L., 2009. *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

GIORDANO, Oronzo, 1987. *Leandro di Siviglia. Lettera alla sorella Fiorentina. Sulla verginità e la fuga dal mondo*, Roma, Città Nuova.

GÓMEZ COBO, Antonio, 2004. “La Virgen María en Leandro de Sevilla”, *Carthaginiensia*, 20: 57-108.

HARPER, Kyle, 2013. *From Shame to Sin. The Christian Transformation of Sexual Morality in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge (Mass.). London, Cambridge University Press.

IHNAT, Kati, 2016. “Mary as Bride in the Old Hispanic Office: Liturgical and Theological Trends”, *Mediaeval Studies*, 78: 65-123.

KAMPERS, Gerd, 2018. “Isidor von Sevilla und seine Familie. Überlegungen zu De institutione virginum et de contemptu mundi c. 31”, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 52: 43-58.

LAWLESS, George, 1987. *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule*, Oxford, Oxford Scholarship Online. [DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198267416.001.0001]

LAWSON, Christopher M., 1989. *Isidorus Epsicopus Hispalensis. De ecclesiasticis officiis*, Turnhout, (CCSL 113), Brepols.

LINAGE CONDE, Antonio, 1972. “Algunos aspectos biológicos de la ‘Regula Leandri’”. *Cuadernos de Historia de la Medicina*, 11: 309-324.

LOMAS, Francisco J., 1990. “*Secessus in villam*: la alternativa pagana al ascetismo cristiano en el círculo de Ausonio”, *Cristianismo y aculturación en tiempos del Imperio Romano*, A. González, J. M. Blázquez, (eds.), Murcia, (*Antigüedad y Cristianismo*, 7), Universidad de Murcia: 273-286.

MADOZ, José, 1946. “Varios enigmas de la ‘regla’ de san Leandro descifrados por el estilo de sus fuentes”, en *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: I, 265-295.

— 1949. “Una nueva transmisión del ‘Libellus de institutione virginum’ de san Leandro de Sevilla (Ms. De Monte Casino, n. 331)”, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 67: 407-424.

MANRIQUE CAMPILLO, Andrés, 1969. “La Regla de san Agustín en España durante los primeros siglos de su existencia”, *La ciudad de Dios*, 182: 485-513.

MARTÍN IGLESIAS, José Carlos, 2006. *Braulionis Caesaraugustani episcopi. Renitatio librorum domini Isidori*, Turnhout, (CCSL 113B), Brepols: 193-206.

MARTÍNEZ DÍEZ, Gonzalo, RODRÍGUEZ, Félix, 1992. *La colección canónica Hispana. V. Concilios hispanos: segunda parte*, Madrid, CSIC.

McFARLAND, Ian A., 2010. *In Adam’s Fall. A Meditation on the Christian Doctrine of Original Sin*, Oxford, Wiley Blackwell.

MENÉNDEZ BUEYES, Luis Ramón, 2019. “*Sine cerere et libero friget venus: el alcoholismo como problema de salud en el monacato visigodo*”, *Hispania Sacra*, 71.143: 25-38.

ORLANDIS, José, 1971. “Los orígenes del monaquismo dúplice en España”, *Estudios sobre instituciones monásticas medievales*, Pamplona, EUNSA: 19-34.

RUCQUOI, Adeline, 1998. “Ildephonse de Tolède et soin traité sur la virginité de Marie”, *La virginité de Marie*, J. Longère (ed.), Paris, Éditions Médiaspaul: 105-125.

SEJOURNÉ, Paul, 1929. *Saint Isidore de Séville. Le dernier père de l'Église. Son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique*, Paris, Beauchesne.

TAZDAÏT, Fawzia, 2016. “L'ideal de virginité d'après les pères de l'Église latine”, *L'Esprit du temps*, 134: 49-62.

VELÁZQUEZ ARENAS, Jaime, 1978. “Index rethoricus del De institutione virginum de san Leandro de Sevilla”, *Helmantica*, 29: 173-186.

— 1979. *Leandro de Sevilla. De la instrucción de las vírgenes y desprecio del mundo. Traducción, estudio y notas*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española.

VIVES, José, 1942. *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*, Madrid, CSIC.
— 1964. *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, Barcelona-Madrid, CSIC.

VOGÜÉ, Adalbert de, COURREAU, Joël, 1988. *Césaire d'Arles. Oeuvres monastiques. I. Ouvres pour les moniales*, Paris, (Sources Chrétiennes 345), Éditions du cerf.

VOGÜÉ, Adalbert de, 2007. *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité. 11.1. Le monachisme latin. La Gaule franque et l'Espagne wisigothique (VI^e.VII^e siècle)*, Paris, Éditions du cerf.

WILKINSON, Kate, 2015 *Women and Modesty in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.



Revista de Cultures Medievales

Núm. 20 (Tardor 2022), 40-69 | ISSN 2014-7023

VISIGOTHIC MONASTIC HISTORY: OLD PATHS AND NEW DIRECTIONS

Roger Collins

University of Edinburg

pechtelm@aol.com

Rebut: 11 octubre 2022 | Revisat: 16 novembre 2022 | Acceptat: 12 desembre 2022
| Publicat: 22 desembre 2022 | doi:10.1344/Svmma2022.20.5

Abstract

Half a century ago, the evidence for monastic life and practices in the Visigothic kingdom consisted entirely of literary sources of very unequal merit, both in the value of their contents and its interpretation, and in the quality of the editions of them. Over recent decades, the latter has improved, though the lack of a proper critical edition of most of the monastic rules of the period remains a great weakness. After a slightly hesitant start, caused by disagreements over chronology, archaeology has come to play a central role in uncovering and understanding the evidence for Visigothic monasticism. Comparisons with discoveries made in several other geographical contexts, ranging from Egypt to the islands of the Hebrides, can enhance understanding of its scale and importance in the Iberian Peninsula in the post-Roman centuries. While much work remains to be done, it seems from what has now been achieved that Hispanic monasticism was far more extensive and more varied in character than would have been believed fifty years ago. Textual editing and study now need to be accelerated, to keep pace with expected further archaeological discoveries, to provide a better understanding of this important aspect of the history of the Visigothic kingdom.

Key Words:

Monasticism, Visigothic Kingdom, Spain, Historiography

Resum

Fa mig segle, les úniques evidències de la vida i les pràctiques monàstiques del regne visigòtic procedien de fonts literàries, encara que de mèrit molt desigual, tant pel valor dels seus continguts i la seva interpretació, com per la qualitat de les seves edicions. Durant les últimes dècades, aquesta darrera qüestió ha millorat, tot i que la manca d'una edició crítica adequada de la majoria de les regles monàstiques de l'època continua sent un punt feble. Després d'un inici lleugerament vacil·lant, causat per desacords sobre la cronologia, l'arqueologia ha començat a tenir un paper central a l'hora de descobrir i entendre els testimonis del monaquisme visigòtic. Les comparacions amb descobertes fetes en d'altres contextos geogràfics, que van des d'Egipte fins a les illes Hèbrides, poden millorar la comprensió de la seva escala i importància a la península Ibèrica en els segles postromans. Encara que queda molta feina per fer, però podem aventurar-nos a dir que el monaquisme hispànic era molt més extens i de caràcter més variat del que s'hauria cregut ara fa cinquanta anys. Per això és important accelerar l'edició i l'estudi de textos per seguir el ritme dels descobriments arqueològics, per entendre millor aquest aspecte important de la història del regne visigot.

Paraules clau:

monaquisme, regne visigot, Espanya, Historiografia

Fifty years ago, when I first began research on Visigothic Spain, the study of its monastic history was in a rather different state to that in which it finds itself today.¹ This is hardly surprising, as the scholarly understanding of the period more widely has also changed considerably over the intervening decades, as has the historical and archaeological investigation of monasticism generally across the Mediterranean and Western Europe in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.² Some of the most marked features of that time were an over-literal approach to the literary sources, the inadequate nature of the editions in which some, though not all, of these works were to be found, and the limited contribution then being made by archaeology.³ Although Spanish scholarship of the period was overly focussed on arguments about national identity, these did not impact so directly on the study of monasticism as elsewhere.⁴ Early Irish monasticism, for example, was and in some quarters still is held to owe its evidentially obscure origins to supposedly distinctive ‘Celtic’ traditions and spirituality (THOM 2006: 7-34).

As was true of other predominantly Catholic countries, Spanish monastic history was largely the preserve of members of the religious orders and other clerics.⁵ It effectively belonged to a separate category of ecclesiastical history, which intellectually and institutionally kept itself apart from its secular equivalents of social and political history. One consequence was that what might be called ‘the bigger questions’ about the origins and spread of the ascetic movement in Christianity were rarely asked, as monasticism was taken to be a natural development and its

1. This half-century anniversary, which can probably be dated precisely to the second week of January 1972, when I happily abandoned Ennodius of Pavia in favour of Visigothic Spain, is of no significance to anyone beyond myself, with the sole exception of my wife, whom I first met at the very same time, and who has been involved in all my research ever since. To her I dedicate this article.

2. I am deliberately avoiding the rather pointless question of when the first one ends and the second begins. If, as has been argued, the Umayyad period is Late Antique in nature, then the Iberian Peninsula theoretically passes out of Late Antiquity into the Early Middle Ages around 456, and then goes back in again in 711! On definitions, I am using ‘monastic’ in the broadest sense, to encompass both eremitical and coenobitic forms of ascetic life.

3. A good example of the first of these was the study of ‘Priscillianism’, whose nature and extent have been exaggerated by dependence on hostile evidence, taken as objective reporting. This problem remains, but I am confining myself in this article to the Visigothic period proper, that is from the mid-fifth century to the early eighth. But see COLLINS 2020a: 5*-33*.

4. MONROE 2021: 216-231. For a case in which it did, Irish scholarship was insistent that monastic ideas and institutions were received directly from Egypt, with no intermediaries. Influences from Britain in particular could be vehemently denied, e.g., Ó RIAIN 1999: 187-202.

5. The leading practitioners were Dom Justo Pérez de Urbel (1895-1979), a monk of Silos and first abbot of the monastery of the Valle de los Caídos, author of *Los Monjes españoles* (1945), and Fr. José Orlandis Rovira (1918-2010), a member of *Opus Dei* and professor in the Universidad de Navarra; see ORLANDIS ROVIRA 1993 and 1971.

consequences unsurprising.⁶ But the origins of the Christian ascetic tradition, in later third century Egypt, demands fuller investigation and an open-minded approach to possible answers. For example, it could be asked if any influence came from outside the Roman world, notably from not incomparable equivalents in North-West India, transmitted via the ports on the Red Sea, near which the earliest Christian ascetics established their hermitages (POWER 2012: 19-60; ANDRADE 2018: 94-136).

Similarly, the speed with which ascetic ideals and monastic institutions spread from Egypt across the whole of the Mediterranean and northwards to the British Isles by the mid-sixth century at the latest requires explanation, particularly in the light of the social and economic consequences. In 1776 Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) raised the question of the contribution of the rise of monasticism to the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West (GIBBON 1897: II, 1-70). While a modern enquiry would see this as too crudely expressed, it must be asked why so many individuals and whole families committed themselves to a life of monastic regulation, and the voluntary renunciation of wealth that could have been acquired over several generations (WOOD 2022: 27-77). To take a specific Spanish example, what prompted all the children of the wealthy Severianus to commit themselves to monastic life and for the three male members, Leander, Isidore and Fulgentius, to acquire episcopal office at the price of ending the family line? There may be no way of knowing in such individual cases, but the causes of the wider phenomenon are far from self-explanatory.⁷

Around half a century ago, the evidence for the history of monasticism in the Visigothic period consisted of a small body of texts of different character, together with a number of inscriptions referring to monastic institutions, hardly any of which could be located, and to a few individuals who are described as *abbas* or *monachus*.⁸ The first and most obvious of these literary sources are the monastic rules, particularly those ascribed to Isidore of Seville (d. 636) and Fructuosus of Braga (c.650/60), but also including Leander's treatise addressed to his and Isidore's sister Florentina, and the anonymous *Regula Communis* that claims to be the work of Fructuosus.⁹ Allied to these sets of instructions on the monastic life are hagiographic works either

6. Further consequences of the divide between ecclesiastical and other historical research include certain types of evidence, notably liturgical texts and theological treatises, being left to religious specialists, ignoring the wider contributions that they can make to the understanding of a society in which they were of central importance. This remains the case.

7. On the family see FONTAINE 1983: 349-400.

8. VIVES GATELL 1969: n. 278, 286 for *coenobium*; n. 150, 208, 277, 279 for references to monks and monastic life; nos. 281-286 are epitaphs of abbots. For Baetica see SÁNCHEZ RAMOS, BARROSO CABRERA, MORÍN DE PABLOS & Isabel VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 2015: 221-265.

9. ALLIES 2009: 16-24 argues correctly that this was not formally a monastic rule. Also, unlike the three other Hispanic texts, it does not feature in Benedict of Aniane's *Codex Regularum*, nor is it a component of his *Concordia Regularum*. It is included here both for convenience and because such texts may have been generically more fluid than the argument allows.

devoted to monastery founders or other holy men. In contrast to Merovingian Gaul, where their use in liturgical performance led to the production of a substantial hagiographic corpus, the saints' lives of the Visigothic period are few, though generically wide-ranging in character. The nature of each work needs careful analysis, and questions about their dating and authorial intention are hard to answer.

The *Vita Fructuosi*, which comes from the late seventh century, is the only 'Life' of a Spanish bishop of the period, but the work, which is anonymous, is concerned almost entirely with his acts of monastic foundation, which are described as occurring in various locations in the west of the Iberian Peninsula, extending from the Bierzo to the vicinity of Seville (DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1974).¹⁰ The other ascetic or monastic subject of a *Vita* is the charismatic hermit Aemilian, whose life and miracles, mainly in the area of Cantabria and the Rioja, is recounted by Bishop Braulio of Zaragoza (c.630/50).¹¹

Other saints' lives or similar texts include information about ascetic practices or individuals who engaged in them. A good example is the anonymous work that has been called the *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*, a generically peculiar composition focussed on various bishops of Mérida from around 560 to 630, and also on a small number of other holy men or miraculous events related to the city.¹² Its evidential reliability and its probable date of composition in the 630s were not questioned half a century ago, and it was much used, as today, by both historians and archaeologists involved in the study of this important city. Its witness may be less reliable than usually assumed.¹³

In addition to the monastic rules, inscriptions, and hagiographic works, the monastic life features in the acts of the several councils, both provincial and plenary, of the church in the Visigothic kingdom. The earliest of these is found in the proceedings of the council held in Tarragona in 516, and it suggests an already well-established monastic presence, at least in the province of *Tarraconensis*, by that date (VIVES GATELL 1963: 37, n. XI). These *acta* of the sixth and seventh century councils across the kingdom have provided invaluable source material for studies of many aspects of monastic life in the Visigothic period.¹⁴ The main problem with such evidence is the normative nature of such texts, which means there is no way of knowing how far and in what ways they were applied in practice. It could well be that a general regulation issued by a council, which thereby became a canon law precedent, was prompted by no more than a single incident. It would be unwise to assume anything thus condemned was necessarily widespread in time or place.

10. See also DÍEZ GONZÁLEZ, RODRÍGUEZ FERNÁNDEZ, ROA RICO, VIÑAYO GONZÁLEZ 1966: 171-278, LÓPEZ QUIROGA, MARTÍNEZ TEJERA 2007: 243-247.

11. VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA 1943; see Santiago CASTELLANOS 1999.

12. *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*, ed. MAYA SÁNCHEZ.

13. COLLINS 1980: 189-219 takes a very literal approach; see now COLLINS 2021a: 36-58.

14. ORLANDIS 1971: 20-205; DÍAZ MARTÍNEZ 1987, and many subsequent articles.

Half a century ago, the overall impression of monasticism in Visigothic Spain was that it had a limited geographic presence in the kingdom, at least until the middle of the seventh century. Where it appeared to have made itself felt most strongly prior to that time was in two regions, the south of the Iberian Peninsula and the north-east.¹⁵ These were the recipients of two separate currents of influence, coming from North Africa and southern Gaul respectively. The former was accentuated by the migration of monastic communities from Africa to the Iberian Peninsula, driven by deteriorating security and theological conflict with the imperial government in Constantinople over ‘The Three Chapters’.¹⁶

Before the foundations of Fructuosus of Braga, just a small number of named monastic institutions feature in the sources, including *Agali*, in the vicinity of Toledo, *Servitanum* on the Mediterranean coast near Valencia, *Cauliana* near Mérida, and Asán in the foothills of the Pyrenees. Except for Asán, where there is argument for continuity with the monastery later dedicated to San Victorián, none of these can be precisely dated. Their foundations date from different parts of the sixth century. Asán may have been established in the short reign of Gesalic (507-511), and it was certainly in existence by the early 520s (COLLINS 2021b: 23-25). *Cauliana* is probably a later sixth century foundation. *Servitanum* was functioning under its second abbot by the time of the holding of the Third Council of Toledo in 589, and the unnamed founder of *Agali* probably died around 600.¹⁷ Although texts from the seventh century testify to the importance of each of them, as well as indicate the existence of several other usually unnamed monasteries, very little is known of their history. Nor, except again in the case of Asán, do any documentary records survive relating to them (TOMÁS FACI, MARTÍN-IGLESIAS 2017: 261-286).

Fifty years ago, archaeology was unable to provide much help either. No sites had been found that could be identified as monastic with any degree of confidence. Problems of establishing the chronology of many types of sites thought to belong to the fifth to early eighth centuries remained unsolved or the solutions suggested rested upon methodologies that now seem insecure, as in the reliance on stylistic comparisons. These were employed to create hypothetical models of development that were then used to assign chronology.¹⁸

While this approach was most prevalent in the study of cemeteries, it also affected the understanding of a small group of churches thought to be of Visigothic origin, and which had survived at least partially intact to the present. Five of these

15. A third was that of the Suevic kingdom in the north-west, where Martin (d. 579) established a monastic household at Dumio near Braga, which became his episcopal see. For its few traces see LÓPEZ QUIROGA 2017: 175-177.

16. MODÉLAN 2017: 39-82; COLLINS 2004: 147-161 for the impact on Spain.

17. Ildelfonsus, *De viris illustribus*, ed. CODOÑER 1972: 120-27; Helladius, bishop of Toledo (615-633) had been the second abbot of *Agali*.

18. For an acute analysis of the problems, see CABALLERO ZOREDA 2006: 101-141.

were still seen in the 1970s as the prime exemplars of Visigothic-period architecture, with dates assigned to various points in the second half of the eighth century on supposed indications of stylistic development in their design and ornamentation (PALOL, HIRMER 1967: 16-20).

One of these, the church of San Pedro de la Nave (Zamora), was regarded by some as having been a monastic foundation, even though no other structures had been detected in its vicinity that might have been part of any such an institution. Indeed, this was hardly surprising, as the entire building as it now stands had been dismantled in the early 1930s and moved to a new location, roughly a kilometre away, and there reconstructed, not as it had been before the move, but according to early twentieth century ideas of how it ought to have looked in its original state (UTRERO AGUDO 2004: 65-75).

This process of relocation and reconstruction on a theoretical basis was rarely mentioned in the general accounts of Visigothic period architecture or in any claims made about the structure and decoration of the church. As it was often cited as the archetypal model of Visigothic church architecture, this omission seemed troubling, all the more so when it might explain some of the problematic features of the building in its present state, such as the incomprehensibly large doors in the northern and southern ends of the transepts (UTRERO AGUDO 2004: 299-321). A similar process of reconstruction, carried out in the 1930s and based on the groundless assumption that it was intended to be the burial place of Fructuosus of Braga, explains why the church of San Fructuoso de Montélios (Braga) looks so surprisingly like the ‘so called’ mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, which dates from two centuries earlier (SCHLUNK, HAUSCHILD 1978: 209-211).

The publication of a new critical edition of the *Epistolae* and the *Formulae Wisigothicae* in 1972 was one of several advances at this time in the textual resources for the study of the history of Visigothic Spain, and for its monastic life.¹⁹ Previously, many such sources had to be read in antiquarian editions that were not always easy to find. This was true, for example, for most of the works of Isidore, other than the *Etymologiae*, and for the monastic rules of Visigothic date.²⁰ In general, for reasons of greater accessibility or mere convenience, such texts were usually consulted in the reprinted versions found in the many volumes of J.P. Migne’s *Patrologia Latina*. These, however, always added new typographic errors to those already to be found in the books from which their contents were copied.²¹

Some working editions of key texts existed by the 1970s, including those of the *Vita Aemiliani* and the writings of Valerius of Bierzo.²² The Spanish Civil War,

19. GIL 1972: 2-49, 70-112; others include the initiation in 1975 of the multi-volume edition of Isidore’s *Etymologiae*, under the direction of Jacques Fontaine, and Carmen Codoñer’s edition of Ildefonsus’ *De viris illustribus* (see note 23 above).

20. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. LINDSAY.

21. On Migne, see BLOCH 1994.

22. *Sancti Braulionis Caesaraugustani Episcopi Vita Sancti Emilianii*, ed. VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA; and *San Valerio*.

followed by the Second World War, limited their dissemination outside of Spain, and also affected the preparation of new editions, such as those in theses supervised by Mgr. Aloysius K. Ziegler (1895-1979).²³ New texts of the *Vita Fructuosi*, the *Vitas Patrum Emeretensium* and the ‘autobiographical’ works of Valerius of Bierzo were published by the CUA Press in the 1940s. For the English-speaking world, these offered translations facing enhanced Latin texts, together with copious commentary, though most of this was related to literary and grammatical rather than historical issues. The practical problems of the period, just mentioned, meant that not all the manuscripts of the various works were known to or seen by these editors, but until their replacement in more recent years, this series was a valuable resource, at least for those who had access to them.²⁴

Another publication of the early 1970s was the first modern edition of the Spanish monastic rules of the Visigothic period, consisting of Leander’s letter to his sister Florentina, Isidore’s Rule, that of Fructuosus of Braga and the *Regula Communis* that attributes itself to Fructuosus, together with its related *Pactum* (CAMPOS, ROCA 1971). Previously these texts had been only available, other than via the *Patrologia Latina*, in editions of sixteenth to eighteenth-century date.

Of these the most significant was the *Codex Regularum Monasticarum*, edited by the papal librarian Lucas Holstenius (1596-1661) in Rome in 1661; but particularly in the revised and augmented edition of it, made by the Scottish monk Marianus Brockie (1687-1755) and published in Augsburg in 1759. In both editions, to take but one example, the Rule of Isidore was printed from the evidence of just a single manuscript, though several more exist. So, before the appearance of Campos and Roca’s edition, published texts of the Hispanic Rules were poorly grounded.²⁵ Even their new edition of 1971 has its own problems, as it does not include all the known manuscripts and it omits a critical apparatus to the texts.²⁶ It is expected that an entirely new critical edition of all these texts will appear in the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* in the not-too-distant future.

Such an edition will need to take account of a particular feature of the textual transmission of the Visigothic monastic rules, which is their inclusion (except

Obras, ed. FERNÁNDEZ POUSA.

23. His own thesis is ZIEGLER 1930. Its bibliography (pp. xi-xiii and 208-216) shows how much more limited still were the resources available nearly a century ago.

24. *The Vita Sancti Fructuosi. Text with Translation, Introduction and Commentary*, ed. NOCK 1946, now replaced by ed. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1974; *Valerio of Bierzo, an Ascetic of the Visigothic Period*, ed. AHERNE 1949, now replaced by ed. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 2006.

25. BARLOW 1969: 148 refers to the edition he used (Holste-Brockie as reprinted in *Patrologia Latina*, 87) as “far from satisfactory, often corrupt, but no more recent study of the text has been made from manuscripts known to exist in Spain and Portugal.”

26. Leandro de Sevilla, *De la instrucción de las vírgenes y desprecio del mundo*, ed. and trans. VELÁZQUEZ: 87-88, for manuscripts not used in their text of Leander. Even a quick comparison shows numerous textual variations between the manuscripts of, for example, Fructuosus’ Rule.

for Leander's Epistle to Florentina) in the *Concordia Regularum*, initiated in 817 and compiled by the monastic reformer Benedict of Aniane (d. 821).²⁷ It took the form of a systematic collection organised by topics, with texts for each taken from a variety of Latin monastic rules, some of which had previously used by Benedict in compiling a corpus of rules around c.800, known as the *Codex Regularum*.²⁸ While a few of these are only known thanks to Benedict's two collections, the three Visigothic rules can also be found in a small number of manuscripts of Spanish origin, mainly of tenth and eleventh century date.

Carolingian cultural influence in the Iberian Peninsula, including al-Andalus, was much stronger and more diffuse in the ninth and tenth centuries than is often recognised (COLLINS 2020b: 11-25). So, it is possible that the texts of the Visigothic rules preserved in these Hispanic manuscripts derived either wholly or in part from Benedict's *Corpus* or *Concordia Regularum*. If a 'pre-Benedict of Aniane' text form of any of them can be recovered waits to be seen. There also exists the related possibility that a Spanish *Codex Regularum*, comprising the Hispanic rules and Latin translations of some of the eastern ones, was formed in the Visigothic kingdom, and may indeed have served as an inspiration for Benedict's work (VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 2006: 531-567). Such questions of priority and the direction of influence will not be easy to resolve.

A second issue is that of the very notion of the existence of a single original and authoritative form of each of these rules. The search for such *ur*-texts has been at the heart of philological enquiry, particularly amongst classicists, for centuries but is probably misplaced. More recent emphasis on the study of texts in their specific chronological and geographical contexts, and thus how they were known in practice rather than in a reconstructed authorial form, has grown in importance. It is particularly relevant in the case of monastic regulations, in which variation to meet the needs of specific communities could be far more important than fidelity to a standardised text, however revered its supposed creator. This has been shown to be the case, for example, with the textual history of the Coptic rules attributed to abbot Shenoute.²⁹ Similarly, it has been persuasively argued that such texts were far less normative in practice in western monasticism prior to the Carolingian period and were certainly very rarely cited in surviving hagiographic and canonical sources.³⁰

While ascetic teachers and small aristocratic ascetic communities existed in the Iberian Peninsula since at least the later fourth century, larger scale coenobitic

27. BONNERUE: 29-69 for the man, the work, and the earlier editions; CCSL 168A for the text.

28. DIEM 2011: 53-84. This also discusses the nature and purpose of Benedict's *Codex Regularum*, showing it was neither a unique nor an entirely comprehensive corpus of the monastic rules then circulating in the Carolingian empire.

29. *The Canons of Our Fathers: Monastic Rules of Shenoute*, ed. and trans. LAYTON 2014: 11-49.

30. DIEM 2011: 56-58 (see note 28 above).

monasticism may have been slower to develop.³¹ It is recorded first in the early sixth century in the north-west, and then more widely as the century developed. In his continuation of Isidore's *De viris illustribus*, Ildefonsus of Toledo states that «it is said» (*dicitur*) the African abbot Donatus, who jointly founded the monastery of *Servitanum* with an aristocratic lady called Minicea, was the first to introduce a monastic rule into the Iberian Peninsula.³² Unfortunately, Donatus's rule has not survived, any more than the monastery of *Servitanum* itself.

Donatus's Rule, like the other extant ones, was unlikely to have been an entirely original composition in terms of its components, even if it were so in respect to the way they were combined by him. As a refugee from North Africa, it may be assumed that African elements will have been particularly marked in its contents. Textual borrowings or reminiscences in the extant Hispanic rules are suggested in Campos and Roca's edition.³³ In the case of Leander's letter to Florentina, these consist of selected works from a small group of authors, comprising Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Cassian. The strongest debt seems to be to Jerome's lengthy Epistle 22, which he addressed to his aristocratic female disciple Eustochium.³⁴ Written in 394, this is more treatise than letter and is Jerome's fullest presentation of his ideal of a celibate ascetic life for women, making it an obvious exemplar for Leander.³⁵

Isidore's Rule is to be found in just a few more manuscripts than any of the others.³⁶ It is the only Spanish rule for which an independent statement of its purpose exists. In his *Renotatio*, Braulio lists among Isidore's other works «One book of a monastic rule that he adapted very suitably for (the use of) his homeland and of weaker spirits» (MARTÍN-IGLESIAS 2006: 203). This would imply the deliberate adaptation of an existing rule or rules better to suit conditions in Spain, and with particular attention to the needs of those less experienced in monastic life.

This seems to be born out by the textual debts in his work, not least to the *Rule* of the Egyptian monastic founder Pachomius in its Latin translation by Jerome, and to Augustine's *de opere monachorum*.³⁷ Also used by Isidore were two other works of Augustine that were not intended by their author to be monastic rules, but which

31. The earliest are likely to be associated with Late Roman villa sites in which evidence of re-use for ecclesiastical purposes has been found, as for example the villa site of *Los Villaricos* in Mula (prov. of Murcia), where the hall was transformed into a basilica in the sixth century, with contemporary burials in the adjacent patio; also, the Villa of Fortunatus at Fraga (prov. of Huesca): see COLLINS 1998: 129-132 and CHAVARRÍA ARNAU, Alexandra, 2007.

32. Ildefonsus, *De viris illustribus*, 3, ed. CODOÑER 1972: 120-123; reprinted in 2007: CCSL 114A.

33. These will need to be confirmed and augmented in any future critical edition.

34. Ed. CAMPOS, ROCA 1971: 21-76. See also Leandro de Sevilla 'rule' *De la instrucción de las vírgenes y desprecio del mundo*, ed. and trans. VELÁZQUEZ, 1979: 30-42 on the sources and 49-88 on the manuscripts and previous editions.

35. Jerome, *Ep. XXII*, ed. WRIGHT, 1933: 53-159.

36. Ed. CAMPOS, ROCA 1971: 84-86. See ALLIES 2010: 1-18.

37. Ed. GROTE 2013: I, 360-367.

came to be treated as such after his death (PONESSE 2013: I, 462-467).³⁸ A possible influence from Dionysius Exiguus's translation of the *Life of Pachomius* has been suggested, though this is questionable, and in general there is little or no overlap between hagiographic sources and monastic rules in the literature of the Visigothic period. A claimed influence on Isidore of the *Rule of Benedict* is wishful thinking, based on the mistaken assumption of its early spread in the Iberian Peninsula (JANINI 1958: 259-260).

His *Rule* is described in a subheading as being addressed by Isidore to 'the holy brothers living in the *monasterium Honorianense*. The location of this monastery is unknown, and this is the only evidence of its existence. Braulio makes no reference to it, and he seems to imply that Isidore intended the work for a wider readership. A study of the textual tradition may help resolve this when a full critical edition becomes available.

The *Rule of Pachomius* in its Latin form was also an inspiration for that of Fructuosus. Other influences here came from works already mentioned, the *Disciplina monasterii* and the *ad servos Dei* of Augustine, which came to be known as his second and third rules, Jerome's Epistle 22 to Eustochium, and some of Cassian's *Institutes*. All these influences were shared with Leander and/or Isidore's monastic regulations.

On the other hand, the *Regula Communis*, which claims to be the work of Fructuosus, took its inspiration from a different set of sources. There is no hint of Pachomius or of Augustine, and the epistles of Jerome used do not include the very influential twenty second. There is a trace of Cassian's *Institutes*, but the main inspiration comes from the *Rule of Isidore* and to an even greater degree the *Rule of Fructuosus*. Surviving in few manuscripts, the *Regula Communis* was long accepted as what it claimed to be, but the authorship of Fructuosus must be denied, even if the work was composed where the bishop's memory was revered, perhaps one of his own monastic foundations. It must predate the early ninth century, as it was one of the texts included in Benedict of Aniane's *Concordia Regularum*, but it could still postdate the Arab conquest, as there are no grounds for believing that Christian monastic life in general came to an end with the Visigothic kingdom; indeed, in al-Andalus quite the opposite was the case.³⁹ It is quite conceivable that new or revised rules were compiled for monasteries outside of, as well as within, Christian-ruled territory after 711.

Hagiographic works of definite or probable Visigothic date can, as discussed, provide important details on monastic foundations and the cults of ascetic saints such as Aemilian. Direct borrowings or reminiscences in their texts can also reveal more of the monastic literature available in the kingdom than the Rules. For example,

38. For the text see VERHEIJEN 1967 and cf. VEGA 1933.

39. Even if this is not always recognised. See COLLINS, *The Christian Culture of Islamic Spain* (forthcoming -a-).

the first modern editor of the *Vita Fructuosi* detected several influences on its anonymous author, including Sulpicius Severus's *Vita Martini* and his *Dialogues*, the *Vita Aemiliani* of Braulio, the *Dialogues* of pope Gregory the Great (593), and the anonymous work known as the *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*. The latter is also in itself the earliest evidence for the knowledge of the Gregorian *Dialogues* in Spain. Additionally, and unsurprisingly the *Vita Fructuosi* is indebted to the *Rule of Fructuosus*, and to some of the writings of Valerius of Bierzo.⁴⁰

As previously suggested, doubts can be raised about the generally accepted dating of the *Vitas Patrum Emeretensium*. Its literary associations with the *Vita Fructuosi* and its links to the text collection compiled by Valerius (in the 690s?) provide the first secure chronological indicators for its existence in the form we now have it, in other words at around the end of the seventh century. The point is that in themselves the textual influences detected in the *Vita Fructuosi* do not establish a wider or earlier circulation in Spain of works such as the Gregorian *Dialogues* and even the *Vitas Patrum Emeretensium*. They may have been more generally known and at dates earlier than the late seventh century, but this cannot just be assumed.

Moving on from 'the tools of the trade' to the way in which the monastic history of the Early Middle Ages and of the Visigothic kingdom was understood half a century or more ago, the predominant role of ecclesiastical scholars meant that many of the questions being asked, and the answers given, were based on *a priori* assumptions. For example, the central place accorded to the Rule of Benedict in monastic regulation across much of western Europe from the Carolingian period onwards led to unquestioned assumptions that it must have been equally influential in the Iberian Peninsula. This prompted a search for evidence of its influence in Spain even before its promotion in the Frankish empire under the Carolingians (LINAGE CONDE 1973: I, 211-290).⁴¹

While monastic regulations, both eastern and western, were often interpreted far too literally, hagiographic sources, which provide much of the literary evidence for early monasticism in practice rather than in theory, tended to be mined for supposed nuggets of fact, while otherwise being regarded with incomprehension and some distrust. The stories of miraculous events and supernatural appearances, with which most of them abounded, could not be taken seriously, and were thus ignored. Their authors, often anonymous, were seen as credulous and superstitious, and their works as pandering to irrational popular tastes that were assumed not to have been shared by the intellectual elite. Or if they were, this was yet another sign of degeneracy and a symptom of the social decline that would ultimately lead to collapse and conquest by "barbarians" of whatever sort.

40. See the apparatus of the edition by NOCK 1946. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ 1974: 74 praises it, but see his own study of its sources, pp. 24-31.

41. For doubts as to the origin and history of the text of the 'Rule of St. Benedict' see DIEM 2011: 67-77; on its standing in the Carolingian period, see DIEM 2016: 245-259.

In the case of the Iberian Peninsula this would be a process that was repeated, with the “Germanic” Visigoths replacing Rome, only to fall victim themselves three centuries later to the Arabs and Berbers. Even otherwise hard-headed and meticulous studies of the functioning of law in the Visigothic kingdom, such as that of David King, could be underpinned by a belief in the rotten state of its social fabric and the moral decline of its population. It was, he wrote in 1972, “a demoralised and disintegrating kingdom bent on self-destruction” by the time it faced the invading Arab army (KING 1972: 22). Another British scholar, who otherwise opened up the study of the Visigothic kingdom for an English readership, looked for an essentially racial explanation for this supposed decline, notably in the take-over of the Spanish episcopate by bishops of Gothic origin (THOMPSON 1969: 289-296). In Spain too at this time the period was still being understood largely in terms of ‘decadence and catastrophe’ (GARCÍA MORENO 1975).

Unsurprisingly, there was little sympathetic or imaginative understanding of stories of the miraculous or even any willingness to search for a more sophisticated interpretation of texts that were just read literally and then largely dismissed. A good case in point are the short works of Valerius of Bierzo that together describe phases of his own life as ascetic, priest and monastic leader. Their apparently autobiographical subject matter led their American editor to see them exclusively in that light and therefore to interpret Valerius’s statements of his own motivation and descriptions of his supernatural encounters as the products of a difficult personality. From such judgements only a re-evaluation of the nature and purpose of his works could rescue him (AHERENE 1949: 62-63; COLLINS 1986: 425-442).

Just as improved editions of texts began to appear in the 1970s, so too did more sophisticated ways of understanding them. This involved, not least, a new way of interpreting the role of the miraculous in Late Antique Christian literature and of the significance of charismatic holy men and women in the societies in which it was written. In lectures given in Oxford from 1970, and in a series of books and articles that followed, Peter Brown offered a sympathetic interpretation of the supernatural in Late Antique society and how it came to be presented in literature, particularly in hagiographic texts.⁴² Other scholars soon followed him, but the quantity and range of hagiographic texts in several languages associated with eastern Christianity in Late Antiquity is not matched in the west. For this or other reasons, a comparable degree of intellectual excitement and originality is missing from the study of western monasticism. Instead, there has been more focus, especially in the context of

42. The lecture series, entitled ‘Society and the Supernatural from Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad’ was given annually with significant changes and new ideas each time, until Peter Brown left Oxford in 1975. From it derived his influential book *The World of Late Antiquity* (1971). Among many important articles, particular reference should be made to BROWN 1971: 80-101. For some background see COLLINS forthcoming -b-.

Visigothic Spain, on administrative and socio-economic issues, rather than any attempt to uncover what can be called ‘the thought-world’ of the ascetic movement in this period. This still waits to be more fully explored, and certain stultifying myths await their demise.⁴³

After the Arab conquest and particularly from the end of the eighth century onwards, various types of documentary records, both in original form and in later cartulary copies, provide evidence for the geographically widespread distribution of monastic institutions of various sizes in all the Christian ruled states in the north of the Iberian Peninsula. Many of these monasteries were very small, often comprising no more than eight to twelve members, and in some cases both male and female. What is hard to determine is whether the processes documented in the texts from after 711 were also occurring before that date. Was there a major expansion of monastic institutions in the Visigothic period or was their proliferation a new phenomenon, perhaps triggered by the Arab conquest and its immediate aftermath?

While hardly any charters, whole or fragmentary, are known from the Visigothic kingdom, a collection of model texts from that time has survived thanks to a copy made in the late sixteenth century from a now long vanished manuscript found in Oviedo by Ambrosio de Morales.⁴⁴ The collection was created from actual examples of each type of text contained in it, but with names and dates generally omitted. Despite this, those documents that retain any evidence of dating are all of Visigothic origin, and in particular from the reign of king Sisebut (611/2 -619 or 621). Two relate explicitly to gifts made to a church or monastery, in one case by an illiterate donor, while another two of them contain texts for the royal foundation or endowment of a monastic house.⁴⁵ In themselves these model texts created out of actual examples imply that such acts of foundation and or donation were sufficiently frequent as to deserve inclusion in a collection like this, which otherwise consisted of items of clearly practical purpose.

The same manuscript also includes a collection of eighteen letters, again some with explicit royal connections.⁴⁶ Particularly interesting for the present enquiry is one that was sent by a monk called Tarra to king Reccared (589-601). From his literary style, he must have been a member of the social elite. He was accused by his fellow monks of consorting with prostitutes, and he wrote to the king protesting his innocence. Another of the letters was directed by king Sisebut to Teudila, one of his sons (possibly illegitimate), and who had just become a monk. A second letter of Sisebut was sent to bishop Cicilius of Mentesa, who had abandoned his episcopal

43. For a superb example of the demolition of myth see the article by Albrecht Diem on “Iro-Frankish” monasticism in this issue of the journal.

44. *Formulae Visigothicae*, ed. GIL 1972: 70-112. See COLLINS 2014: 609-632.

45. *Formulae Visigothicae*, ed. GIL 1972: n. VII-X, 78-86.

46. *Epistulae*, ed. GIL 1972: 2-49; previously edited by GUNDLACH 1957: 658-690, under the title *Epistolae Visigothicae*.

duties to enter a monastery, for which he was sternly admonished by the king. A fourth item in the collection is a letter from a monk named Maurice, which according to its heading in the manuscript was addressed to a certain Agapius, possibly the bishop of Córdoba.⁴⁷

Although a small and seemingly random selection, it is interesting to note how frequently monks and monastic topics features in these few letters. They testify to the appeal of the renunciation of secular obligations and the adoption of a monastic lifestyle in early seventh century Spain, not least among the wealthy elite of the kingdom, as also evidenced by the careers of Isidore of Seville and his three siblings, whose collective episcopal careers were unlikely to have occurred without the additional inducement for their congregations of their substantial financial resources.

The relatively small quantity of the literary evidence, with a significant amount of it dating to the last fifty or so years of the kingdom's existence, may distort our perspective on both the chronology and the scale of monastic life and its importance in the Visigothic period. The same may be said of North Africa in the period following the death of Augustine. This literary evidence is so limited in its extent and quantity that no discussion was possible of what a monastic institution might have been like, either in appearance or in its daily functioning. Archaeology provides the best hope for progress here. Several potential monastic sites have been suggested, including one in the port of Seville, but without excavation these remain no more than exciting possibilities (SÁNCHEZ VELASCO 2018: 205-207, 277-280).

Perhaps surprisingly, more is known of the architecture and organisation of early monasteries in northern Britain and Ireland, such as Jarrow, Whithorn, Iona, Hoddom, Clonmacnoise and High Island, amongst others, than is the case with most of the lands of the western Mediterranean.⁴⁸ Monastic sites in North Africa, which may well have been numerous, remain largely undetected. In France some historically well attested monastic sites have provided archaeological evidence, but it is generally quite limited (BULLY, DESTEFANIS 2020: 232-257). The same is true of Italy too. The problems are various, and they can range from later construction over or continuous occupation of an early site to serious security problems making the search for possible locations too dangerous to undertake, as currently in Algeria.

Other practical questions that might be raised relate to the role and functioning of monasteries in their local contexts. Even for the supposed founding fathers of the Egyptian ascetic tradition, Anthony, whose priority was claimed by Athanasius, and Paul, for whom the case was made by Jerome, a retreat 'into the desert' was not to

47. *Epistulae*, ed. GIL 1972: I, VII, IX, XVII, 3-6, 15-19, 28-29, 45-47. On these letters individually see MARTÍN-IGLESIAS, DÍAZ, VALLEJO GIRVÉS 2020: 419-425, 478-487, 517-530.

48. CRAMP 2005, recording excavations from 1959-1988; HILL 1997; Argyll 1982; LOWE 2006; KING 1998 & 2003; MARSHALL, ROURKE 2000; also, EDWARDS 1990: 104-127.

locations as remote as the phrase might suggest.⁴⁹ Both established their hermitages, which became places of pilgrimage and sites of significant monastic communities, close enough to routes between the Nile valley and the Red Sea to be accessible to a growing number of devotees.⁵⁰ The coenobitic communities of the Nile, as can be seen today, were located on the very edge of the narrow strips of cultivatable land flanking the Nile, and thus not very far removed from village life in the valley (GOEHRING 1996: 267-285; BLANKE 2019: 169).

The absolute divide in Egypt between the desert and the irrigated land that could sustain settled existence was perhaps more extreme than in any other geographical context, but neither individual anchorites nor monastic communities could survive in total isolation. They all depended upon some degree of interaction with wider society, however minimal, and despite the impressions given by writers of hagiographic texts. For the hermits, as for the pillar dwelling saints of Syria, basic sustenance was required on a regular basis, and for the communities created by Pachomius and by others who followed his example. Their growing size, although this is exaggerated in some hagiographic texts required complex relations with their neighbours if they were to be able to maintain themselves.⁵¹ Hence, the role played by production and trade.⁵²

In Egypt many if not all monasteries depended upon their members engaging in crafts such as basket making, creating goods that could be exchanged for the wider range of items needed by their community to sustain itself.⁵³ We need to imagine that similar constraints were placed on monastic bodies in Visigothic Spain, and indeed some evidence has been skilfully deployed to suggest that specialist production, for example in the preparation of papyrus for documents, was a feature of the regular life in the Iberian Peninsula too, as it was elsewhere in the west.⁵⁴ Surplus agricultural products and livestock from a monastic community would also provide opportunities for trade.

Another function that might be performed by a monastery is that of teaching. The prime target of this would have been boys given to the community at a young

49. Both of these works need to be treated with great caution. See BRAKKE 1995: 201-272 and KELLY 1975: 60-61.

50. VIVIAN 2002: 1-20; SWANSON 2008: 43-59; also, LYSTER 2008: 1-21.

51. BLANKE 2019: 129, for archaeological disproving of the claimed number of monks in the White Monastery.

52. A dimension ignored or unanticipated in older discussions, for example WALTERS 1974. For the historiography of Egyptian monasticism see HEDSTROM 2017: 1-39.

53. BLANKE 2019: 130-149, and 154-169 for the Red Monastery. For basket-making, see ROUSSEAU 1985: 82-83.

54. SALES-CARBONELL 2014: 423-463; also, SALES-CARBONELL 2013: 469-499. A particular kind of black jewellery made from oil shale may, from the finds on the site and in its vicinity, have been at least one of the specialist crafts practised in the monastery of Inchmarnock in the Firth of Clyde: LOWE 2008: 193-202.

age, with the intention of their become members of it. Such child oblates would require enough training as to be able to read the scriptures and participate in the liturgy. It is unlikely this educational work would also have been intended as a benefit for local lay society, though children of the social elite might in some cases have received at least elementary education without being intended by their parents for religious life.

Definite evidence of an early medieval monastery that did engage in teaching, and of the physical location of the school within it comes from the monastic site on the island of Inchmarnock in the Firth of Clyde in the west of Scotland. Here a collection of incised slates has been found, several of which contain exercises in writing. Because the site had remained effectively untouched, these slates were found concentrated in one location that can be shown to be part of the main monastic complex, and so may be a possible school room (LOWE 2008: 114-175).

The use of slate for such documents and the nature of what is written on them have immediate reminiscences of the more numerous Visigothic *pizarras*, particularly those identified as having an educational function.⁵⁵ While not concentrated in large numbers, the functional and physical similarities between these Spanish slate documents and those from Inchmarnock raise the possibility that at least some of the former may, like the latter, have been created in a monastic context. Where more than one such ‘exercise’ slate has been found in the same location, then the chances of a monastery having existed in the vicinity may be all the greater. The existence of a slate inscribed with a Psalter text is another very likely indicator.⁵⁶

One of the great “known unknowns” of Visigothic monasticism is its cultural dimension. With the sole exception of Valerius of Bierzo, all the identifiable authors of works written in the period are bishops. On the other hand, many of them were raised in monastic contexts. Thus, a series of metropolitan bishops of Toledo in the seventh century were trained in the monastery of Agali, somewhere in the vicinity of the city, as is reported by Ildefonsus, who was one of their number.⁵⁷ But for all that, we cannot say what the distinctive traits of such an education might have been. Other monasteries that served as ‘nurseries of bishops’, as Lérins had done in the first half of the 5th century, include Asán in the Pyrenean foothills and what may be assumed to be the family monastery in which Isidore was trained, though neither of these continued to be as influential as Agali.

We know some of the roles played by monastic houses in Britain and Ireland, Francia and Italy as centres of learning and of the production and dissemination

55. For example, VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 2000: I, docs. 105, 106 from Lerilla (Salamanca).

56. VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 2000: I, doc. 29, from Navahombela (Salamanca); MALOY: 2020: 59.

57. Ildefonsus, *De viris illustribus*, VI and VII, ed. CODOÑER 1972: 124-127; for a possible location of Agali *en el arrabal de Toledo* see DE PISA 1605: 102 recto. STORCH DE GRACIA Y ASENSIO 1990: 568-569.

of manuscripts, from at least the sixth century onwards.⁵⁸ These must have been exceptional. The great majority of monastic establishments will not have had a scriptorium of their own, let alone a distinctive house script. In the period before the ‘Carolingian Renaissance’, only a few such centres can be clearly identified. Agali, which does not seem to have long survived the Arab conquest, must have been one of them. However, as the discovery and excavation of monastic sites continues across the Iberian Peninsula, the hope must be that one or more of them may provide evidence at least of the production of parchment, as in the recent case of the Pictish monastery at Portmahomack in Easter Ross in Scotland, which established for the first time that this was a literate society (CARVER 2008: 119-125; cf. FORSYTH 1998: 39-61).

The suggested production and dissemination of papyrus, still used for documents until the late seventh century, from at least one possible Spanish monastery of Visigothic date has already been mentioned, and it is worth considering that monastic communities of all sizes may have provided scribes for the making of documentary records, on a variety of materials, for local societies in that period; just as they would in the much better recorded centuries following the Arab conquest.⁵⁹

Other than the publication of improved textual editions from the 1970s onwards, the most significant advance in the study of Visigothic monasticism came from archaeology, with the excavation of the site of Santa María de Melque by Luís Caballero and his team leading the way (CABALLERO ZOREDA, LATORRE MACARRÓN 1980). They identified it as a monastery, with traces of buildings adjacent to the well-preserved church and an enclosure wall. The days of trying to make such an identification from a church alone were definitely at an end, but although Melque’s status as a monastery has not been questioned, its excavators subsequently changed their minds about its chronology, and also that of all the other supposedly archetypal examples of Visigothic church architecture (CABALLERO ZOREDA 2000: 207-248; CHAVARRÍA ARNAU 2010: 160-174). For reasons, both sound and debatable, they have reassigned all these buildings, Melque included, to dates in the late eighth or ninth centuries, citing possible influence of early Umayyad decorative features from Syria. While no consensus on this question exists, the strength of the case is such that a post-Visigothic dating seems clear, even if there is ongoing uncertainty as to exactly what that should be.

While the chronology of Melque remains controversial, other sites have now emerged as those of possible monasteries of Visigothic date (MARTÍNEZ JIMÉNEZ, SASTRE DE DIEGO, TEJERIZO GARCÍA 2018: 223-224). A recent one of these, El Bovalar

58. E.g., CHAZELLE 2019: 1-12, 236-310 for the remarkable book production at early eighth-century twin monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow.

59. SALES-CARBONELL 2014: 423-463; for the continued use of papyrus in the making of documents and its decline see COLLINS 2021b: 22-23.

(Seròs, Lleida) was originally identified as a late seventh-century village, despite the peculiar arrangement of buildings around two courtyards being attached directly to the southern wall of a church (SALES-CARBONELL 2014: 423-463), itself of sixth century date.⁶⁰ A scattering of varied objects of everyday life, including agricultural implements, across the whole site might have suggested the idea. Unfortunately, the excavation was never published, other than in very summary form. (PALOL I SALELLAS 1989; PALOL I SALELLAS 1986: 513-525). Another scatter across the site, this time of gold coins of early eighth century date, including some of king Achila (711-714), remains in need of explanation (PALOL I SALELLAS 1986: 513-525). In general, lacking full publication, the evidence remains ambiguous.

More securely based, though a much less well-preserved site, is Santa Cecilia de Els Altimiris, also in the Province of Lleida, but in the foothills of the eastern Pyrenees. Although evidence of occupation has been found that extends from the mid-fifth to the early eleventh centuries, the period of most intense occupation has been dated to the sixth and seventh centuries, when it has very plausibly been identified as a monastic complex (SANCHO I PLANAS 2019: 19-32). This consisted of a small and simple church, a residential building, three huts or workshops, one of which was devoted to ironworking, and three cisterns, all within a walled enclosure.⁶¹ The production of aromatic resins on the site from trees cleared in its vicinity, probably intended for use as a substitute for incense from the Near East, is another interesting possibility (SALES-CARBONELL, SANCHO I PLANAS, DE CASTELLET 2017: 107-113). The discovery of more such small-scale monastic complexes with evidence of production and exchange may be expected, adding to the probability of a widespread dissemination of monasteries of different kinds and sizes in the Iberian Peninsula in the Visigothic period. This includes urban monasteries, which present their own problems of identification (MORENO MARTÍN 2009: 275-307).

If, in the case of Melque, an apparently clear example of a monastic site of Visigothic date was both confirmed and then denied, less controversial evidence from other sites was emerging in the same years, and this included ones involving rather different forms of construction. Notable in this respect are the cave churches and associated residential chambers carved from the rock, that have been found in several geologically suitable locations across the Iberian Peninsula.⁶² That they were occupied by anchorites and small monastic communities seems highly probable. Some of them may have developed around a central cave site associated with a holy man, as in the case of Aemilian and the subsequent monastery of San Millan de

60. For the Egyptian monastery of Apa Jeremias that was originally identified as a village, see HEDSTROM 2017: 225-237.

61. For another example of ironworking in a monastic site see LOWE 2006: 137-144. That this could also be true of a monastery in an urban context see HODGES 1997: 62, referring to evidence from Rome.

62. MONREAL JIMENO 1989; AZKARATE GARAI-OLAUN 1988: 113-498. More have been discovered since these pioneering publications, including in the south.

la Cogolla. There are similar examples from Egypt. It may also be that the church carved from the rock over a cave site in what has been claimed, not very convincingly, to be the location of Bobastro has nothing to do with Ibn Hafsun, but is another example of a later monastic community that venerated a local saint associated with a cave dwelling (MERGELINA 1925: 159-176).⁶³

The main problem with all these caves and rock carved churches and chambers is establishing dates of occupation. Only when inscriptions have been found can palaeography serve to suggest a chronology for at least some of the period of occupation (VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO 1988: 315-319). Even so, the existence of these sites argues for a wider presence of forms of the ascetic life in the Visigothic period than the literary texts alone would suggest.

By way of conclusions to draw from these considerations, the first must be that, in comparison with half a century ago, the growth in the quantity and range of evidence, particularly archaeological, implies that monastic life, both anachoretic and communal, was far more widespread across the Iberian Peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries than might once have been assumed. Furthermore, it was more varied in character and in the size of its institutions than previously understood. Secondly, monastic rules in general and those from the Visigothic period in particular present more numerous and complex textual and interpretational problems than was realised back in the 1970s. A proper critical edition of the Visigothic monastic rules is an urgent necessity. Thirdly, as is true in several other ways, the Arab conquest of 711 does not necessarily represent a change or turning point in Iberian monastic history. The only exception here may be the impetus given to monastic development in the emerging Christian states in the north, not so much by the conquest but by the disturbed conditions across the centre of the Peninsula in the middle decades of the eighth century (SÁNCHEZ-PARDO, BLANCO-ROTEA, SANJURJO-SÁNCHEZ 2017: 1011-1026).

Finally, the roles played by monastic institutions of all sizes, and indeed possibly by individual holy men and women, culturally, economically, and socially in the Visigothic period were both greater and more varied than has been recognised. Archaeological study of Visigothic period monasticism is becoming increasingly dynamic and generating exciting results. But historians are perhaps still too absorbed in describing the anatomy of the subject, when more imaginative methods are needed, if new life is to be infused into its inanimate body.

63. For arguments against, see COLLINS 2012: 124-125.

Bibliography

AHERNE, Consuelo María, 1949. *Valerio of Bierzo, an Ascetic of the Visigothic Period*, Washington DC, Catholic University of America Press.

ALLIES, Neil, 2009. *The Monastic Rules of Visigothic Iberia: A Study of their Text and Language*, Ph.D thesis, University of Birmingham.

— 2010. “Re-evaluating Monastic Rules: Style and Literary Purpose in the Rule of Isidore”, *Downside Review*, 128: 1-18.

ANDRADE, Nathanael J., 2018. *The Journey of Christianity to India in Late Antiquity. Networks and the Movement of Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

ARGYLL: AN INVENTORY OF THE MONUMENTS, 1982. *Vol. 4: Iona*, Edinburgh, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

AZKARATE GARAI-OLAUN, Agustín, 1988. *Arqueología Cristiana de la Antigüedad Tardía en Alava, Guipuzkoa y Vizcaya*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Diputación Foral de Álava.

BARLOW, Claude W., 1969. *Iberian Fathers, vol. 2: Braulio of Saragossa, Fructuosus of Braga*, Washington DC, The Catholic University of America Press.

BLANKE, Louise, 2019. *An Archaeology of Egyptian Monasticism. Settlement, Economy and Daily Life at the White Monastery Federation*, New Haven CT, Yale Egyptological Institute.

BLOCH, R. Howard, 1994. *God’s Plagiarist, Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

BONNERUE, Pierre (ed.), 1999. *Benedicti Anianensis Concordia Regularum*, CCSL 168 + 168A, Turnhout, Brepols.

BRAKKE, David, 1995. *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

BROWN, Peter, 1971. *The World of Late Antiquity*, New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
— 1971. “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity”, *Journal of Roman Studies*, 61: 80-101.

BULLY, Sébastien, DESTEFANIS, Eleonora, 2020. “The Archaeology of the Earliest Monasteries in Italy and France”, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, A. I. Beach, I. Cochelin (eds.), vol. 1 Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 232-257.

CABALLERO ZOREDA, LUÍS, 2000. “La arquitectura denominada de época visigoda ¿es realmente tardorromana o prerrománica?”, *Visigodos y Omeyas. Un debate entre la Antigüedad tardía y la alta Edad Media*, L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos Cruz (ed.), Anejos del Archivo de Arqueología Española, 23, Madrid, CSIC: 207-248.

— 2006. “El conjunto monástico de Santa María de Melque (Toledo). Siglos VII-IX”, *Monjes y Monasterios Hispanos*, J. Á. García de Cortazar, R. Teja Casuso (eds.) Aguilar de Campoo, Fundación Santa María la Real: 101-141.

CABALLERO ZOREDA, LUÍS, LATORRE MACARRÓN, José Ignacio, 1980. *La iglesia y el monasterio visigodo de Santa María de Melque (Toledo). Arqueología y Arquitectura. San Pedro de la Mata (Toledo) y Santa Comba de Bande (Orense)*, Madrid, Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico, Archivos y Museos, Subdirección General de Arqueología.

CAMPOS, Julio, ROCA, Ismael (eds.), 1971. *Santos Padres Españoles II: San Leandro, San Fructuoso, San Isidoro*, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos.

CARVER, Martin, 2008. *Portmahomack: Monastery of the Picts*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

CASTELLANOS, Santiago, 1999. *Hagiografía y Sociedad en la Hispania visigoda. La Vita Aemiliani y el actual territorio riojano (siglo VI)*, Logroño, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos.

CHAVARRÍA ARNAU, Alexandra, 2007. *El final de las villas en Hispania (siglos IV-VIII)*, Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive 7, Turnhout, Brepols.

— 2010. “Churches and Aristocracies in Seventh Century Spain: Some Thoughts on the Debate on Visigothic Churches”, *Early Medieval Europe*, 18: 160-174.

CHAZELLE, Celia, 2019. *The Codex Amiatinus and Its “Sister” Bibles: Scripture, Liturgy, and Art in the Milieu of the Venerable Bede*, Leiden, Brill.

COCQUET, Jean, 1955. *Les édifices religieux du Haut Moyen Age à l'Abbaye de Ligugé, Ve et VIe siècles, 690 et 1003*, Ligugé, Abbaye de Ligugé.

— 1968. *L'intérêt des fouilles de Ligugé*, Ligugé, Abbaye de Ligugé.

CODOÑER, Carmen (ed.), 1972. *El ‘de viris illustribus’ de Ildefonso de Toledo. Estudio y edición crítica*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca (reimpreso en *Ildefonsi Toletani Episcopi Opera*, CCSL 114A, Turnhout, Brepols Pub 2007).

COLLINS, Roger, 1980. “Mérida and Toledo, 550-585”, *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, E. James (ed.), Oxford, Clarendon Press: 189-219.

- 1986. “The Autobiographical works of Valerius of Bierzo: their structure and purpose”, *Los Visigodos. Historia y Civilización*, A. González Blanco (ed.), Antigüedad y Cristianismo, 3, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia: pp. 425-442.
- 1998. *Spain: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*, Oxford, Oxford Paperbacks.
- 2004. *Visigothic Spain, 409-711*, Oxford & Maldon MA, Wiley-Blackwell.
- 2012. *Caliphs and Kings: Spain, 796-1031*, Oxford & Malden MA, John Wiley & Sons.
- 2014. “Ambrosio de Morales, Bishop Pelayo and the lost manuscripts of Visigothic Spain”, *Wisigothica. After M.C. Díaz y Díaz*, C. Codoñer, P. Farmhouse Alberto (eds.), Florence, SISMELE Edizioni Del Galluzzo: 609-632.
- 2020a. “Historical Introduction”, *Bachiarrii Monachi Opera Omnia*, J. C. Martín-Iglesias (ed.), CCLSL, 69C, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 5*-33*.
- 2020b. “El Reino de Asturias en la Europa de los siglos VIII a X”, *Nuevas visiones del Reino de Asturias*, J. Rodríguez Muñoz (ed.), Oviedo, Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos: 11-25.
- 2021a. “An Unreliable Witness? *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* and Religious Conflict in Visigothic Spain”, *Revista Diálogos Mediterráneos*, 21: 36-58.
- 2021b. “The Sixth-Century Documents of the Monastery of Asán in Context”, *Nouvelles chartes visigothiques du monastère pyrénéen d’Asán*, C. Martin, J. J. Larrea (eds.), Bordeaux, Ausonius: 19-36.
- Forthcoming -a-. *The Christian Culture of Islamic Spain*.
- Forthcoming -b-. “Oxford, 1968-1975: Crucible of Late Antiquity”, (with a draft already on www.academia.edu).

CRAMP, Rosemary, 2005. *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, 2 vols., Swindon, English Heritage.

DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, Manuel C. (ed.), 1974. *La Vida de San Fructuoso de Braga*, Braga, Empresa do Diário do Minho.

— 2006. *Valerio del Bierzo. Su persona. Su obra*, León, Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro.

DÍAZ MARTÍNEZ, Pablo de la Cruz, 1987. *Formas económicas y sociales en el monacato visigodo*, Salamanca, Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

DIEM, Albrecht, 2011. “Inventing the Holy Rule: Some Observations on the History of Monastic Normative Observance in the Early Medieval West”, *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, H. Dey, E. Fentress (eds.), Turnhout, Brepols Publishers: 53-84.

— 2016. “The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*”, *Religious Franks. Religion and power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in honour of Mayke de Jong*, R. Meens and others (eds.), Manchester, Manchester University Press: 245-259.

DÍEZ GONZÁLEZ, Florentino Agustino, RODRÍGUEZ FERNÁNDEZ, Justiniano, ROA RICO, Francisco, VIÑAYO GONZÁLEZ, Antonio, 1966. *San Fructuoso y su tiempo*, León, Diputación Provincial de León.

EDWARDS, Nancy, 1990. *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland*, London, Batsford.

FERNÁNDEZ POUSA, Ramón (ed.), 1942. *San Valerio (Nuño Valerio). Obras*, Madrid, CSIC.

FONTAINE, Jacques, 1983. “Qui a chassé de Carthaginoise Severianus et les siens? Observations sur l’histoire familiale d’Isidore de Séville”, *Estudios de Homenaje a Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años*, vol. I, Buenos Aires, Instituto de Historia de España Claudio Sánchez Albornoz: 349-400.

FORSYTH, Katherine, 1998. “Literacy in Pictland”, *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies*, H. Pryce (ed.), Cambridge - New York - Melbourne, Cambridge University Press: 39-61.

GARCÍA MORENO, Luis A., 1975. *El fin del reino visigodo de Toledo. Decadencia y catástrofe. Una contribución a su crítica*, Madrid, Universidad Autónoma.

GIBBON, Edward, 1897. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 7 vols., London, J.B. Bury.

GIL, Juan (ed.), 1972. *Miscellanea Wisigothica*, Sevilla, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla.

GOEHRING, James E., 1996. ‘Withdrawing from the Desert: Pachomius and the Development of Village Monasticism in Upper Egypt’, *The Harvard Theological Review*, 89: 267-285.

GROTE, Andreas E. J., 2013. “De opera monachorum”, *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, 3 vols., K. Pollmann (ed.), Oxford, Oxford University Press: vol. I, 360-367.

GUNDLACH, Wilhelm (ed.), 1957 (2nd ed). “Epistolae Wisigothicae”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, vol. I, Berlin, Weidmann: 658-690.

HEDSTROM, Darlene L. Brooks, 2017. *The Monastic Landscape of Late Antique Egypt. An Archaeological Reconstruction*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

HILL, Peter, 1997. *Whithorn and St. Ninian. The Excavation of a Monastic Town 1984-1991*, Stroud, Sutton Pub Ltd.

HODGES, Richard, 1997. *Light in the Dark Age. The Rise and Fall of San Vincenzo al Volturino*, London, Cornell University Press.

JANINI, José, 1958. “San Isidoro y la Regla de San Benito (C. 39. 1)”, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia*, 31: 259-260.

KELLY, J.N.D., 1975. *Jerome. His Life, Writings & Controversies*, London, Duckworth.

KING, Paul David, 1972. *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

KING, Heather A. (ed.), 1998, 2003. *Clonmacnoise Studies*, vols. 1 i 2, Dublin, The Stationery Office.

LAYTON, Bentley (ed. And trans.), 2014. *The Canons of Our Fathers: Monastic Rules of Shenoute*, Oxford, OUP Oxford.

LINAGE CONDE, Antonio, 1973. *Los orígenes del monacato Benedictino en la Península Ibérica*, 3 vols., León, CSIC.

LINDSAY, W. M. (ed.), 1911. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, 2 vols., Oxford, Oxford University Press.

LYSTER, William, 2008. “The Monastery of St. Paul the Hermit”, *The Cave Church of Paul the Hermit at the Monastery of St. Paul, Egypt*, W. Lyster (ed.), New Haven and London, Yale University Press: 1-21.

LÓPEZ QUIROGA, Jorge (ed.), 2017. *In tempore Sueborum. El tiempo de los Suevos en la Gallaecia (411-585)*, Ourense, Deputación Provincial de Ourense.

LÓPEZ QUIROGA, Jorge, MARTÍNEZ TEJERA, Artemio M., 2007. “Un *monasterium fructuosano* por descubrir, el de Compludo en el Bierzo (prov. de León)”, *Argutorio*, 18: 243-247.

LOWE, Christopher, 2006. *Excavations at Hoddum, Dumfriesshire*, Edinburgh, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

— 2008. *Inchmarnock. An Early Historic Island Monastery and its archaeological landscape*, Edinburgh, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

MALLOY, Rebecca, 2020. *Songs of Sacrifice: Chant, Identity, and Christian Formation in Early Medieval Iberia*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

MARSHALL, Jenny White, ROURKE, Grellan D., 2000. *High Island: An Irish Monastery in the Atlantic*, Dublin, Town House and Country House.

MARTÍN-IGLESIAS, José Carlos (ed.), 2006. *Scripta de uita Isidori Hispalensis episcopi : Braulionis Caesaraugustani episcopi Renotatio librorum domini Isidori; Redempti clerici Hispalensis Obitus beatissimi Isidori Hispalensis episcopi; Vita sancti Isidori ab auctore anonymo saeculis XI-XII exarata*, CCSL, 113B, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers.

MARTÍN-IGLESIAS, José Carlos, DÍAZ MARTÍNEZ, Pablo de la Cruz, VALLEJO GIRVÉS, Margarita, 2020. *La Hispania tardoantigua y visigoda en las fuentes epistolares. Antología y comentario*, Madrid, CSIC.

MARTÍNEZ JIMÉNEZ, Javier, SASTRE DE DIEGO, Isaac, TEJERIZO GARCÍA, CARLOS, 2018. *The Iberian Peninsula between 300 and 850. An Archaeological Perspective*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

MAYA SÁNCHEZ, Antonio (ed.) 1992. *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium*, CCSL, 116, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers.

MERGELINA, Carlos de, 1925. “De arquitectura mozárabe: la iglesia rupestre de Bobastro”, *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 1: 159-176.

MODÉRAN, Yves, 2017. “L’Afrique reconquise et les Trois Chapitres”, *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth Century Mediterranean*, C. Chazelle, C. Cubitt (eds.), Turnhout, Brepols Publishers: 39-82.

MONREAL JIMENO, Luís Alberto, 1989. *Eremitorios rupestres altomedievales (El Alto Valle del Ebro)*, Bilbao, Universidad de Deusto.

MONROE, James T., 2021 (2nd ed.). *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish Scholarship (16th Century to the Present)*, Boston MA, Ilex Foundation.

MORENO MARTÍN, Francisco J., 2009. “Arquitectura y usos monásticos en el siglo VII. De la recreación textual a la invisibilidad material”, *El Siglo VII frente al Siglo VIII: Arquitectura*, L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos Cruz M. Á. Utrero Agudo (eds.), *Anejos del Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 51, Madrid, CSIC: 275-307.

NOCK, Frances Clare (ed.), 1946. *The Vita Sancti Fructuosi. Text with Translation, Introduction and Commentary*, Washington DC, Catholic University of America Press.

Ó RIAIN, Pádraig, 1999. “Finnio and Winniau: A Return to the Subject”, *Ildánach Idírech. A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana*, J. Carey, J. T. Koch, P.-Y. Lambert (eds.), Andover MA, Celtic Studies Publications: 187-202.

ORLANDIS ROVIRA, José, 1971. *Estudios sobre instituciones monásticas medievales*, Pamplona, Universidad de Navarra
 — 1993. *Años de Juventud en Opus Dei*, Madrid, Rialp.

PALOL I SALELLAS, Pere de, 1986. “Las excavaciones del conjunto de ‘El Bovalar’, Serós (Segriá, Lérida) y el reino de Akhila”, *Los Visigodos. Historia y civilización*, A. González Blanco (ed.), Antigüedad y Cristianismo, 3, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia: 513-525.

— 1989. *El Bovalar (Seròs; Segrià). Conjunt d'època paleocristiana i visigòtica*, Lleida, Diputació de Lleida.

PALOL I SALELLAS, Pedro de, HIRMER, Max, 1967. *Early Medieval Art in Spain*, London, Thames and Hudson.

PÉREZ DE URBEL, Justo, 1945 (2^{na} ed.). *Los monjes españoles en la Edad Media*, 2 vols), Madrid, Ancla.

PISA, Francisco de, 1605. *Descripción de la Imperial Ciudad de Toledo, primera parte*, Toledo, Pedro Rodríguez Impresor del Rey.

PONESSE, Matthew D., 2013. “Regula”, *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, K. Pollmann (ed.), 3 vols. Oxford, Oxford University Press: I, 462-467.

POWER, Timothy, 2012. *The Red Sea from Byzantium to the Caliphate, AD 500-1000*, Cairo & New York, AUC Press.

ROUSSEAU, Philip, 1985. *Pachomius, the making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley CA, University of California Press.

SALES-CARBONELL, Jordina. 2013. “Fabricando pergamino durante la Antigüedad Tardía. Unas notas arqueológicas para los monasterios de Hispania”, *Augustinianum*, 53.2: 469-499.

— 2014. ‘El Bovalar (Seròs, Lleida) ¿Un monasterio productor de pergamino en la Hispania visigoda?’, *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 2014: 423-463.

SALES-CARBONELL, Jordina, SANCHO I PLANAS, Marta, CASTELLET, Laura de, 2017. “*Incensum in Monasterium* in Preandalusian Hispania (Centuries 5th – 8th)”, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 23: 107-113.

SÁNCHEZ-PARDO, José C., BLANCO-ROTEA, Rebeca, SANJURJO-SÁNCHEZ, Jorge, 2017. “The church of Santa Comba de Bande and early medieval Iberian architecture: new chronological results”, *Antiquity* 91: 1011-1026.

SÁNCHEZ RAMOS, Isabel María, BARROSO CABRERA, Rafael, MORÍN DE PABLOS, Jorge, VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO, Isabel, 2015. “Topografía eclesiástica de la Baetica en la Antigüedad tardía a través del corpus epigráfico”, *Romula*, 14: 221-265.

SÁNCHEZ VELASCO, Jerónimo, 2018. *The Christianization of Western Baetica. Architecture, Power and Religion in a Late Antique Landscape*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

SANCHO I PLANAS, Marta, 2019. “Evidencias arqueológicas de un monasterio de los siglos VI-VII en el Prepirineo catalán: Santa Cecilia de Els Altimiris”, *Monastères et couvents de montagne: circulation, reseaux, influences au Moyen Age*, D. Le Blévec (ed.), Paris, Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: 19-32.

SCHLUNK, Helmut, HAUSCHILD, Theodor, 1978. *Hispania Antiqua. Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit*, Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern.

STORCH DE GRACIA Y ASENSIO, José Jacobo, 1990. “Las iglesias visigodas de Toledo”, *Actas del Primer Congreso de Arqueología de la Provincia de Toledo*, Talavera de la Reina, Diputación Provincial de Toledo: 563-570.

SWANSON, Mark N., 2008. “The Monastery of St. Paul in Historical Context”, *The Cave Church of Paul the Hermit at the Monastery of St. Paul in Egypt*, W. Lyster (ed.), New Haven and London, Yale University Press: 43-59.

THOM, Catherine, 2006. *Early Irish Monasticism: An Understanding of its Cultural Roots*, London & New York, T&T Clark.

THOMPSON, E. A., 1969. *The Goths in Spain*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

TOMÁS FACI, Guillermo, José Carlos MARTÍN-IGLESIAS, 2017. “Cuatro documentos inéditos del monasterio visigodo de San Martín de Asán”, *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 52: 261-286.

UTRERO AGUDO, María de los Angeles, 2004. “San Pedro de la Nave. Historia de la investigación arqueológica”, “La arquitectura de San Pedro de la Nave”, *La Iglesia de San Pedro de la Nave*, L. Caballero Zoreda (ed.), Zamora, Instituto de Estudios Zamoranos Florián de Ocampo: 65-75, 299-321.

VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, Luís (ed.), 1943. *Sancti Braulionis Caesaraugustani Episcopi Vita Sancti Emiliani*, Madrid, CSIC.

VEGA, Ángel Custodio, 1933. *La regla de san Agustín. Edición crítica precedida de un estudio sobre la misma y los códices de El Escorial*, El Escorial, Archivo Agustiniiano.

VELÁZQUEZ ARENAS, Jaime, 1979 (ed y trad.). *Leandro de Sevilla, De la instrucción de las vírgenes y desprecio del mundo*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española.

VELÁZQUEZ SORIANO, Isabel, 1988. “Epígrafes latinos en la Cueva de la Camareta”, *Arte y poblamiento en el Sur-Este peninsular*, A. González Blanco (ed.), *Antigüedad y Cristianismo*, 5, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia: 315-319.

— 2000. *Documentos de época visigoda escritos en pizarra (ss. VI-VIII)*, Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi, Series Hispanica, vols. 1-2, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers.

— 2006. “Reflexiones en torno a la formación de un *Corpus Regularum* de época visigoda”, *Espacio y tiempo en la percepción de la Antigüedad tardía: homenaje al profesor Antonino González Blanco*, E. Conde Guerri, R. González Fernández, A. Egea Vivancos (eds.), *Antigüedad y Cristianismo*, 23, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia: 531-567.

VERHEIJEN, Luc, 1967. *La Règle de saint Augustin*, 2 vols., Paris, Études augustinienes.

VIVES GATELL, José (ed. i trad.), 1963 *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, Barcelona – Madrid, Instituto Enrique Flórez.

— (ed.), 1969 *Inscripciones cristianas de la España romana y visigoda*, Barcelona, CSIC-Biblioteca Balmes.

VIVIAN, Tim, 2002. “St. Anthony the Great and the Monastery of St. Anthony at the Red Sea ca. AD 251-1232/3”, *Monastic Visions. Wall Painting in the Monastery of St. Anthony at the Red Sea*, E. S. Bolman (ed.), New Haven & London, Yale University Press: 1-20

WALTERS, Clifford C., 1974. *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt*, Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd.

WOOD, Ian, 2022. *The Christian Economy of the Early Medieval West*, Binghamton NY, Gracchi Books.

WRIGHT, Frederick A. (ed.), 1933. *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, London & Cambridge Mass., The Loeb Classical Library.

ZIEGLER, Aloysius Kieran, 1930. *Church and State in Visigothic Spain*, Washington DC, Catholic University of America.





Revista de Cultures Medievales

Núm. 20 (Tardor 2022), 70-96 | ISSN 2014-7023

MONASTIC LANDSCAPES: A NEW APPROACH TO COLUMBANIAN MONASTICISM

Albrecht Diem

Syracuse University

adiem@syr.edu

ORCID: 0000-0002-2610-2043

Rebut: 11 novembre 2022 | Revisat: 15 desembre 2022 | Acceptat: 15 desembre 2022
| Publicat: 22 desembre 2022 | doi:10.1344/Svmma2022.20.6

Abstract

This contribution proposes different notions of “monastic landscapes” (geographic, political, textual, economic, spiritual) and discusses whether applying them to the monastic movement allegedly initiated by Columbanus may help us to refine or deconstruct the concept of “Columbanian monasticism.” Comparing evidence on monastic life in Gregory of Tours’ hagiographic and historiographic works with the depiction of monastic life in Jonas of Bobbio’s *Vita Columbani* shows that we can indeed identify a shift from a “landscape with monasteries” in sixth-century Merovingian Francia to a politically integrated “monastic landscape” in the seventh century. However, this does not mean that the fundamental shift was necessarily the result of the activities of the Irish monk Columbanus. An investigation of Jonas’ depiction of the spiritual and physical landscape around Columbanus’ main foundation Luxeuil shows the grade of continuity between monastic foundations in Gaul before Columbanus and the alleged center of a new “Columbanian” monastic movement.

Keywords:

Jonas of Bobbio, Gregory of Tours, Columbanian monasticism, Merovingian Francia, Hagiography

Resumen

Esta contribución propone diferentes nociones de “paisajes monásticos” (geográficas, políticas, textuales, económicas, espirituales) y discute si el hecho de aplicarlas al movimiento monástico supuestamente iniciado por Columbanus puede ayudarnos a redefinir o deconstruir el concepto de “monacato columbano”. La comparación de las evidencias sobre la vida monástica en las obras hagiográficas e historiográficas de Gregorio de Tours con la descripción de la vida monástica en la *Vita Columbani* de Jonás de Bobbio muestra que podemos identificar un cambio de un “paisaje monástico” en la Francia merovingia del siglo VI a un “paisaje monástico” políticamente integrado en el siglo VII. Sin embargo, esto no significa que el cambio fundamental fuera necesariamente el resultado de las actividades del monje irlandés Columbanus. Una lectura atenta de la descripción de Jonás del paisaje espiritual y físico entorno a Luxeuil, la principal fundación de Columbanus, muestra el grado de continuidad entre las fundaciones monásticas en la Galia antes de Columbanus y el supuesto centro de un nuevo movimiento monástico “columbano”.

Palabras clave:

Jonás de Bobbio, Gregorio de Tours, monacato columbano, Francia merovingia, hagiografía

1. The concept of monastic landscape

The expression “monastic landscape” evades any clear definition, which may make it unsuitable for becoming a household term in monastic studies. Yet reflecting on its different possible meanings, their hermeneutic potential and their limitations appears to be productive: monastic landscapes of various sorts become a playground for trying out ideas suitable for the evolving landscape of monastic studies.¹ My contribution does, therefore, not favor any specific definition.² Instead, I want to present a case study on how experimenting with different “landscapes” – political, textual, imagined, spiritual, economical, and physical – may change our understanding of old and maybe too well-established concepts of monastic history, in this case that of “Columbanian monasticism” and, in extension, other anchor points in the established monastic narrative.³

I will begin by suggesting five understandings of the concept of “monastic landscape”. In a broad sense, a “monastic landscape” could refer to a landscape in which monasteries were not only present but a self-evident and impactful part of the political, cultural, religious or economic fabric to an extent that on a fundamental level it would not function in the same way without them.⁴ This definition constitutes the point of departure for addressing a key question in the history of monasticism: How “monasticized” were specific ecclesiastical, political, cultural or economic landscapes in the late- and post-Roman world – and how did monastic institutions impact on them? Peter Brown argued that different parts of the late- and post-Roman world generated their specific “micro-Christendoms”. Some of them may have had a distinctive monastic flavor, others less so (BROWN 2013: 13-34). The textual documents produced by these various “micro-monasticisms” do, of course, emphasize their importance and place and evoke worlds in which the *saeculum* appears in an – often dark – margin. Following these documents uncritically bears the danger of detaching monasticism from its broader historical context and, indeed, overestimating its impact.

Based on our written sources, we could cautiously argue that Late Roman Egypt and Syria, Early Medieval Ireland, England in Bede’s time, Merovingian Gaul,

1. On the “research landscape” of new monastic studies, see especially BEACH, COCHELIN 2020; for a brief introduction into the concept of monastic landscape, RÖCKELEIN 2020.

2. For a (limited) typology of monastic landscapes see FELTEN 2012. MELVILLE 2012: 221 proposes three notions of “monastic landscape”: (1) a geographical space that is shaped by the activities of an individual monastery or a conglomeration of monasteries; (2) a region containing a significant number of various monasteries where monastic life had a strong impact on religious, cultural, economic, social and political structures; (3) referring to the monasteries situated within a region that is delineated by external criteria, e.g. geography or, sometimes even modern, political boundaries, e.g. the “Swiss monastic landscape” or the “Bavarian monastic landscape”.

3. For the traditional narrative, see, for example, LAWRENCE 2015; MELVILLE 2016; ALBERT 2022.

4. This definition is congruent with Melville’s second notion of monastic landscape. See MELVILLE 2012: 221.

Carolingian Francia, Visigothic Spain, and Byzantium were all monastic landscapes of sorts, in the sense of political, cultural and ecclesiastical landscapes strongly impacted by monastic life (in its various forms). Yet there has been done little research in comparing them on the basis of clearly defined criteria, asking whether monasteries were indeed as important as our sources imply, and testing the place monastic life in their respective societies on historiographic, theological, or legal texts that described monasticism from outsiders' perspectives. Moreover, the question to what extent we can find monastic landscapes outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire and outside the Christian world has hardly been broached.⁵

A second approach to the concept “monastic landscapes” could be reached by consulting specific texts and textual corpora. Gregory of Tours evokes, for example, in his *Liber Vitae Patrum* and his other hagiographic works Merovingian Gaul as a landscape dotted with monasteries, hermitages, and shrines of saints and martyrs that were administrated by monks.⁶ The *Historia monachorum* and the *Historia Lausiaca* do the same for Egypt;⁷ Theodoret's *Historia religiosa* for Syria.⁸ John Moschos textually shapes a staunchly orthodox monastic landscape in a world in the grip of supposed heretics at the dawn of the rise of Islam – a landscape reaching from Capadocia to Egypt with a strong focus on the monastic communities that emerged in the Judean desert.⁹ Roughly at the same time Jonas of Bobbio describes the northern parts of Francia as a monastic landscape well integrated in political and ecclesiastical structures that was inspired by the Irish monk and monastic founder Columbanus.¹⁰ Each of these authors emphasizes with different agendas and textual strategies the role of monastic life in their respective regions. For these textually created monastic landscapes it is necessary to study how the author's claim of importance and unity meets reality. It is difficult not to look at Egyptian monasticism through the eyes of the authors of the *Historia monachorum* or the *Historia Lausiaca*, or at Syrian monasticism through Theodoret's eyes, or at seventh-century monasticism in Gaul through those of Jonas and the authors of sequels of his *Vita Columbani*. But it is essential to be aware of their agendas and the purposes of their respective works – and, if necessary, distance oneself from their convenient narratives.

A third way of defining “monastic landscapes”, which often overlaps with those constructed by geographic boundaries or textual *corpora*, might refer to the landscapes shaped by modern historians out of the understandable need to create order

5. See, most recently, BOWMAN 2021; GARSOÏAN 2007; CAMPLANI 2007.

6. For a recent edition and translation of Gregory's hagiographic work, see DE NIE 2015.

7. *Historia Lausiaca*, ed. WELLHAUSEN 2003; *Historia monachorum*, ed. SCHULZ-FLÜGEL 1990.

8. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Historia religiosa*, ed. CANIVET, LEROY-MOHLINGHEN 1977-1978.

9. John Moschos, *Pratum spirituale*, ed. MIGNE 1863: 2851–3112; transl. WORTLEY 1992.

10. Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani discipulorumque eius*, ed. KRUSCH; transl. O'HARA, WOOD 2017. See also FOX 2014.

and structures.¹¹ Peter Brown compared in a pioneering way Egyptian and Syrian monastic landscapes (BROWN 1971). James Goehring, William Harmless and Philip Rousseau (among many others) contributed to creating the Egyptian monastic world (HARMLESS 2004; GOEHRING 1999; ROUSSEAU 1985), Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Aryeh Kofsky monasticism in Gaza (BITTON-ASHKELONY, KOFKY 1995). Georg Jenal provided us with the idea of early Medieval monastic Italy (JENAL 1995). Sarah Foot did so for Early Medieval England (FOOT 2006). Friedrich Prinz postulated for Late-Roman and Merovingian Gaul three different monastic landscapes: “Martinian monasticism”, “Lérinsian monasticism”, and “Hiberno-Frankish/Columbanian monasticism” (PRINZ 1988). Josef Semmler shaped the Carolingian monastic world, as did Pablo Díaz for Visigothic monasticism (DÍAZ 1987).¹² Their categorizations are indispensable because we need structures, but they also created boundaries and postulated unity and uniformity that need to be questioned and re-evaluated.

Moreover, “monastic landscapes” might also refer to the regional structures shaped by specific monastic institutions through the accumulation of property and the foundation of affiliations, and the impact of monastic foundations on local economies.¹³ Individual monasteries may also have shaped “spiritual landscapes” created by shrines of saints and martyrs, hermitages, branches, or affiliations. Prinz, for example, postulated a “Martinian” monasticism based on places where Martin of Tours was venerated (PRINZ 1988: 19-46). Peter Ehrhart and Hans-Werner Goetz (among others) studied, for example, the far-reaching economic impact of St. Gallen and its possessions, which extended its influence from Southern Germany to Northern Italy (ERHART 2015; GOETZ 1993).¹⁴ John Henry Clay studied the landscapes created by Anglo-Saxon monastic foundations in Hesse in a study that in a pioneering way combines monastic history with landscape studies (CLAY 2011). Janneke Raaijmakers investigated the spiritual landscape emerging around the monastery of Fulda (RAAIJMAKERS 2011). Yet, all of these studies define and study the “landscapes” created by individual monasteries in different and therefore not really comparable ways, even though their specific approaches have the potential of cross-fertilizing future research.

Ultimately, “monastic landscape” could refer to the physical landscape that was shaped and altered by monastic communities through their agricultural and economic activities, through building roads, clearing land and forests, embanking or

11. Melville’s third definition of a monastic landscape (monasteries situated in a region delineated by geographic or medieval or modern political or geographical boundaries often) overlaps with these landscapes constructed by modern historians who often orient themselves along these boundaries. See MELVILLE 2012: 221.

12. For an overview of Semmler’s work, see BAUER 1988. For a careful attempt to create a new 21st-century narrative of Carolingian monasticism, see KRAMER, KURDZIEL, WARD 2022.

13. In Melville’s typology, this would be the first type of a monastic landscape. See MELVILLE 2012: 221.

14. FELTEN 2012 provides a survey of studies on high medieval monastic landscapes.

diverting rivers or building canals. Narrative texts refer to turning the desert into a paradise and transforming the wilderness into cultivated land (and sometimes cleaning it from demons). They reflect, maybe in a metaphorically inflated way, a reality in which monasteries massively altered their physical surrounding (BRUNERT 1994; DIESENBERGER 2000). Whenever monks sought out a real or imagined desert, they inevitably destroyed it, and connected (or reconnected) their desert to the civilized world, and usually they did so deliberately.¹⁵ Many monasteries turned into population centers surpassing or replacing the dwindling Roman cities, though there was certainly no unity in the landscapes created by monasteries, and different centuries created different modes and models for interfering with the physical landscape.

2. Columbanian monasticism and its landscapes

All five notions of a “monastic landscape” intersect within the monastic world that is commonly indicated as “Columbanian” and still sometimes as “Hiberno-Frankish” (*Iro-Fränkisch*), two terms introduced in Friedrich Prinz’ magistral work *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich* from 1965. Prinz postulated that the arrival of the Irish monk Columbanus in Merovingian Francia unleashed, supported by kings, aristocrats and bishops, a wave of new monastic foundations emanating from Luxeuil, Columbanus’ main foundation. According to Prinz, these monasteries followed first the *Regula Columbani* and later a mixed rule consisting of elements of the *Regula Columbani* and the *Regula Benedicti*, paving the way for the spread and triumph of the *Regula Benedicti* in Francia and the rest of the Latin world (PRINZ 1988: 121-291).¹⁶ “Columbanian” monasteries were, in his view, the result of a synthesis of the monastic ideals and practices Columbanus imported from Ireland and forms of monastic life and the broader cultural context that was already present in Francia. His expression *Iro-Fränkisch* did not take strong roots, but “Columbanian monasticism” became a broadly used term and the foundation of Luxeuil is commonly seen as an anchor point in any chronology of monastic history.¹⁷

Prinz visualized the Columbanian landscape beautifully in three of the hand-drawn maps in the appendix of his work.¹⁸ He identified almost all monastic foundations that took place between the foundation of Luxeuil and the first Anglo-Saxon foundations under early Carolingian rule as *Iro-Fränkisch* or *Columbanisch*, either because they were mentioned in Jonas of Bobbio’s *Vita Columbani* or in one of its spin-offs and continuations or because its founders and first abbots were somehow related to Luxeuil and other “Columbanian” monasteries, or because they received

15. On ambivalent attitudes towards the desert, see LEYSER 2006.

16. See also MOYSE 1973; DIERKENS 1989.

17. See DUNN 2000: 158-190; LAWRENCE 2015: 39-53; FOX 2014; O’HARA 2018; ALBERT 2022: 72-79.

18. PRINZ 1988: appendix, map. VIIA, VIIB and IX.

episcopal privileges in the style of those issued to Columbanian monasteries, or because they were founded by aristocrats and rulers who otherwise had founded monasteries identified as *Iro-Fränkisch* (PRINZ 1988: 121-316). Even monasteries that existed before Columbanus' arrival allegedly reformed themselves to Columbanian monasticism if they tied themselves in any form to monasteries, founders or patrons that were identified as "Columbanian" (PRINZ 1988: 152-185).

Prinz' model has received criticism – especially regarding his claim of a long-lasting and uniform Columbanian network "by contagion" and the idea that the *Regula Benedicti* spread in Gaul, as it were, piggybacking on the *Regula Columbani* (DIEM 2002; DIEM 2011), but also his assertion that Irish monastic ideals and practices had a lasting impact on the development of Continental monastic life (WOOD 2016; MARRON 2012: 20-59). Nevertheless, Prinz is still a significant point of reference and inevitably quoted in any study of early medieval monasticism. There may, indeed, be good reasons for ditching "Columbanian" monasticism, but there are also reasons for keeping the periodization and finding a – maybe more cumbersome – replacement that re-evaluates Prinz' model rather than abandoning it. I will try to do this along the line of the different definitions of a "monastic landscape" I suggested.

3. Merovingian Gaul – a monastic landscape?

If we listen to two of the most important narrative sources on sixth- and seventh-century Gaul, we hear two different answers to the question of how "monasticized" Merovingian Gaul indeed was. Roughly at the time of Columbanus' arrival, Gregory of Tours' hagiographic and historiographic works describe a world in which male and female monasteries, strict ascetics, hermits, recluses, and religious women of various sorts undoubtedly existed and occasionally caused trouble, but it is a world that would function without them. A few bishops may have had a monastic training;¹⁹ some royals may have founded or supported monasteries,²⁰ but kings, aristocrats, and bishops did not structurally rely on monasteries for any purpose. It was perfectly possible to live a good Christian life without having any monastic inclinations. Fourteen of the twenty *vitae* of Gregory's *Liber vitae patrum* tell about individuals of various social backgrounds who lived as monks, hermits or recluses and founded monasteries, but none of them is allowed to have much of an impact on society at large, or define themselves as part of a "movement".²¹ *Divide et impera* seems to have

19. Gregory of Tours, *Liber Vitae Patrum* VI, prol.: 230 (Gallus); XVII, c. 1: 278 (Nicetius of Trier); Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* VI, c. 9: 279 (Domnolus); VII, c. 1: 323-327 (Bishop Slavus).

20. Gregory of Tours, *Liber Vitae Patrum* I, c. 5: 217 (King Chilperich supports the Jura monasteries); Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, c. 12: 305 (King Leovigild returns stolen good to a monastery); Gregory of Tours, *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, c. 74: 87-88 (King Sigismund supports Saint-Maurice d'Agaune and is buried there).

21. For an analysis of the role of monastic life in Gregory's hagiographic works, see DIEM 2015.

been Gregory's motto when composing his *Liber vitae patrum* – and he was successful to an extent that there is still hardly any systematic study on Gregory's distinctly powerless monastic landscape – despite the fact that much of what we know about sixth-century monasticism comes from his work.²²

If we examine the role of monasteries in Gregory's monumental historical work, the *Decem libri historiarum*, we might get the impression that the author rather disliked monasteries and purposefully downplayed their importance in order to postulate a church structure that was firmly held under the sway of bishops – most notably himself. In the first of the *Decem libri*, Gregory placed his attempt to write a political and ecclesiastic history of the Frankish world into a wider framework of Christian salvation history. In this framework, monks and monasteries appear just thrice: he mentions in passing that there were monasteries in Egypt and that Antony died, refers once to Melania the Younger as monastic founder, and complains that Emperor Valens tried to force monks to become soldiers.²³

Monasteries play a slightly more prominent role in the subsequent nine books. By far, Queen Radegund's embattled monastic foundation in Poitiers receives the most attention. The scandals arising after the Queen's death placed Gregory in the position of a skillful crisis manager. A second place holds the description of the mother-daughter battle in the monastery of Inghitrudis in Tours – two stories that might amuse Gregory's audience but certainly can't be read as a praise of monastic life.²⁴ Aside from that, the author repeatedly refers to monasteries as places of imprisonment of sinful priests, political enemies and dynastic competitors.²⁵ He benevolently mentions a number of monastic communities around holy men with little traceable afterlife,²⁶ but many more monasteries, monks, and (often dubious) holy

22. An exception is BIARNE 1997 (map on p. 117). See also DIEM 2015, GAILLARD, SAPIN 2018.

23. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* I, c. 10: 10; I, c. 39-41: 27-28.

24. On Radegund and on Inghitrudis: Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* III, c. 7: 104; VI, c. 29: 295-297; VI, c. 34: 305; IX, c. 2: 415; VIII, c. 33: 451-454; IX, c. 39-43: 469-475; X, c. 12: 495; X, c. 15-17: 501-504; X, c. 20: 513.

25. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* I c. 44: 29 (Bishop Urbicus); IV, c. 26: 159 (Queen Theodogild); V, c. 14: 207 (Merovech); V, c. 20: 228 (the rebellious bishops Salonius and Sagrattarius); V, c. 39: 247 and VI, c. 34: 305 (Basina); V, c. 49: 262 (the imposter Leudast); VI, c. 16: 285-286 (the niece of a certain Felix). On forced monastic entry, see DE JONG 2001.

26. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* II, c. 21-22: 67-68 (Eparchius foundation Chantoin, which did survive beyond Gregory's lifetime); II, c. 37: 86-87 (cell of Saint Maxentius miraculously protected by its founder); IV, c. 32: 166 (the priest Julian living in the monastery of Randan); V, c. 7: 203 (The recluse Senoc living in a cell among ancient ruins); V, c. 10: 204 (Patroclus another priest and strict ascetic); V, c. 12: 206 (On Brachio abbot of Menat); V, c. 21: 229 (The ascetic Winnoch was ordained priest in order to prevent him from travelling to Jerusalem); V, c. 9: 204 (on the recluse Caluppa); VI, c. 8, pp. 227 (on the miracles of Eparchius, a recluse with a small community of followers, who is very good at collecting alms and, as Gregory states with some irony, never has to bake bread); VIII, c. 35, pp. 455-456 (Berethrudis makes bequests to the nunneries she had founded); X, c. 1: 477 (Gregory the Great founded six monasteries in Sicily and one in Rome out of his own expenses).

men found their way into the *Decem libri* because they caused problems and needed to be disciplined or saved.²⁷

Of all the monasteries that played a key role in the traditional monastic narrative (Lérins, Saint-Maurice d’Agaune, the Jura monasteries, Caesarius’ foundation, Montecasino), Gregory mentions in his *Decem libri* only Saint-Maurice²⁸ and – maybe – Caesarius’ foundation in Arles.²⁹ There is no reference to monastic life as *vita regularis* except for identifying the Rule of Caesarius of Arles as the normative basis for subduing the nuns’ uprising in Poitiers.³⁰ Royal involvement in monastic matters appear, apart from Saint-Maurice d’Agaune and Radegund’s monastery, only twice in a sideline.³¹

Thus, if we believe Gregory – which one should do only with caution (GOFFART 1988: 112-234; REIMITZ 2015) – Merovingian Gaul was indeed dotted with monasteries, but it was, as a whole, not a “monastic landscape” of the first category I suggested. The Frankish world would – at least according to the picture he drew – not have looked fundamentally different without monasteries. The “ascetic invasion” Robert Markus proclaimed for fifth- and sixth-century Gaul did in Gregory’s world not really take place (MARKUS 1990: 199-211). There is a remarkable discrepancy between the picture shaped by the hagiographic and normative sources that were commonly used to establish the history of post-Roman monasticism in Gaul and the largely ignored narrative of Gregory of Tours.³²

27. On monks and nuns causing trouble or being in trouble: Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* I, c. 48: 32-33 (argument between Poitiers and Tours about Martin’s body); IV, c. 31: 164 (on thirty greedy monks killed by a landslide); IV, c. 33: 166 (Sunniulf, the abbot of Randan is too lenient towards his monks and needs to improve his leadership skills); IV, c. 34: 167 (a monk in a monastery close to Bordeaux performs a miracle and is severely punished in order to prevent pride); IV, c. 39: 171 (Palladius commits suicide out of fear of being killed by Sigibert. He is buried in the monastery of Cournon but no mass was sung for him); IV, c. 47: 184 (Chilperich plunders monasteries, kills monks, and rapes nuns on the Limousin); IV, c. 49: 184-185 (Gregory complains that in the old times rulers endowed monasteries and churches, now they destroy them, referring especially to the monastery of Latta that owned relics of Martin of Tours); VI, c. 6: 272-274 (Hospitius, the strict ascetic, with an ironic remark about local ascetics who import their bitter herbs from Egypt); VIII, c. 15: 380-383 (Wulfilaic the stylite); VIII, c. 19: 385-286 (Daugulf); VIII, c. 21: 387-388 (453-454: monks attached to a church near Metz prevent a grave robbery); VIII, c. 34: 403 (Winnoc who became, instigated by the devil a violent alcoholic and had to be locked up in his cell. Annatolius, a young boy wants to become a recluse, locks him up in a crypt and becomes mad, instigated by the devil); VIII, c. 6: 417-418 (the imposter Desiderius).

28. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* III, c. 5: 100 (Saint-Maurice d’Agaune); IV, c. 26: 159 (Arles). The Jura monasteries appear in *Liber Vitae Patrum* I, c. 1-2: 213-219; Saint-Maurice d’Agaune in *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, c. 74-75: 87-89.

29. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* IV, c. 26: 159.

30. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* X, c. 16: 505-507.

31. Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum* III, c. 17: 120 (Clothild as supporter of monasteries); X, c. 7: 488 (Childebert proclaims a tax remission for churches, monasteries and parish clergy).

32. It is striking that Marilyn Dunn refers in her work on the emergence of monasticism to Gregory of Tours almost exclusively in the context of the uprising at Radegund’s monastery. See DUNN 2000: 107-110.

Jonas of Bobbio, who wrote just two generations after Gregory and probably knew his work, somehow confirms what Gregory implied, but gives it a rather polemic twist. In his view, Gaul severely lacked an ascetic impact, but this was going to change with the arrival of Columbanus:

Leaving the coast of Brittany behind them, they enter Gaul. At that time, whether due to the numerous foreign enemies or through the negligence of the bishops, the fervor of the religious life had almost been extinguished there. All that remained was the Christian faith. The medicines of penance and the love of mortification were scarcely, or only in a few places, to be found there.³³

While Gregory's home-grown ascetics mostly developed just regional impact (if at all) and usually stayed out of politics, Columbanus proceeded, according to Jonas, immediately to the royal courts where he found open ears and lavish support from kings, but also from aristocrats, who expected that the holy man's and his companions' intercession may have a beneficial effect on their salvation.³⁴ If we can believe Jonas, Frankish noblemen flocked *en masse* to the monasteries in order to live a life according to the *medicamenta paenitentiae*.³⁵ A large part of Columbanus' life consisted of interacting with kings and members of aristocratic families, acting as intercessor, moral and political advisor, prophet of triumph and doom, recipient of land and privileges, and healer or wonder worker in service of the Frankish elites (DIEM 2007: 529-546).

The same applied to Columbanus' successors who effortlessly interacted with rulers and who themselves were of the highest aristocratic stock.³⁶ Through Columbanus' arrival, monastic life became a *Chefsache* to an extent that major political developments – the downfall of Brunhild's branch of the Merovingian dynasty and the rise of Clothar II as sole ruler of all Frankish kingdoms – was directly tied to royal attitudes towards monastic foundations (DIEM 2007: 546).

Jonas skillfully created a closely interconnected landscape of monasteries that is rather different from Gregory's isolated dots on the map of the Frankish kingdoms. After Columbanus' death, his successors, but also supporting aristocrats and bishops, founded numerous male and female monasteries *ex regula Columbani* which were ruled and sometimes populated by monks from Luxeuil and kept in line by Columbanus' successors Eustasius and Waldebert, who travelled back and forth between these foundations. At least according to Jonas, Northern Gaul became indeed a monastic landscape *sub regula Columbani*. Three passages of the *Vita Columbani*

33. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 5: 161; transl. O'HARA, WOOD 2017: 105-106.

34. On Jonas' interaction with the Merovingian kings, see DIEM 2007.

35. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 10: 170.

36. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 10: 169-170; transl. O'HARA, WOOD 2017: 115-118.

describe how Columbanus' aristocratic supporters and his successors created a network of monasteries under the saint's rule.

[the monk and future bishop Donatus and his family:] He grew up in this same monastery where he was instructed in wisdom [i.e. Luxeuil]. He became the bishop of Besançon and, still living, rules over the same cathedral. Later, out of love for blessed Columbanus, he founded a monastery for men following the Rule of Columbanus called Palatium, on account of the defenses of the old walls there. And after him the Bountiful Giver, to fulfil the promise made by His servant, gave them [his parents Waldelenus and Flavia] another son called Chramnelenus who, distinguished by his nobility and wisdom, was appointed to the dukedom following the death of his father. Although a layman, he was, nevertheless, conscientious in his love for the Creator. For he too, out of love for the holy man, founded a monastery under the Rule of Columbanus in the Jura forest, beside the little river Nozon, and placed Siagrius there as abbot. The Lord also gave (in addition to His original gift) two daughters who were both nobles in the world and devoted to the fear of Christ. After these gifts their mother, Flavia, following the death of her husband, founded a convent in the aforementioned town of Besançon. She gave it every form of protection and assembled there a large community of nuns. The grace of the man of God was enflamed in them to such an extent that, scorning all the trappings of this present life, they pursued only the cult of the Omnipotent [God].³⁷

Following on his journey, Columbanus came to a certain villa called Ussy on the river Marne. He was welcomed by Authari, whose wife was called Aiga. They had young sons whom the mother brought to the man of God to be blessed. Seeing the mother's faith, Columbanus consecrated the little children with his blessing. They later, when they had reached adolescence, were held in high esteem, first by King Chlothar and then by Dagobert. After they had achieved worldly glory, they began to grow anxious lest they should lose eternal glory out of concern for that of the world. The eldest, Ado, retired of his own accord and built a monastery in the Jouarre forests under the Rule of blessed Columbanus. The youngest, Dado, built a monastery in the forests of the Brie by the stream of Rebais, also under the Rule of Columbanus. Such great grace abounded in the man of God that whosoever he consecrated was found to be persevering in good behavior when they died. Let it be rightly said at once that those whom he diligently warned, rejoiced afterwards that they had merited freedom from punishment. Nor did the person, supported by the help of such a man, undeservedly obtain the addition of grace who, bound by Columbanus's learning, refused to deviate from the narrow path of a just life.³⁸

37. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 14: 175-176; transl. O'HARA, WOOD 2017: 123-125.

38. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 26: 209-210; transl. O'HARA, WOOD 2017: 154-156.

How many monasteries they establish out of love for Columbanus and his rule, how many communities they set up, and how many flocks they gather for Christ! Among them at the time was a man of illustrious standing, Eligius, who is now bishop of the Vermandois, whom I should not elevate with my judgement lest I be accused of being a flatterer – established near to the city of Limoges, the distinguished monastery of Solignac, above the river Vienne, four miles distant from the city, as well as many other communities in the same region. He also founds a convent in Paris, which he had received as a gift from the king, over which he placed the virgin of Christ. Aurea. In the city of Bourges, a noble and religious woman, Berthoara established a convent according to the Rule of blessed Columbanus. On the outskirts of the same city of Bourges, the venerable man Theudulf, surnamed Babclenus, in the full flush of his devotion, established monasteries according to the Rule of Columbanus. The first was on an island in the river Marmande, where he gathered a community of religious men. The other, which is called Gaudiacum, is situated not far from the stream l'Aubois. The third was for the virgins of Christ and is situated at a place called Charenton on the aforementioned river Marmande. He also established another community of the virgins of Christ near to the town of Nevers which was subject to the same Rule.³⁹

Jonas also emphasizes that this new monastic landscape had a strong impact on ecclesiastical structures by producing various monks who ascended to episcopal sees.⁴⁰

Moreover, the *Vita Columbani* itself became an agent creating a “textual landscape”. Numerous later hagiographers incorporated elements of Jonas’ narrative, produced sequels, or at least referred to Jonas as hagiographic authority.⁴¹ Both Jonas’ own work and these sequels were the main sources for Prinz’ construction of Hiberno-Frankish monasticism. Prinz assumed that every hagiographer who used Jonas also shared his notion of a monastic movement *sub regula Columbani*, which vastly multiplied the number of allegedly “Columbanian” monasteries. In addition to these narrative texts, we have a corpus of episcopal privileges granted to monasteries

39. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, c. 10: 255-256; transl. O’HARA, WOOD 2017: 201-202.

40. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, c. 8: 245; transl. O’HARA, WOOD: 193: “Then Eustasius arrived at the aforementioned monastery [Luxeuil]. He strives there to rouse the monastic community as much as the neighbouring people to Christian vigour, and he drew many of them to the remedies of penance. It was his concern to instruct many by his eloquence. Many [of his monks] later became bishops: Chagnoald of Laon; Acbarius of Vermand, Noyon, and Tournai; Ragnacbarius of Augst and Bale; Audomar of Boulogne and Therouanne.” For a critical assessment of Columbanus’ impact on the Frankish episcopate, see RICHÉ 1981.

41. Audoinus of Rouen, *Vita Eligii*; *Passio Leodegari*; *Passio Praeicti*; *Vita Agili*; *Vita Amati*; *Vita Anstrudis*; *Vita Audoini Rotomagensis*; *Vita Balthildis*; *Vita Bertilae*; *Vita Desiderii Ep. Carducensis*; *Vita Faronis*; *Vita Filiberti*; *Vita Galli vetustissima*; *Vita Germani Grandiuallensis*; *Vita Pardulfi*; *Vita Sadalbergae*; *Vita Wandregisili altera*; Walahfrid Strabo, *Vita Galli*. Many of these texts are translated in FOURACRE, GERBERDING 1996; McNAMARA, HALBORG, WHATLEY 1992.

under the condition of following the *Regula Benedicti et/vel/seu Columbani*.⁴² The same members of aristocratic families serve in different capacities in these charters: as granting bishops, as monastic founders and recipients of grants and immunities and as subscribing witnesses. These two textual corpora formed the basis for Prinz' construction of Columbanian/Hiberno-Frankish monasticism.

There are, however, reasons to approach the monastic landscape created by Jonas' own work and its sequels with caution. First, it is striking that Columbanus and the *Regula Columbani* largely drops out of the equation in most of the sequels and spin-offs of the *Vita Columbani*. Columbanus himself serves outside Jonas' own text hardly ever as a marker of identity, and it even seems that monastic narratives written after the *Vita Columbani* aimed at downplaying the role of Luxeuil in their own foundation history. There is also very little that may point to a lasting Insular impact.⁴³ Many monasteries listed by Jonas as tied to the *Regula Columbani* either defined themselves differently in other sources or aimed at emancipating themselves from their ties to Luxeuil and Columbanus' successors. The network of monasteries under the *Regula Columbani* may have been Jonas ideal and textual creation rather than a lasting reality. He himself does not conceal that the centrifugal tendencies already started soon after Columbanus' death, and that the *Regula Columbani* was disputed in several monasteries.⁴⁴

4. The physical and spiritual landscape of Columbanus and his community

For the fourth and fifth definition of “monastic landscape”, in relation to the spiritual/economic and the physical landscape, Jonas' *Vita Columbani* appears, again, as both deceiving and prolific – in a wonderful way that might sharpen our gaze at other sources of a similar kind. The spiritual landscape evoked by Jonas is that of the desert conquered by strict ascetics. The economic landscape is initially one of dire needs and a community at the verge of starvation: asceticism by necessity.⁴⁵ Recent archaeological research indicates that Jonas' narrative of the humble and perilous beginnings of Columbanus' foundations represents an ideal rather than a reality. The place where Luxeuil was founded was already a thriving settlement and maybe even an ecclesiastical center. It was well-connected to the rest of the Frankish world and situated strategically

42. For an overview see DIEM 2002: 77-84. See also ROSENWEIN 1999: 59-96. EWIG 1979 provides studies on each of the preserved episcopal privileges.

43. For a critical assessment of the Irishness of Columbanus' foundations, see also MARRON 2012: 21-59; MEEDER 2010.

44. See especially Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, c. 9-10: 246-256 (on opposition of the monk Agrestius against Columbanus' successor Eustasius); II, c. 1: 231-232 (on the secession of monks from Bobbio under abbot Athala). On these conflicts see, e.g., HELVÉTIUS 2018.

45. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 7: 110-111; I, c. 11: 118-119; I, c. 17: 183. See also I, c. 27: 215.

in the borderland between Austrasia and Burgundy.⁴⁶ The bitter poverty and threatening starvation of Columbanus and his twelve Irish followers, which was relieved by the support of a neighboring monastery, clashes with his own reports about the royal support his community received, probably right from the beginning (WOOD 1989).

There is, however, more to Jonas' insistence that Columbanus' first monasteries were founded in deserted land than just assuming that he applied the trope of desert asceticism.⁴⁷ Jonas does not just once mention Annegray's and Luxeuil's remoteness; he insists time and again that Columbanus founded his monasteries to pursue the quietness of the desert (*quietem heremi sectare*), to seek out the desert (*heremum petiit*), settle in the remoteness of harsh solitude and at places covered with rocks (*aspera vastitate solitudinis et scopulorum interpositione loca*), to endure the desert (*in heremo sustinerent*, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 6: 163), to dwell in the vastness of the desert (*intra heremi vastitate*, I, c. 7: 164-165), to seek a place for a new monastery in the same desert (*in eodem heremo*, I, c. 10: 169). A support convoy reaches the edge of the wilderness without finding a path,⁴⁸ until the horses tear open with their hoofs an unknown path through the mountains,⁴⁹ so that God can prepare for his monks a meal in the desert (*in deserto praeeparare mensam*, I, c. 7: 166).

The desert around Columbanus' first foundation is a key theme in Jonas' narrative. He wanted to convey that Columbanus' founded his monasteries indeed in a densely forested no-man's-land but also that the monastic landscape he established does not just consist of three monasteries. Columbanus claimed various spaces in the surrounding forests by wandering around *in heremo* and living a hermit's life in a cave for most of his time – sometimes alone, sometimes with a few companions (I, c. 11: 170-171; I, c. 15: 178; I, c. 17: 181).

Jonas avoids talking about formal ownership, but he describes in great geographical detail a landscape that is controlled by Columbanus himself through his miracles and his ascetic achievements (I, c. 7: 164; I, c. 9: 167). This landscape is impenetrable, rocky (I, c. 6: 163), rough, vast, and steep (I, c. 9: 167). It consists of pathless forests (I, c. 7: 165) caves (I, c. 8-9: 167), springs (I, c. 9: 168),⁵⁰ and occasional remnants of a pagan past (I, c. 10: 169). It houses wolves, bears, buffalos, stags, and Swabian brigands (I, c. 8: 166). It is limited by three rivers, the Moselle, the Beuchin and the Ognon (I, c. 11: 170-172). It is a spiritual landscape that does not just include the three monasteries but also Columbanus' cave.

Jonas' obsession with details shows that he must indeed have seen the landscape around Luxeuil with his own eyes and that he knew its geography, but also that

46. A. BULLY, S. BULLY, ČAŠEVIĆ-BULLY, FIOCCHI 2014; BULLY, MARRON 2018; MARRON 2012.

47. On applying the trope of monastic life on the desert, see GOEHRING 2003.

48. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 7: 165: *cum solitudinis ora adtegit, viam sibi pandi itineris nequaquam reperit*.

49. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 7: 165: *aequi ignotum iter ungula calle terent...*

50. Columbanus creates a spring through his prayers which still existed in Jonas' days.

conveying this sense of a landscape sacred by the presence of the saint but also of the community was an essential part of the message he wanted to convey in his text. Elsewhere I have argued that one of the central themes of the first book of the *Vita Columbani* was protecting the monastery's physical boundaries, the *septa secreta* of the monastery (DIEM 2005: 541-542). Placing the monastery in a landscape that consists of impenetrable forests in which Columbanus ruled over animals, springs and rivers, may have been part of his textual strategy – and it is this landscape that links the past with the present because it is still visible to Jonas' audience.

Yet there is also another side to Jonas' landscape. While Columbanus dwells in the forests and lives in a cave, his monks cultivate this landscape with their own hands, clear land for fields (I, c. 17: 183), grow crops (I, c. 12-13: 172-174; I, c. 15: 177), store grain (I, c. 17: 182), brew beer (I, c. 16: 179), and log timber (I, c. 15: 178). Here, again, Jonas is remarkably detailed, showing how the monks collectively make this landscape their own and how divine support manifests itself in various miracles happening in the course of this project: a grain multiplication in order to prepare a meal for His servants in the wilderness (*in deserto*, I, c. 17: 183), a beer miracle (I, c. 16: 179-181), a food multiplication miracle (I, c. 17: 182), two healing miracles involving monks who hurt themselves while at work (I, c. 15: 178), a healing miracle for the benefit of monks who go on to harvest despite their sickness (I, c. 12: 172-173), a miracle of diverted rain while bringing in the harvest (I, c. 13: 173-174), a miracle of a stolen work glove that was miraculously returned to the monastery (I, c. 15: 178-179).⁵¹ With these miracles, Jonas makes two important theological points: first, the miraculous power does not rest with the saint himself, but it is shared by the community, and second, that the miracles are tied to a space, a spiritual landscape controlled by the saint and his community by God's grace.

5. A farewell to Columbanian monasticism?

To what extent Gregory of Tours' and Jonas of Bobbio's narratives represent a turning point at the beginning of the seventh century turning Gaul from a "landscape with monasteries" into a "monastic landscape"? Peter Brown somewhat downplayed this transformation by stating that Columbanus "ensured that in the rich earth of Christian Gaul yet another layer of soil came to the surface, adding a new and vivid streak of color to ancient fields" (BROWN 2015). He may be right if we look at Columbanus' foundations on the level of monastic practice and its roots in Gallo-Frankish traditions. Brunichildis and Theudebert may have expected their foundations in the wilderness of the Vosges looking similar to Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, the monastery founded a century earlier as one of the first "royal monasteries".⁵² The sacred

51. On this miracle, see DIEM 2016.

52. On Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, see DIEM 2013; HELVÉTIUS 2015.

landscape and the cultivated landscape around Annegray, Fountains, Luxeuil and Columbanus' cave may have been conceptualized similarly as the landscape surrounding the Jura monasteries that is described in equally staggering details in the *Vita patrum Iurensium*.⁵³ Most seventh-century episcopal privileges for monasteries following the *Regula Benedicti et Columbani* list Lérins, Saint-Maurice, the basilica of Saint-Marcel in Chalon and Luxeuil as models (DIEM 2002: 82-83). Columbanus' successor Athala got his initial training in Lérins.⁵⁴ Eugendus recruited Amatus, the future abbot of Remiremont (one of the satellite monasteries of Luxeuil), from Saint-Maurice d'Agaune.⁵⁵ At least some of the monasteries that were originally part of the network around Luxeuil adopted the liturgy of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune, such as Remiremont, Sadalberga's monastery in Laon, the monastery of St. John in Soissons, Saint-Denis, Saint-Riquier, Saint-Benigne, and possibly others whose liturgical program is not documented in any sources (GINDELE 1959). The concept of monastic space and boundaries promoted by Jonas in his *Vita Columbani* was at least partly inspired by Caesarius' *Regula ad virgines* (DIEM 2021: 265-327). The *medicamenta paenitentiae* that were according to Jonas abandoned in Gaul before Columbanus' arrival point to Caesarius of Arles rather than Ireland (WOOD 2018: 32-33), and the notion of monastic life as *vita regularis*, which became a *conditio sine qua non* for monasteries founded after Luxeuil, existed long before, albeit as just one option.⁵⁶

In this sense, the first "Columbanian" monasteries may have been not fundamentally different from their Frankish predecessors. The most obvious difference, however, between fifth- and sixth-century foundations and those coming after Columbanus is that they tended to last – often enough throughout the Middle Ages and until the French Revolution. According to Hartmut Atsma, we know about 220 monasteries founded before the end of the sixth century, but most of them are mentioned only in one source. We know of about 550 monasteries in the early eighth century, and a large part of the new foundations left traces in various sources of a long span of time (ATSMA 1976: 168).⁵⁷

There may be several reasons for this difference. For the fifth- and sixth century, it would be more appropriate to speak about *monasticisms* in Gaul. We find a huge variety of different forms of communal religious life, urban and rural, ascetic and aristocratic, poor or wealthy, ranging from monasticized aristocratic villas to caves inhabited by hermits with small groups of followers. Most of these foundations were probably not even meant to outlast their founders; some of them may have transformed themselves into permanent institutions only by accident. Only

53. *Vita patrum Iurensium*. See also FIGUINHA 2019; RIPART 2021: 302-312.

54. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* II, c. 1: 230.

55. *Vita Amati*, c. 5-6: 217.

56. See *Regula Benedicti*, c. 1: 436-438; *Regula magistri*, c. 1: 328-350.

57. See also UEDING 1935.

few of them were founded by outsiders who did not plan to embark monastic life themselves, but had a clear interest that they and their families would profit from the monk's and nun's intercessory prayer perpetually (DIEM, RAPP 2020). Gregory's *Liber Vitae Patrum* is a prime witness for this monastic diversity, but there is ample other evidence pointing towards the absence of any standardized model or impetus to order and unify.

Founding a monastery in the seventh century became a legal and economic transaction, which followed increasingly standardized models. This included the transfer of land to be cultivated and transformed to the monastery's needs, granting of rights and privileges, the active involvement of secular and ecclesiastical elites, the irreversibility of monastic vows, and the requirement on monks and nuns to live a "regular" or "regularized" life according to set standards – a *vita regularis* (DIEM 2021: 32-33). Jonas alludes to many of these aspects in his *Vita Columbani*, especially in the second book when referring to the monasteries that were allegedly founded *ex regula Columbani*.

In this sense, the beginning of the seventh century did indeed mark a watershed. We have to ask, however, to what extent Columbanus can indeed be credited for it and to what extent it is the result of any Irish or rather insular impact. Jonas claims that Columbanus played a key role in creating a new monastic world and describes Luxeuil became the center of a network of monasteries founded *ex regula Columbani*. These monasteries, e.g. Remiremont, Faremoutiers, Grandvalle, Sadalberga's foundation, Saint-Wandrille, Chelles, Corbie, Rebais, Solignac or Charmeliers may indeed have been founded in the orbit of Luxeuil, but their affiliation did probably not outlast Jonas himself. There are no signs that Columbanus played a lasting role in their perceived history and identity. However, this does not mean that we have to turn Columbanus into a marginal figure in monastic history (GAILLARD 2019). Jonas may have created a Columbanus to his liking, but it is undeniable that the Irish saint played a key role in creating the physical and spiritual landscape that Jonas saw with his own eyes and described so vividly. It is also clear that Luxeuil, Columbanus' main foundation, was crucial in establishing a monastic ideal and a model of regularized monastic life that was successfully emulated by later foundations. The Frankish political and ecclesiastical landscape developed a need that Columbanus knew how to fulfill.

It is, nevertheless, the question whether Luxeuil – which became the center of a network only after Columbanus' death – should indeed be called a "Columbanian" monastery. Brunichildis and Theuderic, the two royal founders whom Jonas depicted as the nemeses of Columbanus, probably had something entirely different in mind when they endowed Luxeuil: a place of well-organized intercessory prayer like the monastery of Saint-Maurice d'Agaune founded a century earlier or, indeed, a monastic stronghold in the wilderness like the monasteries of the Jura fathers. Eventually, they probably got what they wanted, by exiling Columbanus and his Irish

followers and forcing the Frankish aristocrats who had flocked to Luxeuil to stay.⁵⁸ Maybe we should at least partly credit the two so heavily vilified royals with unleashing the transformation from Merovingian Gaul from a landscape with monasteries to the monastic landscape that we used to call Columbanian.

58. Jonas, *Vita Columbani* I, c. 20: 196.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Audoinus of Rouen, 1902. *Vita Eligii*, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 634-741 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 4).

DE NIE, Giselle, 2015. *Gregory of Tours. Lives, Miracles*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, Harvard: Harvard University Press.

FOURACRE, Paul, Richard A. GERBERDING, 1996. *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640-720*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Gregory of Tours, 1951a. *Decem libri historiarum*, ed. Bruno KRUSCH and Wilhelm LEVISON, Hannover: Hahn (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 1.2).

— 1951b. *Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover: Hahn (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 1.2).

— 1951c. *Liber in Gloria Martyrum*, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover: Hahn (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 1.2).

— 1951d. *Liber Vitae Patrum*, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover: Hahn (Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 1.2).

John Moschos, 1863. *Pratum spirituale*, ed. Jacques-Paul MIGNE, Paris: Migne, 1863: 2851–3112 (Patrologia Graeca 87.3).

Jonas of Bobbio, 1910. *Vita Columbani discipulorumque eius*, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover: Hahn: 144-294 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum 37).

McNAMARA Jo Ann, John E. HALBORG, E. Gordon WHATLEY, 1992. *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

O'HARA, Alexander, WOOD, Ian N., 2017. *Jonas of Bobbio; Life of Columbanus; Life of John of Réomé; and Life of Vedast*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press: 85–239.

Passio Leodegari, 1910, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 282-322 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 5).

Passio Praeiectionis, 1910, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 225-248 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 5).

PRICE, Richard M. (transl.), 1985. *Theodoret of Cyr. History of the Monks of Syria*, Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications.

Regula Benedicti, 1971-1972, ed Jean NEUFVILLE and Adalbert DE VOGÜÉ, Paris: Cerf (Sources Chrétiennes 1981-1982).

Regula Magistri, 1964-1965, ed. Adalbert DE VOGÜÉ, Paris: Cerf (Sources Chrétiennes 105-107).

SCHULZ-FLÜGEL, Eva (ed.), 1990. *Historia monachorum sive de vita sanctorum patrum*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter 1990.

Theodoret of Cyrillus, 1977-1978. *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. Pierre CANIVET, Alice LEROY-MOHLINGHEN, Paris: Cerf (Sources Chrétiennes 234/257).

Vita Adelphii, 1902, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 225-228 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 4).

Vita Amati, 1902, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 215-221 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 4).

Vita Audoini Rotomagensis, 1910, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 553-567 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 5).

Vita Balthildis 1888, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover: Hahn: 482-508 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 2).

Vita Desiderii Ep. Carducensis, 1902, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 563-602 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 4).

Vita Faronis, 1910, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 185-203 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 5).

Vita Filiberti, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 583-604 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 5).

Vita Galli vetustissima, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 251-256 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 4).

Vita Germani Grandiuallensis, 1910, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 33-40 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum 5).

Vita Pardulfi, 1920, ed. Wilhelm LEVISON, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn 1920: 24-40 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 7).

Vita patrum Iuvenisium, ed. François MARTINE, Paris: Cerf 1968 (Sources Chrétiennes 142).

Vita Romarici, 1902, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 221-225 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 4).

Vita Sadalbergae, 1910, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 49-66 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 5).

Vita Wandregiseli Abbatis Fontanellensis prima, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 13-24 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 5)

Vita Wandregisili altera, 1772, ed. Pierre VAN DEN BOSCH, Antwerp 1772: 272-281 (AASS July 5).

Walahfrid Strabo, 1902, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, Hannover/Leipzig: Hahn: 280-337 (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 4).

WELLHAUSEN, Adelheid, 2003. *Die lateinische Übersetzung der Historia Lausiaca des Palladius: Textausgabe mit Einleitung*, Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.

WORTLEY, John (trans.), 1992. *John Moschus. The Spiritual Meadow*, Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications.

Secondary Literature

ALBERT, Marcel, 2022, “Die frühe Verbreitung der Regula Benedicti, die Rolle Kolumbans und die Zeit der sogenannten Mischregelobservanz”, *Handbuch der Benediktinischen Ordensgeschichte*, vol. 1, Marcel ALBERT (ed.), Sankt Ottilien: Eos: 72-79.

ATSMA, Hartmut, 1976. “Les monastères urbains du Nord de la Gaule”, *Revue d’Histoire de l’Église de France* 62 (1976): 163–187.

BAUER, Dieter R., 1998. “Verzeichnis der wissenschaftlichen Schriften von Josef Semmler”, *Mönchtum-Kirche-Herrschaft 750-1000. Festschrift für Josef Semmler zum 65. Geburtstag*, Dieter R. BAUER et al. (eds.), Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag: 335-348.

BEACH, Alison I., COCHELIN, Isabelle (eds.), 2020. *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BIARNE, Jacques, 1997. “L’espace du monachisme gaulois au temps de Grégoire de Tours”, *Grégoire de Tours et l’espace gaulois. Actes du congrès international, Tours, 3-5 Novembre 1994*, Nancy GAUTHIER, Henri GALINIÉ (eds.), Tours: 1997: Revue archéologique du Centre de la France: 115-138.

BITTON-ASHKELONY, Brouria, KOFSKY Aryeh, 2006. *The Monastic School of Gaza*, Leiden/Boston: Brill.

BOWMAN, Bradley, 2021. *Christian Monastic Life in Early Islam*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

BROWN, Peter, 1971. “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity”, *Journal of Roman Studies* 61: 80-101.

— 2013. *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, 3rd ed., Oxford/Malden, MA, Wiley Blackwell.

— 2015. *The Ransom of the Soul. Afterlife and Wealth in Early Western Christianity*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

BRUNERT, Maria-Elisabeth, 1994. *Das Ideal der Wüstenaskese und seine Rezeption in Gallien bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts*. Münster: Aschendorff.

BULLY, Sébastien, Aurélie BULLY, Morana ČAUŠEVIĆ-BULLY, Laurent FIOCCHI, 2014. “Les origines du monastère de Luxeuil (Haute-Saône) d’après les récentes recherches archéologiques”, *L’empreinte chrétienne en Gaule*, Michèle GAILLARD (ed.), Turnhout: Brepols: 311-355.

BULLY, Sébastien, Emmet MARRON, 2018. “L’‘instant Colomban’. Conditions de fondation et premiers éléments de topographie des monastères d’Annegray et de Luxeuil’, *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Aurélie BULLY, Sébastien Bully, and Alain DUBREUCQ (eds.), Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes : 139–164.

CAMPLANI, Alberto, 2007. “The revival of Persian monasticism (sixth to seventh centuries): church structures, theological academy, and reformed monks”, *Foundations of Power and Conflicts of Authority in Late-Antique Monasticism. Proceedings of the International Seminar Turin, December 2-4, 2004*, Alberto CAMPLANI and Giovanni FILORAMO (eds.), Leuven: Peeters: 277-295.

CLAY, John Henry, 2011. *In the Shadow of Death: Saint Boniface and the Conversion of Hessa, 721-754*. Turnhout: Brepols.

DE JONG, Mayke, 2001. “Monastic prisoners or opting out? Political coercion and honour in the Frankish kingdoms”, *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Mayke DE JONG, Carine VAN RHIJN, Frans THEUWS (eds.), Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill: 291-328.

DE NIE, Giselle, 2015. *Gregory of Tours. Lives, Miracles*, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, Harvard: Harvard University Press.

DÍAZ, Pablo C., 1987. *Formas económicas y sociales en el monacato visigodo*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.

DIEM, Albrecht, 2002. “Was bedeutet Regula Columbani?”, *Integration und Herrschaft. Ethnische Identitäten und soziale Organisation im Frühmittelalter*, Maximilian DIESENBERGER, Walter POHL (eds.), Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: 63-89.

— 2007. “Monks, kings and the transformation of sanctity. Jonas of Bobbio and the end of the Holy Man”, *Speculum* 82: 521-559.

— 2011. “Inventing the Holy Rule: Some Observations on the History of Monastic Normative Observance in the Early Medieval West”, *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Hendrik Dey and Elizabeth Fentress (eds.), Turnhout: Brepols: 53-84.

— 2013. “Who is Allowed to Pray for the King? Saint-Maurice d’Agaune and the Creation of a Burgundian Identity”, *Post-Roman Transitions. Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, Gerda HEYDEMANN, Walter POHL (eds), Turnhout: Brepols: 47-88.

— 2015. “Gregory’s Chess Board: Monastic Conflict and Competition in Early Medieval Gaul”, *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge: entre médiation et exclusion*, Philippe DEPREUX, François BOUGARD, Régine LE JAN (eds.), Turnhout: Brepols: 165-191.

— 2016. “The stolen glove: On the hierarchy and power of objects in Columbanian monasteries”, *Shaping Stability The Normation and Formation of Religious Life in the Middle Ages*, Krijn PANSTERS, Abraham PLUNKETT-LATIMER (eds.), Turnhout: Brepols: 51–67.

— 2021. *The Pursuit of Salvation. Community, Space, and Discipline in Early Medieval Monasticism*, Turnhout: Brepols.

DIEM, Albrecht, Claudia RAPP, 2020. “The Monastic Laboratory: Perspectives of Research in Late Antique and Early Medieval Monasticism”, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West, vol. 1*, Alison I. BEACH, Isabelle COCHELIN (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 19–39.

DIEM, Albrecht, 2021. *The Pursuit of Salvation. Community, Space, and Discipline in Early Medieval Monasticism*, Turnhout: Brepols.

DIERKENS, Alain, 1989. “Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les Îles Britanniques et le Continent pendant le Haut Moyen Âge. La diffusion du monachisme dit colombanien ou iro-franc dans quelques monastères de la région parisienne au VII^e siècle et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde”, *La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, vol. 2, Hartmut Atsma (ed.). Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag: 371-394.

DIESENBERGER, Maximilian, “Wahrnehmung und Aneignung der Natur in den Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium”, *Text-Schrift-Codex. Quellenkundliche Arbeiten aus dem Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Christoph EGGER and Herwig WEIGL (eds.). Vienna/Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag: 9-33.

DUNN, Marilyn, 2000. *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford/Malden, Ms: Blackwell.

ERHART, Peter, 2015. “Die «terra sancti Galli» im Frühmittelalter”, *Gallus und seine Zeit. Leben, Wirken, Nachleben*, Franziska SCHNOOR, Karl SCHMUKI, Ernst TREMP, Peter ERHART, Jakob KURATLI HÜEBLIN (eds.). St. Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof: 309-320.

EWIG, Eugen, 1979. *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien*, 2 vols., Munich: Artemis Verlag.

FELTEN, Franz-Josef, 2012. “Klosterlandschaften”, *Landschaft(en). Begriffe, Formen, Implikationen*, Franz FELTEN (ed.), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag: 157-191.

FIGUINHA, Matheus Coutinho, 2019. “‘Pro qualitate loci et instantia laboris’: monasteries and their human and natural environments in late antique Gaul”, *Medieval worlds* 9 (2019): 82-111.

FOOT, Sarah, 2006. *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

FOURACRE, Paul, Richard A. GERBERDING, 1996. *Late Merovingian France. History and Hagiography 640-720*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

FOX, Yaniv, 2014. *Power and Religion in Merovingian Gaul. Columbanian Monasticism and the Frankish Elites*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GAILLARD, Michèle, 2019. “L’influence de Colomban et de Luxeuil sur les fondations monastiques en Gaule : entre légendes et réalités”, *Bulletin de l’Association pour l’Antiquité tardive* 28: 35-46.

GAILLARD Michèle, Christian SAPIN, 2018. “Le paysage monastique de la Gaule à l’arrivée de Colomban”, *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Aurélia BULLY, Sébastien BULLY, Alain DUBREUCQ (eds.), Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes: pp. 51-65.

GARSOÏAN, Nina G., 2007. “Introduction to the problem of early Armenian monasticism”, *Revue des études arméniennes* 30: 177-236.

GINDELE, Corbinian, 1959. “Die gallikanischen ‘Laus Perennis’-Klöster und ihr ‘Ordo Officii’”, *Revue Bénédictine* 74 (1959): 32-48.

GOEHRING, James E. 1999. *Ascetics, Society and the Desert. Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism*, Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press.

GOEHRING, James E., 2003. “The dark side of landscape: ideology and power in the Christian myth of the desert”, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003): 437–451.

GOETZ, Hans-Werner, 1993. “Beobachtungen zur Grundherrschaftsentwicklung der Abtei St. Gallen vom 8. zum 10. Jahrhundert”, *Strukturen der Grundherrschaft im frühen Mittelalter*, Werner RÖSENER (ed.). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 197-246.

GOFFART, Walter, 1988. *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 500-800): Jordanes, Bede, Gregory, and Paul the Deacon*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

HARMLESS, William, 2004. *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism*, Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

HELVÉTIUS, Anne-Marie, 2015. “L’abbaye d’Agaune, de la fondation de Sigismond au règne de Charlemagne (515-814)”, *L’abbaye de Saint-Maurice d’Agaune, 515-2015, vol. 1: Histoire et archéologie*, Bernard ANDENMATTEN, Pierre Alain MARIAUX (eds.), Saint-Maurice: Gollion Infolio: 111-133.

HELVÉTIUS, Anne-Marie, 2018. “Colomban, Agrestius et le schisme d’Aquilée”, *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du Haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Aurélia BULLY, Sébastien BULLY, Alain DUBREUCQ (eds.), Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes: 227–237.

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

KRAMER, Rutger, KURDZIEL, Emilie, WARD, Graeme (eds.), 2022. *Monastic Communities and Canonical Clergy in the Carolingian World. Categorizing the Church*, Turnhout: Brepols.

LAWRENCE, Clifford Hugh, 2015. *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of religious life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 4th edition, London/New York: Longman

LEYSER, Conrad, 2006. "The Uses of the Desert in the Sixth-Century West", *Church History and Religious Culture* 86: 113-134.

MARCEL, Albert, 2022. *Handbuch der Benediktinischen Ordensgeschichte*, vol. 1, St. Ottilien: EOS .

MARKUS, Robert Austin, 1990. *The End of Ancient Christianity*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

MARRON, Emmet, 2012. *In His Silvis Silere: The Monastic Site of Annegray - Studies in a Columbanian Landscape*, Galway: National University of Ireland: 20-59.

MCMANARA Jo Ann, John E. HALBORG, E. Gordon WHATLEY, 1992. *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

MEEDER, Sven, 2010. "The Irish Foundations of the Carolingian Word", *L'Irlanda e gli Irlandesi nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto: Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo 2010: 467-493.

MELVILLE, Gert, 2012. "Klosterlandschaft", *Landschaft(en). Begriffe, Formen, Implikationen*, Franz FELTEN (ed.), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag: 195-222.

— 2016. *The World of Medieval Monasticism. Its History and Forms of Life*, Colledgeville, Mi/Athens, OK: Cistercian Publications/Liturgical Press.

MOYSE, Gérard, 1973. "Les origines du monachisme dans le diocèse de Besançon (Ve-Xe siècles)", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 131: 21-104 and 369-485.

O'HARA, Alexander, 2018. *Jonas of Bobbio and the Legacy of Columbanus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PRICE, Richard M. (transl.), 1985. *Theodoret of Cyr. History of the Monks of Syria*, Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications.

PRINZ, Friedrich 1988. *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jhd.)*, 2nd edition, Munich/Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag (first edition 1965).

RAAIJMAKERS, Janneke Ellen. *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744-900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

REIMITZ, Helmut, 2015. *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550-850*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

RICHE, Pierre, 1981. “Columbanus, His Followers and the Merovingian Church”, *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, H.B. CLARKE, Mary BRENNAN (eds.), Oxford: BAR International Series: 59-72.

RIPART, Laurent, 2021. *Les déserts de l’Occident: Genèse des lieux monastiques dans le sud-est de la Gaule (fin IVe - milieu VIe siècle)*, Turnhout: Brepols.

RÖCKELEIN, Hedwig, 2020. “Monastic Landscapes”, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*, vol. 1, Alison I. BEACH, Isabelle COCHELIN (eds.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2020: 816-830.

ROSENWEIN, Barbara H., 1999. *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

ROUSSEAU, Philip, 1985. *Pachomius. The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.

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

WOOD, Ian N., 1998. “Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: Diplomata and the Vita Columbani”, *After Rome’s Fall. Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays presented to Walter Goffart*, Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press: 99–120.

— 2016. “Columbanian Monasticism: a Contested Concept”, *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture, and Religion*, Roy Flechner and Sven Meeder (eds.), London/New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 86-100.

— 2018. “La culture religieuse du monde franc au temps de Colomban”, in: *Colomban et son influence. Moines et monastères du haut Moyen Âge en Europe = Columbanus and his influence; monks and monasteries in early medieval Europe*, Aurélia BULLY, Sébastien BULLY, Alain DUBREUCQ (eds.), Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, pp. 29–37.



Revista de Cultures Medievales

Núm. 20 (Tardor 2022), 97-104 | ISSN 2014-7023

Ressenyes

doi: 10.1344/Svmma2022.20.7

JUNCOSA BONET, Eduard, JORDÀ FERNÁNDEZ, Antoni, 2022

Margarida de Prades: regnat breu, vida intensa

Tarragona: URV-UB.

Ressenya de TERESA VINYOLES VIDAL. IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona

Parlem d'un llibre i d'una dona; un llibre que és el resultat, revisat i ampliat, de les jornades celebrades a Prades l'agost del 2018 i del 2019, on es recull i relata l'atzarosa vida de Margarida de Prades, la darrera reina del casal de Barcelona.

Es tracta d'una obra coordinada pels professors Eduard Juncosa Bonet i Antoni Jordà Fernández, en la qual hi han treballat, investigat, escrit: el mateix Eduard Juncosa, Vicent Baydal, Jacobo Vidal, Marina Navàs, Alejandro Martínez, Stefano Cingolani, Abel Soler, Teresa Forcades i Sophie Hirel-Wouts.

Ens trobem davant d'una obra col·lectiva, ben coordinada, i amb una curosa selecció de temes. Es fa primer un repàs al context polític en què visqué la reina Margarida (cap. 1 i 2): la situació del país i del comtat de les Muntanyes de Prades, nom preciós que donen a aquestes terres els textos de l'època. Segueix el context cultural (cap. 3 i 4): l'art, la literatura i la música del seu temps, el luxe i el refinament de la cort. Després s'entra en l'anàlisi de les etapes de la vida de Margarida: l'entorn familiar i l'educació (cap. 5), la reina consort (cap. 6), la reina vídua i el seu casament secret (cap. 7), la interessant biografia del fill amagat (cap. 8), els darrers anys com a monja (cap. 9). Finalment, s'aborda l'estudi de les seves pròpies cartes (cap. 10), una d'elles autògrafa, desconeguda fins ara, la qual es presenta com a epíleg del conjunt.

Podem destacar moltes coses d'aquest llibre; sincerament, he de dir que m'ha agradat. És un text ben documentat, amb una acurada presentació i unes il·lustracions interessants i molt ben triades. Jo, en primer lloc, voldria referir-me a la cerca i l'estudi de les fonts. Estem davant d'una obra que és una magnífica lliçó d'història, de metodologia històrica. Els autors i autores han buscat amb diligència

els documents i han establert un fluid diàleg amb les fonts. Han dut a terme la recerca en catorze arxius i en els fons històrics de diverses biblioteques. Val a dir que no deixa de meravellar-me la riquesa de les nostres fonts documentals.

Penso, i podeu pensar vosaltres, què he d'afegir jo a aquest text elaborat per estudiosos que han investigat en profunditat i durant anys la figura i l'entorn de la reina Margarida des d'òptiques diverses. Jo, si em permeteu, me la miraré des de la visió de la història de les dones.

Margarida, òrfena de pare, va ser educada en un entorn femení: la mare, l'àvia (que era ni més ni menys que Sança Ximenis d'Arenós, a qui Eiximenis va dedicar el *Llibre de les dones*), i la reina Maria de Luna, serien les seves mestres i referents. Passa personalment per diferents estats que ens apropen a diversos moments de la vida de les dones: nena, donzella, casada, vídua, amant, mare, monja...

Aquesta obra atorga de nou a Margarida de Prades un lloc a la història. El Romanticisme i la Renaixença en van fer un personatge de llegenda, la historiografia quasi l'ha ignorada. Tot i la rica realitat que ens mostren els documents, en parlar de Margarida de Prades, no podem oblidar la imatge idíl·lica que oferí d'ella la poesia. Margarida apareix com a representant de la Poesia o de l'Amor: ella va forjar-se una imatge pública, la poesia hi va jugar un paper fonamental per tal de mantenir el seu estatus de reina vídua, culpable de no haver engendrat un hereu, d'haver donat suport el papa Luna, d'haver estat blasmada per Vicent Ferrer a les Vistes de Perpinyà, d'haver realitzat un matrimoni clandestí, d'haver tingut un fill secret. La reputació cantada pels poetes podia contrarestar les màcules del seu expedient.

El seu «poder de seducció cortesa» ens ha llegat versos en alemany, en castellà i alguns dels més bells de la literatura catalana de tots els temps. Jordi de Sant Jordi, Arnau March, Lluís Icard o Arnau d'Erill, el tirolès Oswald von Wolkenstein, l'aragonès Pedro de Santa Fe, o el castellà Marquès de Santillana cantaren la seva bellesa.

Amb aquest llibre s'ha aprofundit en la seva biografia, s'ha pogut sentir la seva veu, s'han aclarit dubtes, i, per damunt de la llegenda, s'han descobert realitats. És interessant veure com els autors i autores teixeixen la vida de Margarida, com si fos una punta al coixí: l'entorn en què va viure, el luxe i la precarietat a la vegada; com se segueix l'itinerari de la seva viduïtat; la seva història d'amor amb Joan de Vilarrugat; la vida quasi novel·lesca del seu fill secret... Podem llegir com sonen els poemes que li van dedicar. Podem veure la xarxa de relacions polítiques i privades per mitjà de les seves cartes. Fins i tot podem veure la seva lletra en una carta autògrafa.

Us recomano la lectura del llibre, es diuen tantes coses documentades en profunditat! No deixeu de llegir també les notes a peu de plana. Jo he volgut insistir en el context femení de Margarida, des l'educació entre dones, fins als darrers moments de la seva vida en una comunitat de monges, envoltada, doncs, de dones...

Certament, a la vida, a la història, hi ha homes i dones. Margarida es va casar amb el rei Martí, podríem dir que per un deure polític, i havia de donar al país un hereu, que no va tenir. Després, la seva vida va ser un cant a la llibertat femenina,

va deixar que els poetes cantessin la imatge que ella mateixa va forjar-se i que volia mostrar públicament. Com moltes altres vídues –penso en Cristina de Pizan, per exemple–, va haver de defensar els seus drets, i ho va fer; es va casar per amor, clandestinament, com ho van fer altres dones del seu temps; va ser mare d'un fill i va decidir no exercir la seva maternitat. A la mort de l'amant, va optar per entrar en el claustre –i això em fa pensar en la vida d'Heloïssa–; podem dir que és un darrer acte de llibertat. Al convent, les dones podien aconseguir un grau de formació, d'autoritat, i encara que pugui semblar paradoxal, de llibertat, que sovint era difícil trobar fora.

En temps de Margarida, tot i la misogínia que treia el seu cap, encara es respirava la civilització cortesa: una refinada cultura que cantava la força positiva de l'amor i en el centre de la qual hi havia la dona noble, la seva llibertat de decidir i d'estimar. En aquest sentit, acabaria amb una frase de l'escriptor anglès Geoffrey Chaucer (mort el 1400) “Les dones per pròpia naturalesa desitgen la llibertat, no volen ser tractades com esclaves, el mateix passa amb els homes, si no m'equivoco”. La llibertat femenina quedava limitada per les lleis, els costums i la moral; però en alguns moments de l'Edat Mitjana hi va haver dones, com Margarida de Prades, que van proclamar la seva llibertat.

SABATÉ, Flocel, 2021

La pena de mort a la Catalunya baixmedieval

Barcelona: Editorial Base.

Ressenya de SERGI REXACH CAMPS. Universitat de Barcelona

«Castigar e corregir aquestes males obres qui·s són seguides, en tal manera que serà pena a aquells qui han delinquit e terror e exempli als altres» (p. 220-221). Des dels orígens de la societat, l'aparició d'individus considerats disruptors de l'ordre establert i com fer-hi front és una preocupació pel poder, el qual ha actuat de maneres diverses.

Després de dècades de recerca en el camp del poder i la societat medieval, i com a resultat de la participació en seminaris i congressos dedicats a la pena de mort i els mecanismes del poder per castigar les conductes erràtiques, Flocel Sabaté, catedràtic d'Història Medieval a la Universitat de Lleida, ens brinda aquesta extraordinària obra, *La pena de mort a la Catalunya baixmedieval*, sobre la pena de mort en la societat baixmedieval catalana. Tanmateix, estem davant de l'edició en català, actualitzada i ampliada, del seu llibre *The Death Penalty in Late-Medieval Catalonia: Evidence and significations*, publicat l'any 2019 per l'editorial Routledge.

És important fer notar al lector l'excepcionalitat de l'obra, que destaca per tractar el tema de la pena de mort des d'una perspectiva polièdrica, principalment des de la societat i el poder. Així, aquesta monografia trenca amb la línia historiogràfica fins el moment, segons la qual s'abordava la mateixa temàtica des d'una perspectiva quantitativa, esdevenint un compendi de dades, o d'història jurídica i del dret.

A la introducció de l'obra, l'autor ens mostra una realitat on la pena de mort està completament integrada dins la quotidianitat, no només medieval, sinó del que coneixem com l'Antic Règim. De la mateixa manera, introdueix les bases de la força i significació d'aquesta pràctica dins la societat medieval. És interessant també el viatge cronològic que es fa de la pena capital des de l'edat mitjana fins a l'actualitat, on aquesta pràctica encara és totalment vigent en països occidentals com els Estats Units.

Pel que fa a l'estructura del llibre, al llarg dels seus disset capítols, essent el primer la introducció, l'autor recorre de manera esplèndida i dinàmica per tots els factors que intervenen en la pràctica de la pena de mort, els quals podríem dividir en tres grans blocs: un primer referent al poder i a les diferents jurisdiccions, un segon amb la quotidianitat social de la pena de mort i l'espectacle que n'esdevé i, finalment, un tercer dedicat a la Guerra Civil catalana.

Si entrem amb més detall en cadascun d'aquests blocs seguint els capítols que l'autor ens presenta al llibre, en el segon capítol detalla l'escenari del poder i la justícia altmedieval, amb una sobirania carolíngia basada en l'aplicació de la penalització, i com l'esfondrament d'aquest comportà la fragmentació del poder. Així entrem al tercer capítol, amb l'establiment de la societat feudal i el dret romà, on

la justícia era indicador de poder. És en aquest context, a partir del segle XI, que el comte de Barcelona lluita per aconseguir la sobirania. En el quart capítol, Flocel Sabaté ens parla de les forques i del seu simbolisme en un territori d'alta complexitat i fragmentació jurisdiccional. Aquestes començaren a proliferar en tot el territori, ja que s'utilitzaven per marcar els límits físics dels dominis jurisdiccionals. D'aquesta manera, les forques podien tenir una doble funció, ostentació del poder si eren permanents o invocar el terror i garantir l'ordre social si eren temporals. Per acabar amb els capítols dedicats al poder, del cinquè al setè capítol, es parla de la pena de mort en diferents jurisdiccions (reial, baronial, municipal) i de la constant preocupació del comte de Barcelona per mantenir la preeminència en un territori jurisdiccionalment cada cop més fraccionat. Acabant aquest bloc, en el capítol vuitè, ens parla de la pena de mort en la jurisdicció ordinària, i com cada vegada més es recorria a les mateixes eines legals per aplicar la pena capital.

Arribats als capítols que tracten la pena de mort des de la perspectiva de la societat i la seva quotidianitat, al novè es tracten els diferents delictes mereixedors de l'aplicació de la pena capital (desordres públics, homosexualitat masculina, pirateria, falsificació de moneda, assassinat...). No obstant, l'execució de la pena, tal i com ho planteja l'autor, varia en relació al delicte comès (foguera, forca, decapitació...). A continuació, del desè al catorzè capítol, es parla de l'aplicació de la pena capital i com, a través del ritual i escenificació que comporta, esdevé un espectacle públic amb una clara funció allisonadora per a l'espectador, «Perquè a ella sie càstich e ha altres semblants atemptats en exemple» (p. 265). Un cop realitzat l'acte, el cadàver de l'ajusticiat podia quedar exhibit, sigui penjat o esquarterat, amb un objectiu clarament intimidatori envers la població que l'observava, tal i com apuntava Pere el Cerimoniós: «Perversorum exemplo debent cunctorum oculis publice subjacere» (p. 301). En aquest moment d'aplicació de la pena capital és interessant la dedicació del capítol tretze a la Inquisició, garant de l'ordre diví; i del capítol catorze dedicat a l'alteritat dins la societat medieval. Els capítols quinze i setze estan dedicats a la perspectiva més social de la pena de mort. El primer s'endinsa en la mentalitat de la pena capital, com el gaudi de la població en la participació en les execucions públiques instaura aquesta pràctica en la quotidianitat social. Mostra d'aquesta quotidianitat és l'aparició de la pràctica de la pena capital i la participació de la població en la literatura, qüestió tractada àmpliament en el capítol. L'últim, el setzè, tracta l'ús de la pena de mort, la seva execució i cerimonial en la consolidació del poder, gràcies a l'ostentació del *merum imperium*, i alhora per la cohesió social, ja que l'espectador és present en el restabliment de l'ordre trencat i la reconciliació amb Déu.

Finalment, el llibre tanca amb un dissetè capítol dedicat a la pena de mort a la fi de l'edat mitjana, principalment durant la Guerra Civil Catalana, moment en què esdevé una estratègia de legitimisme i ostentació de poder, però també una eina per eliminar l'adversari polític.

Cal destacar que l'excel·lència i dinamisme de l'obra no només recau en el contingut i com s'expressa, sinó també en l'ampli treball de les fonts que permet a l'autor acompanyar el text de casos concrets de tot el territori. Així mateix, interessants són les imatges que acompanyen el text, on es veuen diferents representacions de la pena de mort. En definitiva, es tracta d'una monografia que enfoca la pena de mort des d'una perspectiva social que, com ens té acostumats Flocel Sabaté, esdevé una obra de referència dins la historiografia, i d'aquesta manera, bibliografia indispensable per l'historiador interessat en la pena capital i la seva execució.



BADIA, Lola (traducció i postfaci), 2022

Galvany i el Cavaller Verd

Barcelona: Cal Carré. Editorial Artesana (Llibrets, 2).

Ressenya d'ENRIC CASAS REIG. IRCVM - Universitat de Barcelona

L'editorial Cal Carré ens ofereix la possibilitat de llegir *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* en català gràcies a la traducció de Lola Badia. *Galvany i el Cavaller Verd* es tracta d'una poesia narrativa de temàtica artúrica, d'autoria anònima, escrita a finals del segle XIV en un dialecte septentrional de l'anglès mitjà, que conservem en un únic manuscrit de la British Library (Col·lecció Cotton, Nero AX) on també es troben dues poesies anònimes més.

Aquest text consta de diverses edicions crítiques, reedicions modernitzades, assajos i estudis acadèmics, a part d'haver estat traduït a diverses llengües, entre les quals la castellana (TORRES OLIVER, Francisco; introducció de CUENCA, Luis Alberto de; epíleg de F. J. STUART, Jacobo, 1982. *Sir Gawain y el Caballero verde*, Madrid: Siruela). Però faltava una traducció al català, mancança que Lola Badia esmena amb aquesta versió en prosa catalana destinada a un públic general i que, per aprofundir més en la matèria, consta d'un postfaci on s'aporten algunes dades. Per tant, no ens trobem davant d'un volum rigorosament dirigit a un àmbit acadèmic o especialista, sinó d'una amena traducció fàcil de digerir amb un comentari final que contextualitza la història.

Aquesta composició es va convertir en un clàssic de les lletres angleses d'ençà que J. R. R. TOLKIEN la va rescatar de l'oblit en el seu assaig *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays* (edició de TOLKIEN, Christopher, 1983. Londres: George Allen & Unwin). De fet, Lola Badia es basa en la traducció comentada i anotada del mateix Tolkien: *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (edició de TOLKIEN, J. R. R.; GORDON, E. V; segona edició de DAVIS, Norman, 1925 [reedició de 1927]. Oxford: Clarendon Press), encara que reconeix haver utilitzat també la versió anglesa en vers de J. B. TRAPP publicada a *The Oxford Anthology of English Literature. Volume I: Medieval English Literature* (1973. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 284-348).

Si una traducció ja de per si implica una reelaboració que allunya al lector del text original, aquesta narració artúrica, a més a més, és redactada en un vers que Lola Badia ha prosificat en català, fet que implica una irremeiable pèrdua del sentit de l'original. Tot i això, Badia no empra un vocabulari arcaic ni intenta mantenir els artificis mètrics de l'extraordinari poeta anònim amb cultismes o construccions gramaticals estranyes, perquè es perdria la raó de ser d'aquesta traducció, que no és cap altre que ser factible de llegir per a qualsevol lector. Però, en un intent d'establir una certa connexió amb el text del manuscrit del segle XIV, Lola Badia sí que manté la numeració de les cent-una estrofes i la divisió del poema en quatre parts.

Aquesta decisió es tracta de tot un encert, tenint en compte que la divisió en estrofes de la composició estructura la seqüència narrativa d'un text molt complex que

combina diversos registres (entre ells l'oral), acció i descripció, abundants diàlegs i profundes observacions psicològiques, artificis lírics i discursos morals, tot això amb un impressionant grau de detallisme (que fins i tot aconsegueix fer versemblants els elements més meravellosos que apareixen en el relat). En l'original, cada estrofa està construïda mitjançant una seqüència central variable de versificació al·literativa que culmina en quartetes de pentasíl·labs rimats que serveixen per a cloure l'estrofa. Lola Badia també ha volgut picar l'ullet al poeta anglès intentant marcar aquesta peculiaritat de l'acabament de les estrofes mitjançant un punt i a part.

Pel que fa al postfaci, trobarem un comentari que aprofundeix en alguns aspectes del poema. En primer lloc, Badia destaca l'esplèndida i anglesa cort artúrica que se'ns presenta, allunyada de les trifulgues palatines del *roman* francès en prosa. A continuació, es posa de manifest la complexitat del personatge de Galvany: un perfecte cavaller que llueix amb orgull l'estrella del pentangle en l'escut, símbol de les seves virtuts (guerreres i religioses), capaç d'esquivar cortesament les insinuacions amoroses de l'esposa del senyor que l'ha acollit tot mantenint intacta la seva castedat, però cometent, al final de tot, una petita falta que posarà de manifest la seva imperfecció. D'aquesta manera, Lola Badia exemplifica la connexió entre el Galvany artúric i el Frodo Baggins tolkienà. Finalment, es remarquen equivalències entre aquesta composició anglesa i el poema narratiu català de *La faula* de Guillem de Torroella, l'*Inferno* de Dante i el Cuchulain de la literatura irlandesa, on també trobem present el motiu folklòric de la decapitació.

Lola Badia certifica que ens trobem davant d'una peça literària única, una obra mestra inquietant per les incerteses que envolten al seu enigmàtic creador, un autèntic clàssic medieval connectat amb la literatura del seu temps i que, a la vegada, mitjançant la verdor de l'antagonista i la seva esfereïdora Capella Verda també és evocador d'antigues creences ancestrals. Tot això justifica sobradament aquesta traducció al català que ja podem gaudir.

Biblioteca/Library

doi: 10.1344/Svmma2022.20.8

Aquesta secció recull la producció científica de l'*Institut de Recerca en Cultures Medievales* pel que fa a la publicació de llibres i a la presentació de tesis doctorals.

Publicacions

SEBASTIAN, Raimon; FURIÓ, Antoni; GARCIA-OLIVER, Ferran. 2022

***Pal·ladi: Tractat d'agricultura. Traducció catalana medieval de Ferrer Saiol*
València, Publicacions de la Universitat de València.**

Resum

L'any 1385 Ferrer Saiol, protonotari de la reina Elionor de Sicília, traduí al català l'*Opus agriculturae* de Pal·ladi. Aquest volum conté l'edició i estudi d'aquesta traducció medieval. Tot i que no conservem el manuscrit autògraf, s'ha preservat una còpia a la Biblioteca Serrano Morales de València. La primera part del volum presenta un estudi introductori en què es contextualitza la producció literària sobre agronomia durant els segles XIV i XV a la Corona d'Aragó, una biografia sobre Ferrer Saiol i la seva activitat dins de la Cancelleria reial, una anàlisi de la traducció, així com un estudi dels dos únics manuscrits conservats de la versió tant en català (Biblioteca Serrano Morales, 6437), com en castellà (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 10211). La segona part del volum conté l'edició del text que inclou el proemi de Ferrer Saiol i els tretze llibres de l'obra. En el primer, s'hi desenvolupen les activitats generals que s'han de dur al camp, mentre que els llibres restants corresponen a les tasques agronòmiques que s'han de realitzar cada mes de l'any. L'edició s'acompanya d'un índex toponímic, antroponímic i de temàtica agronòmica.

Paraules clau:

textos medievals catalans, agronomia, manuals tècnics, lèxic especialitzat

Abstract

In 1385 Ferrer Saiol, prothonotary of Queen Eleanor of Sicily, translated Palladius' *Opus agriculturae* into Catalan. This volume contains the edition and study of this medieval translation. Although the autograph manuscript is not conserved, a copy has been preserved at the Biblioteca Serrano Morales in Valencia. The first part of this volume presents an introductory study in which the literary production on agronomy during the 14th and 15th centuries in the Crown of Aragon is contextualized, a biography of Ferrer Saiol and his activity within the Chancellery of the kings of Aragon, an analysis of the translation, as well as a study of the only two preserved manuscripts of both the Catalan version (Biblioteca Serrano Morales, 6437) and the Spanish version (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 10211). The second part of this volume contains the edition of the text that includes the proem by Ferrer Saiol and the thirteen books of the work. The general activities that must be carried out in the field are developed in the first book, while the remaining books correspond to the agronomic tasks that must be performed each month of the year. The edition is accompanied by a toponymic, anthroponymic and agronomic index.

Keywords:

Medieval Catalan Texts, Agronomy, Technical Handbooks, Specialized Vocabulary

URL:

<https://puv.uv.es/livre/pal-ladi-tractat-d-agricultura.html>

Altres enllaços relacionats:

<https://www.sciencia.cat/publicacions/palladi-tractat-dagricultura-traduccio-catalana-medieval-de-ferrer-saiol>

Tesis Doctorals

Autor: Guillem Cañameras Vall

Títol: Josep Gudiol Ricart (1904-1985): la fotografia al servei d'una concepció integral de la Història de l'Art

Director: Joan Domenge Mesquida

Data de lectura: Universitat de Barcelona, 13 juny 2022

Resum

Aquesta tesi doctoral està centrada en l'activitat professional de Josep Gudiol Ricart, la qual es va desenvolupar en vuit àmbits principals relacionats amb la Història de l'Art: fotografia, historiografia, món editorial, restauració, comerç, expertització i assessoria, docència i museografia. Degut a la gran complexitat de la figura i la seva activitat, hem dividit la recerca en dos blocs. Un primer que mostra tota la seva trajectòria professional destacant cronològicament algunes de les fites més importants que va realitzar de tots els àmbits, amb la finalitat de mostrar la seva interrelació i l'activitat simultània en tots ells amb la qual treballava Gudiol. I un segon, dedicat específicament a la seva activitat fotogràfica, on analitzem en detall els seus dos principals projectes: l'Arxiu d'Arqueologia Catalana (ADAC) i l'Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic. L'anàlisi dels quals es planteja com un primer estudi en profunditat de la figura de Josep Gudiol Ricart.

Paraules clau:

Història de l'Art, Historiografia, Fotografia

Abstract

The present thesis approaches Josep Gudiol Ricart's professional career, which he developed in eight major Art History fields: photography, historiography, publishing, restoration, trade, expertise and assessment, teaching and museography. Since Gudiol's professional profile and activity are extremely complex, the present research is divided into two parts. The first offers a detailed view of Gudiol's full career, including a timeline of his most outstanding contributions in every field, with the aim to prove the simultaneity and interrelated nature of Gudiol's working style. The second part specifically focuses on his dedication to photography, and provides a complete analysis of his two major projects: The Catalan Archaeology Archive (Arxiu d'Arqueologia Catalana - ADAC) and the Amatller Institute of Hispanic Art (Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic); this analysis being intended as a first in-depth study of Josep Gudiol Ricart's professional career.

Keywords:

Art History, Historiography, Photography

URL:<http://hdl.handle.net/10803/675867>

Autora: Laura Castellet i de Ramon**Títol:** El paisatge sonor de la Catalunya medieval (segles VI-XIV); un exercici de restitució emocional des de l'arqueologia del so**Directora:** Marta Sancho i Planas (UB)**Data de lectura:** Universitat de Barcelona, 28 març 2022**Resum**

El so forma part de les dinàmiques humanes; a part dels sons de la natura o accidentals, l'ésser humà ha confiat històricament en els sons tant per a comunicar-se com per a expressar-se. La comprensió de la manera amb què la humanitat s'ha sostingut en el so depassa el concepte d'interpretació musical per incidir en aspectes com la gestió econòmica en l'espai, la relació de les persones amb la divinitat, les dinàmiques comercials i els seus intercanvis o el desenvolupament de la tècnica.

Aquest estudi analitza i sistematitza l'activitat sonora humana a l'alta Edat Mitjana en territori català, en relació tant amb els seus àmbits culturals veïns com en el seu abans i després en el temps. L'activitat sonora es diferencia en la comunicació (sons) i l'expressió d'emocions (música); d'acord amb la societat medieval, aquests aspectes s'han diferenciat en l'ús del so i de la música que feien els tres estaments: el poble (*laboratores*), l'aristocràcia (*bellatores*) i l'Església (*oratores*). Cada entorn social responia a unes necessitats sonores pròpies, així que la comprensió del fet sonor des de la història social, i no des de la musicologia, permet obtenir una perspectiva d'estudi cap a disciplines diferents i contribueix a una percepció global del passat històric.

L'anàlisi s'ha fet a partir d'un diàleg amb les fonts iconogràfiques, literàries, documentals i arqueològiques, i també la llengua i l'etimologia, la història de la tècnica, la comparativa etnològica o la pràctica de la interpretació musical. Després de la obtenció de dades, s'ha abordat un exercici d'arqueologia experimental per a la comprensió del fet sonor, amb una restitució tant d'instruments i objectes sonors com de tècniques d'expressió del so i de la música. S'han tingut en compte els espais en què aquests sons es desenvolupaven, des de paisatges a edificis. A partir d'aquí es pot determinar la identificació concreta d'instruments, una lectura de context més precisa i el significat que aquests objectes suposen en la lectura iconogràfica, textual o filosòfica, la correcta denominació d'instruments i objectes sonors en llengua catalana, o la relació del so i la comunicació en les dinàmiques econòmiques i culturals.

Paraules clau:

Paisatge sonor, Arqueologia del so, Arqueomusicologia, Iconografia musical, Organologia

Abstract

Sound is part of human dynamics; leaving aside the sounds of nature or accidental, human beings have historically relied on sounds both to communicate and to express themselves. The understanding of the way in which humanity has sustained itself in sound goes beyond the concept of musical interpretation to underline aspects such as the economic management of space, the relationship of people with divinity, commercial dynamics and their exchanges or the development of the technique.

This study analyzes and systematizes human sound activity in the High Middle Ages in Catalan territory, in relation to both its neighboring cultural areas and its before and after in time. Sound activity has been differentiated into communication (sounds) and expression of emotions (music); according to the Medieval society, these aspects have been differentiated in the use of sound and music the three estates made: common people (laboratores), aristocracy (bellatores) and Church (oratores). Each social environment responded to its own sound needs, so that the understanding of the sound fact from social history and not from musicology allows obtaining a study perspective towards different disciplines and thus contributes to a global perception of the past.

The analysis is based on a dialogue with iconographic, literary, documentary and archaeological sources, but also language and etymology, history of technology, ethnological comparison or the practice of musical interpretation. After the data acquisition, the understanding of the sound fact has been highlighted based on an exercise of experimental archaeology: the restitution of both sound instruments and objects as well as sound and music expression techniques. The spatial context in which these sounds developed, from landscapes to buildings, has been considered. From this point it is possible to determine the specific identification of different instruments and therefore a more precise reading of context, the meaning these objects assume in the iconographic, textual or philosophical reading, the correct naming of instruments and sound objects in Catalan, or the relationship between sound and communication in economic and cultural dynamics.

Keywords:

Sound Landscape, Sound Archaeology, Archaeomusicology, Music Iconography, Organology

Altres enllaços relacionats:

<https://lauradecastellet.wordpress.com/>



Revista de Cultures Medievales

Núm. 20 (Tardor 2022), 110-124 | ISSN 2014-7023

Notícies

doi: 10.1344/Svmma2022.20.9

Novembre 2021



Col·laboració

Seminari Internacional *“Paisatges Patristics del Monacat Primitiu a Occident (ss. IV-VII)”*

ORGANITZA: PROJECTE MONASTIC LANDSCAPES

DIES: 3 I 4 DE NOVEMBRE

LLOC: SALA JANE ADAMS, FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA (UB)



Col·laboració

Seminari Internacional *“Architettura gotica in Italia: temi, territori e metodologie”*

ORGANITZA: MAGNA ARS

DIES: 9 I 10 DE NOVEMBRE

LLOC: AULA 201 (FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA)



Col·laboració

Jornades “*El notariat a la Corona d’Aragó durant l’Edat Mitjana: organització, pràctica i activitat en els territoris peninsulars*”

ORGANITZA: PROJECTE NOTMED

DIES: 10 I 11 DE NOVENBRE

LLOC: SEMINARI DE FILOSOFIA (FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA)

Col·laboració

XX Seminari d’Estudis Doctorals (IMF-CSIC)

Participen:

Marco CONTI (Universit  Bordeaux Montaigne) - La fabrique des  critures comptables (Bologne, fin XIIIe si cle - moiti  XIVe si cle)

Davide MORRA (Universit  degli Studi di Napoli “Federico II”) - La Fiscalit  regia e fiscalit  municipale nel Regno di Napoli (XIV-XV secolo): integrazione, concorrenza e convivenza

DIA: 16 DE NOVENBRE 2021

LLOC: SESSI  VIRTUAL A TRAV S DE LA PLATAFORMA *CONNECTAHA*



25enes Jornades IRCVM de Cultures Medievales

Inauguraci  oficial del curs 2021-2022 i acte d’homenatge a Rosa Ter s

Confer ncia “*El cor de la catedral de Barcelona: una finestra oberta a la quotidianitat del 1400*”

Ponent: Dra. Rosa Ter s (UB)

DIA: 17 DE NOVENBRE

LLOC: AULA 307 (FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HIST RIA)

Desembre 2021

Visita

Sortida del Màster i Doctorat a la ciutat de Tarragona

ORGANITZA: MÀSTER I DOCTORAT EN CULTURES MEDIEVALS

DIA: 11 DE DESEMBRE

LLOC: TARRAGONA

Col·laboració

XX Seminari d'Estudis Doctorals (IMF-CSIC)

Participa:

Jessica OTTELLI (Università degli Studi di Padova, Venezia i Verona), *“Li cantori nostri sono da più de soy famigli”*: le istituzioni musicali fra corte e Chiesa nell'Europa occidentale (XIV-XV secolo)

DIA: 14 DE DESEMBRE 2021

LLOC: SESSIÓ VIRTUAL A TRAVÉS DE LA PLATAFORMA *CONNECTAHA*



Jornades

II Jornades IEM-IRCVM. Diàlegs sobre l'Edat Mitjana al segle XXI: Docència, recerca, divulgació

ORGANITZA: IEM (UAB), IRCVM

DIA: 16 DE DESEMBRE

LLOC: AULA 111 (FACULTAT DE FILOLOGIA I COMUNICACIÓ)



Col·laboració

I Seminari Permanent Dones a l'Edat Mitjana

ORGANITZA: IEM (UAB), IRCVM, WOMEN AND MEDIEVAL SONG

DIA: 17 DE DESEMBRE

LLOC: SALA DE PROFESSORS (EDIFICI JOSEP CARNER)



Lliurament de Premi

Lliurament del II Premi IRCVM al millor TFG en Cultures Medievals

Guanyadors: Sr. Pere Manel Marquès, alumne del Màster en Cultures Medievals, i Sr. Ivan Vera Martínez, de la Universitat de Girona

DIA: 20 DE DESEMBRE

LLOC: SEMINARI DEL DEPARTAMENT D'HISTÒRIA DE L'ART



Publicació

Revista SVMMA. N. 18 (Tardor 2021)

DIA: 21 DE DESEMBRE

Gener 2022

Col·laboració

XX Seminari d'Estudis Doctorals (IMF-CSIC)

Participa:

Alejandro PELÁEZ MARTÍN (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) - *La ceremonia de la bay'a en el Occidente islámico (siglos VIII-XV)*

DIA: 15 DE GENER 2022

LLOC: SESSIÓ VIRTUAL A TRAVÉS DE LA PLATAFORMA *CONNECTAHA*

Febrer 2022

Col·laboració

XX Seminari d'Estudis Doctorals (IMF-CSIC)

Participen:

María José CAÑIZARES GÓMEZ (Universidad de Alicante) - *Iglesia, frontera y poder: el pleito del obispado de Orihuela entre la Corona de Castilla y la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII al XVI)*

Robert FRIEDRICH (Universität Greiswald) - *Mendicants and Rulership in the Crown of Aragon during the Reign of King Alfonso IV (1327-1336)*

DIA: 15 DE FEBRER 2022

LLOC: SESSIÓ VIRTUAL A TRAVÉS DE LA PLATAFORMA *CONNECTAHA*

Març 2022

Col·laboració

XX Seminari d'Estudis Doctorals (IMF-CSIC)

Participen:

Abel LORENZO-RODRÍGUEZ (Universidad de Santiago de Compostela) - *“Ellos me quieren ahorcar”. La expansión de la horca y sus orígenes en los reinos ibéricos (siglos IX-XII)*

Cornel-Peter RODENBUSCH (Universitat de Barcelona) - *Visualització dels judicis de la Catalunya medieval (segles X-XII)*

DIA: 15 DE MARÇ 2022

LLOC: SESSIÓ VIRTUAL A TRAVÉS DE LA PLATAFORMA *CONNECTAHA*

Abril 2022



1.4.2022 19h La Central (c/ Mallorca)

**Canciones.
Hadewijch**

Amb Blanca Garí i
Victoria Cirlot

El divendres 1 d'abril La Central del c. Mallorca (núm. 237) acollirà la presentació del llibre *Canciones* (Siruela, 2022), de la poetessa Hadewijch, editat per Veerle Fraeters i Frank Willaert. L'acte serà dirigit per Blanca Garí i Victoria Cirlot

Presentació de llibre

Veerle Fraeters i Frank Willaert (editors): *Hadewijch, Canciones*

Ponents: Dra. Blanca Garí i Dra. Victoria Cirlot

DIA: 1 D'ABRIL 2022

LLOC: LA CENTRAL (C/ MALLORCA)

Col·laboració

XX Seminari d'Estudis Doctorals (IMF-CSIC)

Participa:

Valerio LUCA FLORIS (Università degli Studi di Roma Tre) - *La Procurazione Reale del Regno di Sardegna e Corsica. Il vertice amministrativo-patrimoniale del Regno nel periodo 1413-1516*

DIA: 19 D'ABRIL 2022

LLOC: SESSIÓ VIRTUAL A TRAVÉS DE LA PLATAFORMA *CONNECTAHA*



IRCVM Institut de Recerca en Cultures Medievales
UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA

BARCELONA EN VAMBES

Sortida

Barchinona amb vambes. Recorregut per la Barcelona romana i medieval

ORGANITZA: IRCVM, A CÀRREC D'ANTONI CONEJO

DIA: 24 D'ABRIL

LLOC: BARCELONA



Jornades

Jornades sobre Occitània i els càtars.

Presentació de l'acte a càrrec de Meritxell Simó (directora de l'IRCVM) i Àngels Massip (directora de Scripta. Dialectologia Catalana)

Taula Rodona i projecció de *Bogre. La gran heretgia europea*

ORGANITZA: IRCVM, SCRIPTA, CAOC, AMICS DELS CÀTARS

DIES: 25, 26 I 29 D'ABRIL

LLOC: FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA



Som Medievalistes

Presentació de l'IRCVM, el Màster i el Doctorat en Cultures Medievals

Conferència "*El matrimoni entre l'infant Pere d'Aragó i Joana de Foix-Bearn: Política europea i impacte local*", a càrrec de Stefano Cingolani i Joel Colomer (guanyadors del IV Premi d'Investigació Dr. Saladié-Roig)

Lliurament del Vè Premi d'Investigació Dr. Saladié-Roig a Guillermo Tomás Faci pel treball de recerca "*El infante Pedro, conde de Ribagorza*"

DIA: 27 D'ABRIL

LLOC: SALA DE JUNTES (FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA)



Publicació

Xavier Blanco Escoda, *Crònica de la quarta croada: La conquesta de Constantinoble de Jofré de Villehardouin*, Roma: Viella (Col·lecció IRCVM-Medieval Cultures, 11), 2022

Maig 2022



Col·laboració

Jornades “*Il notariato nell’Italia meridionale continentale: organizzazione, pratica e attività (secc. XIII-XV)*”

ORGANITZA: PROJECTE NOTMED

DIES: 3 I 4 DE MAIG

LLOC: NÀPOLS



Seminari

II Seminari Permanent Dones a l'Edat Mitjana: Autoritats, creació i espais de vida

“Mujeres reales e imaginarias en las cantigas medievals gallegoportuguesas”

Ponent: Dr. Simone Marcenaro (Universitat del Molise)

ORGANITZA: WOMEN AND MEDIEVAL SONG

DIA: 5 DE MAIG

LLOC: SALA GABRIEL OLIVER

Sortida

Visita del Màster i Doctorat en Cultures Medievales a la ciutat de Girona

ORGANITZA: MÀSTER I DOCTORAT EN CULTURES MEDIEVALS

DIA: 7 DE MAIG

LLOC: GIRONA



Congrés Internacional

5th International ARDIT Congress: “Centre or Periphery: Shaping Relations during the Middle Ages”

ORGANITZA: ARDIT

DIES: 11, 12, 13 DE MAIG

LLOC: SALA JANE ADDAMS (FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA, UB)

Col·laboració

XX Seminari d'Estudis Doctorals (IMF-CSIC)

Participen:

Camille LARRAZ (Université de Genève) - *Mobilité artistique entre la Picardie et la Méditerranée au XVe siècle : le cas du peintre Nicolas Froment*

Maria del Mar VALLS FUSTÉ (Universitat Rovira i Virgili) - *"Jardins suspesos" en els interiors mallorquins: apunts per la identificació i significació d'una escola de pintura en la producció dels sostres pintats medievals de la Ciutat de Mallorca*

DIÀ: 17 DE MAIG 2022

LLOC: SESSIÓ VIRTUAL A TRAVÉS DE LA PLATAFORMA CONNECTAHA



26enes Jornades IRCVM de Cultures Medievals

Taula rodona, *"Mirades sobre la vellesa femenina a través de la història i de la cultura popular"*

Dra. Mireia Comas, *"Envellir en femení a l'Edat Mitjana"* i Dr. J. Enrique Gargallo, *"Rastres de la vella en la cultura popular"*

Coordina: Meritxell Simó (IRCVM-UB)

DIÀ: 25 DE MAIG

LLOC: SALA GABRIEL OLIVER

June 2022



Col·laboració
XI Abrils de l'Hospital
Organitza: Magna Ars
DIES: 6 I 7 DE JUNY
LLOC: CÀLLER (SARDENYA)

Col·laboració

XX Seminari d'Estudis Doctorals (IMF-CSIC)

Participen:

Javier FAJARDO PAÑOS (Universitat de València) - *“Per la honor del señor rey e de nostra nació”:*
una aproximació conceptual a les identitats nacionals premodernes a través del cas de la Corona d’Ara-
gó (segles XIII-XVI)

Núria PACHECO CATALÁN (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) - *“Ut sis stator et habitator.”*
La construcció d’una nova societat feudal: el cas dels occitans (Catalunya Nova, segles XII i XIII)

DIA: 14 DE JUNY 2022

LLOC: SESSIÓ VIRTUAL A TRAVÉS DE LA PLATAFORMA CONNECTAHA

Presentació

Presentació pública dels Plans de Recerca del Doctorat en Cultures Medievales

ORGANITZA: DOCTORAT EN CULTURES MEDIEVALS

DIA: 20 DE JUNY

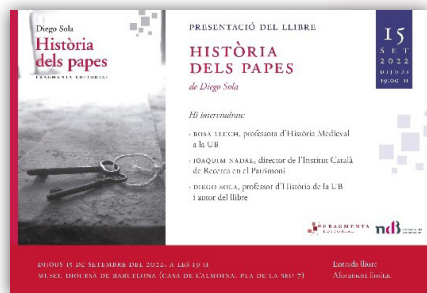
LLOC: SEMINARI D’HISTÒRIA MEDIEVAL (FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA, UB)



Publicació i nova col·lecció

Xavier Costa Badia, *Poder, religió i territori: Una nova mirada als orígens del monacat al Ripollès (segles IX-X)*, Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona (Col·lecció MVNERA, 1), 2022

Setembre 2022



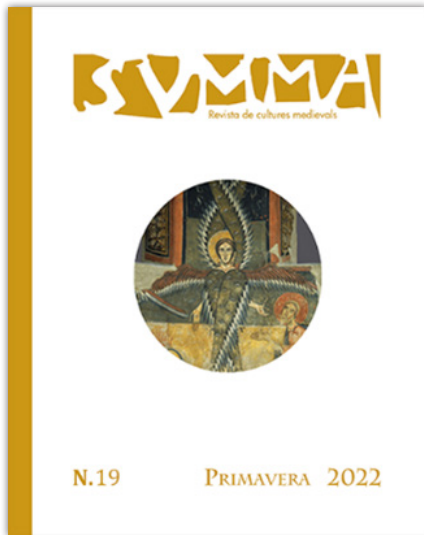
Presentació de llibre

Diego Sola, *Història dels papès*

Ponents: Dra. Rosa Lluich, Dr. Joaquim Nadal i Dr. Diego Sola

DIA: 15 DE SETEMBRE 2022

LLOC: MUSEU DIOCESÀ DE BARCELONA (CASA DE L'ALMOINA)

**Publicació**

Revista SVMMMA. N. 19 (Primavera 2022)

DIA: 21 DE SETEMBRE**Octubre 2022****Congrés Internacional**II Congrés Internacional IRCVM: *“Digitalitzar l'Edat Mitjana”***DIA:** 5, 6 I 7 D'OCTUBRE**LLOC:** FACULTATS DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA I FILOLOGIA I COMUNICACIÓ



Simposi internacional

Simposi Internacional d'Arquitectura gòtica a Barcelona, s. XIV-XV

ORGANITZA: MAGNA ARS, MAHPA, IRCVM

DIES: 13 I 14 D'OCTUBRE

LLOC: SALA DE JUNTES



Seminari

Performance, Perception and Devotional Experience in Medieval Sacred Spaces

ORGANITZA: MONASTIC LANDSCAPES, IRCVM

DIES: 13 I 14 D'OCTUBRE

LLOC: SALA JANE ADDAMS (FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA) / MONESTIR DE PEDRALBES



Col·laboració

Jornades de Recerca en Cultures Medievales.

Sessió 1. *Pensament, mentalitats, relacions i transmissió de coneixements*

Sessió 2. *Reconstrucció i anàlisi del patrimoni arqueològic, artístic i textual*

Sessió 3. *Poder i institucions: economia, societat i formes de vida*

ORGANITZA: DOCTORAT EN CULTURES MIEVIALES

DIES: 14, 20, 21, 27 I 28 D'OCTUBRE

LLOC: SALA JANE ADDAMS (FACULTAT DE GEOGRAFIA I HISTÒRIA) / MONESTIR DE PEDRALBES



Col·laboració

Inici de la campanya arqueològica

Els Altimiris

ORGANITZA: ARQUEOMONTSEC

DIA: OCTUBRE 2022

LLOC: ELS ALTIMIRIS



Publicació

Licia Buttà, Francesc Massip, Raül Sanchis Francés, *El teatro del cos: Dansa, espectacle i rituals a la Corona d'Aragó / Il teatro del corpo: Danza, spettacolo e rituali nella Corona d'Aragona*, Roma: Viella (Col·lecció IRCVM-Medieval Cultures, 12), 2022.

Llistat d'Avaluadors / List of Reviewers

doi: 10.1344/Symma2022.20.10

Llistat d'Avaluadors/List of Reviewers 2021-2022

Raquel Alonso Álvarez	Universidad de Oviedo
Oriol Alonso Cano	Universitat Oberta de Catalunya
Miguel Diogo Andrade	Universidade de Lisboa
José Miguel Andrade	Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
Frederic Aparisi	Universitat de València
Pedro Bádenas	Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales (CSIC)
Mohammad Bagheri	University of Zanjan (Iran)
Xavier Ballestín Navarro	Universitat de Barcelona
Reina Bastardas	Universitat de Barcelona
Gordon Blennemann	Université de Montréal
Carles Buencasa	Universitat de Barcelona
Sébastien Bully	CNRS, UMR ARTEHIS-Université de Bourgogne
Mercedes Brea	Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
Eduardo Carrero	Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Manuel Castiñeiras	Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Mireia Calvet	Universitat de Barcelona
Mattia Chiriatti	Universidad de Granada
Xavier Costa	Universitat de Barcelona

Joan Duran	Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Anton M. Espadaler	Universitat de Barcelona
Ignasi Fuster	Universitat Ramon Llull
Francisco de Asís García García	Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano	Universitat de València
Valerie Gonzalez	SOAS University of London
Clara Jáuregui	Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona
Pilar Lorenzo	Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
M. Luz Mandingorra	Universitat de València
Jaume Mensa	Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Victor Millet	Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
Abel Miró	Universitat de Barcelona
José Alberto Moráis Morán	Universidad de León
Anna M. Mussons	Universitat de Barcelona
Oriol Ponsatí-Murlà	Universitat de Girona
Isabel de Riquer	Universitat de Barcelona
Alessandra Rizzi	Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
Araceli Rosillo-Luque	Arxiu-Biblioteca dels Franciscans de Catalunya
Jordina Sales	Universitat de Barcelona
Carlos Santos Carretero	Israel Institute of Biblical Studies
José Luís Senra	Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Amadeo Serra	Universitat de València
Marc Sureda	Museu Episcopal de Vic
Ramón Teja	Universidad de Cantabria
Juana Torres	Universidad de Cantabria
Esther Travé	Universitat de Barcelona
Elisa Varela	Universitat de Girona
Raúl Villegas	Universitat de Barcelona
Jamie Wood	University of Lincoln