

ANALECTA  
BOLLANDIANA

REVUE CRITIQUE D'HAGIOGRAPHIE

TOME 104

Fasc. 1-2

PUBLIÉ PAR

FRANÇOIS HALKIN, PAUL DEVOS,  
JOSEPH VAN DER STRAETEN  
FLORENT VAN OMMESLAEGHE, HENRY FROS

BOLLANDISTES

JOHN HOWE

**The Life of Saint Ebbo of Sens**

B 1040 BRUXELLES  
SOCIÉTÉ DES BOLLANDISTES  
24, BOULEVARD SAINT-MICHEL

1986

REVUE TRIMESTRIELLE SUBVENTIONNÉE PAR LA FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE

## THE DATE OF THE LIFE OF SAINT EBBO OF SENS<sup>1</sup>

Few areas have had their early medieval historical records better dated than Sens. The first brief annals were edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*<sup>2</sup>. Among the scholars who analyzed them were Ferdinand Lot and Augustin Fliche<sup>3</sup>. The more extensive chronicles by Odorannus and by the so-called Clarius (actually by a number of monks of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif) have now been magnificently edited by Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles<sup>4</sup>.

Yet one text is still a source of confusion, the *Vita Ebbonis* (BHL 2360), the *life* of Saint Ebbo, an early eighth century bishop of Sens. It is generally accepted as a product of the abbey of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, since it claims Ebbo as an abbot of that house and closes with his burial there. Its date of origin, however, remains unknown. The Maurists, who edited it for the first time in the *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, tentatively placed it in the tenth century because it claims that Ebbo's *miracles*, which « had in part been written onto pages, were destroyed in flames by the predatory madness of the pagans » (« partim paginis inserta,

<sup>1</sup> Special thanks are due to François Dolbeau, of the Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, whose information and criticisms greatly contributed to this article.

<sup>2</sup> *M.G.*, Script. t. 1 (1826), pp. 102-09 ; t. 9 (1851), pp. 364-69.

<sup>3</sup> Ferdinand Lor, *Les Derniers carolingiens : Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de Lorraine (954-991)* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences philologiques et historiques, 87 ; Paris, 1891), pp. 338-45 ; Augustin FLICHE, « Les sources de l'historiographie sénonnaise au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle », in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Sens*, t. 24 (1909), pp. 19-61.

<sup>4</sup> Robert-Henri BAUTIER and Monique GILLES, *Odorannus de Sens : Opera Omnia. Textes édités, traduits et annotés* (Sources d'histoire médiévale publiées par l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 4 ; Paris, 1972) ; *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens, dite de Clarius. Texte édité, traduit et annoté* (Ibid., t. 10, 1979).

grassante paganorum vesania flammis sint abolita »)<sup>5</sup>, presumably by the Viking and Hungarian invaders of the late ninth and early tenth century. Jean Stilling, who edited the *life* for the *Acta Sanctorum*, was more dubious about a tenth century date, since he felt that it could have been written at any time after the invasions<sup>6</sup>. An early manuscript tradition has not been known<sup>7</sup>. Thus the best contemporary hagiographical dictionaries and ecclesiastical encyclopedias are content to dismiss the *life* as « late »<sup>8</sup>. Bautier and Gilles, today's experts on the historiography of Sens, likewise conclude that it « is only a recent version »<sup>9</sup>.

Up to now no one seems to have investigated the possible links between the *Vita Ebbonis* and the Sens chronicles. When Bautier and Gilles edited them, they presumed that the mention of the writings on Ebbo « destroyed under the persecution of the pagans », found in the Saint-Pierre-le-Vif chronicle, proved that the twelfth century chronicler of that house had no hagiographical records of Ebbo<sup>10</sup>. That conclusion, however, is premature, since these words could have been paraphrased from the *life* itself. The *life* needs to be compared systematically to dated Sens historical writings. If it can be related to them, its own date of origin can be established.

<sup>5</sup> *Act. SS. O.S.B.*, t. 3 (1) (1722), pp. 647-52, esp. 647.

<sup>6</sup> *Act. SS.*, Aug., t. 6 (1743), pp. 94-100, esp. 98b.

<sup>7</sup> The most recent edition, that found in the *Act. SS.*, was based on the text published in the *Act. SS. O.S.B.* (which is said to have come from a Saint-Pierre-le-Vif manuscript); on an unidentified Sens legendary; and on a transcript sent to the Bollandists in 1666 by Louis Nicquet, the librarian of the Celestines of Soissons (*Ibid.*, p. 98a). Copies of the latter two are preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque des Bollandistes ms. 133, fols. 103-106<sup>v</sup> and 107-108<sup>v</sup> (Dolbeau, Letter, 10 October 1983). Baudouin de Gaiffier noted no medieval manuscripts of the *Vita Ebbonis* listed in the files of the Bollandists (Letter, 1 September 1983). Dolbeau located one in a late thirteenth century Sens legendary, which is today Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine ms. 397 (251), fols. 85-86 (Letter, 25 November 1983).

<sup>8</sup> *Vies des saints et des bienheureux*, t. 8 (1947), p. 517; Jacques DUBOIS, « Ebbon de Sens (Saint) », in *Catholicisme*, t. 3 (1952), col. 1225; H. TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, « Ebbon (Saint), évêque de Sens », in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, t. 14 (1960), col. 1274; Paul VIARD, « Ebbone... vescovo di Sens, santo », in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, t. 4 (1964), cols. 887-88; and TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, « Ebbon », in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, t. 12 (1970), col. 1087.

<sup>9</sup> BAUTIER and GILLES, *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 44n.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44n and 46.

Although Ebbo appears in Sens' episcopal lists<sup>11</sup>, he is not present in the earliest histories. He receives no mention in the Sainte-Colombe annals from the early ninth century<sup>12</sup>. He presumably also would have been absent from the mid tenth century revision of those annals, which Ferdinand Lot postulated to explain similarities and differences in the Sens historiographical tradition, since he is found in only one of the branches thought to stem from this hypothetical text<sup>13</sup>.

Ebbo enters the histories of Sens in the *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, written ca. 1015<sup>14</sup>, which relates the story about the lifting of the siege of Sens given in Ebbo's *life*, and begins it with similar words :

## VITA EBBONIS

*Eo itaque tempore gens Wandalarum suis confinibus egressa, Galliam profligatura prosiliit, quae per orbem dispersa hostili immanitate strages non modicas dedit. Urbes namque effregit, spolia diripuit, oppida diruit, monasteria subvertit, maximamque Galliae partem in desolationem redegit. Denique multorum caede peracta,*

## HISTORIA FRANCORUM SENONENSIS

*Eo tempore gens impia Wandalarum Galliam devastare coepit. Quo tempore destructae ecclesiae, subversa monasteria, captae urbes, desolatae domus, diruta castra, strages hominum innumerae factae, et multus ubique humani generis sanguis effusus est. Ea tempestate gravissime per totam Galliam detonabat, Wandalis omnia flammis et ferro proterentibus.*

<sup>11</sup> On the Sens episcopal lists, their virtues and their defects, see Jean HUBERT, « La liste épiscopale de Sens », in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, t. 1 (Paris, 1946), pp. 147-52, rpt. in HUBERT, *Arts et vie sociale de la fin du monde antique au Moyen Age* (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, 24 ; Geneva, 1977), pp. [459]-[464] ; and Henri LECLERCQ, « Sens », in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, t. 15 (1) (1951), cols. 1204-51.

<sup>12</sup> *M.G.* Script. t. 1, pp. 102-09. BAUTIER and GILLES, *Odorannus*, p. 45n, announce that they are preparing a new edition.

<sup>13</sup> LOT, *Derniers carolingiens*, pp. 338-45. However, Bautier and Gilles, *Odorannus*, p. 46, suggest that no such common source ever existed and that similarities in the later chronicles are due to a complicated system of mutual borrowings.

<sup>14</sup> The *Historia* is edited in *M.G.*, Script. t. 9, pp. 340, 364-69. BAUTIER and GILLES, *Odorannus*, p. 45n, announce that they also are reediting it.

The ca. 1015 date for composition rests on the fact that this text breaks off at 1015, although some manuscripts contain additions for 1031 and 1034. See *M.G.*, Script. t. 9, p. 369 ; and Joachim EHLERS, « Die *Historia Francorum Senonensis* und der Aufstieg des Hauses Capet », in *Journal of Medieval History*, t. 4 (1978), pp. 2 and 22.

*Senonas civitatem* adiit, moenia castris obstruxit, portas, ne facilis civibus meatus panderetur, vigilantia cura custodivit. Nec multo post *machinas*, balistas, tormenta, cunctaque hujus officii instrumenta composuit, atque cum omni *infestatione* muros appetiit. At contra cives excidium suae urbis timentes infirmiora muniunt, propugnacula conscendunt, missilia jaciunt, hostiumque machinamenta ignivomis spiculis penetrata dejiciunt. Qua de re barbarica gens, ut est insania, acrius felle commota, se ita repulsam vehementer condulit. Extemplo circumquaque mittit, & quidquid rogo potest comprehendit, sine cunctatione flammis exuri praecipit. Nec mirum, si cives, sua pessumdari videntes, aegre tulerunt: tristes conveniunt Episcopum, ac ab eo salubre requirunt consilium, qui illico in oratione Christum altis gemitibus precatur, ne plebs sibi commissa in direptionem daretur. Oratione autem facta, atque sua gente Dei auxilio sacra benedictione relevata, docens non in copia trophaeum divelli, sed Domini esse etiam liberare in paucis, feras pateferi jussit, ceteris in moerore manentibus, se cum paucis de victoria certus dubiae forti opposuit. Respicente siquidem superna clementia, quae numquam parta credentibus adimit praesidia, fugae solamina hostium cunei capessunt, seque mutuatim bacchantium more propriis jaculis confodiunt. Tandem Christiani a caede regressi, spoliis ditati, & de victoria caelitus concessa exhilarati, laudem toto affectu rependunt Salvatori, qui sic per sui Famuli merita dignatus est operari<sup>15</sup>. (Italics mine.)

Pervenientesque *Senones civitatem*,  
coeperunt eam omni arte iaculis et  
*machinis*  
*infestare*.

Quod cernens presul eiusdem urbis  
Ebbo nomine,

exiens de civitate cum suis, fretus divina virtute,

exterminavit illos ab urbis obsidione.  
Fugientibusque illis, persecutus est  
eos usque dum egrederentur de finibus suis<sup>16</sup>.  
(Italics mine.)

<sup>15</sup> *Act. SS.*, Aug., t. 6, p. 99bc.

<sup>16</sup> *M.G.*, Script. t. 9, p. 364: 28-35.

These texts exhibit a heretofore unrecognized literary relationship. Both tell the same story and begin it with many of the same phrases. Three explanations of the relationship are possible: 1) the *Historia* may be the source of the *Vita*; or 2) the *Vita* may be the source of the *Historia*; or 3) both may depend on a common source.

The *Historia's* account of the siege does not appear to be the original version. For early centuries its author is a compiler rather than an original writer. For example, his account of Ebbo's defense of Sens is bracketed on each side by short notices taken directly from the Sainte-Colombe annals or from one of its descendents<sup>17</sup>. That he has borrowed his Ebbo material is suggested by its effusive style, since seven parallel phrases describe the magnitude of the Vandal destruction, a rhetorical elegance not found elsewhere in the *Historia*. It might also be argued that the disproportionate length of the *Historia's* account, which devotes much space to the preceding destruction but little to Ebbo's victory, can be explained as the result of a careless borrowing, hastily ended.

The *Vita*, on the other hand, does appear to claim originality. Its author specifies that he presents Ebbo's story « as it has been handed down by the fathers » (« ut traditum est a patribus »)<sup>18</sup>. Immediately after he has told how the pages on which Ebbo's miracles were written had been destroyed by the fury of the pagans, he introduces the siege story, asserting that it is a tale « which we have learned from the accounts of many men » (« quod plurimorum relatione comperimus »)<sup>19</sup>. His accounts would presumably be oral, since they are contrasted with the lost pages. He later specifies in regard to Ebbo's residence at Arces that « we also know from many men that his way of life was eremitical, and innumerable proofs are exhibited by the farmers » (« ejus conversationem fuisse eremiticam a pluribus cognovimus, innumera indicia colonis ostensa praestantur »)<sup>20</sup>.

From the above, one would be tempted to conclude that the *Vita Ebbonis* was a source of the *Historia* and therefore was written before ca. 1015. However, the possibility that both depended on some lost common source cannot be completely ruled out, especially

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 364.

<sup>18</sup> *Act. SS.*, Aug., t. 6, p. 98c.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99A.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99D.

since certain considerations hint in its favor. The *Vita's* account of the slaughter and spoliation of the pagans is more dramatic than the *Historia's* account of the chasing of the pagans to the borders of the region, and it might be considered somewhat surprising for the story to grow less grand. Yet the *Historia* does not feature miracles. The *Vita's* style seems so much more sophisticated than that of the *Historia* that one hesitates to place it earlier: parallel structure and rhyme are elegantly used. Nonetheless, nothing in the style or vocabulary is definitely anachronistic for early eleventh century France: the prose rhyme is not completely consistent nor is it two syllabled; the full stops, although not sufficient in number for conclusive analysis, reveal no consistent pattern of *cursus* usage; the Greek derivatives beloved by authors of the late tenth and early eleventh century are here represented, very modestly it is true, by « *sacrum pneuma* » and « *dogma* »<sup>21</sup>. The stylistic flourishes found here are paralleled in the work of Sens' early eleventh century chronicler Odorannus. Perhaps the *Historia's* retailing of nearly verbatim extracts of earlier sources makes it appear to be a more primitive document than the *life*, whose genre requires rhetorical virtuosity.

The similarities between the *Vita Ebbonis* and the *Historia* force us to admit that at least one story and certain phrases of the *Vita* date back to ca. 1015, even if they do not in themselves absolutely date the text. If the known *life* was the source of the *Historia*, then it was written prior to ca. 1015. But if some earlier common source explains the parallel, then its date remains open. Of course, if some such common source were to have existed, one would expect it to have been an earlier form of the *life*, because the surviving *life* still carries the phrases that suggest it was composed from unwritten sources.

<sup>21</sup> On prose rhyme, see Karl POLHEIM, *Die Lateinische Reimprosa* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 415-19. No patterns are revealed by the internal method of *cursus* analysis set forth in Tore JANSON, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin from the 9th to the 13th Century* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 20; Stockholm, 1975). On the popularity of Greek derivatives in the eleventh century, see Léon VAN DER ESSEN, *Étude critique et littéraire sur les vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique* (Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'histoire et de philologie, 17; Louvain, 1907), p. 129; and A. GIRY, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1925), p. 446.

Further precision on the date of the *life* of Ebbo can be gained by returning to comparison of the *Vita* with the Sens chronicles. Little help comes from Odorannus (d. 1046), the first Sens historian to write after the *Historia*: perhaps he does not include the siege story because his work was based not on the *Historia* but on another branch of the Sens tradition. He does, however, give an obituary notice for Ebbo in 750, and testifies that at the time he was writing Ebbo shone with glorious miracles<sup>22</sup>.

The *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis (d. 1142?) has been cited as a source for the account of the siege of Sens<sup>23</sup>. Nevertheless, the reference to Ebbo was not originally part of the *Ecclesiastical History* at all. It is found in a *verbatim* copy of the *Historia Francorum Senonensis* which Orderic seems to have secured when he was assembling his sources and which was later mistakenly attached to the start of his seventh book. It adds nothing to the Ebbo tradition. Its true character has been revealed by Marjorie Chibnall<sup>24</sup>.

Ebbo's biography — not simply the siege account but virtually his whole life — appears in the first part of the chronicle by « Clarius », which is really a composite work whose first section was written by Abbot Arnold of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif in ca. 1108/1109<sup>25</sup>. Its close relationship to the *Vita* and to the *Historia* can be seen when the texts are presented in parallel:

## VITA EBBONIS

*Sanctus* igitur *Ebbo*, ut traditum est a patribus, Ternodorensis castris exstitit oriundus, non minus virtutibus quam parentum *nobilitate clarus*. Fuit namque pater ejus & pia genitrix ex majoribus jam dicti *pagi*... Qui cum a praedictis parentibus, ut erat egregiae indolis, docilis cerneretur, eorum decreto liberalibus studiis Christo sacrandus mancipatur.

## « CLARIUS »

Temporibus istius Dagoberti, refulsit *sanctus Ebbo* archiepiscopus, miraculis et *nobilitate clarus*. Fuit autem ex castro Tornodorensi natus et ejusdem *pagi* comes et dominus a parentibus; tamen, divina providente clementia, litteris ad imbuendum traditur.

<sup>22</sup> BAUTIER and GILLES, *Odorannus*, p. 86.

<sup>23</sup> *Act. SS.*, Aug., t. 6, p. 97A.

<sup>24</sup> Marjorie CHIBNALL, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford Medieval Texts; Oxford, 1969-80), t. 1, pp. 45 and 60; t. 4, pp. XIII-XVIII and 343-52.

<sup>25</sup> BAUTIER and GILLES, *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, pp. X-XI.



Hic itaque cunctis ingenii praestantia *sodalibus* eminendo, atque litterarum fluenta vivacissimo mentis igne hauriendo, celebritatem e merito, non tantum fama, ac rei veritate promeruit. Deinde relicto otio, casu populo principe destituto, ipsius *regimen pagi* assumpsit, quod *jure hereditario* sibi *competens* devitare nequivit.... *Monasterium sancti Petri* Senonensis petiit, committens ibi divitiarum copiam suae hereditatis, *sub abbatis imperio* legitime *militavit*;... Sicque factus sociis totius exemplar virtutis, dum ejusdem *loci* procurator Aygilenus vir Dei *abbas* obiit, exigentibus meritis, regiminis arcem licet reclamando suscepit,...

Temporibus illis siquidem regni Francorum sceptrum detinebat rex Childebertus pater Dagoberti junioris. Contigit autem ipso in tempore venerabilem *Gericum avunculum* beati Ebbonis, qui Senonensis ecclesiae regimen tunc videbatur tenere, cursu praesentis vitae peracto, e saeculo migrasse, populumque in suo interitu in moerore reliquisse.

...Tandem caelitus inspirati, una voce Ebbonem, monasterii sancti Petri abbatem, *regi* supradicto flagitantes requirunt, quem carnis passionibus mortuum, jam spiritaliter vivere norunt.... Qui statuto die est cum tripudio plebis alacritate assumptus, pontificali infula sublimatus, & gemmis virtutum decoratus, Deo dilectus, mundo enituit clarus....

Et licet miracula, quae multa per eum Dominus operatus est...

#### HISTORIA FRANCORUM SENONENSIS

Eo tempore gens impia Wandalorum Galliam devastare coepit. Quo tempore destructae ecclesiae, subversa monasteria, captae urbes, desolatae domus, diruta castra, strages hominum in-

Quibus, dante Deo, *sodales* omnes quos in scolis habebat superavit et sapientia et eloquentia, precessit.

Ubi autem parentibus orbatus est, ad *regimen* castrorum et *pagi* quod sibi *hereditario jure* competebat adclamatus,

latenter fugit et *monasterium Sancti Petri Vivi sub abbatis imperio*, Deo *militavit*.

In processu vero temporum, mortuo ipsius *loci abbate*, abbas factus est.

Postea autem, obeunte *Geric*o archiepiscopo, *avunculo* suo,

totius cleri et populi adclimatione et consensu *regis* in pontificali sede Sanctae Mariae Sanctique Stephani prothomartyris locatus,

claruit signis et virtutibus.

Hujus in tempore, gens Wandalorum Galliam vastare cepit: ecclesiae sunt destructae, monasteria subversa, captae urbes, desolatae domus, diruta castra, strages hominum factae,

numerae *factae*, et multus ubique humani generis sanguis effusus est. Ea tempestate gravissime *per totam Galliam* detonabat, *Wandalis omnia flammis et ferro proterentibus. Pervenientesque Senonas civitatem, coeperunt eam omni arte iaculis et machinis infestare. Quod cernens* presul eiusdem urbis *Ebbo* nomine, *exiens de civitate cum suis, fretus divina virtute, exterminavit illos ab urbis obsidione.*

*Fugientibusque illis, persecutus est eos usque dum egrederentur de finibus suis.*

## VITA EBBONIS

Respiciente siquidem superna clementia, quae numquam parta creditibus admittit praesidia, fugae solamina hostium cunei capessunt, seque mutuatim bacchantium more propriis iaculis confodiunt.... Christiani... laudem toto affectu rependunt Salvatori, qui sic *per sui Famuli merita* dignatus est operari. Qui *postmodum...* elegit locum tanti spatii ab urbe, quo animo solitudinem cupienti valeret obedire, filios, si causa posceret, revisere. Qui *locus Arcea* ab antiquis cognominatus,...

Ibi vero parva planities *duabus* illustratur *ecclesiis, in honore* beatae *Mariae sancti Michaelis* archangeli consecratis: ubi ejus conversationem fuisse *eremiticam* a pluribus cognovimus, innumera indicia colonis ostensa praestantur... Et quamvis sic speculationi deserviret, tamen ne plebs *sibi commissa* famem verbi sentiret, semper Dominicis diebus sedem revertebatur, ut officium altari debitum celebraret, *populum caelesti dogmate* illustraret, sacris benedictionibus confirmaret.

*per totam Galliam Wandalis ferro et flammis proterentibus omnia. Pervenientesque Senonas civitatem, ceperunt eam iaculis et machinis infestare. Quod cernens, sanctus Ebbo* pro ovibus sibi commissis se dedit periculo *exiensque de civitate cum suis, fretus divina virtute, fugavit eos ab urbis obsidione.* Tantus autem timor illos invasit ut penitus se de vita vivere desperarent nisi fugę presidium expetissent, *illisque fugientibus, persecutus est eos usque dum expellerentur de finibus nostris,*

cesa multitudine eorum; namque, obcecatis per meritum sancti presulis conversisque in se ipsis, maximam partem de suis occiderunt et qui evaserunt cum confusione pauci ad sua redierunt: sicque Deus omnipotens liberavit populum urbis a persecutione *Wandalorum per meritum sancti Ebbonis.* *Post hęc vir Dei Ebbo, soli Deo placere cupiens, heremiticam vitam diligens, cepit solus habitare in loco quo appellatur Arcea*

ubi sunt *duę ecclesię, una in honore sanctę Marię, altera sancti Michaelis,* ibique diebus ac noctibus Christo serviens, mundo extitit ammirabilis.

Sepe autem rediens ad civitatem, illuminabat *populum sibi commissum verbo et virtutibus.*

...  
 Et licet *miracula*, quae multa per eum Dominus operatus est stilo digna, partim raritate, inscitiaque scriptorum *non scripta*, partim paginis inserta, grassante *paganorum* vesania rogi flammis sint abolita...<sup>26</sup> (Italics mine).

Claruit autem idem, non solum divina eloquentia, sed etiam *miraculis* quae per negligentiam *non sunt scripta*: ea vero quae fuerunt scripta perierunt sub persecutione *paganorum*. Reddidit enim cecis visum, surdis auditum, gressum claudis, loquelam mutis omnibusque ad se venientibus opem levaminis cum alacritate conferre non distulit. Preerat tunc temporis cenobio Beati Petri Chrodolinus abba, vir religione inclitus et sanctitatis opinione famosus.

Quo tempore, vir sanctissimus, Christi martir Paternus, a partibus Oceani veniens, divina ammonitione, sicut in ejus passione legitur, in cenobio Beati Petri sub abbatis imperio Christo militavit.

In illis diebus, donna Ingoara, Deo sacrata, soror beati Ebbonis, fecit testamentum de hereditate sua beato Petro, quae conjacet in pago Tornodorense, domno Chrodolino tunc abbatae. Defuncto autem Chrodolino, successit ei Virabodus. Cujus in tempore, alia soror beati Ebbonis Leoteria et Mummia, similiter Deo sacrata, dederat cunctam hereditatem suam beato Petro, vivente adhuc et confirmante beato Ebbone, fratre suo. Jacent istae duae sorores in coenobio Beati Petri, in oratorio sanctae Mariae, ubi et ipse sanctus Ebbo consepultus innumerabilibus post mortem claruit virtutibus<sup>27</sup>.

(Italics mine.)

Here there is a clear literary relationship, not just for a single story but for most of the legend. The parallels show that the legend found in the surviving *life* is at least as early as ca. 1108/1109. Again, however, there are three possible ways to explain the relationship. Is « Clarius » the source of the *Vita*? Or is the *Vita* the source of « Clarius »? Or do they both depend on a common source?

<sup>26</sup> *Act. SS.*, Aug., t. 6, pp. 98c-99e; *M.G.*, Script. t. 9, p. 364: 28-35.

<sup>27</sup> BAUTIER and GILLES, op. cit. pp. 44-46.

The first hypothesis — that the chronicle is the source of the *Vita* — is vitiated by the method Abbot Arnold used in assembling material for the early centuries. Virtually all his notices in the first few pages of his chronicle can be traced back to sources such as the *Annals of Sainte-Columbe*, the *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, and the *Chronicle* by Odorannus. The sole early exception is the passage quoted here, which contains additional material on Ebbo, a mention of St. Paternus which specifically refers to his *Passio*, and words about Ebbo's sisters which will be discussed shortly. If Arnold's technique was consistent in these early pages, then he should have had a source, such as the *Vita Ebbonis*, to supplement the material given to him by the *Historia*.

Arnold's quotation from the *Historia* in the midst of his Ebbo material might appear at first glance to provide an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the priority of his text, but it does not. The fact that Arnold quotes the siege account directly from the *Historia* rather than from the *life* or a similar source is unsurprising, since the *Historia* is one of Arnold's preferred sources, and he even quotes it just before the Ebbo material. The *life*, on the other hand, cannot simply be a reworking of Arnold's material based on the *Historia*, for in several cases it is closer to the *Historia* than is Arnold: witness its « eo itaque tempore » which is closer to « eo tempore » than is Arnold's « hujus in tempore »; its « strages non modicas » which is closer to « strages hominum innumerae » than Arnold's « strages hominum »; and its list of instruments of warfare which is closer to « omni arte iaculis et machinis » than is Arnold's simple « jaculis et machinis ». The chronicle by « Clarius » cannot be the source of the *Vita Ebbonis* unless one postulates that the hagiographer had before him both the chronicle and the *Historia* and subtly conformed his narrative to reflect back to the emphases of the *Historia*.

The second hypothesis — that the *Vita* is the source of « Clarius » — is supported by the *Vita*'s claims to the use of non-written sources<sup>28</sup>. Moreover, the *Vita* appears to reflect an earlier stage of the development of Ebbo's legend than does the chronicle by « Clarius ». It knows nothing of Ebbo's two sisters, « Ingoara » and « Leoteria (also called Mummia) », who are said to be buried with Ebbo at Saint-Pierre-le-Vif. Since hagiographic legends of the

<sup>28</sup> See notes 18-20 above.

Middle Ages tended to expand rather than contract, it would be very unlikely that a *life*, written at the cult center of Ebbo and his family, would have omitted Ebbo's siblings once they had become associated with the cult.

From where did Ebbo's two sisters come? Saint-Pierre records dating back to the eleventh century contain copies of apparently genuine eighth century donations made by Ingoara and Leoteria to the monastery, one of which was witnessed by « Ebbo peccator episcopus »<sup>29</sup>. Since the wealthy ladies lived in the time of Ebbo, and like him had come from the region of Tonnerre and were buried in Saint-Pierre, it would not have been difficult for the pious imagination of the community to place them all in the same family. That this connection had been made by ca. 1108/1109, when Abbot Arnold wrote, indicates that the surviving *Vita Ebbonis* embodies an earlier form of Ebbo's legend.

The third possible hypothesis — that both the *Vita* and « Clarius » are based on a common source — remains a possibility but an inconsequential one. If there were an unknown *life* on which both texts were based, it would have to have been extremely close to the *vita* we possess today since there is no major difference in the legend except for Arnold's addition of Ingoara and Leoteria to the cycle. Moreover, since the extant *life* does not mention the two sisters, it should not be later than « Clarius ».

Comparison of the *Vita Ebbonis* to the Sens chronicles, therefore, reveals that it ought not to be hastily dismissed as « late ». It was admittedly written after the barbarian invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries, but it may well antedate the *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, composed ca. 1015. At least it contains a passage which in some version seems to have existed prior to ca. 1015 and a general form of Ebbo's legend which antedates the expanded version given by Abbot Arnold at the very start of the twelfth century. Ebbo's *life* should take its rightful modest place in the Sens historiographical tradition. We need no longer infer, as Bautier and Gilles do, that mentions of Ebbo in the Sens chronicles must « undoubtedly be borrowed from archepiscopal acts that are today lost »<sup>30</sup>.

The general dating of Ebbo's *life* established here fits well with what is known about Ebbo's cult. His body, which had been buried

<sup>29</sup> The diplomas are edited by BAUTIER and GILLES, op. cit., pp. 238-51.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44n.

at the monastery of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, was elevated ca. 976<sup>31</sup>. A finger was translated in 999<sup>32</sup>. Towards the middle of the eleventh century, Odorannus notes that Ebbo is buried in Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, « where even up to the present day he shines with glorious miracles » (« ubi, usque in presentem diem, gloriosis miraculis fulget »)<sup>33</sup>. Towards 1108/1109, Abbot Arnold too found that Ebbo's tomb « shines with innumerable miracles » (« innumerabilibus... claruit virtutibus »)<sup>34</sup>. The *vita* we possess must have been one part of this developing cult.

*Lubbock, Texas Tech University*

John HOWE

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98 and 99n.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>33</sup> BAUTIER and GILLES, *Odorannus*, p. 86.

<sup>34</sup> BAUTIER and GILLES, *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 46.