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The Life of Saint Ebbo of Sens

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REVUE TRIMESTRIELLE SUBVENTIONNÉE PAR LA FONDATION UNIVERSITAIRE
THE DATE OF THE LIFE OF
SAINT EBBO OF SENS

Few areas have had their early medieval historical records better
dated than Sens. The first brief annals were edited in the *Monu-
menta Germaniae Historica*. Among the scholars who analyzed
them were Ferdinand Lot and Augustin Fliche. The more exten-
sive chronicles by Odorannus and by the so-called Clarius (actually
by a number of monks of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif) have now been magnifi-
cently edited by Robert-Henri Bautier and Monique Gilles.

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
were in part been written onto pages, were destroyed in flames by
the predatory madness of the pagans (*partim paginis inserta*,

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1 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.

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

3 Ferdinand Lor, *Les Derniers carolingiens : Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de
Lorraine (954-991)* (Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Sciences philolo-
giques et historiques, 87 ; Paris, 1891), pp. 338-45 ; Augustin Fliche, *Les sou-
ces de l’historiographie sénonaise au XIe siècle*, in *Bulletin de la Société arché-

4 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. 16, 1979).
grassante paganorum vesania flammis sint abolitâ s) 5, presumably by the Viking and Hungarian invaders of the late ninth and early tenth century. Jean Stilting, who edited the life for the Acta Sanc-
torum, was more dubious about a tenth century date, since he felt that it could have been written at any time after the invasions 6. An early manuscript tradition has not been known 7. Thus the best con-
temporary hagiographical dictionaries and ecclesiastical encyclo-
depias are content to dismiss the life as a late 8. Bautier and Gilles, today’s experts on the historiography of Sens, likewise conclude that it is only a recent version 9.

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 10. 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.

5 Act. SS. O.S.B., t. 3 (1) (1722), pp. 647-52, esp. 647.
6 Act. SS., Aug., t. 6 (1743), pp. 94-100, esp. 98n.
7 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* and 107-108* (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 No-

dembre 1983).
8 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. Tanou-

t de Morembert, Ebbon (Saint), évêque de Sens, in Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, t. 14 (1960), col. 1274; Paul Viard, Ebbon… vesco-

vo di Sens, santo, in Bibliotheca Sanctorum, t. 4 (1964), cols. 887-88; and Tan-

out de Morembert, Ebbon, in Dictionnaire de biographie française, t. 12 (1970), col. 1087.
9 Bautier and Gilles, Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, p. 44n.
10 Ibid., pp. 44n and 46.
Although Ebbo appears in Sens' episcopal lists 11, he is not present in the earliest histories. He receives no mention in the Sainte-Colombe annals from the early ninth century 12. 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 13.

Ebbo enters the histories of Sens in the Historia Francorum Senonensis, written ca. 1015 14, 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 tempore gens Wandalorum suis confinis egressa, Galliam profligatura proslitit, quae per orbem dispersa hostilia immanitate streges non modicas dedit. Urbes nuncque effregit, spolia diripuit, oppida diruit, monasteria subverterit, maximamque Galliae partem in desolationem redegit. Denique multorum caede peracta,

Historia Francorum Senonensis

Eo tempore gens impia Wandalorum Galliam devastare coepit. Quo tempore destructae ecclesiae, subeversa monasteria, captae urbes, desolatae domus, diruta castra, streges hominum innumeris tactae, et multus ubique humani generis sanguis effusus est. Ea tempestate gravissime per totam Galliam detonabat, Wandalis omnia flammis et ferro proterentibus.


12 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.

14 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. 389 ; 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.
Senonum civitatem adiit, moenia castris obstruxit, portas, ne facillis civibus meatus panderetur, vigilanti cura custodivit. Nec multo post machinas, balistas, tormenta, cunctaque hujus officii instrumenta composita, atque cum omni infestatione muros appetit. At contra cives excidium suas urbis timentes invicti muniunt, propugnacula conscendunt, missilia jacunt, hostiumque mactantam ignivomis spiculis penetrata deficiunt. Qua de re barbarica gens, ut est insania, acerius felle commota, se ita repulsa vehementur condoluit. Extemplo circumvaguo mitit, & quidquid rogo potest comprehendi, sine cunctatione flammis exuri praecipit. Nec mirum, si cives, sua passumdatae videntes, seque tulerunt: tristes conveniunt Episcopum, ac ab eo salubre requirunt consilium, qui illice in oratione Christum altis gemitibus precatur, ne plebs sibi commissa in diectionem dareetur. Oratio autem facta, atque sua gente Del auxilio sacra benedictione relevata, docens non in copia trophaeum dives, sed Domini esse eiam liberare in paucis, feras patefessi jussit, certe in moerore manentibus, se cum paucis de victoria certus dubiae forti opposuit. Respicientque siquidem suprema clementia, quae numquam parta credentibus adimit praesidia, fugae solamina hostium cunei capessunt, sequae mutua timor spectantium, more propriis jaculis confodiunt. Tandem Christiani at caede regressi, spoliis diti, & de victoria concessa exhilarati, laudem toto affectu reperdunt Salvatori, qui sic per sui Famuli merita dignatus est operari. (Italics mine.)

Pervenientesque Senones civitatem, cooperunt eam omni arte faculis et machinis infestate.

Quod cernens presul eiudem urbis Ebbo nomine, exiens de civitate cum suis, fretus divina virtute, exterminavit illos ab urbis obsidione. Fugientibusque illis, persecutus est eos usque dum egredierunt de finibus suis.

18 Act. SS., Aug., t. 6, p. 99sc.
18 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. 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)". 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)". 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)".

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

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17 Ibid., p. 364.
18 Act. SS., Aug., t. 6, p. 98c.
19 Ibid., p. 99a.
20 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 pneumonia » and « dogma » 31. 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.

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.

The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis (d. 1142?) has been cited as a source for the account of the siege of Sens. 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.

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

VITA EBBOE

Sanctus igitur Ebbo, ut traditum est a patribus, Ternodoresinis castri 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, dociles cernetur, eorum decreto liberalibus studiis Christo sacrandus maneipatur.

CLARIUS

Temporibus iatius Dagoberti, refusabit sanctus Ebbo archiepiscopus, miraculis et nobilitate clarus. Fuit autem ex castro Tornodoresini natus et ejusdem pagi comes et dominus a parentibus; tamen, divina providente elementia, litteris ad imbuendum traditur.

22 Bautier and Gilles, Odorannus, p. 86.
23 Act. SS., Aug., t. 6, p. 97a.
25 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 et merito, non tantum fama, ac rei veritate promeruit. Deinde relicto otio, casu populo princepe destituto, ipsius regimen pagi assumptae, quod jure hereditario sibi competens devitare nequivalit.... Monasterium sancti Petri Senonensis petlit, committens ibi divitiarum copiam suae hereditatis, sub abbatis imperio legitime militavit;... Sicque factus sociis totius exemplar virtutis, dum ejusdem loci procurator Aygileanus vir Dei Abbas oblit, exigitibus meritis, regiminis arcem licet reclamando suscepit,... Temporibus illis siquidem regni Francorum sceptrum definiebat rex Childerbertus pater Dagoberti junioris. Constitit autem ipso in tempore venerabilis Gereon annualetum beati Ebbonis, qui Senonensis ecclesiae regimentum videbatur tenere, cursu praeendentis vitae peracto, e saeculo migrasse, populumque in suo interitu in moerore reliquisse.

...Tandem caelitus inspirati, una voce Ebbonem, monasterii sancti Petri abbatem, regi supradicto flagitantibus requirunt, quem carnis passionibus mortuum, jam spiritualiter vivere norunt.... Qui statuto die est cum tripudio plebis aceràitate assumtus, pontificialique intulta sublimatis, & geminis virtutum decoratus, Deo dlectus, mundo enitiit clarus.... Et licet miracula, qua multa per eum Dominus operatus est....

HISTORIA FRANCOIUM SENONENSIS

Eo tempore gens impia Wandalorum Galliam devastare coepit. Quo tempore destructae ecclesiae, subversa monasteria, captae urbes, desolatae dominus, 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 castri et pagi quod sibi hereditario jure competebat adclamatus, latenter fugit et monasterium Sancti Petri Vivi sub abbatis imperio, Deo militavit.

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

Postea autem, obeuntur Gerico archiepiscopo, annuente suo,
tocius cleri et populi adclamatione et consensu rei in pontificali sede Sancta Maria Sanctique Stephani prothomartyris locatus,

claruit signis et virtutibus.

Hujus in tempore, gens Wandalorum Galliam vastare cepit: ecclesiam sunt destructam, monasteria subversa, capta urbes, desolatae dominus, diruta castra, strages hominum factae,
OF SAINT EBBBO OF SENS

numeræ factœ, et multus ubique hu-
mani generis sanguis effusus est. Ea
tempestate gravissima per totam Gal-
liam detonabat, Wandalis omnia
flammis et ferro proterentibus. Per-
ventientesque Senonas civitatem, coe-
perunt eam omni arte faciunt et ma-
chinis infestare. Quod earnens presul
elussum urbem Ebbo nomine, extens
de civitate cum suis, fretus divina vir-
tute, externaminavit illos ab urbis obsi-
dione.

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

VITA EBHONIS

Respiciente siquidem superna ele-
menta, quæ numquam parta creden-
tibus admitt præsidia, fugæ solami-
na hostium cum capessunt, seque
mutuatim bacchantium more pro-
pris jaculis conferunt... Christiani...
laudem toto affectu rependunt Sal-
vatori, qui sic per sui Famuli merita
dignatus est operari. Qui postmo-
dum... elegit locum tanti spatiis ab
urbe, quo animo solitudinem cu-
plienti valeret obdierit, filios, si causa
posceret, revisere. Qui locus Areca ab
antiquis cognominatus,...

Ibi vero parva planitas dua bus illus-
stratir ecclesiœ, in honore beatæ
Mariae sancti Michaelis archangeli
consecratæ : ubi ejs conversationem
fuisse eremiticum a pluribus cog-
novimus, númera indicia coloniis
ostensa praestantur... Et quamvis sic
speculationi deserviret, tamen ne
plebs sibi commissa famem verbi sen-
tiret, semper Dominicans diebus sedem
revertentur, ut officium altari
debitum celebraret, populum cae-
lesti dogmate illustraret, sacris
benedictionibus confirmaret.

per totam Galliam Wandalis ferro et
flammis proterentibus omnia. Perve-
ntentesque Senonas civitatem, esperunt
eam jaculis et machinis infestare.
Quod earnens, 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 fugœ presidium ex-
petissent, illisque fugientibus, perse-
cutus est eos usque dum expellerentur
de finibus nostris,

cesa multitudine eorum ; namque, ob-
occati per meritum sancti presulis
conversique in se ipsis, maximam
partem de suis occiderunt et qui eva-
serunt cum confusione punci ad sus
redierunt: sicque Deus omnipotens
liberavit populum urbem a persecutio-
ne Wandalorum per meritum sancti
Ebbonis. Posi híc vir Dei Ebbo, soli
Deo placere cupiens, heremiticum vi-
tam diligens, cægit solus habître in
loco quo appellatur Areca

ubi sunt duæ ecclesiae, una in honore
sanctæ Mariae, altera sancti Michaelis,
ibique diebus ac noctibus Christo ser-
vienis, mundo extitit ammirabilis.

Sepe autem rediens ad civitatem, in-
luminabat populum sibi commissum
verbo et virtutibus.
... Claruit autem idem, non solum divina eloquentia, sed etiam miraculis que per negligentiam non sunt scripta: ca vero que fuerunt scripta perierunt sub persecutione paganorum. Reddidit enim cecis visum, surdis auditum, gressum claudis, loquelas multis omnibusque ad se venientibus opem levaminis cum alacritate conferre non distulit. Preerat tunc temporis ognobio Beati Petri Chrodotolinus abba, vir religione inelitus et sanctitatis opinione famosus.

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

In illis diebus, dona Ingoara, Deo sacrata, soror beati Ebbonis, fecit testamentum de hereditate sua beato Petro, que conjacet in pago Tornodorense, domino Chrodotino tunc abbatae. Defuncto autem Chrodotino, successit ei Viralbodus. Cujus in tempora, 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 iste duae sorores in coenobio Beati Petri, in oratorio sanctae Marie, ubi et ipse sanctus Ebbo consequitus innumerabilibus post mortem claruit virtutibus.

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 *Vita* 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?

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27 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 innumeræ than Arnold’s strages hominum; and its list of instruments of warfare which is closer to omni arte jaculis et machinis than is Arnold’s simple jaculis et machinis. The chronicle by Clarus 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 Clarus — is supported by the Vita’s claims to the use of non-written sources 28. Moreover, the Vita appears to reflect an earlier stage of the development of Ebbo’s legend than does the chronicle by Clarus. 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

28 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* 29. 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 archiepiscopal acts that are today lost 30.

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

29 The diplomas are edited by Bautier and Gilles, op. cit., pp. 238-51.
30 Ibid., p. 44n.
at the monastery of Saint-Pierre-le-Vif, was elevated ca. 976. A finger was translated in 999. 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). Towards 1108/1109, Abbot Arnold too found that Ebbo's tomb "shines with innumerable miracles" (in innumerabilibus... claruit virtutibus). The *vita* we possess must have been one part of this developing cult.

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33 BAUTIER and GILLES, *Odorannus*, p. 86.  
34 BAUTIER and GILLES, *Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif*, p. 46.