

RÉÉCRITURE AND THE *CULTUS* OF SAINT GALLUS, CA. 680–850: A *FIDELISSIMIS TESTIBUS INDICATA*

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The figure of Saint Gallus, ostensibly the eponymous founder of Saint-Gallen, was the subject of much hagiographical treatment in the late Merovingian and early Carolingian periods. No fewer than four hagiographical texts were produced by individuals ensconced in communities that commemorated him. This process, called recently réécriture, permitted authors in iteration to employ the same basic narrative to a variety of ends. The anonymous Vita vetustissima (before 771), Wetti's Vita Galli (before 824), Walahfrid's Vita Galli (833/34), and the anonymous Vita metrica Galli (between 833/34 and 837) each preserved accounts of Gallus' career and posthumous events attributed to his intercession. Reading in parallel four episodes shared between these four texts allows us to see the various ways authors chose to frame their subject and allows us to imagine the authorial ambition of their composers. This chain of custody for the Gallus materials responded to concerns about institutional integrity, facilities, and ecclesiology by occasioning new compositions at key moments, such as moments of investment, license, and donation. It also reveals the generic conventions used by its authors to achieve their authorial ambition. The Vita vetustissima treats Gallus as a conventional late antique holy man; Wetti's text was intended for lectionary purposes; Walahfrid's text was encyclopedic in nature; and the Vita metrica, an 'institutional Aeneid,' advances Gallus as a holy hero suited to secular letters. Principally, Abbot Gozbert (r. 816–37) stewarded this process as an exercise in community-building.

Allegedly, the monk Gallus established a hermitage in the Steinach valley in modern-day Switzerland around 612.¹ The prestige of this hermitage later grew,

It is with deep appreciation that we recognize the perceptive and reorienting comments of *Traditio's* two anonymous readers. Scott G. Bruce, as well, has been a remarkable steward of this project. We are also privileged to acknowledge the insights of Dr. Cornel Dora, Professor Patrick J. Geary, and Dr. Christopher M. Simon; too, the necessarily harsh eyes of Bridget C. C. Colvin enhanced this paper immeasurably. All translations, unless noted otherwise, were undertaken by us. Any missteps remain ours to own.

¹ In this paper, 'Gallus' will refer to the historical personage sometimes called Saint Gall; 'Saint-Gallen' will refer to the eponymous monastic foundation. The principal texts on which this paper will be based are *Vita vetustissima Sancti Galli*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 4 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), 251–56; Wetti of Reichenau, *Vita Galli*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 4 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), 256–80; Walahfrid Strabo, *De vita Sancti Galli confessoris*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 4 (Hanover and

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developing over the following centuries into one of the preeminent monasteries in the medieval West.² Gallus, reputedly a companion and kinsman of the Irish abbot and monastic founder Columbanus, is a shadowy figure at best.³ Though the character of Gallus appears first in Jonas of Bobbio's *Vita Columbani* (ca. 642), a series of successive, iterative hagiographical works on the life of Gallus represent the earliest attempts to record the origins of monastic life at Saint-Gallen and the earliest efforts to preserve the memory of the founding saint.⁴ These two ambitions worked in lockstep. Later members of the community at Saint-Gallen celebrated their monastery by imagining, reimagining, memorializing, re-memorializing, recording, and re-recording four *Vitae Galli*, a process that has recently come to be called *réécriture*.⁵

Four *récrivains* left us with four successive standalone *vitae Galli* written over the course of the eighth and ninth centuries after the monastery grew in affluence

Leipzig, 1902), 280–345; and *Vita metrica Sancti Galli*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* 2 (Berlin, 1884), 428–73. In some ways, this paper extends the observations and interventions made in Ernst Tremp, “Der heilige Gallus, Mönch und Einsiedler: Neues zu seiner Herkunft und Persönlichkeit,” *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv* 134 (2014): 5–42.

² On Gallus, see Max Schär, *Gallus: Der Heilige in seiner Zeit* (Basel, 2012); and the essays collected in *Gallus und seine Zeit: Leben, Wirken, und Nachleben*, ed. Franziska Schnoor et al. (Saint-Gallen, 2015); and Philipp Dörler, “*Quicumque sunt rebelles, foras exeant!* Columbanus's Rebellious Disciple Gallus,” in *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, ed. Alexander O'Hara (Oxford, 2018), 225–40.

³ See J.-Michel Reaux Colvin, “Reading Allegorically the Character of Gallus in Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, 1.11: *Retem in alveum iactavisset*,” *Speculum* 101 (2026), forthcoming.

⁴ Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani discipulorumque eius*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 4 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), 61–152. Gallus appears only in *Vita Columbani* 1.11, and his character seems only to serve a didactic purpose.

⁵ The work on hagiographical *réécriture* is vast and growing. A seminal text is Monique Goulet, *Écriture et réécriture hagiographiques: Essai sur les réécritures de Vies de saints dans l'Occident latin médiéval (VIIIe–XIIIe s.)* (Turnhout, 2005), esp. 7–29. *Réécriture* refers to an intertextual process by which authors and agents use an established source (*hypotexte*, a *texte-source*) and productively innovate a new version (*hypertexte*, a *texte-cible*). These episodes permit revision, adaptation, extrapolation, concision, and any manner of new readings and emphases to obtain. The technical use of this term grows out of the research initiative inaugurated in 1981 by Martin Heinzlmann, Joseph-Claude Poulin, and François Dolbeau entitled “Sources hagiographiques narratives composées en Gaule avant l'an mil.” See Martin Heinzlmann and Karl Ferdinand Werner, “Bericht über die Aktivität des DHI Paris im Jahr 1981,” *Francia* 9 (1981): 873–92, at 887–90; and François Dolbeau, et al., “Les sources hagiographiques narratives composées en Gaule avant l'an mil (*SHG*): Inventaire, examen critique, datation,” *Francia* 15 (1987): 701–31, at 701–14. Its use is informed by the interventions of Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln, NE, 1997). See also Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800-1200* (Cambridge, 1990). An example of such work may be found in Martin Heinzlmann, “La réécriture hagiographique dans l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Tours,” in *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval: Transformations formelles et idéologiques*, ed. Monica Goulet and Martin Heinzlmann (Ostfildern, 2003), 15–70.

and influence under the guidance of a succession of able abbots, especially Gozbert (r. 816–37).⁶ This growth correlated to the waxing coeval written culture, of sacred and secular letters alike, resulting in the mid-ninth-century development of the monastery’s peerless scriptorium and still-extant (and still excellent) abbey library.⁷ Saint-Gallen was a “community of commemoration”—a body bound by collective memory.⁸ The production of text was an essential byproduct of the process of community-building. Consequently, this bond admitted a diversity of strategies to realize this commemoration, resulting in multiple surviving literary treatments of the community’s “charter narrative,” namely, the successive *vitae* and miracles of their saint.⁹

The Bollandists list more than ten works, written before 1000, testifying to this iterative process (BHL 3245–58). These works are diverse: six *vitae*, three in prose and three in verse (one fragmentary), a Latin translation of a German *Heiligenlied*, a fictive genealogy of the saint, and appearances of the saint in both letters and chronicles. The most important of these works are the first three prose *vitae*: the anonymous *Vita vetustissima* (around 680–771) and two later *vitae* by monks of Reichenau, the first by Wetti (before 824) and the second by Walahfrid Strabo (833/34). Also foundational is the anonymous *Vita metrica* (between 833/34 and 837). From these sources stem all subsequent works.¹⁰

⁶ Darmar Ó Riain-Raedel, “Bemerkungen zum hagiographischen Dossier des heiligen Gallus,” in *Gallus und seine Zeit*, ed. Schnoor et al., 223–42.

⁷ Walter Berschin, *Eremus und Insula: St. Gallen und die Reichenau im Mittelalter. Modell einer lateinischen Literaturlandschaft* (Wiesbaden, 2005); and *The Cradle of European Culture: Early Medieval Irish Book Art*, ed. Cornel Dora and Franziska Schnoor (Saint-Gallen, 2018).

⁸ On what is meant by a community of commemoration, see Peter Brown, “The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80–101; idem, “The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity,” *Representations* 2 (1983): 1–25; and Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, 1990).

⁹ The concept of the charter narrative, those stories that a community tells that breathe an animating purpose into the community and serve constitutional purposes, is useful to this analysis. These charter narratives regularly involve a foundational mythos that imparts an organizational and explicative rationalization onto the collective. See Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science, and Other Essays* (Garden City, NY, 1954), 144, who calls narratives of foundation and instantiation “sociological charter[s].” For comparative studies about changing ideas of community building through historical writing and liturgical commemoration, see Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c.744–c.900* (Cambridge, 2012); and David Defries, *From Sithiu to Saint-Bertin: Hagiographic Exegesis and Collective Memory in the Early Medieval Cults of Omer and Bertin* (Toronto, 2019).

¹⁰ The processes outlined below can be extended to later materials that consider Gallus but are posterior to the period of focus this paper will consider. Other premillennial Gallus materials are Ermenrich of Ellwangen, *Epistola ad Grimoldum*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, *Epistolae Karolini aevi* 5 (Berlin, 1899), 534–80, who wrote between 850 and 855; the fragmentary prosimetric *vita* by Notker Balbulus, *Dialogi metrici de vita S. Galli*,

Just as Wetti looked to the earlier *Vita vetustissima* to build his own *Vita Galli*, so too did Walahfrid in turn base his *Vita Galli* on Wetti's version, and likewise also did the anonymous author of the *Vita metrica* incorporate materials from his hagiographic predecessors. These acts of reception reveal a "chain of custody" for the Gallus-narrative, a series in which basic biographical elements remained the same but which differed in style and elaborated in content.¹¹ Comparisons in instances of *réécriture* reveal the ways in which the subsequent authors used, adapted, and added to the previous material. This process also raises questions about why new works were deemed necessary. Narratives that undergo *réécriture* are adaptive properties; the resultant texts respond to the exigencies of their compositional moment.¹² While these texts, at a minimum, present views of Gallus' travels, his fledgling hermitage, and his miracles, maximally they provide a glimpse into institutional integrity as a focal point. What follows is a close reading of these four sources, taking especial care not only to respect their boundaries but also to comprehend their interdependent and symbiotic relationships, and being most especially attuned to the information they convey about the moments that merited their composition.

THE FOUR VITAE: RÉÉCRITURE IN PROCESS

Apart from Jonas' brief mention of Gallus, the earliest account of his life and doings is the *Vita vetustissima* (hereafter *VV*; BHL 3245), a fragmentary account

ed. Karl Strecker, MGH, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* 4.3 (Berlin, 1923), 1097–1111, which probably dates between 880 and 885; and two works written before 911: Ratpertus, *Vita metrica S. Galli*, ed. Karl Strecker, MGH *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* 5.2 (Leipzig, 1937), 534–40; and Ratpertus, *Casus S. Galli*, ed. Hannes Steiner, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum separatim editi* 75 (Hannover, 2002), 136–240. These materials ought surely to be considered as extensions of the process outlined here.

¹¹ Excellent introductions to 'reception' as a compositional and ideological modality can be found in Charles Martindale, "Introduction: Thinking through Receptions," in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, ed. Charles Martindale and Richard F. Thomas (Oxford, 2006), 1–13; and Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, "Introduction: Making Connections," in *A Companion to Classical Receptions*, ed. Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray (Oxford, 2011), 1–9. Indeed, according to James I. Porter, "What is 'Classical' about Classical Antiquity? Eight Propositions," *Arion* 13 (2005): 27–61, the entire discipline of so-called 'classics' may simply be an elaborate, multigenerational act of reception.

¹² Quite apart from its commemorative function, hagiography responded to and conditioned political and social discourse. See Jamie Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2014), 1–32. For a minimal consideration of the Gallus narrative specifically, constituent to a larger argument, see Albrecht Diem, "*Vita Vel Regula*: Multifunctional Hagiography in the Early Middle Ages," in *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500–1500*, ed. Samantha Kahn Herrick (Leiden, 2020), 123–42, esp. 134–38. Diem argues that a desire to codify in narrative the *Regula* of St. Benedict animated the process of *réécriture* of the Gallus narrative; perhaps so, but equally pressing 'house concerns' must also have provided an impetus.

that survives in a solitary, mutilated manuscript (Saint-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 2106).¹³ The manuscript, written at Saint-Gallen around the middle of the ninth century, is, perhaps, a copy of the original.¹⁴ Only a portion of the *VV* survives, although the materials that survive are sufficient to allow us to see the extent to which the later *vitae* followed it. While the *VV*, according to Walter Berschin, may have been initially composed in the 680s (about thirty years after the saint's death), it took its final form around 771, incorporating in a second book posthumous miracles worked by the saint over the course of the eighth century.¹⁵ Its author is uncertain. Later tradition at Saint-Gallen held that the author of the earliest chapters was Irish.¹⁶ Iso Müller has commented on the Hiberno-Latin features in the text.¹⁷ Its compositional location is also uncertain; the earliest *stratum* of the text predates the foundation of the monastery of Saint-Gallen under Abbot Otmar in 719, although Michael Richter has suggested Columbanus's foundation at Bobbio as one possibility.¹⁸ The Latinity of the anonymous author is not without its deficiencies; the author preferred analytical constructions and his syntax was largely paratactic. Never is the author's Latin *ad sensum*, but the reader is left with the sense that the author's language sat

¹³ This manuscript (*olim* Zurich, Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich, C VI.1 II.8a), identified in 1895 by Paul Schweizer, survives completely by chance, having been incorporated into the binding of a volume of the State Archives of the Canton of Zurich. After a lengthy cultural property dispute and no small amount of litigation, the Canton of Zurich donated the manuscript to Saint-Gallen on 27 April 2006. For a full account of the provenance, discovery, and identification of this manuscript, see Ernst Tremp, "Einleitung," in *Vita sancti Galli vetustissima: Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Gallus*, ed. Clemens Müller et al. (Saint-Gallen, 2012), 1–23.

¹⁴ Bruno Krusch dated the manuscript to the eleventh century, but Bernhard Bischoff suggested the earlier dating. See the comments in Krusch's edition, *Vita Galli confessoris triplex*, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* 4 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1902), 240; and Iso Müller, "Die älteste Gallus-Vita," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 66 (1972): 209–49, at 212, for those of Bischoff. We are inclined toward the earlier date on paleographical grounds. Regardless of the precise date of the surviving composition, these early materials merited enough attention to be copied in later centuries—well after they had been allegedly superseded.

¹⁵ Walter Berschin, "Gallus Abbas Vindicatus," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 95 (1975): 270–75. Compare Raphael Schwitzer, "Zur Entstehungszeit der ältesten Teile der *Vita s. Galli*," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 46 (2011): 185–200, who prefers a date closer to the final datable criterion in 771. On the advice of Cornel Dora (personal communication) we will tentatively prefer Berschin's earlier date. Whatever the case, the *VV* is the earliest of the *vitae* under discussion here.

¹⁶ Walter Berschin, "Notkers *Metrum de vita S. Galli*: Einleitung und Edition," in *Florilegium Sangallense: Festschrift für Johannes Duft zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Otto P. Clavadetscher et al. (Saint-Gallen, 1980), 71–121, at 92.

¹⁷ Müller, "Die älteste Gallus-Vita," 222.

¹⁸ Tentatively suggested by Michael Richter, "St Gallen and the Irish in the Early Middle Ages," in *Ogma: Essays in Celtic Studies in Honour of Próinséas Ní Chatháin*, ed. Michael Richter and Jean-Michel Picard (Dublin, 2002), 65–75, at 74.

comfortably at the transitional moment between Late Latin and Romance. It may well be this comparatively pedestrian Latin that Gozbert found so distasteful. The *VV*, though fragmentary, is, apart from Jonas' brief words, our oldest source recounting the history of Gallus and among our oldest sources relating to the history of Saint-Gallen. It is the foundation on which the subsequent, more detailed *vitae* were modelled.

Approximately fifty years after the *VV* assumed its final form, another attempt to narrate the *vita* of Gallus was undertaken by Wetti of Reichenau. Reichenau, a Benedictine establishment founded around 724 and located on an island in Lake Constance about fifty kilometers northwest of Saint-Gallen, was very much in the ambit of its southeastern neighbor, and its library began to assume shape over the first half of the ninth century.¹⁹ Wetti was the head of the school at Reichenau during the abbacy of Heito I (r. 806–823) when it rose to prominence as a literary center. Wetti's *Vita Galli* was written at the behest of Gozbert of Saint-Gallen (r. 816–837), testifying to the close links between these two houses.²⁰ Wetti's *Vita Galli* dates between 816 and 824 (BHL 3246). The author opens his two-book *vita* with an acrostic dedicatory poem in attempted hexameters; this ugly little poem dedicates Wetti's *Vita Galli* to Abbot Gozbert.²¹

It is possible that Wetti wrote this *vita* to promote the interests of Saint-Gallen in its goal to achieve immunity from episcopal control, which was achieved in 818 by a charter from Emperor Louis the Pious.²² Wetti's intention may well have been to frame Saint-Gallen, the foundation, as roughly coeval with the foundation of the diocese of Konstanz, if institutional independence formed any part of his *raison d'écire*. Wetti's *Vita Galli* seems not to have met with favor; it survives in a

¹⁹ On Reichenau's date of foundation, see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London, 1983), 42; and Pierre Riché, *The Carolingians: A Family who Forged Europe*, trans. Michael Idomir Allen (Philadelphia, 1993), 42. On the assembly of the abbey library, see M. Dorothy Neuhof, *In the Benedictine Tradition: The Origins and Early Development of Two College Libraries* (Lanham, MD, 1999), 34.

²⁰ Reichenau enjoyed an extremely close relationship with Saint-Gallen. See Ratpertus, *Casus Sancti Galli* 4, ed. Steiner (n. 10 above), 164–67. Waldo, a scribe at Saint-Gallen descended from high nobility, became abbot of Saint-Gallen in 782 and of Reichenau in 786; examples could be multiplied. See Walter Berschin, "Latin Literature from St. Gall," in *The Culture of the Abbey of St. Gall: An Overview*, ed. James C. King and Werner Vogler (Stuttgart, 1991), 145–60.

²¹ Wetti, *Vita Galli*, prologus, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 256–57. While Wetti clearly intended his work to be consumed in two books, Krusch, his modern editor, has laid out his capitulation sequentially, dispensing with Wetti's two-book intention. While it is true that Wetti's first book is about four times the length of his second book, this imposition seems to us unnecessary. We have departed from Krusch's incapitulation and restored Wetti's intended layout in our apparatus. We have preserved Krusch's sequence and provided his pagination.

²² Louis the Pious, *Diploma* 139, ed. Theo Kölzer, MGH, *Diplomata*, LdF 1 (Wiesbaden, 2016), 353–55.

single manuscript (Saint-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 553, s. ix^{med}), but the context of its survival is illuminating: in addition to Wetti's *Vita Galli*, this manuscript also contains readings for his feast day, the earliest witness to Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, and the *Genealogia Galli*, which sees the saint's genealogy arrayed alongside two other Irish luminaries, Saints Brigit and Patrick.²³ The codex seems to have functioned in a constitutional sense, containing texts that speak to the coming-into-being of the community at Saint-Gallen and linking it with the legacy of the wider Columbanian monastic *familia*. Wetti's Latin is superior in almost every way to the Latinity of the anonymous author of the *VV*. Wetti was comfortable deploying sophisticated hypotaxis, and his language witnesses frequent *clausulae*. His word hoard and perspicacity, as well, seem superior, but speaking definitively on this point is difficult owing to the *VV*'s fragmentary state. While Wetti was a pedestrian poet at best, he was a serviceable Latinist. It is difficult to imagine that Gozbert faulted Wetti's Latin when assessing his work.

But Gozbert was evidently unsatisfied with Wetti's work because the abbot commissioned Walahfrid Strabo to write another *vita* around 833/34 (BHL 3247–51). This request coincided with two momentous events in the history of Saint-Gallen. First, in 833, Louis the German confirmed the privilege of Saint-Gallen to elevate its own abbot freely, anticipating the immunity extended by Louis in 854 absolving the monastery from tithing to the bishop of Konstanz. Second, the building of the new abbey church between 830 and 837 and the translation of Gallus' relics to that church in 835 must have influenced this text.²⁴ Walahfrid's

²³ Among the materials preserved in Cod. Sang. 553 is a rather interesting homily (pp. 151–62) designed to be read on 16 October. This homily is a reworking of Bede's *Homilia in sanctum Benedictum* and follows Bede exactly (pp. 151–58), altering the text by replacing Benedict's name with Gallus'. Toward the end of the homily (pp. 158–62), where Bede's original discusses the biographical details of Benedict, the anonymous homilist alters the text to follow the biographical details of Gallus. See Bede, *Opera homilistica / opera rhythmica*, ed. D. Hurst and J. Fraipont, CCSL 122.3 (Turnhout, 1955), 88–94. While admittedly speculative, it is wholly conceivable that this codex was intended for both lectionary purposes (as, clearly, the homily suggests and as, probably, was Wetti's *Vita Galli*) and constitutional purposes, preserving the earliest manuscript witness to Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, linking Saint-Gallen into the Columbanian network. See the comments by Krusch, *Vita Galli confessoris triplex* (n. 14 above), 240–41. While the genealogies of Brigit and Patrick seem sound and correspond to other known Irish materials, Gallus' proposed genealogy is almost wholly fictive.

²⁴ Louis the German, *Diploma* 13 and 69, ed. P. Kehr, MGH, *Diplomata*, LdD 1 (Berlin, 1934), 15–16 and 96–99. On the seven-year construction of the Carolingian-era abbey church, see Ratpertus, *Casus Sancti Galli* 6, ed. Steiner (n. 10 above), 182 and 184. The dating here is difficult, but the personages present may be our guide: Ratpert lists Bishop Wolfleoz of Konstanz (r. 811–838/39), Bishop Ulrich of Basel (r. 823–835), and Abbot Erlebold of Reichenau (r. 823–838). If indeed Ulrich was present at the consecration of the basilica, then 835 is our *terminus ante quem*. Yet, it is difficult to countenance consecration prior to the building's completion in 837 (which, if counting inclusively, could be the

Vita Galli proved to be much more popular than its predecessor, and, according to the reckoning of Bruno Krusch, it survives in no fewer than thirty medieval witnesses.²⁵ The work is arranged in two books: the first recapitulates Gallus' deeds in life and the second recounts Gallus' posthumous miracles. This arrangement would influence later accounts of Gallus' *vita*, such as the prosimetric effort of Notker Balbulus.²⁶ Walahfrid's Latin, like Wetti's, was excellent, the product of wide reading and careful study. Rhetorical flourish is not foreign to his prose, and he exhibits a sense of taste and proportion when stylistically framing his episodes. He is capable of dramatic amplification, frequently engaging in *gradatio*, but never at the expense of clarity and sobriety. If it was Wetti's Latin that Gozbert disliked, Walahfrid's represented neither radical departure nor especial improvement.

But Gozbert collected another dedication in a *vita* of Gallus: if we are to trust its dedication, an anonymous author completed the *Vita metrica* sometime after Louis the Pious' temporary deposition in 833/34 and before Gozbert's death in 837 (BHL 3253).²⁷ It survives in a lone late-medieval manuscript witness

'year nine' to which Ratpert refers). Perhaps the consecration refers to a translation of Gallus' relics into the basilica prior to its completion. On the translation of Gallus' relics, see Notker Balbulus, *Martyrologium* (16 October), PL 131, cols. 1160–61.

²⁵ Krusch, *Vita Galli confessoris triplex* (n. 14 above), 242–46. The wide spread of libraries containing Walahfrid's *Vita Galli* might best be viewed as proxy evidence for the 'social network' of Saint-Gallen. By preserving a manuscript of the community's 'founder,' another community can, in a sense, imply themselves into Saint-Gallen's *familia*. Hagiographical texts, in this way, are indices of institutional social relationships. See K. Patrick Fazioli, "Modeling the Middle Ages: A Review of Historical Network Research on Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean World," in *Social and Intellectual Networking in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Michael J. Kelly and K. Patrick Fazioli (Binghamton, NY, 2023), 37–68.

²⁶ The fragmentary nature of Notker's *Vita metrica* leaves little certain. See, however, Walter Berschin, "Metrum de vita sancti Galli," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 27 (1971): 525–30; and idem, "Notkers *Metrum de vita S. Galli*," (n. 16 above), 71–91. This prosimetric *vita*, conceived as a dialogue in three books between Notker and two of his students (Hartmann in books one and two and Ratpert in book three), is known from excerpts made by Johannes Hechinger in the sixteenth century. It appears in a library catalogue of 1461, and it seems that Ekkehard IV wrote its prologue. The surviving sections (ten from the first book, three from the second, and two from the third) make it clear that its structure was *vita, transitus, miracula*. It follows closely the narrative outlined in Jonas, reserving special criticism (interestingly) for the *Vita Galli* of Walahfrid.

²⁷ On the *terminus post quem*, see *Vita metrica* 11, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 429: "Tunc Caesar Hludowicus erat nudatus honore." On the *terminus ante quem*, see *Vita metrica* 1–2, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 428: "Promissi memor ecce mei, Gozberte, quod olim / Devovi ad praesens solve, care, volo." Confusing this dedication is the fact that Gozbert's nephew, Gozbert the Younger (around 830–50), was also a monk at Saint-Gallen at this time. This Gozbert may be the one mentioned in the *Klosterplan* of Saint-Gallen (Saint-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1092, s. ix²). See Alfons Zettler, "Fraternitas und Verwandtschaft: Verbindungslinien und Wirkkräfte des Austauschs zwischen frühmittelalterlichen Klöstern," in *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband: Das Werkzeug der Schriftlichkeit*,

(Saint-Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 587, s. xiv^{ex}). The poem, which begins with an elegiac prologue of twenty lines followed by 1808 hexameters, narrates the *vita* of Gallus, braiding together earlier prose attempts. Its author is unknown. Walahfrid intended to write a verse *vita* of Gallus and Ermenrich of Ellwangen alleges that he received a commission for such a metrical *vita* from Gozbert.²⁸ But Gozbert, lacking patience enough to provide him time to complete it, commissioned “some new Homer” possessing “javelins... from an Irish bag” to complete it.²⁹ On these grounds, Walter Berschin has argued that the author responsible for the *Vita metrica* may have been Irish.³⁰

Whether the *Vita metrica* has any relationship to Walahfrid or Ermenrich is unclear. Arguing on stylistic grounds, Berschin has emphatically denied the possibility of Walahfrid’s authorship, while Wilhelm Schwartz has maintained Ermenrich’s authorship as an open possibility, a dubious proposition given Ermenrich’s own testimony.³¹ Walahfrid did compose two short hymns on Gallus, *Carmina* 53 and 72, and Ermenrich composed a drafty *vita* of Gallus in the latter

ed. Hagen Keller and Franz Neiske (Munich, 1997), 100–17, at 115 n. 58. According to Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, Band 3: Karolingische Biographie 790–920* (Stuttgart, 1991), 282–83, it is this later Gozbert to whom Walahfrid (in 834/38) inscribed a *vita* of Otmar, the first abbot of Saint-Gallen (BHL 6386). For this two-book account (the first recounting his *vita* and the second his *miracula*), see Walahfrid, *Vita Otmari*, ed. Ildephonse von Arx, MGH, *Scriptores* 2 (Hannover, 1829), 41–52. It is perhaps the case that our poet carried over the dedication from the prose original he was reworking, though we consider this possibility unlikely. Whatever the case, we can be sure that the *Vita metrica* was completed before the 850 *terminus ante quem* of this paper and was likely composed prior to 837 (Abbot Gozbert’s *obit*).

²⁸ Walahfrid, *Vita Galli*, prologus, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 282: “Nam si gratanter recte a nobis posita susceperitis, clementer vero titubantia correxeritis, et si Dominus permiserit, huius operis agreste pumentum postmodum aliquibus metrorum condimentis infundam.” No such life appears to have been written. Ermenrich of Ellwangen, *Epistola ad Grimoldum* 28, ed. Dümmler (n. 10 above), 566: “Voluit vero ille [Walahfredus] poaetico coturno gesta beatissimi Galli comere, sed morte preventus vitam in vita finivit. Unde ego rogatus sum a quibusdam fratribus, et praecipua a devotissimo Gozperto ... ut quod magister devotus non implevit, ego cliens adsecla compleam illum secutus.” Ermenrich seemed unable to execute the commission he inherited, as no such *vita metrica* flowed from his pen; the final chapters of his *Epistola*, namely 33–36 (ed. Dümmler [n. 10 above], 573–80) are occupied with an extremely abbreviated account of Gallus’ *vita*. Are these the notes that might have eventually formed the foundation of Ermenrich’s *vita metrica*?

²⁹ Ermenrich of Ellwangen, *Epistola ad Grimoldum* 28–29, ed. Dümmler (n. 10 above), 566–67: “Homerum ... novum ... Scottice pere iacula.” On this “New Homer,” see Anna Lisa Taylor, *Epic Lives and Monasticism in the Middle Ages, 800–1050* (Cambridge, 2013), 165–87.

³⁰ Walter Berschin, “Die karolingische *Vita S. Galli metrica* (BHL nr. 3253): Werk eines Iren für St. Gallen?” *Revue bénédictine* 117 (2007): 9–30.

³¹ Wilhelm Schwarz, “Die Schriften Ermenrichs von Ellwangen,” *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 12 (1953): 181–89.

sections of his *Epistola ad Grimoldum*, but little else is certain.³² The Latin of the *Vita metrica* betrays an author of wide reading with a discerning eye; he was a consummate poet. The author could crib at will lines and half-line runs from Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Juvencus, Prudentius, Coelius Sedulius, Arator, Venantius Fortunatus, Aldhelm, and the *Paderborn Epic*; he was also attuned to the poetry of Scripture.³³ Even so, the author usually refrains from elision, enjambment is reasonably frequent, and his poetic sense, while metrically sound, was derivative and rather unimaginative.³⁴

But essential here is the fact that Gozbert commissioned *vitae* of Gallus on three different occasions in the early ninth century. Each iterative *vita* subtly altered and adapted its predecessors, pressing the narrative into new molds to new ends. Albrecht Diem has argued that this process of *réécriture* reflected the growing influence of Benedictine monasticism in the Bodensee, and that may well be the case.³⁵ Yet, that interpretation is incomplete. Of course, *réécriture* is only undertaken when a need for it is perceived.³⁶ Hewing closely to the four early

³² Walahfrid, *Carmen* 53 and 72, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* 2 (Berlin, 1884), 400 and 411.

³³ According to Dümmler's running apparatus, our poet cribs 217 phrasal references from Virgil, 244 from Ovid, 18 from Lucan, one from Statius, 54 from Juvencus, 18 from Prudentius, 23 from Sedulius, 18 from Arator, 21 from Venantius Fortunatus, 11 from Aldhelm, and 5 from the *Paderborn Epic*. He makes twenty citational references to Scripture, drawn overwhelmingly from the New Testament. The poet's referential array is *au fait* for his ninth-century moment, giving little indication of parochialism (with nothing seeming particularly 'Irish'). The poem, while hardly a *cento*, was the product of a deeply allusive poet. The poet seems to prefer pagan authors to Christian authors by a ratio of roughly 3:1. Even if we malign his artistry, his bookshelf was excellent, and he drank deeply from it. The author's word hoard, it seems to us, while in no way Hesperic, is decidedly Insular in flavor, bearing some affinity to (but none of the excesses of) Aldhelm. To refer to God, the poet uses *Altithronus*, *-ī* (m.) four times, archaic *itiner*, *-is* (n.) for *iter*, *itineris* (n.) five times, and the adjective *mellifluus*, *-a*, *-um*, 'honey-flowing,' four times. The poet exerts himself to deploy Hellenic terms, but the effect is doggerel: once apiece, the poet deploys *lyturgus*, *-ī* (m.), from Gk. λῦτα (m.), indecl. tant. pl., + -ουργός, an agentive marker, to refer to teachers; *ophthalmos* (tant. pl.), from Gk. ὀφθαλμός, -οῦ, ὁ, to refer to eyes (*oculus*, *-ī* [m.], by position, would have achieved an identical metrical effect); and *ptyσμα*, *ptysmatis* (f.), from Gk. πτυάζ, -άδος, ἡ, to refer to an asp that spits into eyes. The poet's diction is showy and excessive. The occasional strangeness of the poet's vocabulary would fit comfortably into the hermeneutic impulses then *au courant* in the Latin of Britain. Perhaps our poet was a *Scotus peregrinus* educated at Malmesbury, or someplace similar?

³⁴ The poet refrains from elision except in cribbed lines; he could recognize—but could not replicate—such an effect. On the advice of Christopher Simon (personal communication), we are inclined by this feature of the poet's Latinity to call him a 'tryhard.' To our eyes, this feature is the poetic equivalent of 'playing by ear' rather than reading music.

³⁵ Diem, "Vita Vel Regula" (n. 12 above), 134–38.

³⁶ Charles Mériaux, "Bishops, Monks and Priests: Defining Religious Institutions by Writing and Rewriting Saints' Lives (Francia, 6th–11th Centuries)," in *Hagiography and the History of Latin Christendom, 500–1500*, ed. Herrick (n. 12 above), 143–60, who outlines

ninth-century *vitae*, we can observe two additional impetus for *réécriture*. First, this process responded to institutional concerns about integrity, facilities, and ecclesiology. It is no mistake that the *vitae* of Gallus appeared when they did, at moments of institutional investment and donation. Second, we should be attuned to the generic conventions of each *vita*. These *vitae*, though related narratologically, served different purposes: the *VV* was a *vita* written under late-antique hagiographical conventions; Wetti's *Vita Galli* served a lectionary purpose; Walahfrid's *Vita Galli* was equally indexical and constitutional; and the *Vita metrica* was a work fitted to secular letters, though doubtlessly undertaken by a churchman, written as an 'institutional *Aeneid*,' retelling in heroic meter the incipient steps of Saint-Gallen as a community.

A PALIMPSEST GALLUS

Arraying the four early *vitae* of Gallus in parallel makes some illuminating observations clearer. The Gallus of the *VV* is, not surprisingly, a very different character than the Gallus of the *Vita metrica*. Crucially, each of these four *vitae* narrate many of the same events and these similarities are revealing, but equally revealing are the differences in framing between these authors—often on the level of word, grammar, and syntax. It is in the slippages between these four authors that we can get a sense of their disparate authorial ambitions. Each author approached the same basic materials and pressed these materials into the service of their authorial program—the very life blood of *réécriture*. Authors inflect differently Gallus' birth narrative, episodes of potential embarrassment, building and community organization, his death, and posthumous deeds, and so make clearer their purposes for engaging in a chain of *réécriture*.

Birthing Gallus: *Misit filium Hibernia, recepit patrem Suevia*

Tradition holds Gallus to be an Irishman, one of the apostolically-sanctioned twelve companions that accompanied Columbanus from Bangor to Brittany around 590, though Jonas never provides for us a 'roster' of the twelve companions that accompanied Columbanus from Bangor to Francia.³⁷ As Dáibhí Ó Cróinín observes, a reader must assemble a roster of twelve

three moments—energies like ecclesiological restructuring, monastic reforms, and presbyterial heroism—that can prompt *réécriture*.

³⁷ Ian Wood, "Columbanus's Journeys," *Antiquité tardive* 24 (2016): 231–36. There may well be no reason to doubt the apostolic number of this entourage; no one contests Columbanus' Irishness, and he, himself, was no stranger to thinking in eschatological and apostolic terms. See J.-Michel Reaux Colvin and Alexander O'Hara, *Savages and Saints: Ireland, the Irish, and Irishness from Antiquity to the Coming of the English* (forthcoming).

severally.³⁸ Later traditions include Gallus among the number of Columbanus' Irish retinue, but nothing in Jonas' account suggests that Gallus had Irish origins. His ethnicity has attracted much commentary in recent years.³⁹ Gallus' Irishness is a quantity that, wholly absent from early treatments, crept into accounts of his life incrementally.

The earliest testimonies—those of Jonas' *Vita Columbani* and the *VV*—do not clarify Gallus' ethnicity. Jonas' failure to clarify Gallus' ethnicity is curious, given the fact that he was comfortable parsing other members of Columbanus' retinue using ethnic details.⁴⁰ One of us has argued that Jonas was thinking about Gallus ethnically, but not in a manner consonant with later treatments of his biography; Jonas' Gallus was a figure of semiotic potency, a character cast in a penitential set piece advancing an argument for cenobitic obedience.⁴¹ As Sven Meeder notes, silence on Gallus' ethnic details in the *VV* on the other hand may be a function of the text's acephalous state. If the author included a consideration of Gallus' ethnicity, he did so in a section that no longer survives.⁴² But such an argument is born from silence. A more accurate assessment, if a less charitable one, would recognize that the early Gallus materials do not consider his ethnicity among the crucial details of his personage and later treatments regard that quantity as central.

By the 820s, hagiographers largely dispel this ethnic ambiguity. From Wetti's *Vita Galli* on, Carolingian authors leave no doubt about their belief that Gallus was a native of Ireland. Wetti writes, "This man, spending his youthful bloom on the island of Ireland, since he had stuck tightly to God from his boyhood and had

³⁸ Naturally, we should read the numeration of his colleagues as a reflection of Christ's ministry: Luke 6:12–16. See Daibhí Ó Cróinín, "The Political Background to Columbanus' Irish Career," in *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, ed. O'Hara (n. 2 above), 53–68, at 53 n. 5. Ó Cróinín specifically references *Vita Columbani* 1.9, 1.13, 1.17, and 1.21, curiously omitting Gallus' sole appearance in 1.11.

³⁹ For a discussion of the range and rationale of the opinions, see Reaux Colvin, "Reading Allegorically the Character of Gallus" (n. 3 above), *passim*.

⁴⁰ For example, Jonas, *Vita Columbani* 1.13, ed. Krusch (n. 4 above), 78: "Ille quattuor plenos religione viros per quattuor angulos messis praeponit, Cominum et Eunocum ac Equonatum ex Scottorum genere quartumque Gurganum genere Brittonem." Of the fifty-five named individuals in the narrative sections of *Vita Columbani*, namely, 1.2–30, thirty appear without ethnic designation, and twenty-five are presented either with ethnic designation or as nobles and bishops attached to a certain region or locality, a ratio of 6:5. When he does not provide ethnic attribution, as a rule, the ethnicity of the individuals in question is usually very clear. Indeed, it might be fair to say that ethnic ambiguity accrues exclusively to the character of Gallus. However, many scholars are content to take retrospective reportage at face value. See, for example, Treppe, "Der heilige Gallus, Mönch und Einsiedler" (n. 1 above), 24.

⁴¹ Reaux Colvin, "Reading Allegorically the Character of Gallus" (n. 3 above), *passim*.

⁴² Sven Meeder, *The Irish Scholarly Presence at St. Gall: Networks of Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 2019), 18–19.

surrendered to the study of the liberal arts, was commended with the assent of his parents to the venerable man Columbanus.”⁴³ Walahfrid is even more emphatic; his prologue is given over to a lengthy discussion of Ireland in geographical terms, sourced mainly from Solinus and Orosius.⁴⁴ Of his birth, Walahfrid writes,

When the distinguished monasticism of the very holy man Columbanus, known also as Columba, was held in esteem through the whole of Ireland, and a radiance just as splendid as the fiery sun was calling forth the love of all people for him on account of his singular excellence, just as had been foreseen about him before he was born, as the book of his deeds fully reveals; among those whom the reputation of his virtues had attracted [were] the parents of the blessed Gallus—people devout before God and prominent in worldly matters. Offering their son, then shining in the first bloom of his age, to the Lord as an oblate, they entrusted him to the Lord’s teacher [that is, Columbanus] in order that he might blossom in the discipline of religious life and imitate the examples of obedience and stricter purpose among the many followers of spiritual warfare.⁴⁵

Both Wetti and Walahfrid preserve the same basic narrative beats, but Walahfrid’s account is more involved and florid. Though clearly based on Wetti’s account, Walahfrid is expanding and dilating the narrative, elevating the diction to a level commensurate with Gallus’ growing prestige. The author of the *Vita*

⁴³ Wetti, *Vita Galli* 1.1, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 257: “Hic primaevum florem in insula Hybernia ducens, cum ab ipsa pueritia sua Deo adhesisset studiisque liberalium atrium mancipasset, prentum nutu commendabatur viro venerando Columbano.”

⁴⁴ Walahfrid, *Vita Galli*, prologus, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 281–82. For a discussion of geographical knowledge about Ireland in antiquity, see J.-Michel Reaux Colvin, “*Qua ex parte Hibernia est?* Ireland, the Irish, and Alterity in the Antique Mediterranean Imaginary,” *The Classical Journal* 120 (2025): 337–71. See also Ralph Moore, “Empire without End at the Ends of the Earth,” *Classics Ireland* 26 (2019): 58–85; and Philip Freeman, *Ireland in the Classical World* (Austin, 2001).

⁴⁵ Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.1, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 285: “Cum praeclara sanctissimi viri Columbani, qui et Columba, conversatio per omnem Hiberniam celebris haberetur, et veluti splendidum ignei solis iubar singulari decore omnium in se provocaret amorem, sicuti de eo, priusquam nasceretur, provisum esse liber gestorum ipsius pleniter indicat, inter ceteros, quos fama virtutum eius attraxerat, parentes beati Galli, secundum Deum religiosi, secundum saeculum nobiles, filium suum primo aetatis flore nitentem cum oblatione Domino offerentes, illius magisterio commendaverunt, ut in regularis vitae proficeret disciplina et inter plurimos spiritalis militiae sectatores oboedientiae et artioris propositi imitaretur exempla.” Walahfrid refers to a prenatal miracle in Jonas’ *Vita Columbani* 1.2, ed. Krusch (n. 4 above), 67.

metrica also relates Gallus' Irish origins, likely laboring in a tradition established by Wetti and Walahfrid. He writes,

The sun, which adorns the world with copiously flowing light, although accustomed to be reborn for us in the ruddy east, nevertheless rose again from westerly Ireland, a ray sent across to the yellow Sueves in Alamanic fields: I call Gall our 'father,' born from the teacher Columba, which, with the word having been enlarged, means Columbanus.⁴⁶

Of course, the poetic calisthenics of the *Vita metrica* outpace both Wetti and Walahfrid, in keeping with its genre, and the poet is likely incorporating the solar imagery identifiable in the poetic introduction to Jonas' *Vita Columbani*.⁴⁷ References connecting Gallus to Ireland are wholly absent in Jonas' *Vita Columbani* and the *VV*. Wetti refers to Gallus' Irishness four times, Walahfrid refers to Gallus' Irishness seven times, and the *Vita metrica*, a shorter work, refers to Gallus' Irishness six times, usually when describing Gallus as *Scotigena Gallus*, a stock heroic epithet the poet deploys three times. The trend is clear: the later the author, the greater the emphasis on Gallus' alleged Irish origins.

So, how do we account for the dearth of references to Gallus' Irishness in early materials in light of the certainties about his Irishness expressed in his early, Carolingian-era *vitae*? As one of us has argued recently, a mania for *Scoticitas*—a deep appreciation for 'Irish-likeness'—gripped Carolingian Francia. In contrast to their Merovingian forebears, the Carolingians valorized cosmopolitanism and pluralism, understanding diversity as a cornerstone of their definition of imperialism.⁴⁸ The other of us has described this phenomenon as "Hiberno-ethnosanctity," a perceived holiness accruing to the Irish

⁴⁶ *Vita metrica* 1–6, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 429: "Sol, qui multifluo distinguit lumine mundum, / Cum soleat rubeo nobis oriente renasci, / Alter ab occidua radius tamen ortus Hierne / Transiit ad flavos Alamannica in arva Suebos: / Gallum dico patrem, genitum doctore Columba, / Aucta Columbanum signat quem silliba nobis."

⁴⁷ The poem can be found in Jonas, *Vita Columbani* 1.2, ed. Krusch (n. 4 above), 66–67. For a discussion of this poem, see Alexander O'Hara, "Carmen de Hibernia insula: The Earliest Poem about Ireland," in *Treasures of Irish Christianity, Volume III: To the Ends of the Earth*, ed. Salvador Ryan (Dublin, 2015), 20–24; and Christine Mohrmann, "The Earliest Continental Irish Latin," *Vigiliae Christianae* 16 (1962): 216–33.

⁴⁸ J.-Michel Reaux Colvin, "Scoticitas: Reframing 'Scotus' in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," *Viator* 53 (2022): 141–75, at 161–65; Walter Pohl, "Ethnicity in the Carolingian Empire," in *The Abbasid and Carolingian Empires: Comparative Studies in Civilizational Formation*, ed. D. G. Tor (Leiden, 2017), 102–22; and idem, "Ethnic Names and Identities in the British Isles: A Comparative Perspective," in *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. John Hines (Woodbridge, 1997), 7–40.

abroad such that some Continental saints were “Hibernicized.”⁴⁹ This process reimagines earlier non-Irish saints into *Scoti*, possessing all appurtenances and attributes of Irishness.⁵⁰ The two terms—*Scoticitas* and “Hiberno-ethnosanctity”—are synonyms.

The Gallus materials fit this pattern: the silence of early authors on Gallus’ ethnicity treat it as unimportant. Later Gallus materials place his ethnicity front and center. Any understanding of Gallus as an ‘authentic’ Irishman is made more vexing by the fact that the demographic aspects of Irish *peregrinatio* to the Continent remain poorly understood.⁵¹ Still, as the character of Gallus underwent iterative *réécriture*, his ethnicity likewise was reimagined as increasingly crucial. Whether or not Gallus was ‘actually Irish’ is somewhat beside the point; the fact that his Irishness was assumed, reimagined, and foregrounded in successive *vitae* tells us about the allure of cosmopolitanism for Carolingian thinkers. Biography, in a sense, is rhetoric.

Embarrassing Gallus: *Excommunicatio ... cum hilaritate*?

That Gallus was an associate of Columbanus is one of the immutable facts of Gallus’ iterative *vitae*. Whether or not he was Irish by birth, Gallus, it seems, drew much of his authority in religious life from his connection to Columbanus’ presence in Gaul. If the very early dates assigned to the *VV* are to be trusted, then the earliest account of Gallus’ *vita* is anterior to the foundation of the monastery of Saint-Gallen. Why would a *vita* precede the saint’s community? Would such a narrative have interested another community, such as the Columbanian community at Bobbio? Perhaps the *VV* was written for an incipient community congregating around Gallus’ hermitage between the saint’s death (around 650) and Otmar’s foundation of the monastery (719). Walahfrid’s *Vita Galli* describes those “devout clerics” who, inspired by “the memory of Gallus’s discipleship or by the love of God, kept daily vigils at the saint’s remains” and claims that such veneration persisted for many years, from the time of Dagobert (II, probably, r. 675–79) until that of Charles Martel (Mayor of the Palace, 718–41), a timeframe

⁴⁹ Alexander O’Hara, “The Babenbergs and the Cult of St. Coloman: Saint Formation and Political Cohesion in Eleventh-Century Austria,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 25 (2015): 131–72, at 148.

⁵⁰ Patrick O’Neill, “Ireland and Germany: A Survey of Literary and Cultural Relations before 1700, Part I,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 71 (1982): 43–54, at 49, refers to some twenty-three instances in which medieval authors ascribed Irish ethnicity dubiously. There are doubtlessly more to be found.

⁵¹ For an examination of the state of this field, see Alexander O’Hara, “A Lacuna in Irish Historiography: The Irish *peregrini* from Eoin MacNeill to *The Cambridge History of Ireland* and Beyond,” *Irish Historical Studies* 47 (2023): 1–18.

of almost seventy years.⁵² It is not inconceivable, but conjectural, that one of these clerics authored the *VV* for this early community.

Gallus' testy relationship with Columbanus might be our guide, however. As early as Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, Gallus fails to obey his superior.⁵³ But Gallus' later narrators are harsher. Both Wetti and Walahfrid describe an episode in which Columbanus, leaving Bregenz for Italy, placed an interdict on Gallus, then suffering an illness preventing him from travelling further, which forbade him to celebrate Mass for the rest of Columbanus' lifetime.⁵⁴ This section is lacking from the *VV*, but some interdiction must have occurred: the fragment begins abruptly in an episode in which Gallus commands his deacon, Magnoald, to go to Bobbio to find out if Columbanus is alive or dead (Columbanus' death had been revealed to Gallus in a vision).⁵⁵ The *Vita metrica* has things a little differently; when enjoined by Sigebert II to say a Mass after healing his daughter, Gallus demurs:

While my beloved Columbanus, the worthy producer of piety, consumes vital breath, I have been prevented from touching the holy office of a priest ... But, however, in order that I may do, O prince, that which you urge, I will push on as before through the little indictment of my sweet teacher what you desire and what you wish to be done and what you suggest likewise.⁵⁶

The author of the *Vita metrica* lightens the interdiction to a greater degree than the three prose *vitae*, using the diminutive *indiculum*.⁵⁷

⁵² Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 2.10, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 318–19: “gloriosam depositionem cottidianas excubias apud sacri corporis eius reliquias quidam religiosi clerici, vel discipulatus eius memoria vel divino amore succensi, per multa annorum curricula, scilicet quasi a temporibus Dagoberti regis usque ad Carolum, patrem Carlomanni et Pippini ... administrabant.”

⁵³ Jonas, *Vita Columbani* 1.11, ed. Krusch (n. 4 above), 77, which recounts a miracle worked by Columbanus and Gallus concerning a *piscium copia*.

⁵⁴ Wetti, *Vita Galli* 1.9, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 261–62; and Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.9, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 291.

⁵⁵ *VV* 1, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 251–52. On this Magnoald, also called Magnus, see Reaux Colvin, “*Scoticitas*” (n. 48 above), 162 n. 81.

⁵⁶ *Vita metrica* 655–59 and 665–67, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 445–46: “Et dum vitali vescetur flamine carus / Iure Columbanus pietatis ydoneus auctor / Presbiteri officium vetitus sum tangere sanctum ... Sed tamen nut faciam, princeps, quaecumque suades, / Ante per indiculum dulci insinuabo magistro / Quod cupis et quod vis fieri quos suggeris atque.”

⁵⁷ While Late Latin tends to ignore the smallness implied by diminutives, a humility topos inspired by Christian usage, here we might well take the force of the diminutive seriously. On the erosion of the literal diminutive, see Albert Blaise, *A Handbook of Christian Latin: Style, Morphology, and Syntax*, trans. Grant C. Roti (Washington, DC, 1994), 5; and Alison G. Elliot, “A Brief Introduction to Medieval Latin Grammar,” in *Medieval Latin*, ed. K. P. Harrington, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1997), 1–52, at 13.

So, we can chart a progression from Gallus' earliest *vita* when dealing with a potentially embarrassing event in the saint's biography. In the *VV*, the monks of Bobbio give Magnoald a letter by Columbanus and the abbot's staff, a sign that he was absolved from excommunication (using that word).⁵⁸ Wetti chooses to lessen the heft of this episode of reintegration, saying Gallus "was absolved," using the passive with a suppressed agent and omitting the word 'excommunicatio,' the one with the fullest ecclesiastical clout. After all, Wetti had earlier framed Columbanus' censure of Gallus as occurring "with a lightheartedness of spirit."⁵⁹ Walahfrid achieves a balance in his portrayal, marrying the seriousness of the event but at the same time avoiding any unwanted connotations of excommunication, and he achieves this effect by switching grammatical moods—while Wetti uses the future tense (so, "If you do not wish to make yourself a sharer of my labors, you will not celebrate the mass during my lifetime"), Walahfrid uses the subjunctive: "I know, brother, that it is now burdensome for you to be wearied with so many labors for me. Nevertheless, before leaving this I declare: you should not presume to celebrate the Mass while I am living."⁶⁰ The effect is subtle but serves to lessen the imperative. The author of the *Vita metrica* treats the injunction as diminutive, breakable in exigency, and trifling. Only later in the *Vita metrica* is Gallus fully restored, again by receiving Columbanus' abbatial staff or *cambutta*.⁶¹

The *VV* leans into the 'criterion of embarrassment,' but later authors are more skittish. Gallus receives absolution in every account, but the observable trend tends toward levity. The question is 'why?' and the answer may lie in generics. The *VV* was very much in the mold of a late-antique, warts-and-all, holy-man narrative.⁶² Wetti's *Vita Galli* was a lectionary document, intended for reading

⁵⁸ *VV* 1, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 251–52: "omnia quae gesta erant de abbate Columbano ... cambutta ... per istum baculum Gallus fuisset absolutus ab excommunicatione."

⁵⁹ Wetti, *Vita Galli* 1.9 and 26, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 261 and 271: "cum hilaritate animi" and "absoleretur."

⁶⁰ Wetti, *Vita Galli* 1.9, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 261–62: "dixit [Columbanus]: 'Si laborum meorum particeps fieri non vis, diebus meis missam non celebrabis.'" Wetti deploys a mixed conditional but borrows his apodosis from a future more vivid construction. Interestingly, where we would expect an accusative of duration, Wetti instead gives us an ablative of duration, a very late construction indeed. Compare Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.9, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 291: "dixit ei: 'Scio, frater, iam tibi onerosum esse tantis pro me laboribus fatigari; tamen hoc dicessurus denuntio, ne, me vivente incorpore, missam celebrare praesumas.'" While identical in form to a present subjunctive in a negative indirect command in primary sequence expressing subsequent time, Walahfrid actually deploys a present subjunctive in a negative jussive standing in apposition to the *hoc* of the main clause.

⁶¹ *VV* 1, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 251; Wetti, *Vita Galli* 1.26, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 271; Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.26, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 304; and *Vita metrica* 1161, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 458.

⁶² Albrecht Diem, "Monks, Kings, and the Transformation of Sanctity: Jonas of Bobbio and the End of the Holy Man," *Speculum* 82 (2007): 521–59, esp. 521–54. Diem makes a compelling argument that Jonas' work represented a shift in hagiographical commonplaces; perhaps the *VV* should be considered an extension of that early phase. See also Peter Brown, "Society and the Supernatural: A Medieval Change," *Daedalus* 104 (1975): 133–51; idem,

on 16 October (the saint's feast day) to the liturgical assembly. Walahfrid's *Vita Galli* was an indexical undertaking, a sophisticated, multi-part assemblage that records deeds for reference and commemoration. The *Vita metrica* was an exercise in hero-making—and features the strongest articulation of agency of the bunch. Interestingly, each author refers to the mechanism of restitution as the transference of Columbanus' *cambutta*—his 'abbot's staff'—the signal, it seems, of amelioration.⁶³ The post-VV authors likely wished to deemphasize problematic moments of Gallus' career. Text responds to circumstance.

Gallus Building: *Dum in construendo oratorio cum fratribus laboraret*

The accounts of Gallus' hermitage, the incipient Saint-Gallen, follow a similar pattern. Generically, the built environment warps to the saint's will. The VV recounts an episode that suggests that the original church Gallus constructed, unsurprisingly, was made of wood. Already, Gallus' reputation was attracting a retinue. While Gallus "with his brothers and the people were working on a house of prayer," one plank proves shorter than the rest by "four palms," and the workmen, called *magistri*, want to throw it away. Gallus dismisses them for lunch and, when they return, the plank has grown half a foot longer than the rest.⁶⁴ Both Wetli and Walahfrid include this story, but both adapt it subtly, and not for reasons of style.⁶⁵ The author of the *Vita metrica* understandably has things differently, but the same narrative beats are identifiable:

The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (Chicago, 1981), esp. 69–127; and idem, "The Saint as Exemplar" (n. 8 above), 1–25.

⁶³ The word *cambutta*, -ae (f.), occasionally *cambuca*, is an interesting one. It seems to be a borrowing from some Celtic language, being etymologically related to Old Welsh *cam* and Old Irish *camm*, both meaning 'crooked,' and seems to be among the regular accoutrement of a *peregrinus Scotus*, if F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy of the Celtic Church* (Oxford, 1881), 115–17, is to be believed. Apparently, given the fact that both the VV 1, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 251 and Wetli, *Vita Galli* 1.26, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 271, gloss the word in text as *baculum*, we are meant to understand that Gallus received Columbanus' crozier. Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.26, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 304–305, elaborates, saying "*baculum*, which they call *cambotam* in the vernacular" (*baculum ipsius, quem vulgo cambotam vocant*), indicating a slippage between two linguistic registers. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. 'cambuta,' understands the word as an Armorican borrowing.

⁶⁴ VV 2, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 252: "Contigit autem una die, dum operaretur cum fratribus et plebe in oratorio, ut unam axem ... brevior apparuit aliis IIII palmarum, et magistri volebant eum eicere ... Post sumpto cybo surrexerunt omnes pariter ad operam. Invenierunt axem, quae erat nimia longior aliis quantum dimidium pedem." The hagiographer notes that the plank was still useful in the treatment of toothache in his day (*hodiernum diem ad dentium*). The text is lacunose hereafter.

⁶⁵ Wetli, *Vita Galli* 1.27, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 271: "Contigit autem una die, dum operaretur cum fratribus et plebe in oratorio, ut una axis ... brevior aliis palmarum quattuor apparuisset, quam carpentarii aestimabant proicere ... Prandio ergo ... peracto, operis gratia avidi redeuntes, invenerunt axem praefatam longiorem aliis mensura pedis dimidii."

It happened on a certain day by chance that he was restoring the blessed construction of the church with his brothers and the hands of craftsmen, and the end of a certain board was standing four—I say four!—palms shorter than the rest ... Separating it from the works, it is scorned and rejected by all the makers and masters of the task ... [Gallus] ordered the craftsmen to rest a while, until, with a meal had, they are able to recover their strength ... They discovered—wonderful to happen and wonderful to relate!—that the measure of the board, which previously the builders spurn on account of its shortness, is longer than the others by a measure of one and a half feet! The ignorant people are astounded.⁶⁶

There is little daylight between these accounts, but where they depart from one another, they reveal much.⁶⁷

Yet again, the plank is good against toothache (*qui perverso humore fatigati dentium dolore quatiuntur, ex eadem axe usque in hodiernum diem Christo propitio medicinam capessunt*). Compare Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.27, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 305: “Contigit autem quadam die, dum in construendo oratorio cum fratribus laboraret, ut tabula quaedam ... brevior ceteris mensura palmarum quattuor appareret. Quam dum eiusdem operis artifices vellent abicere ... Post prandium autem, cum omnes pariter opus repeterent imperfectum, invenerunt tabulam, quam propter sui brevitatem pridem abicere voluerunt, ceteris omnibus longiorem mensura dimidii pedis.” This plank, too, was useful against toothache (*Domino faciente, dentium doloribus efficaciter medebatur*).

⁶⁶ *Vita metrica* 1189–92, 1194–95, 1200–1202, and 1205–1208, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 458–59: “Accidit ergo die quadam, cum forte beatus / Instauraret opus templi cum fratribus atque / Artificium manibus, tabulae quod quatuor, inquam, Palmorum brevior cuiusdam meta pateret / Quam reliquae [...] Machina dispescens dum spernitur ac reprobat / A cunctis operis factoribus atque magistris / [...] Iusserat artifices modicum requiescere, donec / Perceptis dapibus vires recreare valent / [...] Inveniunt mirum factu mirumque relatu, / Longior est aliis tabulae mensura, prius quam / Aedificatores spernunt propter brevitatem / Unius atque pedis medii; stupet inscia plebes.” No mention of a toothache here, but the poet engages in a thirty-line run praising first the wood and then Gallus’ intercession.

⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that each of the four authors deploys a different compound verb describing the action the workmen wish to undertake with the board. The workmen of the *VV* want to *ei*cere, that is, ‘throw out’; the workmen of Wetti’s *Vita Galli* want to *pro*icere, that is, ‘throw forth’; the workmen of Walahfrid’s *Vita Galli* want to *abi*cere, that is, ‘throw away’; while the workmen of the *Vita metrica* want to *re*probare, that is, ‘draw back approval, reject.’ If we are to take these preverbal prefixes as illustrative, then each author is telling us what their Gallus narrative means: the *VV* is a text that valorizes flight *out of* the world; Wetti’s is a text meant to be thrown *forth* to an audience; Walahfrid’s is a text designed to isolate *away from* the world; and the *Vita metrica* is a text that seeks to harken *back* to a foundational moment. According to Patrick J. Geary (personal communication), this miracle account may well be read as an elaborate metaphor for Gallus’ career. After all, Columbanus had cast Gallus away, and the latter proved his worth only later. Perhaps this miracle is a key that unlocks a salient feature of Gallus’ characterization: like the spurned board, Gallus transforms into something useful and radiant having been previously rejected.

So, we can chart a progression from Gallus' earliest *vita* when dealing with matters of community and infrastructure. In the *VV* and Wetti's *Vita Galli*, those responsible for building are "the brothers and the people." Apparently, Gallus had assembled a community before initiating the necessary infrastructure, and this community was accessible to outsiders.⁶⁸ Walahfrid, in contrast, purposefully excludes the people, leaving the brothers as those responsible for the labor. In the *Vita metrica*, we have a seemingly commercial arrangement in place: we encounter "craftsmen" and "makers" here. The proto-monastery, for Wetti, Walahfrid, and the *Vita metrica*, is an economic agent. The individuals responsible for wanting to discard the board are variously given: *VV* has them as *magistri*; Wetti as *carpentarii*; Walahfrid as *artifices*; the *Vita metrica* as *factores*, *magistri*, and *aedificatores*. What Wetti and Walahfrid intend with their usage is clear enough, and the author of the *Vita metrica* was indulging in a bit of *variatio* befitting his genre—but what intends the *VV* with the word *magistri*? Are we to understand these people to be 'masters of their craft,' or are they perhaps 'masters' in the monastic sense? By imagining the intended audience for these works, perhaps we can hazard a guess.

If the intent of the author of the *Vita metrica* was bombast, he certainly achieved that. Note, he chose to lengthen the board's growth from half a foot to a foot and a half; his literal protraction of this miracle keeps within the boundaries of his genre—he is working with poetic excess. And the *plebes* are around to marvel at this prodigy. So, too, is Walahfrid and Wetti's account sensible: Walahfrid was writing indexically for a monastic audience (and so excludes the *plebes* from the labor) and Wetti is writing for lectionary purposes. Wetti's choice to include the *plebes* is comprehensible in light of the mixed audience likely to have assembled to hear this account on 16 October.⁶⁹ The author of the *VV* clarifies what he might have intended later. After the miracle of the plank, six monks, whom Wetti and Walahfrid describe as Irish and as coming from Luxeuil, arrive "to the cell of the man of God" entreating

⁶⁸ The permeability of the late antique and early medieval cloister is an open question. Both the *Regula Benedicti* and the *Regula Columbani* call for claustration. See *Regula Benedicti* 29.1, ed. and trans. Bruce L. Venarde (Cambridge, MA, 2011), 112: "Frater qui proprio vitio aegredietur de monasterio si reverti voluerit, spondeat prius omnem emendationem pro quo egressus est."; and Columbanus, *Regula coenobialis* 15, ed. G. S. M. Walker (Dublin, 1957), 164: "Qui praesumit facere ambasciam non permittente eo qui praest libera et ineffrenata absque necessitate, quinquaginta plagis inhibeat." But both rules recognize the necessity of intercourse with the secular world. The borders between monastic and the mundane were fuzzy. See Benjamin Thompson, "The Monastic Enclosure," in *Openness in Medieval Europe*, ed. Manuele Gragnolati and Almut Suerbaum (Berlin, 2022), 249–69.

⁶⁹ *Regula Benedicti* 53, ed. Venarde, 172–74, prescribes rules for receiving guests, and we should not be surprised that the monastic enclosure was a semipermeable membrane.

Gallus to assume the abbacy of Luxeuil.⁷⁰ These brothers are led first to the church and later into a house where they present Gallus with their request.⁷¹ From this testimony, we are privileged to the imagined layout of the earliest foundation: Gallus' hermitage was not a single cell, but a group of buildings.

By equating high office, even high monastic office, with the trappings of the world, Gallus refuses the request from Luxeuil, saying:

I fled all my friends and my neighbors into this 'desert,' following the prophetic words, with David saying: 'I have been made a stranger to my brothers and a pilgrim to the sons of my mother.' I condemn the city and episcopal rank and look down on all worldly riches.⁷²

Thus, for Gallus, assuming the position of authority in a community would violate his *peregrinatio*; he was an adherent to the eremitic ideal. If we are to believe that the author of *VV* was framing Gallus as a desert-dwelling, world-fleeing, late-antique holy man, then *magistri* would not refer to men in religious life, but to craftsmen.⁷³ In an ironic twist, a monastic community would gather

⁷⁰ The *VV* is so fragmentary that the relevant information maintained by Wetti and Walahfrid is not present. See *VV* 3, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 252: "[*initium deest*] ut eum abbatem super se habere voluissent. Illi vero perrexerunt recto itinere usque ad cellam viri Dei ... dicens 'Sunt namque hic sex fratres, volentes tecum loqui'." Compare Wetti, *Vita Galli* 1.28, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 271–72: "Sed fraternalis societas prioris [that is, Luxoviensis] conversationis non inmemor ob adquirendum mafisterium electi Dei Galli tractabat atque consono consilio sex fratres ex Hiberniensibus comitibus eius cum epistola electionem nuntiante ad eum dirigebant." and Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.28, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 305: "Fratres ergo in eodem coenobio [that is, Luxovio] constituti consilium inierunt, ut venerabilem Gallum revocarent et eius regimini se subdendo contraderent. Miserunt itaque sex fratres ex his qui ab Hibernia venerunt, qui epistolam ferrent, continentem causas eiusdem legationis." *Vita metrica* 1240–65, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 460, recounts this episode, framing the delegation as coming from Luxeuil but refrains from providing ethnic details about the delegates. Of course, if Irish brethren could still be found at Luxeuil, it would contradict Jonas, *Vita Columbani* 1.20, ed. Krusch (n. 4 above), 90–93, who maintains that all Irish and British monks were expelled from the monastery by Theuderic in 610.

⁷¹ *VV* 3, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 252: "Et ille iussit eos introducere in oratorium. Qui, expleta oratione, ingressi sunt domum, ostenderunt ei epistolam."

⁷² *VV* 3, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 252: "Cumque legisset vir Dei, dixit eis: 'Ego fugebam omnes notos et propinquos meos in hanc solitudinem, sequens prophetica verba, dicente David: *Extraneus factus sum fratribus meis et peregrinus filius matris meae*. Ego urbem et pontificatum contempsi et omnes divitias terrenas dispexi'." The author is placing into Gallus' mouth Ps. 68:9.

⁷³ Retreat to the wilderness is also a generic staple of early hagiography, figuring prominently in Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*, Jerome's *Vitae Pauli* and *Malchi*, and (to a lesser extent) Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini*. The hagiographical *topos* of flight-from-the-world and hermitage is also evident in Rufinus of Aquileia's translation into Latin of the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (ante 411) and the anonymous *Vita patrum Iurensium* (circa 520).

around the memory of this hermit; Wetti, Walahfrid, and the *Vita metrica*, understanding that isolation is incommensurate with the communitarian ideal, subtly alter the initial framing of this episode. Text responds to audience.

Gallus Dying: *Nunc obitus Galli texatur carmine cepto*

Given the testimony of Jonas' *Vita Columbani*, Gallus was almost doubtlessly an historical personage. In Gallus' sole appearance in this text, after recounting a neat little allegorical episode in which Columbanus mildly chastises the disobedient Gallus, allowing Gallus to reel in a massive yield of fish, Jonas tells his reader that "[t]he aforementioned Gallus often told these things to us."⁷⁴ Jonas was writing between 639 and 642.⁷⁵ While Jonas' work is the only contemporaneous source written during the saint's life, it is rather inconceivable that Jonas would have invented a character out of whole cloth despite the vaporousness of the saint in other Merovingian-era texts. The year of Gallus' death is not recorded, and, since he used the perfect tense (whether in primary or secondary sequence is unclear), Jonas' testimony cannot provide obituary data. Modern scholars, taking a cue from Jonas and Gallus' early hagiographers, have reckoned his death sometime before 650. The four early lives, though, speak in one voice: Gallus died on 16 October at the age of ninety-five.⁷⁶

See Andrew Cain, *The Greek Historia monachorum in Aegypto: Monastic Hagiography in the Late Fourth Century* (Oxford, 2016); and Tim Vivian, "Introduction," in *The Life of the Jura Fathers*, trans. Tim Vivian et al. (Kalamazoo, 1999), 27–93, at 32–46. On the desert in early Christian thought, see Eucherius of Lyon, *Epistula de laude heremi*, ed. Karl Wotke, CSEL 31 (Vienna, 1894), 177–94.

⁷⁴ Reaux Colvin, "Reading Allegorically the Character of Gallus" (n. 3 above), *passim*. Jonas seems to be framing Columbanus and Gallus typologically as Jesus and Peter, tacitly referring to Matt. 4:19: "Venite post me, et faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum." See Jonas, *Vita Columbani* i.11, ed. Krusch (n. 4 above), 77: "Haec nobis supra dictus Gallus sepe narravit."

⁷⁵ Jonas of Bobbio, *Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast*, trans. Alexander O'Hara and Ian Wood (Liverpool, 2017), 85 n. 2.

⁷⁶ See *VV* 4, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 253: "die sexto decimo mensis Octobris demigravit de hac vita. Erant dies et anni eius nonaginta et quinque."; Wetti, *Vita Galli* 1.29, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 273: "athleta clarus Christi [that is, Gallus] ... nonagesimo quinto aetatis anno, XVI. die mensis Octobris beatam animam caelo reddidit."; Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.29, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 307: "vir sanctus... honoratus... die sexto decimo mensis Octobris, id est XVII. Kl. Novembres, expletis nonaginta quinque annis suae aetatis in senectute bona, huius citae liberatus wegastulo, animam meritis plenam felicibus reddidit bonis inhaesuram perennibus."; and *Vita metrica* 1404–1408, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 464: "Annis ter denis et sexaginta peractis / Insuper adiectis quinque aetatis et aevi / Scanderat astra poli meritis suffultus opimis, / Corpus humo reddens anima gaudente perhenni / Sanctorum requie domino moderante superno." The poet does not clarify his feast day. Ninety-five is a scripturally significant number, being the number of sons returned to Palestine after the Babylonian Captivity by Gibeon (Neh. 7:25) after the fifty-two-day rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls (Neh. 6:15)—an allusion wholly appropriate in the context of traveling from abroad and monastery-building. Ps. 95 is among the seven Psalms attributed to David in the New Testament; it concerns announcing God's glory *inter gentes*, quite apt for Gallus' missionary activity.

The death scene of Gallus is remarkably consistent between our four authors, but each approach the scene in accordance with the author's intended compositional effect. Among the constants is the personage of Willimarus, a priest who had earlier pointed out a suitable place to build a *cellula* after the departure of Columbanus.⁷⁷ The *VV* has it like this:

After a bit of time, the priest Willimarus, coming to the *cellula* of the man of God, asked him to come down at once with him to the *castrum* [and] said to him also: 'Father, why have you forsaken me, left bereft from your teaching? Have I sinned against you? I have come in order that you may teach us the way of truth, as is your custom, because your teaching is a necessity and favorable for us.' And they went out together to the *castrum* and, with the people having been called, he began to preach and to teach there, and he remained there for two days. On the third day, a fever struck him, and he became very sick, so much so that he was not able to take food nor to return to his *cellula*. And he laid in bed ill with languor for fourteen days.⁷⁸

Wetti expatiates this narrative but leaves its beats untouched.

When the Creator of the world then wished to reveal his [that is, Gallus'] merits and many people were panting with a desire for his appearance, it happened that the aforementioned Willimarus, a priest of Arbon, came to his *cellula* owing to their prior familiarity ... 'Have I,' he said, 'sinned upon you, O elect of God, that you do not condescend to visit the little home of your servant? I beg through Him by whose power we might be instructed through your teaching in order that, by the grace of edification, you may come and teach the people with your honey-flowing dogma so that, in your labor for

⁷⁷ The establishment of Gallus' hermitage is lacking in *VV*. See Wetti, *Vita Galli* 1.9, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 261–62; Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.9, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 291; and *Vita metrica* 52–106, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 430–32.

⁷⁸ *VV* 4, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 253: "Post aliquot vero temporis veniens presbiter Willimarus ad cellulam viri Dei, rogavit eum, ut simul cum illo discenderet ad castrum, et dixit ad eum: 'Pater, cur me dereliquisti desolatum de doctrina tua? An ego peccavi aliquid contra te? Veni, ut doceas nos viam veritatis, sicut solebas, quia nobis valde necessarium est et oportuna doctrina tua.' Et abierunt pariter ad castrum et vocata plebe, coepit eos predicare et docere, et mansit ibi duobus diebus. Tercia vero die percussit eum febris, et infirmabatur valde, ita ut cybos capere non poterit nec ad cellulam revertere. Et iacebat in lectum invalidus languore per dies XIII."

the flocks panting for instruction, you may take an unwilting fruit in the heavenly realm.⁷⁹

In contrast to the Gallus of the *VV*, Wetli's Gallus takes some convincing, dedicated hermit that he was.⁸⁰ But in the end,

The devoted helper of many came together with the priest to the *castrum* ... Where he remained for two days in the work of God, compelled by the vehemence of both the priest and also the people. But on the third day, wishing to see again his nurslings [that is, back at his *cellula*], impeded by the vexation of fevers whose sharp taste had so thickened in him that he was not eating even the minimal bit of food that was his custom ... Therefore, on the fourteenth day, the infirmity of his body was growing [and] the famous athlete of Christ was preparing himself. And then, with the fourteenth day coming, on which we believe, he received his reward for his labors, with his useless limbs having been consumed and with nothing left behind but skin and bone, never ceasing from the work of God, either directing the solace of prayers to heaven, or gushing forth with an eloquence of instruction, indefatigable in the service of Christ ... he gave his holy soul to heaven.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Wetli, *Vita Galli* 1.29, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 273: "Igitur cum plasmator saeculorum merita eius iam ostendere voluisset, et multi propter desiderium visus eius anhelassent, contigit, Willimarum praefatum Arbonensem sacerdotem ad cellulam eius venisse propter priorem familiaritatem ... 'An ego,' inquit, 'peccavi in te, electe Dei, quod non dignaris vistare habitaculum famuli tui? Per eum cuius ope per tuam doctrinam actenus instruebamur, precor, ut aedificationis gratia venias plebemque mellifluis dogmatibus tuis doceas, ut gregis anhelantis intrui de labore tuo fructum inmarciscibilem capias in aethrali regno'."

⁸⁰ On the observable shift in perception between Gallus-as-hermit and Gallus-as-protobbot, see Raphael Schwitter, "Vom Einsiedler zum Apostel Alemanniens: Karolingische *réécriture hagiographique* am Beispiel der *Vita sancti Galli*," in *Gallus und seine Zeit*, ed. Schnoor et al. (n. 2 above), 267–81.

⁸¹ Wetli, *Vita Galli* 1.29, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 273: "Ut multorum devotus adiutor ad castrum cum sacerdote se contulit ... Ubi in opere Dei mansit biduo, vi coactus a sacerdote nec non et a populo. Sed tertia die cupiens alumnus reviser, impeditus est febrium vexatione, quarum aereo tantum in eo crassata est, ut nec minimum quod solebat alimentum cibi sumeret ... Ergo XIII diebus infirmitas corporis crescebat, in quibus athleta clarus Christi conspectibus se praeparabat. Iamque quarto decimo die veniente, in quo credimus ei laborum suorum mercedem restitutam, invicillibus membris consumatis et absque cute et ossibus penitus defectis, ab opera tamen Dei non cessans, sed aut caelo solamina precum dirifens aut eloquia aedificationum eructans, indefessus in servitio Christi ... beatam animam caelo reddidit."

Interesting here is the fact that Wetti mentions cohabitators at Gallus' hermitage; his *cellula* is a proto-*coenobium*!⁸² Also, whereas the death-scene in the *VV* is a rather muted affair, the death-scene in Wetti's *Vita Galli* is ornate and protracted. Organized around participial phrases, making full use of the sequence of tenses, and relentlessly clausal, Wetti's more nimble control of the *sententium periodicum* and syntax allows him to braid the sequence more synthetically than the analytical treatment given by the *VV*. Wetti heightens the tension of the scene as it speeds toward Gallus' death; one could well imagine this being read before an assembled crowd, chanted almost, until the character (and the *lector*!) finally spends his spirit.

Walahfrid takes a middle path between the spartan *VV* and the florid Wetti. He has Gallus' death in this way:

The priest Willimarus, coming to the *cella* of the holy man, asked him to come out with him to the *castrum*. And, in order to obtain that which he wanted, the stooping man spoke his complaint in a doleful voice: 'Why, father, have you forsaken, practically despised, me, who leans upon the admonitions of your words, and why do you deprive me, a devoted hearer, of the wholesome instructions of your teaching? To what am I able to ascribe this abjection, if not to the fetidness of my sins? For if my life were not displeasing in your judgement, you would not be depriving lovable me from the solace of your instruction. Now, therefore, do not abject us on account of our sins, but, having been called forth by the mandates of the Lord, open the path of truth to those desiring it and bestow to us the gift of your customary kindness.'⁸³

⁸² Cornel Dora (personal communication) is adamant that the early complex was rather more expansive than a solitary hermitage. See Cornel Dora, "Zwei Anfüge des Gallusklosters," in *Vater für Armen: Otmar und die Anfüge des Klosters St. Gallen*, ed. Cornel Dora (Saint-Gallen, 2019), 16–25. Institutionally-sponsored archaeological work bears out the early assembly of a semi-organized community prior to Otmar's foundation of Saint-Gallen: Martin Peter Schindler, "Neue archäologische Erkenntnisse zu St. Gallen," in *Gallus und seine Zeit*, ed. F. Schnoor et al. (n. 2 above), 205–21. Whatever the *Vorherleben* of Saint-Gallen, institutional memory originates from Otmar's foundation in 719.

⁸³ In contrast to the *VV* and Wetti, Walahfrid's descriptor of Gallus' hermitage is no longer diminutive. Walahfrid—the most overtly monastic of prose authors—is making a point here: Gallus' hermitage is well on its way to becoming a *coenobium*. The author of the *VV* and Wetti were content to allow Gallus the smallness of his refuge; Walahfrid has greater things in mind. See Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.29, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 307: "Willimarus presbyter veniens ad cellam viri sancti, rogavit eum, ut secum egrederetur ad castrum. Et ut iptinereet, quod voluit, huiusmodi voce flebili querimoniam summissus explicuit: 'Cur,' inquiens, 'o pater, me, qui tuorum monitis dictorum innitor, quasi despectum dereliquisti et doctrinae tuae salutaribus institutis auditorem fraudasti benivolum? Cui hanc abiectioem ascribere possum nisi peccatorum meorum foetoribus? Nisi enim vita mea tuo displiceret iudicio, amabili me aedificationis tuae non privares solatio. Nunc ergo noli nos pro peccatis nostris abicere, sed Domini provocatus mandatis, viam veritatis desiderantibus aperi et solitae nobis benignitatis munus impende'."

Again, Willimarus is perceiving Gallus to have abnegated some instructional responsibility—he is keeping his teaching to himself inappropriately. Willimarus is entreating instruction, perhaps an indication of the appropriate orientation assumed between monastic foundations and the world. For Willimarus, it is not sufficient that Gallus work on his own salvation in isolation; rather, his responsibility is to direct those energies to the salvation of all. Gallus is moved by the invitation, and Walahfrid continues,

The lover of piety descended with him, and they came to the *castrum*. With the multitude having been called on a solemn day, the holy man refreshed the hearts of the avid people with the sweetness of prayer and what he said clothed them with a light of wisdom so great that it was heard with the greatest rejoicing of everyone and was honored with the full reverence of all.⁸⁴

When Gallus preaches, he is effective. His inclination to eremitism stands at odds with the effect he could have had. Willimarus' enjoiner, then, seeks to help Gallus realize his full potential as an instructor of the people. It is not enough to work on one's own salvation; collective salvation ought to be the object of religious enterprise. Having realized this fact, Gallus can now depart from this world:

And, so, having passed two days in that same place, he was seized by a fever on the third day [and] its violence swiftly oppressed him so greatly that he was able neither to return to his cell nor to accept the meager sustenance of food. And when he had labored for fourteen days in this infirmity ... having been freed from the prison of this life, he returned his soul, full of blessed merits [and] holding fast with perennial profit.⁸⁵

Walahfrid walks the middle path between the spare account of the *VV* and *Wetti's* bombast, quite in keeping with his intention to provide an even-handed, if partisan, institutional account. All three authors record this exchange between

⁸⁴ Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.29, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 307: "Pietatis amator descendit cum illo et venerunt ad castrum. Vocata autem multitudine, in die sollempni vir sanctus praedicationis dulcedine avidorum corda refecit et tanta quae dixerat sapientiae luce vestavit, ut summa omnium gratulatione auditus et plena cunctorum veneratione sit honoratus."

⁸⁵ Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 1.29, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 307: "Biduo itaque ibidem ducto, tertia die febre correptus, tantum in brevi eius violentia depressus est, ut nec ad cellam redire nec cibi sustentaculum potuisset percipere. Cumque hac infirmitate per dies quattuordecim laborasset ... huius vitae liberatus ergastulo, animam meritis plenam felicibus reddidit bonis inhaesuram perennibus."

Willimarus and Gallus, all agree that he fell ill after preaching, and all agree on the timeframe of his infirmity. Where they differ is in their relative theatricality. The *VV* and Walahfrid are sober and tempered, while *Wetti* designs his account for performance.

The *Vita metrica* follows the same pattern and likewise exposes its rationale for composition:

Now the death of Gallus is woven in this song, by means of which he, leaving behind all worldly matters, sought heaven, [and was] joined to the angelic citizens of the blessed seat. O greater *Germania*, happy because of so great a patron, who deserved to climb the worldly heights and to see the regions ... When omnipotent God, the mover of all honors, determined to lift out of the darkness of the world the favorable man, the unconquered combatant, the probate veteran, by means of which he might seize the prizes of his virtues with an everlasting dowry, a priest, Willimar by name, coming with earnest prayers and a quiet voice, entreats, demands, longs for, asks, begs, prays, and says: ‘I ask, father, do not condemn my wish: you, a counsellor whom I have always loved, are pleasant to me, from whose pious prayer I have taken up the sweetest utterances, whose every bounty I, following your footsteps, have perceived; I beg that we hasten to the *castrum* with even steps, in order that the people, witnessing the lessons of salvation, might hear and be able to know well the path of faith through you.’⁸⁶

Unless the poet is punning on the near-homophony of *eremitum* and *emeritum*, gone is any reference to a hermitage: no *cella*, diminutive or otherwise, to be found; the poet is imagining a *coenobium*. He stacks seven verbs, an almost pleonastic diazeugma, to communicate the idea of request that the prose authors achieved with a simplex word. This variegating palilogia, an epizeuxis based on concept rather than bare repetition, reduplicates the basic meaning of the action

⁸⁶ *Vita metrica* 1355–59 and 1366–79, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 462–63: “Nunc obitus Galli texatur carmine cepto, / Quo caelum petiit terrestria cuncta relinquens, / Civibus angelicis sociatus sede beata. / O felix tanto Germania tota patrono, / Scandere qui meruit superas et visere partes. / [...] Cum deus omnipotens, cunctorum lator honorum, / E mundi tenebris decresset tollere laetum / Belligeratorem invictum emeritumque, probatum, / Praemia quo caperet virtutum dote perhenni, / Presbiter adveniens vocitamine Willimar atque / Intentis precibus Summissa et voce precatur, / Postulat, exoptat, rogitat, petit, orat et inquit: / ‘Quaso, pater, noli mea nunc contempnere vota, / Qui mihi suavis eras monitor, quem semper amavi, / Cuius ab ore pio dulcissima famina sumpsi, / Omne bonum cuius sensi vestigia sectans, / Deprecor ad castrum proeremus passibus aequis, / Audiat ut populus spectans documenta salutis / Atque viam fidei per te dinoscere possit’.”

constructively rather than contrastingly. The effect is to render a line heavy in dactyls that stacks Willimar's (now rendered using the Germanic stem without case-ending) singular action aspectually. Readers cannot believe that he spasmodically did all these things in a single act. The poet continues:

They come to the *castrum*; there a great number of men [were] demanding the arrival of Gallus with a thought of their heart. When the servant of the Lord espied this crowd, he then desired to revive them all with the sweet nectar of dogma. What can I say! He restores the bystanding crowd and outstanding font of virtues, he absorbs, he strengthens, he revives [them]. After he enriched everyone with the divine gift, they, rejoicing, repay him and throng him with praise; speaking their many proclamations about holy Gallus, they extolled excessively the shining teachings of the blessed man.⁸⁷

The poet deploys the same device as above, stacking verbs to fit the meter, but he does so here with different effect. No longer are the verbs close synonyms, they are now only obliquely (and metaphorically) linked to public speaking; just as we can 'soak up the crowd' to convey a sense of reveling in the spotlight, so too can the Gallus of the *Vita metrica* come to realize a preacher's delight in a willing congregation. To be sure: Gallus is converting the audience, but he himself is converted. Gallus can now die:

These things thus accomplished in that same place, after the sun had set twice, a third light appeared: the rich grower of virtues is shaken, is troubled, and burns with immense fevers. In such a way, behold, O reader, weigh carefully the number of days during which he, afflicted, bore the dire fire: how many the fourth letter after the sixth number signifies (that is, 10), if the fourth number (that is, 4) is joined by the first term (that is, $10+4=14$), through just as many suns Gallus, the lover of piety, very patiently endured the fever, according to reports, and, having been placed on the threshold of death, the blessed man did not cease to bear thanks to God by means of assiduous prayers ... He climbed to the stars of the sky, undergirded by riches earned, the body returning to the dirt,

⁸⁷ *Vita metrica* 1382–91, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 463: “Ad castrum veniunt; ibi copia magna virorum / Adventum Galli poscens meditamine cordis. / Hanc domini famulus turbam cum cerneret, exin / Dogmate nectareo cunctos recreare studebat. / Quid loquar! Insigni virtutum fonte cohortem / Astantem reficit, potat, solidat, recreatque. / Munere divino postquam ditaverat omnes, / Ad sua gaudentes redeunt laudesque frequentant; / Plurima de Gallo fantes praeconia sancto / Clara viri extollunt nimium documenta beati.”

his soul, perennially rejoicing, with the repose of the saints guiding it, returning to the heavenly Lord.⁸⁸

Again, the poet engages in verb-stacking, but here we must understand the device to be zeugma rather than diazeugma, because the ablative noun in the initial position of line 1395 shifts syntax when moving between passive and active verbs (that is, from an ablative of agent to an ablative of cause, means, manner, or attendant circumstances). Of course, the poet clarifies the scriptural references of the numeration of the days spent preaching, framing Gallus as a Christ-like holy hero. Really the *Vita metrica* is of a piece apart, aiming at a different target than any of the prose *vitae*; the author sought to frame Gallus in heroic terms and turned his poetic acumen to the task. He is providing the community with a hero reckoned on secular lines to complement, not compete with, other authors.

But what are the accoutrements of this episode? Consistent between the latter three authors is the fact that Willimarus both led Gallus to his future hermitage and led him away from his hermitage prior to his death. Thus, we must countenance the fact that this Willimarus, a native of Arbon, both initiates Gallus' hermitage and occasions the conversion of that location into a coenobitic community. From a compositional standpoint, such bookending is unlikely to be a mistake. Where our authors are consistent, they speak to tradition; where they differ, they do so with intention. It seems that all four authors agree that the matter of Gallus—his *vita* and events immediately proceeding from his death—represent a unit. The first book of the *VV* concludes sharply with Gallus' death; the opening chapters of the second book concern the immediate aftermath of his death. The *Vita metrica* likewise closes with a poetic rendering of the immediate effects of Gallus' death. Wetli, on the other hand, groups the immediately posthumous miracles (that is, those materials borrowed from the *VV* and conveyed

⁸⁸ *Vita metrica* 1392–1403 and 1406–1408, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 463–64: “His ita perfectis ibidem bis sole reductor / Permansit Gallus caelestia iura revelans. / Tertia lux aderat: virtutum cultor opimus / Febribus immensis quatitur, tribulatur et ardet. / Taliter, en, lector, numerum perpende dierum, / In quibus affluctus diros toleraverat ignes: / Quam rimam signat post sectam litera quarta, / A prima fuerit si quartum gramma iugatum, / Per totidem soles Gallus, pietatis amator, / Perpetitur febrim patienter valde ferendo, / Atque deo grates positus sub limine leti / Assiduus precibus non cessat ferre beatus. / [...] Scanderat astra polu meritis suggultus opimis, / Corpus humo reddens anima gaudente perhenni / Sanctorum requie domino moderante superno.” The poet here is engaging in an arithmetical flourish, entirely affected and precious. In Latin, gematria dictated the numeric values of letters (for example, A = 1, B = 2, and so on). The poet then engages in a bit of *variatio*, wherein *rima* (here meaning ‘number’), *litera*, and *gramma* each mean the same thing. The poet agrees with the prose *vitae* that Gallus lay bedridden with fever for fourteen days before his death.

forward to the *Vita metrica*) into his first book, reserving his second book for posthumous miracles pertaining to Gallus' *cultus* (Table 1).⁸⁹

Very little unique in Wetti is found outside the *VV*. Wetti's was a rewriting for style, not substance. Moreover, Walahfrid seems to consider the hinge-point between his two books as naturally lying at the point when Gallus' remains are returned to his hermitage, understandable if we imagine Walahfrid's subtextual focus to be the community at Saint-Gallen rather than the foundational figure of Gallus. Likewise, so closely does the *Vita metrica* follow the materials and structure of the *VV* that it is conceivable that the poet structured his work on that iteration of Gallus' life, merely borrowing from Wetti and Walahfrid selectively. Walahfrid, in this sense, appears as an outlier; only he provides anything like reportage extending to his present day.

THE LITERARY AFTERLIFE OF GALLUS

Our three prose *vitae* are each divided into two books: in each, book one considers Gallus' life and deeds; in each, book two lists posthumous miracles allegedly worked through Gallus' intercession. The *Vita metrica*, a secular encomium in heroic hexameters, also treats Gallus' career and posthumous miracles, but the focus is squarely on the former, the latter accounting for about a quarter of the text. The posthumous miracles each text includes reveal much about a given author's intent when composing their text in the first place. Of the approximately forty discrete miracles these authors preserve between them, a few general trends are observable. First, relative attention or inattention to institutional integrity, facilities, and ecclesiology mark each text. As authors are sensitive to rhetoric, circumstance, audience, and meaning, each author selects intelligently in order to accomplish their authorial ambition. Second, the miracles a given author communicates reveal substantially his intention. The *VV* wove the life of a late-antique hermit; Wetti designed his text for aural consumption; Walahfrid was writing an encyclopedia entry; and the *Vita metrica*, classicizing 'charter narrative' that it is, was designed to entertain as much as edify. Each author selected his posthumous miracles with a set ambition in mind.

As Walahfrid states,

There is so great a bounty of miracles which the Lord worked at his tomb at diverse times that it is not easily able to be expressed [even] with a zeal for writing. Many of these are laid aside owing to their

⁸⁹ On the book divisions of the three prose *vitae*, see Tresp, "Einleitung" (n. 13 above), 4. The table there is substantially cribbed from Schwitter, "Zur Entstehungszeit der ältesten Teile der *Vita s. Galli*" (n. 15 above), 188, who adapted it from Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter, Band 2: Merowingische Biographie, Italien, Spanien, und die Inseln im frühen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1988), 287–90.

Table 1. Gallus' Posthumous Miracles

On Tables 1 and 2, the numbers in parentheses refer to the page numbers of the respective editions of these texts (see n. 1, above).					
	VV	Wetti	Walahfrid	Vita metrica	
1	John, Bishop of Konstanz, attends Gallus' funeral in Arbon, and notes that the bier carrying the corpse cannot be moved to the burial-place; feral horses transport Gallus' cadaver.	5 (253–54)	2.30 (274–75)	1.30 (307–308)	1428–1524 (464–66)
2	A sick man is healed by Gallus' clothing.	6 (254)	2.31 (275)	1.31 (308–309)	1612–92 (469–70)
3	Gallus is discovered to have been a practitioner of corporeal mortification, when they find a hairshirt and an iron chain stained with blood in his effects.	7 (254); highly fragmentary	2.34 (276)	2.32 (309)	1693–1745 (470–72)
4	The feral horses miraculously bear Gallus' body back to the location of his hermitage.	—	2.32 (275)	2.33 (310)	1537–68 (467–68)
5	Two tapered candles burning near his unburied body are unconsumed, and the wax from these candles proves effective against toothache, inflammation of the eyes, and stoppages in the ears.	—	2.33 (275)	2.34 (310)	1746–75 (472)

abundance; truly, the few mentioned are inserted into this little work in order to commend their memory to posterity.⁹⁰

So, even our most encyclopedic author engaged in an act of winnowing. We should be attuned to constraining factors that formed criteria for inclusion for our authors. These include generic concerns and an author's intended effect. If *VV* was a record of a late-antique holy man, if Wetti intended a lectionary document, if Walahfrid aimed at indexical completion, and if the *Vita metrica* sought to frame Gallus as a 'holy hero,' then the posthumous miracles that each selected for inclusion fit within each of those ambitions (Table 2).

As should be clear from Table 2, Walahfrid is attempting something different in his second book. The *VV* preserves Gallus as a wonderworking thaumaturge; Wetti speaks to concerns of social order and secular and ecclesiastical relationships; Walahfrid's postmortem Gallus preserves both these visions but is rather more locally focused. Gallus' wonderworking flows through his eponymous institution; Saint-Gallen, the place, emerges as the vehicle for Saint Gallus, the intercessor, to distribute his favor. Walahfrid's second book, the lengthiest of the bunch, underscores the institutional and location-specific miraculous deeds of the deceased Gallus. Gallus is everywhere a postmortem intercessor, but only in Walahfrid does that intercession continue. We should not be surprised: the *VV* gives us a late-antique holy man, Wetti gives us a reworking fit for public address in mixed secular and religious company, and Walahfrid pretends to completion as an institutional record. Despite the fact that *VV* is brief and Wetti fails to include the rich array of miraculous occurrences preserved by Walahfrid, the miracles each author includes speak to their particular use of the Gallus narrative. Each author advances a hallmark miracle, a miracle that we can interpret as central to their authorial program.

Each of these texts takes the same basic historical framework, the same character, and the same theater of events and tasks these details with different jobs. If, in the words of Monique Goulet and Martin Heinzelmann,

One might define *réécriture* as the composition of a new version (*hypertexte*) of a preexistent text (*hypotexte*), obtained by formal changes that affect the signifier ([whether] quantitative, structural, or linguistic changes), or by semantic changes that affect the signified.

⁹⁰ Walahfrid, *Vita Galli* 2.5, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 316: "Tanta autem est miraculorum copia, quae Dominus apud tumulum eius diversis temporibus ostendit, ut non facile scribendi studio comprehendi possit. Ex quibus propter abundantiam multa omittuntur; pauca vero et eminentiora propter memoriam posteris commendandam huic inseruntur opusculo."

Table 2. Gallus' Posthumous Miracles, Collated from the Authors' Second Books

	1 = Thaumaturgy; 2 = Institutional integrity; 3 = Social order; 4 = Healing; 5 = Property; 6 = Building	VV	Wetti	Walahfrid	Type
1	An uncertain Otwin invades and devastates Arbona, the neighborhood of Gallus' cell. The people bury their belongings in the cell. Erchonaldus, Otwin's <i>vicarius</i> , finds the treasure and is immediately struck senseless, spending a year infirmed during which his skin peeled, his hair fell out, and his fingernails fell off. His disfigurement was a <i>signum</i> .	—	2.35 (276–77)	2.1 (313–14)	3
2	Bishop Boso of Konstanz restores Gallus' body to his resting place. A shrine is emplaced.	possibly 8 (254–55)	2.36 (277)	2.2 (314)	3 / 6
3	Pippin, then maiordomo, devastates Allemania, seizing <i>ancillae</i> from Gallus' <i>familia</i> as captives. The soldiers are themselves seized by evil spirits and attribute their tormented condition to Gallus' intercession.	—	2.37 (278)	2.3 (314)	2 / 3 / 5
4	The <i>palla</i> over Gallus' shrine caught fire but was miraculously restored.	—	2.38 (278)	2.4 (314–15)	1 / 5 / 6
5	A bird is miraculously provided for the hungry brothers.	possibly 8 (254–55)	—	2.5 (315–16)	1
6	In the days of Carloman (r. 741–47), an altarcloth woven by a <i>paupercula</i> was miraculously spared from fire; this altarcloth was used until the time of Abbot Otmar (r. 719–59).	9 (255)	2.39 (279)	2.6 (316–17)	1 / 5 / 6

Continued

Table 2. *Continued*

	1 = Thaumaturgy; 2 = Institutional integrity; 3 = Social order; 4 = Healing; 5 = Property; 6 = Building	VV	Wetti	Walahfrid	Type
7	In the time of Pepin the Short (r. 752–68), an uncertain Willimar, miraculously cured by Gallus’ intercession, fails to deliver the promised gift of a horse; the horse refuses to move until the man confesses his faithlessness.	10 (255)	2.40 (279)	2.7 (317)	1 / 3 / 5
8	In the fourth year of Carloman I (771), a <i>pauperculus</i> makes an offering to Saint-Gallen of stolen beeswax; he finds the beeswax miraculously transformed into stone.	11 (256)	2.41 (279–80)	2.8 (317–18)	1 / 3 / 5
9	An uncertain Count Victor of Rhaetia Curiensis, likely one of the three Victorid bishops of Chur, sought to seize Gallus’ remains and is thwarted by a miraculous light from the heavens; this same Victor falls from his horse and breaks his thighbone.	—	—	2.11–12 (321–22)	2 / 5
10	Gallus’ intercession heals a paralyzed man.	—	—	2.13 (322)	1 / 4
11	Pigs are miraculously fattened in a barren season by the intervention of Gallus.	—	—	2.18 (325–26)	1 / 5
12	The stables of Saint-Gallen are burnt by arsonists, who are miraculously identified.	—	—	2.19 (326)	5 / 6
13	A hand of a thief (who had been surreptitiously cutting wood from lands dedicated to the exclusive use of Saint-Gallen) was condemned to	—	—	2.20 (326–27)	2 / 5

	grip fast the hilt of his sword, which only released upon his confession.	—	—	2.21 (327)	3
14	A perjurer, falsely attesting to property before the altar of Gallus, is struck blind.	—	—	2.21 (327)	3
15	After invoking the name of Gallus, a man is spared from death at the hands of robbers.	—	—	2.22 (327–28)	3
16	Exorcism of a girl.	—	—	2.23 (328)	1
17	Strange behavior of lamp oil.	—	—	2.24 (328–29)	1
18	A brother, who had fled the monastery on stolen horses, is miraculously restored to the monastery.	—	—	2.25 (329)	2 / 5
19	A man disfigured by lightning is healed, half in Rome, half at Saint-Gallen.	—	—	2.26 (329–30)	1 / 4
20	A deaf-mute is healed by the brothers of Saint-Gallen.	—	—	2.27 (330)	1 / 4
21	A pupil of the monastery steals a book and is revealed in a vision granted to one of the brothers.	—	—	2.28 (330–31)	3 / 5
22	A nun recovers the use of her arms.	—	—	2.29 (331)	1
23	A farm-laborer steals some tools, but they are miraculously restored.	—	—	2.30 (331)	3 / 5
24	A sick man is cured at the tomb of Gallus.	—	—	2.31 (332)	1
25	A man is cured of nausea at a Mass at Saint-Gallen.	—	—	2.32 (332)	1
26	A man convicted of homicide is granted relief from his binding chains by the intercession of Gallus.	—	—	2.33 (332)	1 / 3

Continued

Table 2. *Continued*

	1 = Thaumaturgy; 2 = Institutional integrity; 3 = Social order; 4 = Healing; 5 = Property; 6 = Building	VV	Wetti	Walahfrid	Type
27	Two lighting implements—a <i>farum</i> and a <i>luverna vitrea</i> —are miraculously spared damage after they fell.	—	—	2.34–35 (332–33)	1 / 5
28	The community’s physician is miraculously healed by a vision.	—	—	2.36 (333)	2 / 4
29	Gallus heals a girl blind from birth.	—	—	2.37 (333)	1 / 4
30	One of the monastery’s students is healed from sores by the dust of Gallus’ tomb mixed with oil.	—	—	2.38 (334)	1 / 2 / 4
31	A girl whose hand was withered and curved is healed after offering linen at Gallus’ altar.	—	—	2.39 (334)	1 / 4 / 5
32	Wax, stolen from the monastery by a <i>rusticus</i> , is miraculously turned into stone.	—	—	2.40 (334)	1 / 5
33	A mute man recovers his voice at the altar of Gallus.	—	—	2.41 (334–35)	1 / 4
34	A deformed boy is restored the use of his limbs.	—	—	2.42 (335)	1 / 4
35	A paralyzed girl is healed at a Mass at Saint-Gallen.	—	—	2.43 (335)	1 / 4
36	A blind <i>ancilla</i> is healed in the church of Saint-Gallen.	—	—	2.44 (335)	1 / 4
37	A candle is lit from heaven on the octave of Epiphany.	—	—	2.45 (335–36)	5
38	A man <i>de natione Scottorum</i> is healed of diverse maladies by the intervention of Gallus and becomes an inmate at Saint-Gallen.	—	—	2.46 (336)	1 / 2 / 4

The term *réécriture* then designates the action of rewriting as well as, by metonymy, the new version obtained.⁹¹

Then the process that produced the materials pertaining to Gallus, each fashioned out of a textual predecessor but composed for different ends, certainly qualifies as *réécriture*. We may even peek into the animating impulses for such a process by viewing the resultant products. The *VV*, very much interested in creating a record of a late-antique holy man, has more in common with earlier texts—more like Athanasius' Anthony, less like Gregory the Great's Benedict or Jonas' Columbanus. For the author of the *VV*, Gallus was more a hermit than a founder, reluctant to engage with the wider world. As we have seen, Wetti's authorial program is made plain by his theatrical dealing with Gallus' death scene. His text was meant to be read aloud in mixed company, and he crafted his language specifically to achieve its maximal effect. Walahfrid's collection of posthumous miracles is rather more institutional in nature.⁹² The *Vita metrica* is plain in this instance: Gallus is a "venerable hero" deserving of esteem.⁹³

Writing, especially in the medieval circumstance, was hard and costly. The act of composition is not a natural undertaking in the absence of necessity. When we can observe processes of *réécriture*, we ought to pause and ask ourselves why. As often as not, the answer must lie in the fact that whatever materials a *réécrivain* had ready-to-hand had ceased to be useful for the purposes they were called to meet. In the case of Gallus, the intervention of Abbot Gozbert looms largely. Gozbert recognized the myriad deficiencies of the *VV* and recognized that patronizing a process of *réécriture* was the surest way of yielding a useful commemorative text. Singularly, in our understanding of this process, the Gallus materials have witnessed the most concerted and sustained period of *réécriture*.⁹⁴ The *VV* that

⁹¹ Monique Goulet and Martin Heinzelmann, "Avant-propos," in *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Goulet and Heinzelmann (n. 5 above), 13: "On pourra donc définir la réécriture comme la rédaction d'une nouvelle version (*hypertexte*) d'un texte préexistant (*hypotexte*), obtenue par des modifications formelles qui affectent le signifiant (modifications quantitatives, structurelles, linguistiques), ou des modifications sémantiques, qui affectent le signifié. Le terme *réécriture* désigne d'abord l'action de réécrire, puis, par métonymie, la nouvelle version obtenue."

⁹² Two lengthy non-miraculous interventions in Walahfrid's second book concern institutional integrity: the first, *Vita Galli* 2.10, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 318–20, outlines various royal grants and privileges enjoyed by Saint-Gallen (for which there is little or no cartulary support); the second, *Vita Galli* 2.14–17, ed. Krusch (n. 1 above), 322–25, involves attempts by Bishop Sidonius of Konstanz (r. 754–64) to bring Saint-Gallen within episcopal control. Each attempt is thwarted, and the monastery remained independent of episcopal oversight.

⁹³ *Vita metrica* 1067, ed. Dümmler (n. 1 above), 455.

⁹⁴ On this point, once again mention must be made of the other Gozbert, Gozbert the Younger, whom Cornel Dora (personal communication) describes as "the literary agent of the monastery ... involved in all these enterprises." This Gozbert, active around 830–50, may well have been responsible for furnishing Walahfrid with a ledger containing further

Gozbert had in hand failed to rise to the necessities of his growing community. He handed the task to two authors outside his community. The monk of Reichenau, Wetti, produced a text suited to lectionary purposes but was insufficiently indexical. He handed the task yet again to another monk of Reichenau, Walahfrid, whose contribution satisfied the community and those beyond it, if manuscript evidence is anything to go by. But Gozbert also had a yearning for a Gallus suited to secular letters; the author of the *Vita metrica* rose to that occasion. Each of these *vitae*, all composed before 850, advanced the same materials to different ends. The common thread was Gozbert, a testament to his stewardship as abbot of the Gallus *cultus* and his involvement in cultures of learning.

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posthumous miracles, accounting for the majority of the second book of his *Vita Galli*. See Max Schär, “Gozbert der Jüngere: Ein besonderer St. Galler Mönch des 9. Jahrhunderts,” *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 119 (2008): 7–23.