

## History 6: Saint Columbanus

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### I. Bibliography<sup>2</sup>

- a. Sources
  - 1. *Life of St. Columbanus*, Jonas Monk at Bobbio, Edited and translated by D.C. Munro, Philadelphia, 1895. (*Translations and reprints from original sources of European history*. Vol II, Sec 7.)
  - 2. *Writings, letters and sermons of St. Columbanus* in "Patriologiac,"<sup>3</sup> Vol LXXX. Page 201-326.
  - 3. *Regula Sancti Benedicti* ???, Edwardus ???

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<sup>1</sup> This is from a collection of manuscripts—mostly class papers—written while Davis was a student at Harvard Divinity School, 1902-1904. This manuscript is clearly for the History 6 class he took during the 1902-03 academic year. On the cover page the professor has written "A."

<sup>2</sup> The professor has written, "???" Not well cited" at the top of the page.

<sup>3</sup> The professor has put a vertical mark through "Patriologiac."

4. Translation of *Gregory's Life of Benedict*. Translation of his Rule, London, 1886.
- b. Writings based on sources.
1. *Les Moines de L'Accident*, ???, Vol. 2, Book VII.
  2. Same translated.
  3. *Chronik Thedegass und der Frankenkönige, die Lebensherch Reiburgen des Abts. Columbanus der Bishope Annulf... ??? Scholasticices*. Berlin, 1849.
  4. *St. Columbanus et St. Gall*, P. Naef, Bibliotheque Universelle at Revue Suisse, No. 72, 1863, Vol 18, p 500.
  5. *Ansgewahlte Schiften van Columbanus*, Gabriel Mein
  6. *Kalumban und S. Gall*, by Friedrich Babingen (in his *Kirche Christi*)
  7. *Verhen<sup>4</sup> der heil. Columbon Leben und Wirken*, ??? ... G. Hertel, in the *Zeitschrift für ??? Theol.* 1875, and in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch Theol.* 1879.
  8. *Disputation Historico-Theologica de Columbano*, Knothenbelt, 1839.
- c. General References
1. Neander, *Church History*, Vol III, pp. 29-34, 95.
  2. Milmanic *Latin Christianity*, Vol. 3, 237-248.
  3. Sheldon's *Church History*, Vol. 2, 34-37.
  4. Schaff's *Church History*, Vol 4, 84-89.
  5. Tarrington, R.K. Eccles, *History of Ireland*, Vol II, 263+, 1829.
  6. W. Smith + H. Ware, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Vol I, 605-607.
  7. Allen's *Christian Institutions*, p. 152.
  8. H. Martin's *Historie de France*, Vol. 2, pp. 117-131.
  9. Moeller's *Church History*, Vol. 2, 56, 70.
  10. G. Smith's *Christian Monasticism*, pp. 63, 81, 275-277.

## II. Introduction

A study of the life of St. Columbanus opens the way to several interesting questions. The stories concerning his birth and education give us a glimpse of early Christianity in Ireland. His later life throws some light on the life of the Gauls during

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<sup>4</sup> The professor underlined this word.

that interesting period when the Gauls were absorbing the new factors of their life, viz., civilization and Christianity. It also reveals something of the slow but persistent process of weaving these countries together under the influence of the one great Church. It shows us something of that threadwork of monastic systems which exerted such an influence in cementing together the parts of the Catholic Church. It takes us within the monasteries and permits us to see something of the monastic life of the period.

While these aspects are interesting, it is apparent that this brief paper must confine itself to a limited subject. No attempt, therefore, will be made to go beyond the narration of the events of St. Columbanus' life, and to present some conception of his monastic system and why it was absorbed by the system of Benedict.

The early history of Christianity in Ireland is rather hidden and enveloped in a cloud of legends and tales of miracles, which may or may not have a basis of fact. The somewhat melodramatic story of St. Patrick's life and the introduction of Christianity into Ireland adds somewhat to our interest in the events but fails to throw very much light upon what actually happened. In as much as the stories say nothing of war or conquest, we may believe that Christianity came to Ireland in a quiet peaceable manner. Perhaps, as the legends suggest, it was introduced by two missionaries of the rather humble conditions. Whatever may have been the means, the fact remains that by the middle of the sixth century Christianity had become quite firmly established in Ireland.

The Catholic—the Roman—faith reigned thus without limitations in the great and numberless communities which constituted the chief strength of the Church founded by Patrick and his British fellow-laborers.<sup>5</sup>

Of course, this statement is naturally colored by the point of view of the visitor, but Dr. Moeller says,

Among the great [national] monastic foundations of the sixth century, that of Finnian, the monastery of Clonard [(Cluain-Erard)] in Meath is preeminent. To it 3,000

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<sup>5</sup> Davis' footnote: "*Monks of the West*, Vol. III. p. 85." I find this quote here: *The Count De Montalembert, Monks of the West, From St. Benedict to St. Bernard*, Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1872. p.693.

monks are said to have belonged, i.e., in the different monastic settlements which were dependent on Clonard.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the whole situation is more clearly expressed thus: These expressions all point to an effete and decaying church, restored through the medium of Finnian and his monastic school of Clonard, and to a great revival and spread of Christianity through a new and living organization based upon the monastic institution.<sup>7</sup>

Then there was another famous monastery known as Bangor, established by St. Camgall. Here no less than 3,000 Irish monks followed the leadership of one man and submitted to his commands and ruling.

Grouping these various statements, we are able to estimate the general conditions of Ireland at the time of the birth, and during the boyhood of our good St. Columbanus. It seems then that Christianity had passed through its first stage of superficial enthusiasm. There had been a period of relaxation and decay. Now at the time of the growth of these monasteries, it had gotten its second breath, and was ready for good long solid work. It had been put on the outside, had worked in, and was now getting back to the surface again.

Also the general atmosphere of this monastic life must be considered. It was rather the atmosphere of a religious university. It seemed not only as a training for the monks in religious questions and religious practices, but was a center of art, culture and training, which had a great influence on the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

There, also, (i.e., in the monasteries) were trained an entire population of philosophers, of writers, of architects, of carvers, of painters, of calligraphers, of musicians, poets and historians; but above all, of

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<sup>6</sup> Davis' footnote: "Moeller, *Ch. Hist.*, Vol II, p. 48." I find this quote here: Wilhelm Moeller, *History of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages*, Translated from the German by A. Rutherford, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1893. p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> Davis' footnote: "*Celtic Scotland*, W.F. Skene, Vol II., p. 51." I find this quote here: William Forbes Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban*, Volume II: Church and Culture, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887. p. 51.

missionaries and preachers destined to spread the light of the Gospel.<sup>8</sup>

### III. Columbanus' Life

Into this atmosphere and into these conditions Columbanus was born in Leinster. Writers seem to hesitate about the date, but those who are most consistent in other things say that he was born in the year 543. If the legend concerning his birth be true, there must have been great excitement over the event. The story is told by his first biographer Jonas, the monk of Bobbio. It is at<sup>9</sup> least interesting because it illustrates the nature of the legends which in the course of times were collected about the facts of his life.

For when his mother, after having conceived, was bearing him in her womb, suddenly in a tempestuous night, while she was buried in sleep, she saw the sun rise from her bosom and issuing forth resplendent, furnish great light to the world. ... At length she was told by those who had wisely considered the matter, that she was carrying in her womb a man of remarkable genius who would provide what would be useful for her own salvation and for that of the neighbors.<sup>10</sup>

Regardless of this story as historic fact, we turn to learn something of the lucky youth. Very early in his life he became interested in learning and showed evidences of scholarship. He

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<sup>8</sup> Davis provides no reference for this quote. It is from *The Count De Montalembert, Monks of the West, From St. Benedict to St. Bernard*, Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1872. p. 694.

<sup>9</sup> After "It is at" and before "least interesting" there is a page break in the manuscript. This quotation from *The Count De Montalembert, Monks of the West, From St. Benedict to St. Bernard*, Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1872. p.694. is inserted: "And of Christian education, not only in all the Celtic countries, of which Ireland was always the nursing mother, but throughout all Europe among all the Teutonic races—" It is not clear how this is supposed to related to the narrative.

<sup>10</sup> Davis' footnote: "*Jonas Life of Columban*, p. 2. In *Translations and reprints of European History, Vol II.*" I find this quote here: "Life of St. Columban by the Monk, Jonas," in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History, Volume II, No. 7*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1897, p. 2.

devoted himself to sciences and German and studied faithfully all through his boyhood.

But as a young man he seems to have been severely tempted, and to avoid temptations he left his native place. Just what is the truth of the story one can hardly determine, but the general movement seems to indicate some indiscrete love affair, which made it seem advisable for him to leave his native place, called Logenar (Leinster). He went to live with a holy man named Senelis who was distinguished for his holy life, and his knowledge of the scripture.<sup>11</sup> He remained a long time with this man Senelis studying and then entered the Monastery at Banchor (Bangor) where he came under the leadership and direction of the famous St. Comgall. It seems that by this time he had fully decided to become a monk. Probably he came to this decision during his life with Senelis. He went to Senelis rather to escape what was behind, now he comes to Bangor to prepare himself for the Christian ministry, or rather [as] a Christian teacher. His life here was well adapted to that purpose. Fasting and prayer gave him control over himself.<sup>12</sup>

Here he remained many years (probably about ten) absorbing all the wealth of knowledge which was to serve him so well in later years.

But he tired of Bangor, and longed to go to foreign lands, where he might teach the Gospel. About the 30<sup>th</sup> year of his life,<sup>13</sup> i.e., about 573, he left Bangor for the continent together with twelve followers.<sup>14</sup> Passing through Brittany, the

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<sup>11</sup> Davis' footnote here: "Jonas. Life. P. 4." More fully: "Life of St. Columban by the Monk, Jonas," in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, Volume II, No. 7, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1897, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Davis inserts a footnote with this quote and reference here: "'Here Columban gave himself entirely to fasting and prayer, to bearing the easy yoke of Christ to mortifying the flesh... that he who was to instruct others might also instruct himself.'" Page 5." This quote is from "Life of St. Columban by the Monk, Jonas," in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, Volume II, No. 7, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1897, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Davis has a footnote here: "Some mss. Say 20 yrs, but evidently have no support."

<sup>14</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, p. 6."

thirteen monks came to Gaul, where there awaited a great work for them. The conditions of the Frankish Church at this time were rather deplorable to say the least. Christianity had been accepted as the German people accepted all civilizing influences. It was put on, then given a chance to work in, and then slowly came to the surface again. At the time, when Columban and his monks appeared among them, the Franks had passed through the first stage of Christianity. The newness had worn off, and they were living in a period of relaxation and looseness. They had taken on new influences but had not yet absorbed the deeper meaning. The conditions are well shown in the following.

In the regulations of monastic life, down to the end of the sixth century... there was no definite rule; that of Benedict had as yet won no influence, and the different monasteries stood in no closer alliance. The savagery of the age had decivilized the monasteries also; even Lerinum, once so highly esteemed, had fallen a victim to its influence since 537 under Frankish rule.<sup>15</sup>

Jonas also says,

At that time either because of the numerous enemies from without, or on account of the carelessness of the Bishops, the Christian faith had almost departed from the country.<sup>16</sup>

Into these conditions Columban and his companions come. First, they settled at Anegray, but their number so increased that they founded a new monastery at Luxeuil. Here, too, his following so increased that he had to open a second convent known as Fontaines. The monastery of Luxeuil was situated in the most inaccessible defiles of the Vosges Mountains.

Ce fort sur les ruines de ces deux civilisations que mint s'unplanter la grandemetropole monastique de L'Anstrasia et de la Burgogne.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Davis' footnote: "Moeller, p. 69." Full reference: Wilhelm Moeller, *History of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages*, Translated from the German by A. Rutherford, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1893. pp. 69-70.

<sup>16</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, p. 6." Full reference: "Life of St. Columban by the Monk, Jonas," in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, Volume II, No. 7, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1897, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Davis' footnote: "Mais d'Aciedent, Vol. 2, 429."

Alongside of the fame of Luxeuil, the famous ??? paled. Indeed, Luxeuil became the center of all monastic life in these regions for a long period of years.

But it seems that in spite of all his influence and power, he was greatly disturbed by the intrigues of Brunhilde, the grandmother of Theudebert, ruler of Austrasia, and Theuderic, ruler of Burgundy. It seems that Columban brought Theuderic to account for his immoral life<sup>18</sup> and refused to give blessing to some illegitimate children, when Brunhilde requested him to. The refusal cost him heavily, for at the instigation of Brunhilde, the King brought about his expulsion from the Kingdom. At first, Columban protested strongly, writing a very severe letter to the King, threatening him with excommunication. But finally, under escort he was taken from his monastery and carried to Besançon into banishment.<sup>19</sup> This was in the year 610.

During this period of his life Columban had built up a monastic system which not only had an influence in Burgundy, but also in all of western Europe. It is true that his system was absorbed by the Benedictine movement, but it doubtless greatly modified it. Besides the three monasteries, Anegray, Luxeuil and Fontaines, it seems that several branches were established, which still remained under his control.

His departure from Luxeuil in 610 marks the beginning of a new and widely different kind of a life. During the remaining years of his life, he is traveling, and becomes more or less mixed up in the political complications of the Franks.

Arriving at Besançon, he is confined in the town a free prisoner. But finally, his longing for Luxeuil overcomes him, and he returns, but is again forced into exile. Compelled to leave Burgundy, it is probable that he had set his mind on returning to Ireland.<sup>20</sup> Deterred from this plan, he starts for a missionary journey among the people,

Who live in the regions near the Rhine. This carried him into a new kind of life. Up to this time he had been

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<sup>18</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, Sec 32."

<sup>19</sup> Davis' footnote: "See Jonas, Sec 31-34, and Mais d'Aciedent, Vol. 2, pp. 236-242."

<sup>20</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, Sec 38."



working entirely among Christians, but he goes among people who worshipped the God, Woden.<sup>21</sup>

St. Gall was his companion during this time. They seem to have met with some success in this effort. This is especially true at Bregenty, where a church was founded. Here he remained about three years. But the fortunes of war at this time made it necessary for him to leave Bregenty. In the battle of Lolbiac, Theudebert, Columbanus supporter, was defeated. Austrasia passed into the control of Theuderic and Brunhilde. To escape their pursuit, he crosses the Alps into Italy.

In Italy he is welcomed by King Agilulf in a friendly and cordial manner. He was given a tract upon which to found a monastery. As a result of his last work, the monastery Bobbio was established in a gorge of the Alps between Genoa and Lubbio. After a year of quiet life in Bobbio Columbanus died there in the year 615, November 14.<sup>22</sup>

#### IV. General Character: Writings

"Modesty and moderation, meekness and mildness adorned them all in equal measure."<sup>23</sup> Thus Jonas characterized the monks who went from Ireland to Gaul. To these characteristics as applied to Columban, I suppose we must assent. That does not say all, however. His monastic system, for example, is a mixture of a powerful executive ability and personal influence. We must add, too, force and courage. His clear treatment of the King and the Papacy point to an unflinching courage, and a strong determination. While his letters to the Pope are in form humble and meek, they are strong and fearless. His message to King Theuderic, sent by the King's cousin, is a fair example of his frankness in speech:

I know that you want to keep your oath of fidelity to king Theuderich, and you will be glad to take my message to your lord and friend, if you serve king Theuderich. Announce, therefore, to Theuderich that he and his children will die within three years, and his entire family will be exterminated by the Lord.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Davis' footnote: "Mais de L'Acident, p. 456."

<sup>22</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, p. 36."

<sup>23</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, p. 36."

<sup>24</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, Sec. 43."

Again his threatening of the king with excommunication proves that his strength could serve him even when he was losing. In short, we have to acknowledge him to be very much a man of strength and power, as well as one of humility and meekness.

Such of his writings as have been preserved, may be found in Vol. 80 of the *Patriologiae*. They consist of the "Regula ????" (monastic rules), upon the basis of which his monastic communities were regulated: ??? ??? ??? ??? [Penitential]; seventeen sermons; six letters.

The "Regula ????" comprise ten short chapters concerning the regulations of monastic life. Chapter 1 is upon "Obedience;" chapter 2 is upon "Silence;" chapter 6 upon "Chastity;" chapter 10 is upon the "Variety of Punishments."

Then his ??? ??? ??? ??? [Penitential]. These mark what is considered to be the most characteristic and distinguishing feature of his system. The seventeen sermons are upon what would now be termed spiritual topics. The six letters are also very interesting and throw a lot of light upon the man's life. The first one is to Gregory I and has to do with the controversy which caused him so much trouble, viz., the Easter and Luxeuil customs.

In addition to these writings there are a few poems, "Ad ??? Epistola," "???", etc.

His style is simple, clear and to the point, at least, I think that it must be, because I find that I can translate the thing quite easily.

## V. System of Columban vs. Benedictine System

It seems rather strange that a system apparently so strong and so well founded as Columban's was, should be absorbed and pass entirely under the rule of the Benedictine monastic system within a few years after Columbanus' death. This is what happened.

In spite of the great impulse which proceeded from Columba, his Rule was soon obliged to retire before the growth of the Benedictine Rule...<sup>25</sup>

Here we have Columbanus' rules securely and well-established in monasteries of his own development. Then along comes Benedict's Rule and deliberately pushes Columban's Rule aside and establishes itself in his monasteries. There are, I think, no less than five influences which combined to bring about this change:

- 1<sup>st</sup> Nature of Columban's Rule
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Nature of Benedict's Rule
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Political complications of Columbanus
- 4<sup>th</sup> His attitude towards Gregory I and Boniface IV
- 5<sup>th</sup> He was outside of the direct stream of influence of the Roman Papacy.

1<sup>st</sup> The monastic Rule of Columbanus presents some peculiarities. While it is essentially of the same nature as other systems, it has certain distinguishing characteristics. It is negative in its whole atmosphere. Its whole command would be expressed in the words, "suffer and stamp out." The headings of the "Rules" suggest this negative conception: "De Silencia," "De Obedientia," "De ??? ?? de Confiditate," "De ??? ??? de Mortificatione." Even the word "Calcunda" suggests suppression. The section, "De Perfectione Monachi" is essentially negative in its conception.<sup>26</sup> Here we have a clearcut case of pure negation. It is stamping out, and suppressing that works.

Columban's Rule. But perhaps the negative nature of the Rule appears even more noticeably in the "De ???," which consists of a list of no less than 42 groups of infringements of monastic rule, with a definite penalty attached. It is a harsh, hard, inflexible system. This is the weakness of the system. It may not have appeared during the life of Columbanus, when his personality served to bring out the positive side of the monastic life. After Columbanus died, and the system was left to run upon the basis of his rules, the weakness appeared. This was one of the factors which helped to supplant Columban's Rule with Benedict's.

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<sup>25</sup> Davis' footnote: "Moeller, Vol II, p. 70."

<sup>26</sup> Davis then includes the Latin text of the rule as a footnote, which he attributes to Penitential, Vol 80, p. 216.

2<sup>nd</sup> Nature of Benedict's Rule. Comparing Benedict's Rule with Columban's, even a superficial comparison, one is struck with the marked change from the negative to the positive atmosphere. Even the subjects treated suggest something positive. They are less severe and exacting, and at the same time supply this lack of severity and exactness with an atmosphere of work, not merely the hard manual labor which exhausts the vitality, but literary labor which feeds the man's mind, and turns his thoughts away from things evil. The fundamental idea of Benedict's system is to keep the monks busy.

Indeed, the strict obedience exacted by the Rule is tempered throughout by an elasticity and considerateness which contrast strongly the inflexible rigor of similar institutions.<sup>27</sup>

This positive, something-to-do-Rule would appeal much more strongly to the monks in general than the more negative Rule of Columban. In short, here is another factor which was influential in putting to one side Columbanus' Rule.

3<sup>rd</sup> Political complications of Columban. Of course, the very fact that Columban was on intimate terms with the kings<sup>28</sup> and even seems to have been an advisor for them not only in spiritual and moral<sup>29</sup> things, but also in political<sup>30</sup> and state<sup>31</sup> affairs, speaks of the strength of his mind, the extent of his influence and the general respect in which he was held. But he was dealing with dangerous people. The strained relations which spring up between Columban and Brunhilde forced him to leave the country. How deep and lasting an offence this seemed to Brunhilde and Theuderic is shown in later developments. After the defeat of Lolbiac, and Austrasia had fallen into the hands of Theuderic, we find Columban again forced to leave the country. There seems to have been no delay upon his part, but immediately he set out for Italy. Thus, he left behind him an opposition. To be sure, Theuderic did not long hold power, yet

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<sup>27</sup> Davis' footnote: "Rise of Christian Monasticism, Gregory Smith, p. 69." Full reference: Gregory Smith, 1892, *Christian Monasticism from the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries of the Christian Era*, London: A.D. Innes and Co., p. 69.

<sup>28</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, Sec. 43."

<sup>29</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, Sec. 32."

<sup>30</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, Sec. 39."

<sup>31</sup> Davis' footnote: "Jonas, Sec. 39."

the whole affair must have left an influence, which was still another influence against the success of Columban's Rule.

4<sup>th</sup> His Attitude towards Gregory I and Boniface IV. Columban, among the Gauls, clung to the customs and usages of the church of his native Ireland. It is true that the points of unlikeness were not many or seemingly important, yet the slightest difference was of great importance at this time when the Papacy was being formed and developed into a unitary machine. St. Columban's method of determining the day for celebrating Easter, also his customs of Luxeuil were somewhat out of harmony with the prevailing customs of the Church. This led to some opposition, and evidently some interference on the part of the Papacy. Columban, in a letter which in form is very humble, but in content is quite independent and self-assertive, maintains the right of his position as against the Roman position. His letter to a Frankish Council, which was called in 602 or 3 for the purpose of discussing this question of difference is also marked by a strong independent tone, but still no wish to force his customs upon others. He simply stands for the right and privilege of doing as he wishes in his own monastery. He also treats of the same subject in another letter to Boniface IV. Just how this controversy ended I cannot determine, but apparently the question was solved in the natural course of events, as Columban's Rule was superseded by Benedict's Rule. Here, too, is a very powerful factor in this change from one Rule to another. To have accepted Columban's Rule would have implied the possibility of two methods of determining Easter. This would be absolutely incompatible with the idea of unity in the Church. Columban's strength, and self-assertiveness in pressing his claims, too, could have no other result than to make himself something of an eyesore in the eyes of the Popes. His system and Rule were not their system and Rule, therefore, his must go. Columban's Rule could not have the support of the Papacy on account of the certain differences of customs.

5<sup>th</sup> Columban was outside the direct stream of influence of the Roman Papacy. Even if Columban's customs and habits had all been in strict conformity to the Papacy, yet he would have remained an outsider. Whatever in the days of Roman power had succeeded must first have been stamped with the approval of Rome. In these days, when the Empire was weak, the real power rested in the Papacy. Whatever institutions would have more than local, and

temporary power must pass through the Roman church, and receive the approval of the Papacy. That was its trademark.

Now Columban's Rule or system did not have this stamp of approval. Columban had come from a country where the church, at the time of his coming, was not in direct relations with the Roman Catholic Church. He represented rather an offshoot, which had not yet been recognized. He built up his system upon his own principles, seeking no support from Rome. When the time came, therefore, to decide either for or against the Rule, the Papacy would not support an outsider. Columban's system had to fall.

The Council of Aachen in 788 A.D. ordered the Benedictine Rule to be observed and no other, in the Empire of Charles and his son.<sup>32</sup>

This is but the culmination of a tendency. Columban was not under the influence of the Papacy and consequently his Rule was put aside for a Rule which had this stamp of approval.

These five influences were plainly at work, just what proportion of influence each one had it is difficult to imagine. It is sufficient to know that the combine overcame Columban's Rule.

## VI. Columbanus [Conclusion]

In Columbanus there appears many interesting things. A man of strength, courage, ability and leadership. Born and brought up in what was then an out of the way country, he goes into the very center of activity in Europe. He establishes a monastic system which exerted a wide and deep influence in Gaul.

The very power and capacities which were of value in making him successful, in making his monastic system powerful, worked against him, when the question of the ultimate success of his Rule was raised. Because he was strong and courageous, he succeeded, and because of these same qualities his success was not accepted by the Roman Church, and Columbanus passed into obscurity, with his Rule.

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<sup>32</sup> Davis' footnote: "Smith's *Rise of Monasticism*, Page 82." Full reference: Gregory Smith, 1892, *Christian Monasticism from the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries of the Christian Era*, London: A.D. Innes and Co., p. 82.