

SUR UNE PAGE DE JONAS D'ORLÉANS (DE INSTITUTIONE LAICALI 1, 1)¹

NEIL ADKIN

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The *De institutione laicali* of Jonah of Orleans, gubernatorial *grand fromage* under Louis the Pious, is a seminal *Fürstenspiegel* that addresses the ticklish question whether the lewd (< *laicus*) can be oxymoronically pi. This *opus aureum* (so d'Achery) has now received the critical edition that is its aureate due². The second paragraph of Jonah's own preface (ll. 28-32 D.) points out that this work makes substantial use of scripture and the Fathers. The correct identification of these references is accordingly very important. "La page" at issue in the present note would appear to indicate that Dubreucq's *recherche de sources* is as open to censure as her *traduction*.

"La page en question" is the end of the first chapter of the first book of this first of Jonah's works (p. 148 D.). In the penultima-

1 The title of this note is an echo of Y.-M. DUVAL, "Sur une page de s. Cyprien chez s. Ambroise (*Hexameron* 6, 8, 47 et *De habitu virginum* 15-17)", *REAug* 16 (1970) 25-34, where the issue is likewise *Quellenforschung*. The present note is a *petit hommage* to this distinguished and recently deceased colleague, who devoted a contrastively *grand ouvrage* to the Orleanian Jonah's Ninevan eponym: *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine*, 2 vols., Paris 1973.

2 O. DUBREUCQ, *Jonas d'Orléans: Instruction des laïcs* 1-2, Paris (Sources Chrét. 549-50) 2012-13. On this pair of volumes cf. the review by the present writer, forthcoming in *Latomus*, where the sole concern is with mistranslations due to Dubreucq's failure to appreciate Jonah's rhetorical aureation.

te sentence of this chapter Dubreucq does identify two allusions to scripture. However both of the Pauline echoes at issue are very short: *filius lucis* (ll. 72 D.) and *vasis irae* (ll. 72-3 D.) are duly referenced as Ephesians 5, 8 and Romans 9, 22 respectively. In the immediately preceding sentence on the other hand Dubreucq fails to detect a much longer borrowing from the same St. Paul. Here Jonah's *mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum* (ll. 68-9 D.) is a verbatim quotation of 1 Timothy 2, 5: *mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus*³.

If here Dubreucq fails to spot an echo of the Bible, in the very same sentence she likewise fails to identify two patristic echoes. The Jonan context of this Pauline echo is the following: *peccatum, quo genus humanum damnabiliter obstringebatur, non poterat solvi ac dilui nisi per eundem mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum* (ll. 66-9 D.). Here Jonah's introductory phrasing has evidently been inspired by an Augustinian passage (*Enchir.* 14, 48), which quotes the same Pauline text: *peccatum, ... ut ... genus humanum damnaretur, non solvitur ac diluitur nisi per unum mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum*⁴. Augustine's *Enchiridion* has exercised a big influence on Jonah's *De institutione laicali* in general⁵. Jonah's own citation of 1 Timothy 2, 5 is immediately followed by these words: *nec aliter per ipsum liberari oportebat, nisi sicut verus homo, verus esset et Deus* (ll. 69-70 D.). Again Jonah's phraseology is evidently due to a later text of Augustine's *Enchiridion* (28, 108), which likewise cites 1 Timothy 2, 5: *neque per ipsum liberaremur unum mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Iesum, nisi esset et Deus*⁶.

3 The citation supports the Jonan lection *Christum Iesum* against the inverse order (*Iesum Christum*), which is found in part of the paradosis and is preferred by d'Achery (= PL 106, col. 126).

4 The correspondences between Augustinian and Jonan passages may be set out schematically: *peccatum / peccatum; genus humanum damnaretur / genus humanum damnabiliter; non solvitur ac diluitur nisi per ... mediatorem ... / non ... solvi ac dilui nisi per ... mediatorem ...*

5 Cf. DUBREUCQ, *o.c.* (n. 2) 1, 75-6, where the additional point is made that this Augustinian work also provided the inspiration for the idea of Jonah's treatise as a whole. The same section of the *Enchiridion* (14, 52) as that currently at issue (14, 48) is quoted *in extenso* on the next page but one of Dubreucq's edition (p. 152, ll. 30-44).

6 Again the correlation between *Enchiridion* and *De institutione laicali* may be presented in tabular form: *neque per ipsum liberaremur / nec ... per ipsum liberari; hominem / homo; nisi esset et Deus / nisi ... esset et Deus*.

This Jonan chapter's very last sentence, which is the next but one, contains the phrase *toto corde, tota anima, tota virtute* (l. 76 D.). Here Dubreucq merely adduces the Rule of St. Benedict (4, 1): *ex toto corde, tota anima, tota virtute*. It should however be pointed out that Jonah is simply quoting the Old Latin text of Deuteronomy 6, 5, which has *virtute* in place of the Vulgate's *fortitudine*⁷. The same Old Latin version of Deuteronomy 6, 5 with its characteristic *virtute* is cited more fully in Jonah's other "mirror"⁸. To sum up: it may be said that in matters of *Quellenforschung* Dubreucq evinces a somewhat *unglückliche Hand*-a bit Jonahesque.

ABSTRACT

Jonah's influential "mirror for the married" draws heavily on biblical and patristic texts. The present note's "specimen page" from the start of O. Dubreucq's new edition would seem to show that her implementation of the crucial task of identifying these sources is unsatisfactory.

Key words: Jonah of Orleans, Augustine, *De institutione laicali*, *Quellenforschung*.

7 Cf. P. SABATIER, *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae* 1, Reims 1743, repr. Turnhout 1991, 340. For Jonah's employment of such Old Latin readings cf. DUBREUCQ, *o.c.* (n. 2) 1, 73-4.

8 *De institutione regia, admon.* ll. 148-50 D., where the editor (A. Dubreucq, homonym of the O. Dubreucq whose "page" is the subject of this paper) duly refers just to Deuteronomy 6, 5. Further corroboration that in the *De institutione laicali* Jonah does have the text of Deuteronomy specifically in mind would appear to be supplied by the echo of *cunctis diebus vitae tuae* (Deut. 6, 2) in Jonah's last words in this chapter: *omne tempus vitae suae* (likewise apropos of "the Lord your God").