Saint gregory of tours and classical literary culture

Keeton, B

SAINT GREGORY OF TOURS AND CLASSICAL LITERARY CULTURE

A THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF LETTERS

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS - 1977

THE REVEREND BARRY KEETON M.A., B.D., A.K.C.

Contents

Declaration : None of the material in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in the University of Durham or any other university.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank a number of people for their help in the compilation of this thesis: Professor G.B. Townend for kindly supervising the work; Mr. G. Bonner of the Theology Department for his helpful suggestions regarding patristic reading; Mr. B. Barr, the Assistant Librarian of York Minster Library, for the extended loan of essential books; the Abbot and Librarian of Ampleforth Abbey for the invaluable use of their library; the Abbots and Monks of Nashdom, Ligugé and Monte Cassino for their hospitality and for the use of their libraries; Mrs. Marjorie Addyman for undertaking the onerous and tedious task of typing the thesis; and a number of other people, friends and colleagues, who have advised and encouraged me.

Barry Keeton,
Ampleforth Vicarage,
York.
June 1977.

CHRISTOPHORO DAVIDI KEETON FILIO FRATRIS MEI ROGERI CONIUGISQUE
ANNAE DILECTISSIMO

DICATUM

Abstract of the Thesis

Chapters 1 to 5 examine the background against which Gregory of Tours lived and which formed his attitudes. We observe the conquest of Gaul by the Franks and the ending of Roman authority and look at the linguistic situation in Gaul in the sixth century. After examining the Roman system of education (which Gregory did not enjoy), we see the decline of Roman educational facilities in Gaul and the Church providing education of some sort. The number and location of Gallic monasteries is discussed, also the ideas framing life in 'Martinian' and 'Lérins-Rhône Valley' monasteries. Opportunities for classical education in Gallo-Roman households, episcopal and parish schools, and from learned individuals, are considered. The Christian dilemma with regard to pagan letters is discussed with consideration of a number of writers.

Chapters 6 to 10 consider Gregory in the setting described, his works, their literary genres, knowledge of Christian writers. His own works are widely cited. His knowledge of Virgil, Sallust, the Liberal Arts, and other classical writers is examined. Did Gregory know Philostratus's Life of Apollonius of Tyana? We look at Gregory's attitude to his literary shortcomings and at his motives for writing. We compare his attitude to pagan literature with that of St. Benedict, Cassiodore and St. Gregory the Great, noting the Christian refusal to be bound by the dictates of the Liberal Arts. We consider some grammatical phenomena, compare his use of place-names with the use made by Marius of Avenches and John of Biclar; we note three interesting christianisms, 'inergumeni', 'contestatio' and 'virtus'.

Abbreviations and Mode of Reference

1) All references to the works of St. Gregory of Tours are taken from Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, Vol.I. I have adopted the following scheme of reference to this volume:

Abbreviations of Gregory's works:

Historia Francorum	HF	In Gloria Confessorum	GF
In Gloria Martyrum	GM	De Miraculis Sancti Andreae	SA
De Virtutibus S. Iuliani	SJ	Passio Septem Dormientium	SD
De Virtutibus S. Martini	SM	De Cursu Stellarum	CS
Vita Patrum	VP		

I do not quote from the In Psalterii Tractatum Commentarius.

2) The Historia Francorum and the De Virtutibus S. Martini are divided into books. The mode of reference to them is thus:

HF.III.p.114.7.20 = Historia Francorum, Book III, page 114, paragraph 7 (whether it begins on that page or not), line 20.

SM.III.p.633.5.24 = De Virtutibus S. Martini, Book III, page 633, paragraph 5, line 24.

3) The Vita Patrum is divided within itself into twenty chapters or Lives. The scheme of reference is thus:

VP.XIV.p.717.3.2. = Vita Patrum, Life XIV, page 717, paragraph 3, line 2.

4) The remaining works are divided into paragraphs. The reference is as follows:

SJ.p.581.45.39 = De Virtutibus S. Iuliani, page 581 paragraph 45, line 39.

SA.p.827.1.30 = De Miraculis B. Andreae Apostoli, page 827, paragraph 1, line 30.

GM.p.537.73.1 = In Gloria Martyrum, page 537, paragraph 73, line 1.

etc.

Chapter 1 - Historical and Linguistic Introduction

The Scope and Intention of the Thesis

In his monumental work 'Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours' (1) Max Bonnet made a definitive survey of the morphology, syntax and style of the works of Gregory of Tours (c.539 - 594). Other scholars, e.g. Kurth (2), have also made acute analyses of Gregory's language. It is my intention to approach Gregory's works from a different angle, namely, to consider what his attitude was to the vast and sophisticated literature of pagan Rome and the Roman world, which preceded him, and to attempt to understand his mind by seeing him in the setting which produced him, a setting whose nature has been determined by a number of factors, among them, the conquest of Gaul by the barbarian, but Catholic, Franks; the end of the Roman cultural amenities in Gaul; the effect upon him of the varying Christian attitudes to pagan literature. We shall contrast his reaction to pagan literature with the reactions of comparable contemporary, or nearly contemporary, figures. In order to obtain something of the feel of his language we shall note certain phenomena.

The Emergence of the Franks

One of the most decisive factors in framing the world in which Gregory lived was the conquest of Gaul by the Franks in the fifth and sixth centuries. It was about the Franks that Gregory wrote his greatest work, the Historia Francorum (3), and we must now consider how the Franks obtained Gaul by conquest.

Tacitus in his 'De Moribus Germanorum' does not mention any tribe of Germanic people called 'Franci'. He populated western Germany with three main tribal groups: the Istaevones dwelling along the banks of the Rhine; the Ingaevones on the North Sea and Baltic coasts of North Germany and in modern Denmark; the Herminones living on the banks of the Elbe and the Danube (4). These groups were composed of many smaller tribes such as the Cherusci, the Chauci and the Chatti. The earliest reference to the Franks occurs in Vopiscus's 'Vita Aureliani' (cap.7) when, in 240, Aurelian, then only a military tribune, defeated some Franks in the neighbourhood of Mainz and his marching soldiers chanted,

"Mille Sarmatas, mille Francos semel et semel occidimus;
Mille Persas quaerimus".

It is clear that the Franks were a loose confederation of tribes,

> "They did not constitute a single state but groups of states without federal connexion or common organisation. Sometimes two, three, even a considerable number of tribes, might join together to prosecute a war in common, but when the war was over the link snapped and the tribes fell asunder again" (5).

The Peutinger Table, drawn up by a monk of Colmar in Alsace in 1265, using a far older map, possibly from Roman times (6), gives the name 'Francia' to the land on the east bank of the Rhine from Mainz to Nijmegen. The Franks, to be identified with the Chamavi, are placed to the east of the Rhine, opposite Nijmegen (7).

Among the Franks three main groups can be distinguished:

The Hessian Franks

They were established along the east bank of the Rhine and the north bank of the Main and included among their tribes the Chatti, ancestors of the Hessians of today. The later duchy of Franconia had its origins among these tribes.

The Ripuarian Franks

As their name suggests, they were Franks who had settled along the bank of the Rhine, in this case, the west bank. They included the Ampsivarii and the Bructeri. The earliest Roman clashes with the Franks were with the Ripuarians. The fight near Mainz in 240, in which Aurelian was victorious, was with the Ripuarians. Between 357 and 360 Julian was able to check their westward ambitions and to force them to retire back across the Rhine. Stilicho the Vandal, who was directing the affairs of the Western Empire under the incapable Honorius, withdrew Roman troops from Britain and Gaul between 401 and 406 for the defence of Italy against an army of Ostrogoths and Alani. He defeated this band at Fiesolè above Florence in 406; the Barbarians then turned northward and were able to cross the Rhine near Mainz despite the attempts of the Ripuarians to hold them back. The Ostrogoths and Alani ravaged Gaul for two years before passing on into Spain. Seeing the weakened state of Roman power in Gaul, the Ripuarians tried to establish themselves on the west bank of the Rhine once more. This they achieved, but made only slow progress westward, not capturing Cologne till 463; they captured Trier too about the same time. By 470 the centre of their power was located around Aachen, Bonn, Jülich and Zülpich; their efforts to take Metz (Divodurum) were fruitless. The Ripuarians clashed frequently with the Alemanni who were living in Alsace. The independent kingdom of the Ripuarians lasted only until Clovis, king of the Salian Franks, united under him all the Franks to the west of the Rhine (8).

The Salian Franks

It was with the Salians that the future lay. The origin of the name 'Salian' is most likely to be found in the root 'sal', the salt sea. 'Merovech', the name of one of their early kings who gave his name to the dynasty, means 'sea-born'. Living by the North Sea in what is now more or less Holland, they moved gradually southward. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions them in one of the campaigns of Julian, when only a Caesar, in 358,

> "Petit primos omnium Francos, eos videlicet quos consuetudo Salios appellavit" (9)

At this time they were occupying Toxandria, an area between the Meuse and the Scheldt, centred on Tongeren. In the aforementioned campaign Julian defeated the Salians but allowed them to remain in Toxandria, holding it as 'foederati' of the Romans and supplying soldiers for the Roman armies fighting elsewhere.

In the first decade of the fifth century the Salians ceased to recognize the authority of Rome and began to press southward,

> "It was at this point that the Roman civilisation disappeared from these regions. The Latin language ceased to be spoken and the Germanic tongue was employed. Even at the present day the inhabitants of these districts speak Flemish, a Germanic dialect" (10)

Lot makes the additional point that it was only in this district of Gaul thatthe Salian Franks were sufficiently numerous to be able to impose Germanic speech, thus blotting out Latin,

"Au delà, plus au Sud, le peuplement franc n' a été que superficiel" (11). The comparative thinness of the Frankish population over Gaul as a whole was to be a decisive factor in the development of language and culture in the following centuries. Although the Salians persisted in pressing south they seem to have been checked by the strongly fortified Roman road running through Arras and Cambrai, though Tournai had already fallen to them.

The Salian Frankish Kings

Chlogio - ? - 448

The first Salian chieftain or king to emerge into the light of history was Chlogio, whose capital was Dispargum. Attempts to identify Dispargum with Duisburg, Diest and other towns have proved inconclusive. Suffice it to say that it was on the left bank of the Rhine between Cologne and the sea. Chlogio's first attempt to breach the Roman road ended in failure when Aetius, the Roman 'Magister Militum', defeated

him at Vicus Helena, which has been variously identified with Hélesme (Dep.Nord), with Valenciennes (canton. Denain), and with Vic-en-Artois (situated on the Roman road between Arras and Cambrai) (12). Scholars have varied considerably in giving the date of this battle: Dalton sets it in 428 (13), Pfister in 431 (14), and Lot in 448 (15). Whatever the date, soon afterwards Chlogio renewed his attack, took Cambrai and advanced to the Somme,

> "Ferunt etiam, tunc Chlogionem utilem ac nobilissimum in gente sua regem fuisse Francorum, qui apud Dispargum castrum habitabat, quod est in terminum Thoringorum - - - Chlogio autem, missis exploratoribus ad urbem Camaracum, perlustrata omnia, ipse secutus, Romanus proteret, civitatem adpraehendit, in qua paucum tempus resedens, usque Summanam fluvium occupavit" (16)

He died in 448 and it was from his family, "de huius stirpe" (17), that Merovech, the next Salian king, came.

Merovech - 448 - 458

Little is known of him for certain. It was in his reign that Attila the Hun invaded Gaul in 451. Attila advanced to Orléans which his ally Sangiban, king of the Alani, had promised to betray to him. This betrayal was, however, frustrated and because of the strong fortifications of Orléans Attila decided to withdraw and await a pitched battle. He marched to the Campus Mauriacus, about 5 miles from Troyes, where an army of Romans and Visigoths under Aetius met him and inflicted such a severe set-back on him that he decided to return to Hungary. Gregory of Tours tells us that there were Franks in the allied army which defeated Attila and doubtless Merovech was at their head,

> "Igitur Aetius cum Gothis Francisque coniunctus adversus Attilanem confligit" (18)

Gregory tells us specifically that Merovech was the father of the next king, Childeric I.

Childeric I - 458 - 481

In addition to the legendary information about Childeric which Gregory gives us (19), more reliable information is available. Childeric seems to have honoured his status as a 'foederatus' of the Roman authority (such as it was), helping the new Magister Militum, Aegidius, to defeat at Orléans in 463 some Visigoths under Frederic, brother of King Theodoric II. Futher, he rescued Angers when it was threatened by some Saxon pirates under Odovacar, who had sailed up the Loire and established themselves on some of the islands in the river,

> "Thus Childeric policed Gaul on behalf of Rome and endeavoured to check the inroads and forays of the other barbarians" (20).

He seems to have died in 481 and was buried at Tournai where his tomb was discovered in 1653.

Clovis - 481 - 511

Before embarking on a brief survey of the conquests of Clovis we must have a look at the territorial situation in Gaul at his accession:

1) Salian Franks : They had advanced into Gaul as far as the Somme, roughly along the line from Abbeville, through Amiens to St. Quentin.

2) Roman authority :"Between the Somme and the Loire the suzerainty of the Roman Empire was still maintained. The various Gallo-Roman cities preserved a certain independence, while a Roman official, by name Syagrius, exercised a kind of protection over them. Syagrius was the son of Aegidius, the former 'Magister Militum', and he held the command by hereditary right. After the fall of the Roman Empire of the West in 476, he maintained an independent position, having no longer any official superior. Failing any regular title Gregory of Tours designates him 'Rex Romanorum', and the former Roman official takes on the character of a barbarian king, free from all ties of authority. The seat of his administration was the town of Soissons" (21)

3) Visigoths : They held the land to the south of the Loire to the Pyrenees and away into Spain. They also held Provence.

4) Burgundians : From Savoy they had extended their rule westward and had occupied Langres. Their two kings had capitals at Vienne and Geneva.

5) Alemanni : They occupied Alsace and the Agri Decumates (Baden).

6) Ripuarian Franks : They had a compact state around Cologne and Trier.

7) Thuringians : They had a small state on the left bank of the Rhine.

8) Bretons : Displaced from Britain they were occupying Armorica.

From his accession in 481 till 486, Clovis, allied with two other Salian chieftains, Ragnachar of Cambrai and Chararic (of Thérouanne ?) attacked and defeated Aegidius's son, Syagrius, near Soissons. Syagrius fled to King Alaric II of the Visigoths at Toulouse, but Alaric soon gave up Syagrius when menaced by Clovis. After imprisoning Syagrius for a while, Clovis eventually had him killed.

> "En la personne de Syagrius expire le dernier souffle de la 'Respublica' en Gaule" (22)

After his victory Clovis occupied Soissons, but adopted a new policy

towards the Gallo-Roman inhabitants, i.e. that of allowing them to remain undisturbed, and of respecting the Christian religion, though he himself was a pagan. Next Clovis brought the Thurigians on the west bank of the Rhine under his sway, then defeated the Alemanni of Alsace in 496. In 493 he had married Clothilde, daughter of the Burgundian king Chilperic. Clothilde was a Christian and a Catholic.

> "He began to perceive at this time what strength he would gain by embracing Christianity. The bishops, who exercised a very powerful influence, would everywhere declare for him, and would support him in his struggles with the heathen tribes, and even against the barbarians who adhered to the Arian heresy. His wars would then assume the character of wars of religion - crusades, to use the term of later times" (23)

Whether it was only political considerations which led him to Christianity or not, Clovis was baptized on Christmas Day 496 by St. Remigius (Remedius), Bishop of Rheims, and a step momentous for the history of France had been taken. In 500 Clovis allied himself with Godegesil, Burgundian king of Geneva, against Gundobad, Burgundian king of Vienne. Gundobad was defeated at Dijon and promised to pay tribute to Clovis. However, he quickly broke his word, killed his brother Godegesil in a church at Vienne and made himself master of all Burgundy. Further trouble with the Alemanni prevented Clovis from dealing further with Gundobad and, instead, he made an alliance with him. Burgundy remained free of Frankish control until 534. Clovis next gave his mind to overcoming the Visigoths, whose king Alaric II he had browbeaten into giving up Syagrius in 486. On the pretext of ridding Gaul of the Arian heretics Clovis marched against the Visigoths in 507 and defeated and killed Alaric at Vouillé, Campus Vogladensis (HF.II.p.101.37.11), about 10 miles west of Poitiers. The Visigoths now held only Arles, but were helped by the Ostrogoths from Italy who invaded Provence, drove the Franks and Burgundians out and kept Provence for themselves. The Ostrogothic general, Ibbas, then captured Septimania with its cities of Narbonne, Carcassonne and Nîmes. He handed Septimania over to Amalaric, the Visigothic son of Alaric II. The Ostrogoths were in occupation of Provence until Witigis ceded it to the Franks in 536.

Having conquered much Visigothic land, Clovis turned his attention to the Franks themselves and had the Salian chieftains Ragnachar and Chararic (his erstwhile allies) murdered, together with Ragnachar's brothers, Richar and Rignomer. Finally Clovis stirred up Chloderic, son of the Ripuarian king Sigebert the Lame, against his father, then

moved into the Ripuarian kingdom as the avenger of Sigebert and was hailed by the Ripuarians as their king. Thus, at his death in 511, Clovis was master of a large part of Gaul.

Partition of Gaul among Clovis's Sons and Grandsons

After the death of Clovis in 511 his four sons divided his possessions amongst themselves. The Frankish custom of dividing a father's possessions amongst all his sons was an important and baneful factor in prolonging and aggravating strife and disunity among the Franks in Gaul throughout the Merovingian period. Theuderic I (unlike the other three brothers he was not the son of Chlothilde) became king of the eastern regions of the Frankish domain, centred on Metz and Cologne, the area later known as Austrasia; he died in 534. Chlodomer became king of Orléans, dying childless in 524. Childebert I became king of Paris and from 524 of part of the kingdom of Orléans on Chlodomer's death; also, from 534 he was king of part of Burgundy. Childebert I died in 558 leaving no sons. Lothar I was king of Soissons from 511, of part of Orléans from 524, of part of Burgundy from 534, of Austrasia from 555 after the death of Theudibald, grandson of Theuderic I. Lothar ruled as the sole Frankish king from 558 to 561, when he died. On his death the Frankish lands, so briefly reunited, were again divided, this time among Lothar's sons. It was against the political happenings engendered by these sons of Lothar I and their offspring that the years of Gregory of Tours's pontificate were spent. Gregory was consecrated Bishop of Tours in 573,

> "Anno centesimo septuagesimo secundo post transitum beati Martini antestitis, Sigiberto gloriosissimo rege duodecimo anno regnante - - - onus episcopati indignus accepi" (24).

Lothar's son, Charibert I, became king of Paris and its dependencies on his father's death in 561, and he himself died in 567. One of his daughters, Bertha, married Ethelbert, king of Kent. Another son, 'good king Guntram', was king of Burgundy and Orléans from 561 until his death in 592. Sigibert I was king of Austrasia from 561 to 575. He married Brunhildis, daughter of king Athanagild and queen Goiswintha of the Visigoths; Brunhildis looms large in the later books of Gregory's 'History' as the mother of Childebert II and the bitter enemy of the arch-villainness of the epoch, Fredegundis, queen of the remaining son of Lothar I, Chilperic I. Chilperic was king of Soissons-Tournai from 561 and took over Charibert's kingdom on his death in 567; he died in 584. His first wife, Audovera, was ousted and replaced by Galswintha, sister of Brunhildis, and daughter of the Visigothic king of Spain.

Such was the ruthless character of Fredegundis that she persuaded Chilperic to have Galswintha murdered so that she could marry him herself, even though she was of very mean birth. Brunhildis relentlessly hated Fredegundis for the murder of her sister, Galswintha, and this hatred and rivalry coloured the years after the death of Brunhildis's husband, Sigibert I of Austrasia in 575 and of Fredegundis's husband, Chilperic I of Neustria, in 584. Brunhildis schemed on behalf of her son Childebert II and Fredegundis did the same for her son Lothar II. Childebert II was king of Austrasia from 575 till his death in 595, and was also king of Burgundy and Orléans from 592 - 595. He was succeeded by his son Theudibert II, king from 595 - 611 or 612, then by another son, Theuderic II. Theudibert was king of Austrasia from 595; Theuderic was king of Burgundy and Orléans from 595 and succeeded to Austrasia on the death of his brother, Theudibert, in 611/2; but Theuderic himself died in 613. Fredegundis's son, Lothar II, became king of Soissons-Tournai and Paris (Neustria) on his father's death in 584; after the brief reign of Sigibert II, son of Theuderic II, in 613, he became sole king of the Franks until his death in 629. Beyond this point it is not necessary to pursue the history of the Merovingians kingdoms, since Gregory of Tours died in 594.

The Frankish Kingdoms

The Frankish custom of dividing a father's possessions among his sons at his death meant that it was very difficult indeed to build up a solid, united, kingdom. The history of the Franks in Gaul after the death of Clovis in 511 is a kaleidoscope of internecine feud and murder and treachery among the descendents of the Frankish conqueror. To attempt an analysis of what territories were held by whom at what time is almost futile since the detailed divisions changed so rapidly, but general groupings can be observed. Although the names 'Neustria' and 'Austrasia' belong more properly to the continuator of Gregory known as 'Fredegarius' in the 7th century, they are convenient terms to call the areas of rule under formation in the 6th century. A look at the state of Gaul at the death of Charibert in 567 shows the following picture:

Kingdom of Neustria - Chilperic I

The heartland of this kingdom was northern and eastern France, that is, the coastlands of northern France, Belgium and Holland from the mouth of the River Scheldt westward to the frontiers of Brittany; southward it included the territory of Tournai, Rouen, Paris, the Cherbourg Peninsula, Rennes and Le Mans. In addition to the Neustrian heartland

lands in the south-west of France also formed part of Chilperic's domain, i.e. the Limousin extending southward in a belt towards Toulouse, as far as the borders of Visigothic Septimania; most of Aquitaine to the Pyrenees, except for certain enclaves.

Kingdom of Austrasia - Sigibert I

The heartland of this kingdom consisted of the territories of Rheims, Metz (the capital), Châlons-sur-Marne, Verdun and lands eastward to the Rhine at Cologne and beyond into Franconia - largely, in fact, the old lands of the Ripuarian and Hessian Franks. An arc extended northward through modern Eastern Belgium and Holland. Another block of Sigibert's domain lay in the western half of the Massif Central, including Clermont-Ferrand, Rodez and lands southward to the borders of Septimania. East of the Rhône was a strip of land running east to merge on the Mediterranean with another small strip taking in Marseilles. Sigibert also had two enclaves in Aquitaine, one around Bayonne and the other in the region of Mont de Marsan.

Kingdom of Burgundy - Guntram

After 534 the previously independent Burgundians came under Frankish rule. They had migrated from the Baltic coastlands and after varied fortunes had been allowed by the Romans to settle in Savoy; in the 5th century they had infiltrated westward to the Rhône. Their lands were subject to assaults by the Franks and were conquered in 534 when they were divided up between Childebert I, Lothar I and their nephew, Theudibert of Austrasia. At the death of Charibert in 567 Guntram, one of his brothers, gained control of the Burgundian kingdom. His lands included the whole of central and eastern France from around Argentan and Alençon (forming part of the kingdom of Orléans which was also his), Chartres, Bourges, Langres, Dijon, Chalon-sur-Saône, Lyons and Vienne, and land on the east bank of the Rhône as far south as, and including, Avignon, with land eastward roughly to the modern Italian frontier. Further north it included most of modern western Switzerland. In addition Guntram possessed an important enclave around Saintes and Agen in the south-west (25).

Languages in Gaul in the sixth century

1 Gaulish - i.e. The form of Celtic spoken in Gaul.

The Gallic population conquered by Julius Caesar and successive Roman generals spoke a Celtic language akin to the languages spoken by the Celtic inhabitants of Britain and Ireland. By the 6th century A.D. Latin was firmly rooted throughout Gaul, except in north eastern areas, roughly corresponding to Flanders, occupied by the Germanic-speaking Salian Franks, and in Brittany where refugees from the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain were importing a Celtic speech into Armorica; and in Alsace and some other areas to the north of the Vosges along the west bank of the Rhine, where Alemanni, Ripuarian Franks and Thuringians were established.

Although Latin, the language of the conquerors, made good progress in Gaul after its conquest, the Celtic speech survived too. Strabo says that the people in Narbonne began to accept Latin only in Tiberius's reign. Irenaeus, in the 2nd century A.D., writing from Lyons begs to be excused from rhetorical polish, seeing that he lives among the Celts. "περὶ βαρβάρων διάλεκτον τὸ πλεῖστον διατριβόντων ἡμῶν"(26)

Ausonius, in the fourth century, refers to Patera, a rhetor at Bordeaux, as "stirpe Druidarum satus", and to Phoebicius who is "stirpe satus Druidum" (27).

Haarhoff observes that,

> "Even Sidonius in the fifth century has to notice it (i.e. the Celtic speech) in spite of his Roman disdain. It was owing to the zeal of Ecdicius, he says, that the nobility of Gaul became cultured - "sermonis Celtici squamam depositura" (28), a statement which shows that the old language was still to be reckoned with. It is rather an irony of fate that the style of Sidonius - the one point on which he prided himself - undoubtedly owes its exotic character in order, rhythm and vocabulary to Celtic and Gothic influence" (29).

A little earlier St. Jerome had said that in his day the Galatians of Asia Minor had almost the same language as the Treveri (30). If the language of the Treveri was Celtic (and scholars have disputed it), "it would seem that the Celtic influence survived well into the fifth century" (31).

Did the Gaulish language survive in sixth-century Gaul, or had it been completely ousted by Latin and Frankish? The evidence suggests that it had been largely effaced, but may have formed a second language for some Gallo-Romans of Celtic origin and may have lingered fairly strongly

in isolated pockets. Thus, as Cabrol says, the servants with whom Gregory of Tours liked to mix in his home town of Clermont-Ferrand (Arverna),

> "pouvaient fort bien avoir conservé l'ancien idiome celtique, qui n'était pas éteint en Gaule" (32).

Bonnet reminds us that no passage in Gregory's writings clearly proves that Gaulish was still a living language in that epoch (33), but one has the suspicion, together with Lelong, that alongside the popular Latin there survived Celtic dialects, deeply rooted in the most distant past, and that in the midst of its daily life Gaul, with its Celtic life, to some extent maintained its individuality (34).

As to remains of Gaulish literature, there are none. It was the deliberate policy of the Druids to commit the tribal epics to memory, not to writing,

> "le gaulois n'a rien laissée, par la faute des druides, sauf une cinquantaine de mots signalés par les auteurs grecs et latins, plus une vingtaine empruntés par les Romains. On possède une dizaine d'inscriptions en caractères grecs, toutes en Narbonnaise, le double en caractères latins, les unes et les autres gravées dans le premier temps de la domination romaine" (35).

The Coligny Table, found in the River Ain in 1897, has thrown just a little light on the nature of Gaulish.

Gregory himself uses some Celtic words in his works, some he uses as part of his own vocabulary, other he quotes as Celtic words:

1) Words which seem to be part of his own vocabulary

a) 'aripennis' (agripennis) = the Greek ἄρουρα, i.e. a measure of length containing 100 Greek or 104 Roman feet. The ἄρουρα equals the Latin 'iugerum' and one 'aripennis' = one half of a 'iugerum' or ἄρουρα.

Gregory uses the word twice,

1. "unus stadius habet agripennes quinque" (HF.I.37.6.1-2)
2. "ut possessor de propria terra unam anforam vini per aripennem redderit" (HF.V.222.28.16-17)

'aripennis' has passed in Modern French as 'arpent' meaning 'a stride'.

b) 'leuga' = a league, 4 kilometers

"triginta leugas a sancti basilica elongatus sum" (SJ.572.18.24)

'leuga' has passed into Modern French as 'lieue' = league.

c) 'alauda' = 'a lark'

"In eclesia vero Arverna - - - aves corêdallus, quam alaudam vocamus, ingressa - - - " (HF.IV.167.31.21-22)

In this case it seems that 'alauda', a word of Celtic origin, has been so long in use in Latin that Gregory, wishing to explain in simple Latin a technical Greek word for the bird, uses 'alauda', assuming it to be of Latin origin (36)

2) Words which he quotes as Celtic words

a) Vasso Galate : "Veniens vero Arvernus, delubrum illud, quod Gallica lingua Vasso Galate vocant, incendit" (HF.I.49.32.26-27)

'Vasso Galate' means 'Palace of the Gauls'.

b) Olca : "Erat enim haud procul a basilica campus tellure fecundus - tales enim incolae olcas vocant" (GC.795.78.3-4)

'olca' means 'a rich, fertile field'.

It seems that the influence of Gaulish upon Gregory of Tours was very slight indeed and must have been limited to the use of such words of Celtic origin as formed part of the everyday language of the Latin-speaking Gallo-Romans in the 6th century. An interesting point has been made in relation to the question of the way that the Latin of Gaul developed into French. It has been suggested that the change of 'u' to 'y' and of 'ct' to 'it' (e.g. 'nuit from 'noctem') in French, both of which phenomena have parallels in Brythonic, are of Celtic origin and betray the influence of Celtic speech patterns upon spoken Latin. However, these changes in Brythonic can hardly be dated before the 6th century, so that the exact nature of the Celtic influence remains uncertain (37).

2 Frankish (i.e. The Germanic dialect spoken by the Franks)

Although the Franks extended their rule over large areas of Gaul, they did not settle in large numbers everywhere in the conquered lands. Only in Flanders were they able to impose their language, largely through driving out the Gallo-Roman population. Although throughout Gregory's works we meet the Franks in many parts of Gaul, they were often present as aristocratic rulers rather than as settlers.

According to M. K. Pope,

> "Their settlements - - - according to the evidence of the place-names ending in -court, -ville, -villers etc. rarely extend south of a line drawn from Mont St. Michel, through Orléans to Burgundy" (38).

In the 8th century Glossary of Reichenau 'Gallia' is glossed as '~~Francis~~ Francia', but Francia was the land on which the Franks had imposed their rule, not their language. Lelong speaks of a strong resistance to the Germanic Languages, except in the regions populated by the barbarians and he adds

that the Franks only formed a tiny minority, isolated among the Gallo-Roman population (39).

Far from the Gallo-Roman masses adopting the language of the Franks, it was the Franks who, in order to be able to rule the conquered Gallo-Romans, had to learn Latin. The Frankish aristocracy therefore became bilingual and adopted the written culture of the Gallo-Romans. Thus Venantius Fortunatus, who acted as a sort of secretary-cum-chaplain to Queen Radegunde, wife of Lothar I and Abbess of the Convent of the Holy Cross at Poitiers, congratulated King Charibert on his Latin eloquence,

> "Cum sis progenitus clara de gente Sygamber
> Floret in eloquio lingua latina tuo.
> Qualis es in propria docto sermone loquela,
> Qui nos Romanos vincis in eloquio?" (40)

One must agree with Dalton that this lavish praise must be discounted (41); no doubt Fortunatus was wisely using his ability to flatter the pride of the conquerors. Although his praise may be extravagant, it does at least show us that one Frankish king in the middle of the 6th century could speak Latin, even if he did not in reality conquer the Romans with his eloquence. Charibert's half-brother, Chilperic I of Neustria, who was a very odd character, seems to have had a genuine interest in literature. Fortunatus, the adept court-flatterer, praises him in astonishingly fulsome terms,

> "Nil dolet amissum, te rege superstite, mundus" (42).

Gregory of Tours, however, a man who could speak in comparative freedom after Chilperic's death in 584, calls him "Nero nostri temporis et Herodis" (43). His moral failings apart, Chilperic did try to write verses in the style of Sedulius,

> "Conficitque duos libros, quasi Sidulium meditatus, quorum versiculi debilis nullis pedibus subsistere possunt; in quibus, dum non intellegebat, pro longas sillabas breves posuit et pro breves longas statuebat" (44).

He also wrote hymns and 'missas' (perhaps Sequences for Mass; this is how Thorpe understands the word (45)), but they were hopeless, "quae nulla ratione suscipi possunt" Gregory says (46). In another place Gregory tells us that Chilperic

> "Scripsit alios libros idem rex versibus, quasi Sedulium secutus; sed versiculi illi nulla paenitus metricae conveniunt ratione" (47).

His literary interests were not limited to writing poetry: he even added four new letters to the Latin alphabet, "in order the better to adapt the Roman language to Frankish ears" (48), but his efforts had no

lasting result. If kings made some efforts to aquaint themselves with Latin no doubt some of the nobles would have found it prudent to do so too. There must have been clerks and administrators in the ambit of the Frankish kings in order to write decrees and charters, though the extant charters of the Merovingian kings date from the very end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th (49).

If the Merovingian kings wished to rule their Gallo-Roman subjects, they had to do it through the medium of Latin. Chilperic's efforts at verse and Charibert's alleged Latin eloquence suggest that these kings may have wished to be thought learned in Latin - an indication, perhaps, that in a few Frankish minds there was some respect for the language and culture of Rome. All the Frankish charters, all administrative documents, the Salic Law, the Ripuarian Law, were written in Latin.

Few written Germanic remains have come down to us from the 6th century in Gaul. A number of fragmentary inscriptions in Runic characters in Frankish and some bilingual fragments in Frankish and Latin have been found, mainly funerary. A considerably better source of complete Runic inscriptions has been the cemetery of La Chapelle-Saint-Eloi (dep.Eure, arrondissement Bernay, cant.Beaumont-le-Roger) roughly half way between Lisieux and Evreux, the discovery was made in 1854. (50)

> "Pour la première fois, l'antiquaire peut étudier les formules funèbres des compagnons de Clovis, soldats terribles et rapides, qui, régénérés par le baptême, catholiques et purs du toute hérésie, avaient, comme parle la Loi salique, placé leur royaume sous le garde du Christ" (51)

But despite these enthusiastic words of Le Blant nothing to which the name of literature could remotely be attached has been found.

The Frankish kings had to adopt Latin as a second language, but they did not abandon their Germanic speech in favour of Latin during the 6th century. Fortunatus says that the barbarians used to like listening to their barbarian songs (52), and in the 8th century Charlemagne ordered that these songs should be learnt by heart - no doubt because, by then, there was some danger of them being forgotten. The Council of Tours, meeting in 813, ordered that sermons should be translated,

> "in rusticam linguam aut theotiscam, qui facilius cuncti possint intelligere quae dicuntur".

Charlemagne was extolled by his biographer, Eginhart, for his bilingualism (53). Charlemagne's sons, Louis the Pious, seems to have spoken Germanic in his more emotional moments, as his death-bed utterance indicates,

"huz, huz, quod significat foras, foras" (54)

If these later, and comparatively cultured, Frankish kings still spoke Germanic in the 9th century, then a fortiori their Merovingian predecessors in the 6th century must have done so. Only once does Gregory mention an interpreter being used between Romans and barbarians,

"vocatumque interpraetem, sciscitantur ab eo, quid male ficerit" (55)

but this is not in a situation where Frank meets Roman, but where the recluse Hospicius confronts some marauding Langobardi at Nice (56). There is no evidence that Gregory ever learned Frankish and the Frankish words which he employs in his works were either words that had passed into use in the current everyday Latin spoken by Gallo-Romans, or were a few specific words that he had some reason to remember. Was Gregory's language and style influenced by Frankish speech habits? The answer is, No; except in so far as he used Frankish words commonly accepted into Latin, and latinized. G. Kurth finds no Germanic turn of phrase at all in Gregory's writings (57).

Frankish Words employed by Gregory in his works

1) Words that had passed into everyday Gallic Latin

a) Scramasaxos = knives : "cum cultris validis quos vulgo scramasaxos vocant" (HF.IV.186.51.17)

b) bacchinon = bowl : "duabus pateris ligneis quas vulgo bacchinon vocant" (HF.IX.383.28.8)

The 'vulgo' here must refer to the speakers of Latin.

c) leudes, leodes = people (cf. Mod.German, Leute) Gregory uses the word four times, e.g. "sed ille muneribus placatis a leodibus suis defensatus est" (HF.III.131.23.17-18)

The root of the word is a Germanic word meaning 'man'; it is used extensively in its latinized form in Merovingian charters and decrees, and by 'Fredegarius', Gregory's 7th century continuators. One of its meanings, as used by the Merovingians, is 'the great men bound by fealty to the king' (58). The others places in Gregory's works at which the word occurs are: HF.II.p.105.42.6; HF.VIII.p.330.9.30 and HF.IX.p.377.20.5.

d) framea This is a word of Germanic origin which had passed into use in Latin long before Gregory's time. He uses it twice:

"At ille ingressus mansionem domini sui adpraehendit scutum eius ac frameam" (HF.III.p.124.15.6)

"Quo ruente, alius cum framea capud eius dilaceravit" (HF.VII.p.322.46.18-19)

Cassiodore uses the word,

> "Frameam vero diximus multorum esse significationum; modo contum, modo loricam, modo gladium significat bisacutum" (59).

The meaning 'gladius bisacutus', a two-edged sword, would fit in very well with the second example of Gregory's use of the word.

3. Greek

Gregory does not mention the Greek language except when he is telling of King Chilperic's efforts to introduce some new letters into the Latin alphabet, letters "sicut Graeci habent" (60). Gregory seems not to have been acquainted at first hand with Greek.

The Greeks had arrived in Gaul by the seventh century B.C. for Rhodian pottery of this date has been found in the excavations at Saint-Blaise, on the coast of the Camargue between Les-Saintes-Maries and Marseilles. At Saint-Blaise there are also remains of Greek defensive walls and evidence of the existence of a planned town (61). It was, however, Saint-Blaise's neighbour, Marseilles (Massilia) which was the great centre of Greek culture in Southern Gaul. Massilia was founded about 600 B.C. by Asiatic Greeks from Phocaea. They were doubtless attracted by its fine natural harbour, the Vieux Port. In 535 B.C. Massilia was rich enough to dedicate a treasury at the Greek international shrine of Apollo at Delphi. Antibes (Ἀντίπολις - 'the city across the bay') and Nice (Νίκη - 'Victory City') owe their origins to the Greeks of Marseilles. The city traded with Spain, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Carthage, and played an important role in the economic life of the Rhône valley as finds of Massiliote coins indicate (62). In 118 B.C. Marseilles's area of influence on the south coast became Rome's first Gallic province - Gallia Narbonnensis, though its Greek culture no doubt persisted. Her prosperity suffered a decline after her capture in 49 B.C. by Julius Caesar - her conservative nature had led her to take the part of Pompey in the Civil War (63). Yet her strategic position and fine natural harbour no doubt ensured her continuing importance.

In conquering Marseilles the Romans were, in a sense, conquering Greece and it is not surprising that Marseilles became an important centre of culture, some Roman parents preferring to send their sons to Marseilles to learn Greek rather than to Athens, because Marseilles's morals were better! (64). Cicero speaks with enthusiasm about Marseilles,

> "Neque vero te, Massilia, praetereo --- cuius ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem non solum Graeciae, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus anteponendam iure dicam" (65).

Marseilles did not keep her classical culture to herself,

> "Many writers tell us how the Massilians spread their Greek civilisation among the Gauls. Strabo speaks of Massilia as the School of Gaul, which so hellenized the barbarians that they drew up their contracts in Greek. So Ammianus says that after the foundation of Massilia, 'men gradually became civilized in these parts, and the pursuit of praiseworthy branches of knowledge, begun by the bards and the Celtic philosophers ('euhages' and 'drasidae'), grew and prospered' (66).

Latin, Greek and Celtic were all spoken in Marseilles, but Greek persisted a long time. The Asiatic St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, had written theological works in Greek and following the severe persecution of the Church at Lyons in A.D. 177 the Acta Martyrum were written in Greek by the order of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons. As late as the beginning of the sixth century St. Caesarius of Arles could make his congregations sing in Greek,

> "Compulit ut laicorum popularitas psalmos et hymnos pararet - - - alii Graece alii Latine prosas antiphonasque cantarent" (67).

When the great invasions hit Southern Gaul at the beginning of the fifth century, with the advance of Athaulf along the southern coast into Spain, then back to Toulouse, Marseilles became something of a refuge for Christian monks and the abbey of St. Victor,

> "ranked with Lérins as a centre of Christian education, and many famous men found a refuge there during the menace of troublous times. Victorinus, Prosper of Aquitaine, Gennadius, Musaeus, Salvian, were among those who sought its peace" (68).

No doubt Greek was spoken widely in Provence and the Rhône valley long after Marseilles was subordinated to Rome. This is borne out by the numerous Greek inscriptions, dating from the 4th to the 6th centuries A.D., found in this area, e.g. inscriptions from Vienne, Aps (in the Viennois), Marseilles itself, and Tourelles (near Apt) (69), but Greek inscriptions have also been found much further afield, e.g. at Trier (70). Ausonius and his father both spoke Greek at Bordeaux.

We may reasonably conclude that, although Greek had declined by the sixth century as a spoken language in the south of Gaul, it would still have persisted particularly around Marseilles and in the Rhône valley. Merchants (negotiatores) who spoke Greek would have been found in most parts of Gaul, but Greek had ceased to play any part in the education of a Gallo-Roman gentleman, Latin literature itself only surviving with some difficulty. Gregory of Tours was not influenced by classical Greek literature in any direct way. Any knowledge of Greek medical terms that he had would have come from manuals, not from first-hand acquaintance with the Greek language.

4. Syrian

When King Guntram visited Orléans, he was welcomed by a large throng all in good voice,

> "Et hinc lingua Syrorum, hinc Latinorum, hinc etiam ipsorum Iudaeorum in diversis laudibus varie concrepabat, dicens - - - " (HF.VIII.p.326.1.10-11).

One may agree with Riché (71) that some of the Syri may in fact have been Greek-speakers, but believe also that 'Syri' was a general term used at this epoch to designate anyone from the eastern Mediterranean or the Middle East who spoke a Semitic or other oriental language. These Syri were clearly a part of the life of Gaul as Guntram's welcome and the following examples indicate:

1) Gregory tells us that, when Ragnimodus, Bishop of Paris, died, his brother, Faramodus, was bettered as a candidate for the bishopric by "Eusebius quidam negotiator genere Syrus" who forthwith filled the episcopal household with "Syros de genere suo" (HF.X.p.438.26.16-20).
2) Gregory knew what the Syri called Edessa, "civitatem, quam Syri Aedissam vocant" (GM.p.507.31.17-18).
3) St. Jerome (c.342-420) also links the term 'Syrus' with the trade of a merchant, "negotiatoribus et avidissimis mortalium Syris" (Epistles 130.7).
4) We glimpse an interesting connection between Gaul and 'Syria' in the story of St. Genevieve (d.500) and St. Simeon Stylites,

> "Fuit quidam sanctus - - - nomine Simeon, in Syria Ciliciae eminus ab Antiochia manens in columna annis fere quadranginta: quem aiunt sedule negotiatores illuc euntes ac redeuntes de Genovefa interrogasse: quam etiam veneratione profusa salutasse, et ut eius in orationibus suis memor esset, obnixe poposcisse ferunt" (72).

5) There was a colony of Syri at Bordeaux of which Eufron was a member (HF.VII.p.311.31.13sqq).
6) Several epitaphs with Greek or Syrian names have been found at Vienne (73).
7) At Lyons there has been found a bilingual inscription connected with the grave of a Syrian merchant of the 3rd century called Thaim or Julian, son of Saad, decurion of the city of Canotha in Syria. He sold Aquitanian wares in the Rhône valley area and must have organised caravans of goods along the route. Cabrol, unfortunately, does not state what the two languages of the inscription were, but one is given to understand that they were Syrian (some Semitic language) and Latin (74).
8) A little after Gregory's lifetime, c.610, St. Columbanus was helped at

Orléans by a woman "ex genere Syrorum" who had come herself from the East, "Nam et ego advena sum ex longinquo Orientalis solo" (75).

9) Gregory himself met an Armenian Bishop in Tours, who had been expelled by the King of Persia (HF.X.p.435.24.13sqq.).

There was clearly a good deal of coming and going between Gaul and the Eastern Mediterranean. The Syri were often merchants, businessmen, go-betweens, carrying goods and information. The almost comic story of St. Symeon Stylites on the top of his pillar in 'Syria Ciliciae' sending requests for prayer to St. Genevieve in Paris by 'negatiatores' shows us that Syri were often cosmopolitan merchants. They doubtless spoke a Semitic language, Greek and probably Latin too. They lived in communities in the larger towns of Gaul and plied their trade as best they could in the fairly chaotic circumstances of the sixth century. In addition to this evidence for the presence in Gaul of Syri in the sixth century, Gregory himself tells us that he learnt the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus from 'Syro quodam' who 'interpreted' it, and then Gregory translated into Latin (76). Presumably the Syrian explained the story in Latin for Gregory and then Gregory made his own version from the notes that he had taken. The Codex Sancti Audomari expands this information into,

> "translata in Latinum per Gregorium episcopum, interpraetante Iohanne Syro" (77).

Riché supposes that 'Syrus' is really equivalent to 'Graecus',

> "Pour traduire la 'Passion des septs dormants d'Ephèse', il fait appel à un oriental qui habitait Tours. Dans cette ville comme d'autres centres de la Gaule, demeuraient des colonies de Grecs, que l'on appelait alors 'Syriens', qi avaient conservé l'usage de leur propre langue"(78).

Riché adds,

> "Il ne faudrait pas, toutefois, chercher dans la Syrie proprement dite la patrie de tous ceux auxquels est appliqué cet ethnique. De nombreuses provinces, autrefois réunies sous une même dénomination, recevaient encore, à une basse époque, le nom antique de Syrie" (79).

5. Hebrew

There seem to have been a considerable number of Jews in the towns of the Gaul in the sixth century. We have a number of references to Jews in Gregory's works: he clearly did not like them, just as he bitterly disliked heretics. From his works we glean the information that there were some wealthy Jews in Gaul. At Clermont-Ferrand Eufrasius received financial backing from the Jews in his attempt to become bishop (HF.IV.p.169.35.40); there had been a synagogue at Clermont (HF.V.p.200.11.12)

in which town more than five hundred Jews were converted by Bishop Avitus and others left for Marseilles. There had been a synagogue at Orléans, which Guntram refused to allow to be rebuilt (HF.VIII.p.326.1.17). Guntram was welcomed at Orléans by Jews shouting in their own language (ibid.11). Leonastis, Archdeacon of Bourges, consulted a Jewish doctor (HF.V.p.198.6.20sqq), and Lupus, a priest of Bordeaux, met a sceptical Jew as he hurried to the basilica of St. Martin at Bordeaux to pray for recovery from a fever (SM.III.p.644.50.10sqq). There was a Jewish boat-owner at Nice (GC.p.809.95.11) and even the Jews bewailed the death of Gallus, Bishop of Clermont (VP.VI.p.686.7.1.)

Although Gregory's language certainly was influenced by the Hebrew idiom, it was through the medium of the Old Testamentin the Latin versions that he used, and not through any direct contact with the Hebrew language in its classical or Aramaic form in the mouths of Gallic Jews.

6. Latin

The conquest of Gaul by the Romans under Caesar in the first century B.C. made it inevitable that the Latin language too would invade Gaul as the language of the conquerors. It was clearly to the advantage of the Celtic population to be able to understand and negotiate with their Roman overlords. We shall be examining in the next chapter the appearance of Roman schools in Gaul and their gradual disappearance under the impact of the barbarians invasions; suffice it here to say that once Roman rule had established itself firmly throughout Gaul, anyone who wished to be even mildly successful in life had to be competent in Latin, for,

> "le Sénat exige, pour les fonctions les plus humbles, celles de cantonnier ou de gardien d'un péage, la connaissance de langue romaine" (80).

If there was an incentive for a road-worker or a toll-keeper to learn Latin, how much more would the Celtic nobility have felt it advantageous to learn Latin. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn of the existence of a Roman school, where the sons of Celtic noblemen studied, at Autun as early as A.D.21 (81). Rome encouraged learners of Latin, whether lofty or humble, sophisticated or unsophisticated, for,

> "il rentre dans les calculs de sa politique de faire au plus tôt de tous ces barbares une seule nation romaine" (82).

In the schools of Gaul the students, drawn mainly from the upper classes of Celtic or Gallo-Roman society, would pass through the system of education outlined in the next chapter. Such education would not be open, however, to all and sundry, and the rigid class distinctions of the empire

would exclude most of those who were not of senatorial rank. Haarhoff concludes that, although this was generally so,

> "We must - - - allow a certain margin for higher education among the 'curiales' and the 'corporati', while we accept a very wide range of mere litteracy, such as could be obtained from an elementary school teacher. The enormous staff of scribes required for the imperial 'scholae' must have embraced many of a lower social standing. The need for people who could read and write was great, and we may perhaps see in the large number of grammarians (as compared with the rhetoricians), which the emperors provided, an indication of this need. But, as we go down the social scale, it is only the exceptions who go beyond the grammarian, while the majority probably knew none but the elementary master" (83).

In any society the number of those who have the opportunity to benefit from advanced education is small. In our own day, when higher education seems to be regarded as (potentially) everybody's right, most people do not find it suited to their ability or inclination. So, in society in Gaul in Roman times, higher education, for whatever reason, was for some only. The Latin language, therefore, did not spread throughout Gaul primarily by means of the schools (though these helped to elevate its quality and maintain it) but through ordinary human contact and the need to be able to communicate with the Roman soldiers and officials. The soldiers, the first Latin-speakers to move about widely in Gaul, spoke a Latin, no doubt somewhat influenced by their native Italic idioms, which Muller called 'la κοινή impériale', that is, the common vulgar idiom brought from Rome and elsewhere in Italy by the soldiers who settled in the provinces. The language that they spoke would be a type of 'vulgar' Latin suitable for communicating with each other and with the ordinary Celtic population about the everyday affairs of life, about which Rome wished to say something. Officials and merchants soon followed on, giving more reason and incentive to the Celtic population for learning Latin. We may reasonably suppose that the differences between spoken, 'vulgar', Latin and the increasingly artificial literary language were as distinct in Gaul as in the other parts of the Roman Empire. We can distinguish between 'literary Latin', taught in the schools, 'the ordinary colloquial Latin of good society', and the 'Sermo plebeius', the language of the common people in township and countryside (84). The imperial κοινή would have been largely the same as the 'sermo plebeius'. When the barbarians were invading Gaul and dislocating the opportunities for higher education in the fifth and sixth centuries, the Gallo-Romans still continued to use the imperial κοινή, though some, like Sidonius Apollinaris and Avitus of Vienne, would be able to rise above it through contact, now

much less general, with such schools or individual grammatici and rhetores as remained.

The language of Gregory of Tours is basically the old imperial Koiνή (or 'sermo rusticus' as he himself calls it) enriched by an influx of Christianisms and by some small acquaintance with a few classical authors. His language exhibits many of the features of 'Vulgar Latin', which have been observed from the time of Plautus onwards: the break-down of the case-system, the development of the use of prepositions at the expense of cases, the loss of final 'm', and the confusion of moods and tenses (85). Throughout Gaul Latin was laid over the speech of the conquered people, sometimes displacing it entirely (but Gaulish may have lingered on in some parts, see above under 'Gaulish'). So thoroughly was Latin instilled into the Gallic people that it formed the material out of which the French language has developed. It is ironic that 'French' should owe its origin to the people whom the Franks conquered! Only in the extreme north-east of Gaul, where the Franks were numerous enough to impose their own speech, ousting Latin, in Brittany where Celts from Britain, fleeing from the invading Angles and Saxons in the fifth and sixth centuries, settled, and in the Basque region, did other languages survive in Gaul.

Notes - Chapter 1

(1) M. Bonnet, Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours, Paris, 1890.

(2) G. Kurth, Saint Grégoire de Tours et les Etudes Classiques au VI^{e} Siècle, in Revue des Questions Historiques, Tome 24., pp.586-593.

(3) See Chapter 7 for a review of Gregory's works.

(4) Tacitus, De Moribus Germanorum, (Germania), 2.

(5) Cambridge Mediaeval History, I, p.294-5.

(6) For a discussion of the Peutinger Table (named after Conrad Peutinger, a wealthy savant of Augsburg, into whose possession it came in 1508) see E. Dèsjardins, Géographie de la Gaule Romaine', Tome IV, pp.72-159. Desjardins says that the monk of Colmar used a map "certainement de l'époque romaine" (p.73).

(7) v. Desjardins, op.cit. between pp.76 and 77 for the map, and also pp.101-2.

(8) C.M.H., I, pp.299-300.

(9) Ammianus Marcellinus, Rerum Gestarum, XVII.8.3.

(10) C.M.H.,I,p.296.

(11) F. Lot, La Gaule, p.486.

(12) ibid. p.486.

(13) O. M. Dalton, Gregory of Tours's History of the Franks, Vol.I.p.90.

(14) C.M.H.,p.297.

(15) Lot, op.cit.,p.486.

(16) HF.II.p.77.11.8-17.

(17) Ibidem

(18) HF.II.p.70.7.15 and Lot, op.cit.,p.490.

(19) HF.II.pp.79-81.

(20) C.M.H.,I,p.299.

(21) ibid. p.109

(22) Lot, op.cit.,p.508.

(23) C.M.H.,II,p.112.

(24) SM.II.p.608-9.1.32sqq.

(25) For the historical background to this confused period see:

1) C.M.H.II,p.119-123
2) Dalton, op.cit,Vol.I,pp.96-135.
3) L. Thorpe, Gregory of Tours, The History of the Franks, translation and introduction, pp.16-21.

(26) Irenaeus, Migne, Patrologia Graeca.7.col.444.

(27) Ausonius, Prof. IV.7 and X.27.

(28) Sidonius Apollinaris, Ep.III.3.2.

(29) T. Haarhoff, Schools of Gaul, p.16-17.

(30) Jerome, Ep. ad Galat. in PL.27,col.357.

(31) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.17.

(32) Cabrol, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, Tome VI part 2, col. 1717.

(33) Bonnet, op.cit.,p.25.

(34) C. Lelong, La Vie Quotidienne en Gaule à l'Epoque Mérovingienne, p.159.

(35) Lot, op.cit., p.96.

(36) Bonnet, op.cit.,p.25.

(37) Article in Encyclopedia Britannica, 1971 edition, vol.5, p.149.

(38) M. K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French with Especial Consideration of Anglo-Norman, p.10.

(39) Lelong, op.cit.,p.160.

(40) Venantius Fortunatus, Carmina VI.4.

(41) Dalton, op.cit.,p.411, footnote 2.

(42) Fortunatus, Carmina IX.1.

(43) HF.VI.P.286.46.4-5.

(44) ibid. lines 16-18.

(45) Thorpe, op.cit.,p.380.

(46) HF.VI.p.286.46.19.

(47) HF.V.p.237.44.21-23.

(48) Dalton, op.cit.,p.65-66 and HF.V.p.237.44.24sqq.

(49) C. Villard, Le Latin des Diplômes Royaux et Chartres Privées de l'Epoque Mérovingienne, passim.

(50) E. Le Blant, Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^{e} Siècle, vol.I,p.212.

(51) Le Blant, vol.I,p.212.

(52) Fortunatus, Carmina VII.8.

(53) Vita Karoli, 25., PL.97,col.49:

> "nec patrio tantum sermone contentus, etiam peregrinis linguis ediscendis operam impendit; in quibus latinam ita didicit, ut aeque illa ac patria lingua orare sit solitus".

(54) Quoted by M. K. Pope, op.cit.,p.14.

(55) HF.VI.p.250.6.22.

(56) ibidem

(57) G. Kurth, Etudes Franques, I, p.258. Haarhoff, however, seems willing to attribute to Germanic some formative influence on the Latin spoken in Gaul. He says that the Germanic barbarians

> "still had their own national character and traditions and language, and these produced blends and combinations in the already richly blended Aquitaine which played their part in the shaping of the whole. Such influences cannot be reduced to specific items, but it is plain that they were there" (op.cit.p.21), and

> "The contribution of Germanic to the peculiar character of

Gallic Latin is traced by modern philology to the following spheres: proper nouns, weapons and military terms, administration and jurisdiction, animals and plants, terms of domestic economy, and, what is more, certain abstract names, - - - and a good number of adjectives and verbs". (ibid.p.22)

For a list of some of these items see, Haarhoff, p.22, footnote 4.

(58) J. F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, Fasciculus 7, p.598.

(59) Cassiodore, Expositio in Psalterium, Psalm XVI, in PL.70,col.121.

(60) HF.V.p.237.44.23.24.

(61) MacKendrick, Roman France, p.10sqq.

(62) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.4,

"For a long time they were the chief currency for Southern Gaul as far as Lyons and for the whole valley of the Po".

(63) Or, at least, she had not taken the part of Caesar, cf. Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.5.

(64) ibid. p.6.

(65) Cicero, Pro L. Flacco, 26.63.

(66) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.7.

(67) Vita Caesarii, PL.67,col.1008.

(68) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.12.

(69) Le Blant, Nouveau Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^{e} Siècle, Nos. 104, 150, 215 and 326.

(70) ibid. No.374.

(71) P. Riché, Education et Culture dans l'Occident Barbare, p.250.

(72) Acta Sanctorum, January, Tome I, Vita S. Genovefae 6, p.140.

(73) Cabrol, Tome III, pt.2, col.2274.

(74) ibid.

(75) Vita Columbani, PL.87, col.1035.

(76) GM.p.552.94.11.12.

(77) Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH), Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum I, p.847, lines 14-17.

(78) Riché, op.cit.,p.250.

(79) ibid. and cf. Cabrol, Tome VI,pt1, col.318,

"Les deux principaux éléments de cet afflux étranger sont l'élément italien et l'élément grec. Dans ce dernier il faut compter non seulement les Grecs, mais les Orientaux d'Asie Mineure, Syriens, Lydiens, Bithyniens, empressés au Lucre".

(80) F.G. Mohl, Introduction à la Chronologie du Latin Vulgaire, p.249.

(81) Tacitus, Annales III.43.

(82) Mohl, op.cit.,p.249.

(83) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.131-2.

(84) B. Keeton, Some Observations on the Origin and Development of Christian Latin, with Special Reference to the Peregrinatio Aetheriae, M.A. Dissertation, Univ. of Durham, 1969, p.25-32.

(85) v. ibid. pp.33-53 for some of the phenomena characteristic of Vulgar Latin.

Chapter 2 - Roman Education and Gallic Schools

In order to be able to understand Gregory, we need to know what it was that he did not receive; what education he regretted he had not had. Having considered what he missed, we shall be in a better position to understand the greatness of the contribution that he was able to make, and also to understand what it was that Christian writers despised, or affected to despise.

Brief outline of the Roman System of Education

There was some tradition of private education by tutors in the royal families of the Hellenistic states and among aristocratic families in Roman circles. From the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. the Roman aristocracy regarded private education as the normal procedure for their children. This tradition persisted for centuries, so that it is not surprising, for instance, to find that Paulinus of Pella, born in A.D. 376 and living in Provence, gives indications in his 'Confessions' that private education was still in existence in the 'best' families in Southern Gaul at the end of the 4th century (1). Yet despite this aristocratic tradition, to the lingering remains of which Gregory of Tours himself may have owed his education, most children who received education received it at the primary school, the school of the grammaticus and the school of the rhetor.

Public Education in the Roman State

Education in the period up to 250 B.C. was characterized by the typically Roman virtues of simplicity and practicality, an aspect of Roman education that never disappeared no matter how much it was later influenced by Greek ideas. Cicero's question, "Quid esse igitur censes, Laeli, discendum nobis?" receives a typically Roman answer, "Eas artes quae efficiant ut usui civitati simus" (2). Education at this period seems to have been given largely in the context of the family; the mother, elderly relative or nurse looking after the child in its earliest years; the father then taking over. In the company of his father a boy learned the obligations, duties and responsibilities of life, the duties due to the gods, how to mix in society, how to keep himself physically fit, how to sing the ancient folk ballads, how to plough, sow and reap. Girls learned the domestic arts from their mothers. Boys learned by heart the Laws of the XII Tables. For this simple, homely type of education schools were not necessary, but about 250 B.C. a school was opened in Rome by the freeman Spurius Carvilius (3). His school seems to have been a 'ludus litterarius', or primary school, teaching the things a boy might have learnt at home.

From 250 - 100 B.C.

The principle characteristic of this period was the introduction and spread of Greek methods of education,

> "During the third century B.C. Greek influence in Rome rapidly increased, owing to closer intercourse with the Greek colonies in Italy and to the influx of Greek slaves. Romans also, who visited Greece, came into contact with the forces of Greek life, art and literature. About the time of the Second Punic War Livius Andronicus, and at a later date Ennius, gave literary instruction in Rome (Suetonius, de Gramm. 1.f.). It was at first restricted to private houses. Shortly after 169 B.C. Crates of Mallos lectured on literary subjects in Rome, and his method served as a model to others. This was the introduction of the school of the 'grammaticus' or 'litteratus', the Greek language teacher - an innovation the importance of which we can hardly overrate. It was not a mere widening of the curriculum, it was the introduction of a new principle", (4)

The material basis of this new study was Homer and, later, Latin poets as their works came into being. Upper class citizens at Rome also had the chance to attend classes in public oratory in Greek; Latin ones were discouraged.

The Greek devotion to the development of the body and to the activities of the 'palaestra' never really became accepted or popular in Rome. The Romans were interested in physical culture so that men might be fit for war, whereas the Greeks seemed more interested in physical culture for aesthetic reasons. Similarly, the Romans never included dancing and music within their curricula, although these might be learnt by upper class boys and girls for amusement or entertainment. Here, again, the sturdy, down-to-earth simplicity of the Roman character asserted itself in the face of the subtility and softness of the Greek character.

From 100 B.C. to A.D. 100

This period covers the end of the Roman Republic, the foundation of the principate by Augustus and the development of the imperial power under his successors. It also covers the ages of 'Golden' and 'Silver' Latin. In this period the child was introduced to Greek from an early age, perhaps by having a nurse who spoke Greek. From about the age of seven he was attended to school and elsewhere by a 'paedagogus', who looked after him till he reached the age of sixteen. The pedagogue accompanied the boy to school, to the 'ludus litterarius' (primary school) and the 'ludus grammatici' (secondary school).

The 'Ludus Litterarius'

This was the most primary source of education and was run by the 'magister ludi', who taught both boys and girls and was but poorly paid.

The classes were held in a 'pergula', a shop that opened out on to the porticoes of the forum, or on a verandah overlooking some public space. The classes were held almost in the open air with the children gathered round the teacher, who sat raised on his cathedra. The syllabus offered by the magister ludi was basic only. Words and letters were copied out; the children learned passages by heart and recited them. A certain amount of very simple arithmetic came within the scope of this school, so that the child learned to count and do simple fractions. Juvenal and Quintilian suggest that children began this education at the age of seven,

> "Cum septimus annus|transierit puerum, nondum omni dente renate,| barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros|huic totidem, cupiet lauto cenare paratu|semper et a magna non degenerare culina" (5)

> "Quidam litteris instituendos, qui minores septem annis essent, non putaverunt, quod illa primum aetas et intellectum disciplinarum capere et laborem pati posset"
> (Quintilian disagrees with this view) (6).

The School of the Grammaticus

Suetonius suggests that children moved on to the school of the grammaticus when they were eleven years old, if the example of Nero is typical,

> "Undecimo aetatis anno a Claudio adoptatus est Annaeoque Senecae iam tunc senatori in disciplinam traditus" (7)

Although it would be wildly misleading to imagine that Seneca was a mere grammaticus, he may have fulfilled that role in a more exalted manner in the case of Nero. The school of the grammaticus was more impressive than the school of the magister ludi. The grammaticus wore a cloak and taught in a room adorned with maps and busts of the great writers such as Virgil and Horace. The classroom was still a 'pergula', shut off from the forum by a kind of curtain. The course of study at this school fell into two parts, Latin grammar, and the study of the great writers.

1) Latin Grammar

> "Grammar still meant essentially the same abstract analysis of the elements of language - letters, syllables, words and parts of speech - and the same meticulous distinctions and classifications" (8).

Grammar had become a science, highly cultured and more or less speculative; there was great interest in orthography and correct spelling. A gap was beginning to develop between the living language of the day and the Latin of the great writers,

> "The Grammarian did not teach people how to use a living language; he took stock of the material that had been used by the great classic writers, the language in which their masterpieces had been hallowed for all eternity. A tyrannical classical ideal dominated this teaching, which ignored the fact that language

> develops naturally, that words are living things. Latin was - it was there for all time in the great writers; the science of correct speaking - recte loquendi scientia - was based in the last analysis on 'auctoritas'" (9).

As the centuries went on a great number of grammatical works were produced,

> "comme si leurs auteurs voulaient arrêter l'évolution de la langue et imposer aux lettres les règles qui firent autrefois la force du latin" (10).

2) The Study of the Great Writers - Enarratio Auctorum

The early poets Livius Andronicus and Ennius had been important as objects of study under the Republic, but soon after 26 B.C. Quintus Caecilius Epirota took the bold step of introducing into the curriculum of his school Virgil and other contemporary poets. The tradition of studying 'modern', i.e. contemporary, or near contemporary, poets was followed for about 100 years, so that Ovid, Nero and Statius were all studied in the schools in their lifetime. However, towards the end of the 1st century A.D. Quintilian headed a reaction in favour of the old poets and

> "and effort was made to fix the syllabus for ever round a few great names, whose fame could never be questioned" (11).

Who were these chosen few? Among the poets it was Virgil, the Latin Homer, who was studied par excellence. A knowledge of his writings formed the basis of any liberal culture in the succeeding centuries. Gregory of Tours, in the 6th century, shows more acquaintance with Virgil than with any other classical author. Among the dramatic poets it was Terence who, under the Empire, was studied the most. Horace continued to be read, but devotion to him waned. The study of the poets properly came within the sphere of the teaching of the grammaticus, while the prose writers were the province of the rhetor's school. However, historians did find their way into the grammaticus's syllabus and it was not Livy but Sallust who was read,

> "The Classic historian par excellence - historiae maior auctor - was Sallust, whom the men of letters, scholars and teachers alike, regarded as first among Roman historians" (12).

Interestingly, Gregory of Tours shows some slight acquaintance with Sallust. The orator who was received into the grammaticus's syllabus was, of course, Cicero. Gregory does not appear to have read Cicero's works and the only reference to Cicero in Gregory's works occurs when Gregory spurns "Ciceronis argutias", among other classical topics, as not being worthy material for his own pen to emulate (G.M.p.487.Preface.20). This group of 'stars', namely, Virgil, Terence, Sallust and Cicero, formed the 'quadriga' (to adopt the title of the book by Arusianus Massius).

It is interesting to note that one of the last recorded rhetors of Gaul, Julianus Pomerius, who, around A.D. 497, taught St. Caesarius at Arles for a time and was himself a Christian, was clearly familiar with Terence, Cicero, Virgil and others (13).

In the classroom the grammaticus explained the classical authors to his pupils verse by verse and line by line. Not content with a grammatical analysis, he undertook to teach the documentary richness of the text,

> "Partant des allusions historiques, juridiques ou scientifiques contenues dans le passage expliqué, le grammarien initiait l'élève aux différentes branches de savoir antique, et lui donnait ainsi une vaste culture générale" (14).

The pupil for his part had to prove his progress by recitation of short texts, showing his knowledge of accentuation and of the rules of pronunciation. Further, he had to transpose into prose some poem, or to paraphrase some ethical opinions. Having obtained this basic Latin culture, if the pupil wished to go deeper into grammatical rules he had to go to the school of the rhetor.

The School of the Rhetor

When a boy received the 'toga virilis' at about the age of fifteen or sixteen, he put aside childish things like the pedagogue and the school of the grammaticus and moved on to study under the rhetor, unless he began his 'tirocinium fori', followed by military service. The rhetor was much better paid than his two humbler colleagues, but his profession was still only one that attracted the unimportant, for example, freed slaves, or senators who were out of favour. However, the rhetor made his fortune much more frequently than the other two did. Although he too taught within the environs of the forum, in the Late Empire and perhaps as early as Hadrian's time (A.D. 117-138), the State supplied him with fine rooms arranged like small theatres and opening out on to the porticoes of the forum at the far end (15). It was the rhetor's task to teach his pupil how to master the art of oratory as handed down traditionally,

> "in the complex system of rules, methods and customs that had gradually been perfected in Greek schools from the time of the Sophists. It was all laid down in advance: one learned the rules, and then practiced how to use them" (16).

Despite the attempts of Cicero (17) and, later, Quintilian, to broaden the basis of the would-be orator's culture, enriching it with a knowledge of philosophy, law and history, the substance of what the rhetor taught was rhetoric in the limited sense of learning how to speak convincingly on a given subject. What did the pupil actually do at the rhetor's

school? The frontier between the subjects taught in the school of the grammaticus and rhetor were sometime blurred, so that the pupil might find himself going over some of the ground again, but he would soon find out that rhetoric was hard and demanded a considerable intellectual effort and a long training. The pupil had to learn the rules and procedure of oratory, he had to learn how to invent 'topoi', common places, how to build up a speech (dispositio) from the exordium to the peroration and how to do it by word (elocutio) and by gesture (actio), how to adorn his discourse by introducing rhythmic clausulae and how to complete his knowledge of the rules of prose composition, partly taught him by the grammaticus. He would also practice making a eulogy of a great person, describing a monument and discussing a moral question. Having mastered this basis, he went on to more advanced work, 'declamationes', which took two forms,

1) a plea in court - controversiae

2) consideration of a subject drawn from history or mythology - suasoriae.

Coming out of the rhetor's school after 4 - 6 years, he could become a brilliant lecturer or, after a period in the courts, a formidable lawyer. Mastery of rhetoric brought power as Quintilian reminds us (18).

One noteworthy feature of the material used in the rhetor's school is that it became increasingly detached from real life,

> "The coming of the Empire and the loss of political 'liberty' from the time of Augustus onwards had caused Roman culture to model itself on Hellenistic culture, and the higher eloquence became, not political eloquence, but the disinterested aesthetic eloquence of the public lecturer. Asinius Pollio had introduced the practice of public recitations under Augustus, and from then on they dominated the whole of literary life, just as they did in Greek-speaking regions" (19).

As the art of speaking well seemed less likely to lead one to power, which came to depend more and more on military might, rhetoric came to be an end in itself. It was fascinating how uniform and longlasting was the substance of the rhetor's teaching practice so that, as Marrou points out, over six centuries the same subjects kept reappearing for treatment, subject already familiar in the Hellenistic schools,

> "the same vein of phantasy, the same taste for paradoxes and improbabilities - the same tyrants and pirates, the same plagues and madness - kidnapping, rape, cruel stepmothers, disinherited sons, ticklish situations, remote questions of conscience, imaginary laws" (20).

The following point, made by Marrou, is a weighty one to bear in mind when assessing literary culture in 6th century Gaul,

> "the chief aim of Roman education was to realize through literature and art an ideal of humanism that was unconcerned with, and unconstrained by, any sordid technical or utilitarian considerations" (21).

By the time of Gregory, and in the religious world in which he moved, fresh, vigorous, Christian ideals had very largely swept aside the ideal of humanism, putting other ideals in its place.

Schools in Roman Gaul and their gradual disappearance

The romanization of Gaul after its conquest by Julius Caesar in the 1st century B.C. was accompanied by the establishment of centres where education on the Roman pattern, described above, might be disseminated. It was part of the policy of Rome

> "de faire au plus tôt de tous ces Barbares une seule nation romaine" (22).

There were incentives too for the conquered Gauls in the learning of Latin and in becoming acquainted with the literary traditions of Rome,

> "les Barbares apprennent le latin, non point pour pouvoir converser au besoin avec les paysans de Tusculum ou de Réate, mais pour comprendre la langue officielle de l'Etat, pour être instruits des décisions des gouverneurs et des proconsuls, des préteurs, des magistrats, pour connaître les décrets du Sénat à leur égard, pour savoir exactement ce que Rome exige d'eux et ce qu'ils peuvent en retour attendre du peuple romain - - - Ils savent aussi que, tant qu'ils ne posséderont point le latin, ils resteront des Barbares, c'est-à-dire des étrangers dans leur propre pays et des hilotes dans l'Empire" (23).

It would, of course, be chiefly the sons of the Gallic aristocracy who would be privileged to receive this education, though, doubtless, as schools became wider spread and more firmly entrenched in the country towns of Gaul a wider range of people would be touched by their influence. As early as A.D. 21 we hear obliquely of a school at Autun (Augustodunum) patronised by the sons of noble Gauls,

> "Augustodunum caput gentis armatis cohortibus Sacrovir occupaverat, ut nobilissimam Galliarum subolem liberalibus studiis ibi operatam, et eo pignore parentes propinquosque eorum adiungeret" (24).

By A.D. 48 the Emperor Claudius could support the admission of Gauls to the Senate on the grounds that they had become culturally assimilated,

> "(Galli) iam moribus artibus adfinitatibus nostris mixti, aurum et suas opes inferant" (25).

Juvenal, in his seventh Satire written, probably c. A.D. 118 (26), can say,

> "accipiat te Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum
> Africa, si placuit mercedem ponere linguae" (27).

So Gaul, although running second to Africa in Juvenal's estimation, is a place where 'causidici' flourish at the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

and since this legal profession would need to be backed up by numerous rhetors' schools, we may reasonably assume that the preparatory ludi litterarii and ludi grammatici were also to be found throughout Gaul. Suetonius, writing in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117 - 138) speaks of the establishment in the past of centres where 'ars grammatica' could be studied, particularly in Gallia Togata,

> "Nam in provincias quoque grammatica penetraverat, ac nonnulli de notissimis doctoribus peregre docuerunt, maxime in Gallia Togata: inter quos Octavius Teucer et Pescennius Laccus et Oppius Chares" (28).

Even though the visits to Gaul of such teachers may have been of short duration, the fact that they went there at all makes it clear that schools existed where an interest in, and concern about, Roman literature was maintained.

The following extended quotation from O. Brogan's book, 'Roman Gaul', sketches in the general picture of Roman education in Gaul,

> "Schools, in which the rhetorical training, the ancient world's equivalent of a university course, was given, thus arose all over Gaul. Some of which we hear are those of Toulouse (referred to by Martial as Palladia Tolosa, city of Minerva), Vienne and Lyons. Fronto goes so far as to speak of Rheims as an Athens, and Bordeaux, Arles and Trier did not lag far behind. We have, unfortunately, almost no literature of the early Empire from Gaul, in striking contrast to the rich literary remains of fourth-and-fifth-century Gaul, but some indication of the spread of at least a veneer of Latin culture is to be found in the popularity of mosaic pavements showing famous legends of classical literature and expressing devotion to the Muses. Rhetoric and oratory appealed strongly to the Gauls. A number of orators from Gallic towns are mentioned in our sources, including Gnaeus Domitius Afer of Nîmes, Consul in 39, who was an important figure in the Roman Senate from Tiberius to Nero; his contemporary, Julius Africanus of Saintes; Rufus of Vienne, famous under Trajan and Hadrian; Favorinus of Arles, acquaintance of Hadrian and teacher of Herodes Atticus. Many of these men must have had Gallic blood in their veins. A Narbonnese Gaul of whom this is expressly stated is the historian Pompeius Trogus, a native of Vaison and contemporary of Augustus" (29).

The Roman system of education was still intact c.375, when Ausonius was the star in the literary sky of Bordeaux. He was one of the few rhetors ever to achieve brilliant political success and recognition in Gaul,

> "There was the well-known case of Ausonius, who was summoned from Bordeaux to Trèves by Valentinian and received from his pupil, the young Emperor Gratian, the highest honours in the Empire - the consulate and praefecture of the praetorium of the Gauls, not to speak of those he obtained for his father, son and son-in-law: indeed there was a time in the years 378 - 380 when the whole of the West was governed by the family of the Aquitanian rhetor" (30).

As well as being politically successful, the family of Ausonius seems to have been quite cultured. His father was a cultured physician (31), his grandfather, Arborius, was a keen student of astrology (32), his aunt Aemilia studied medicine (33), his nephew, Herculanus, was for a time a teacher at Bordeaux (34), and his uncle Arborius was a rhetorician whose fame reached even as far as Constantinople (35).

As we saw above, Autun was the home of a school for the sons of Gallic nobles as early as the 1st century. The 'Maeniana' was a famous school at Autun, "the university of the north even" (36), but it was destroyed in the last quarter of the 3rd century, when Autun was destroyed by the Bagaudae. Towards the end of the 4th century Eumenius was ready to spend his salary on the rebuilding of the Maeniana at Autun,

> "Hoc ego salarium - - - expensum referre patriae meae cupio, et ad restitutionem huius operis - - - destinare (37).

In 398 Claudian used 'doctus' as a conventional epithet for the citizens of Gaul,

> "Inlustri te prole Tagus, te Gallia doctis civibus et toto stipavit Roma senatu" (38).

Even Symmachus, "conservative of the pagan conservatives", (39), wanted a Gallic tutor for his son at Rome (40), and he acknowledged his debt to Gaul,

> "Gallicanae facundiae haustus requiro" (41).

Among Christian writers St. Jerome supplies some evidence of the flourishing state of literary studies in Gaul in the second part of the 4th century. He tells us that in 358, "Alcimus et Delphidius rhetores in Aquitania florentissime docent" (42). Gaul had exported at least one rhetor to Rome itself, "Minervius Burdigalensis rhetor Romae florentissime docet" (43), that was also in 358. In his letter to Rusticus Jerome says that he has heard of Rusticus's education in Rome, "post studia Galliarum que vel florentissima sunt" (44). Paulinus of Nola (353-431), Paulinus of Pella (fl.c.425) and Prosper of Aquitaine (c.390 - 463), all Christians of importance, "all owed their early training to the flourishing pagan schools of Gaul" (45).

In the examples mentioned above Aquitaine plays a prominent part. This was because it enjoyed a period of tranquillity in the 4th century,

> "the impulse given to education at the end of the 3rd century continued to gather momentum during the 4th. It was a time of peace and quiet in contrast to the preceding and the succeeding centuries. For more than a hundred years Aquitaine enjoyed respite from barbarian invasions" (46).

Yet this rosy picture was not typical of everywhere in Gaul during the 4th century. Some indication of the way things were going and the shape of things to come is given by what excavations at Bavai, near Boulogne-sur-mer, have revealed about the pressure of barbarian inroads into Gaul,

> "Sometime between 257 and 276 Bavai was sacked; it recovered as a tiny stronghold, built by incorporating the remains of the fallen vaults of the cryptoporticus into a rampart wall with half-round towers, constructed against the perimeter walls of the cryptoporticus. Thus the protected area of a once-prosperous town was compressed into a space of about six acres. The same thing happened all over Gaul, from the last half of the 3rd century onwards. Once-extensive cities like Autun, Nîmes, Périgueux and many others reduced their walled areas to a mere fraction of their former size. As the cities dwindled, the villa population grew. When the villas in their turn were overrun by the barbarians, the survivors stole the stone from the ruined villas to build nearby" (47).

Once the barbarian invasions had begun, they pressed on, only pausing, never stopping. As we have seen, the Franks were moving ever south-westward during the 4th century. The Burgundians moved into Savoy and Athaulf led his Visigoths out of Italy and into southern Gaul in 410, moving on into Spain, but occupying Gallia Narbonensis, which later became Septimania. Unsettled by such stresses the Roman system of education, though well established in Gaul, began to disintegrate as the 5th century advanced. The towns had taken over the task of subsidizing public schools and economic pressures now forced them to withdraw their subsidies, thus forcing rhetors and other teachers to seek employment in the service of some Gallo-Roman aristocrat at his villa. The remorseless advance of the Franks into Gaul together with such disturbances as the invasion of Attila and his Huns in 451 gradually undermined the fabric of Roman society, though the undermining went on at different paces in different parts of Gaul. Thus, the fall of Syagrius in the last decades of the fifth century meant that Roman civilisation was virtually obliterated in north-eastern Gaul, where the Franks themselves settled in large numbers. In the west, the centre and the south of Gaul, however, Roman civilisation of a sort continued to exist in urban centres such as Clermont-Ferrand (Arverna), Vienne, Arles, Lyons and Marseilles. We obtain glimpses only of what life must have been like in those difficult days. Although Ausonius led a relatively stable life at Bordeaux and in the imperial service, his grandson Paulinus of Pella, who also lived in the Bordeaux area and owned extensive lands, found things far more uncertain. When the Visigoths moved into Aquitaine about 420,

Paulinus neglected to seek the protection of any powerful barbarian leader. His home was sacked and he lost his property. He fled to Marseilles where he eked out a meagre existence on a small estate. He contemplated retiring into some nearby monastery, perhaps St. Victor at Marseilles (48). Although Gaul settled down again after this enough to produce Sidonius Apollinaris and Avitus of Vienne, the Frankish and Visigothic conquests, the rivalries and weakness of the Merovingian kings, their barbarity and cruelty, their way of life centred around tribal violence rather than ordered culture, all produced disorder and instability. This was not the climate in which literary culture could be maintained or could flourish,

> "Ce n'est pas au milieu des luttes politiques, compliquées au début par les luttes religieuses, que les cités ou les princes pouvaient restaurer les écoles, et ce n'est pas dans les conditions d'existence incertaine ou ils se trouvaient, avec la corruption des moeurs que nous révèle Grégoire de Tours, que les nobles pouvaient songer à réagir contre l'ignorance" (49).

The disappearance of the schools from the towns of Gaul took place gradually. Lelong believes that "well before the 5th century" the towns had ceased to subsidize the schools and chairs of grammar and rhetoric (50), while Vossler says that the Latin schools,

> "se sont maintenues jusqu'en pleine époque des invasions. Ces écoles se trouvaient non seulement dans la province la plus ancienne, dans la Gallia Narbonnensis, et en Aquitaine, où chaque grande ville avait son école de grammaire et de rhétorique, mais aussi dans la Lugdunensis et dans la Belgica car ces régions, bien que dominées par le style de vie autochtone ne manquaient pourtant pas de centres de travail littéraire" (51).

Vossler also maintains that it was only from the 7th century that literary activity in Gaul submitted itself totally to the growing influence of the barbarians (52). Since Gregory of Tours is virtually the only literary source we have for Gaul in the second half of the 6th century (Venantius Fortunatus was educated outside Gaul at Ravenna) and Gregory's debt to classical models is slender, one should not place much dependence on Vossler's contention.

Once the Franks were masters of most of Gaul from 507 onwards, there was no money available from their revenues for the maintenance of Roman schools. The various sorts of taxes were collected under the supervision of Frankish counts, who were accountable to their kings,

> "No funds were available for education, for most people went without it; and such schools as existed were controlled by the Church, which paid all costs" (53).

Notes - Chapter 2

(1) Marrou, op.cit., p.359.

(2) Cicero, De Re Publica, I, 20.

(3) A. Gwynn, Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian, p.29-31.

(4) ibidem

(5) Juvenal, Satire XIV.10-14.

(6) Quintilian, I.15.

(7) Suetonius, De Vita Caesarum, Nero 7.

(8) Marrou,op.cit.,p.371.

(9) ibid. p.372-3.

(10) Riché,op.cit.,p.42.

(11) Marrou, op.cit.,p.374.

(12) ibidem

(13) v. Sr. M. Suelzer's edition of the De Vita Contemplativa of Julianus Pomerius, p.11.

(14) Riché, op.cit.p.42

(15) Marrou, op.cit.,p.382.

(16) ibidem

(17) Cicero, De Oratore, I,48-73.

(18) Quintilian, Inst. Orat. XII.11.29.

(19) Marrou, op.cit.,p.386.

(20) ibid. p.384.

(21) ibid. p.386.

(22) Mohl, Introduction à la Chronolgie du Latin Vulgaire, p.249.

(23) ibidem.

(24) Tacitus, Annales, III.43. But, as we have already noted, education was available largely for the upper classes only. Haarhoff points out that with the decline and disappearance of the Roman Schools, such Christian Schools as emerged offered some elementary education to a much wider section of the community, cf. op.cit.,p.175.

(25) Tacitus, Annales, XI.24.13.

(26) For the dating of this satire see Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome, II,p.481.

(27) Juvenal, Satire VII.148 sqq.

(28) Suetonius, De Grammaticis 3.4.

(29) O. Brogan, Roman Gaul, p.54-55.

(30) Marrou, op.cit.,p.412.

(31) Ausonius, Domestica IV. Both Ausonius and his father, like others at Bordeaux, were well versed in Greek. His father was more fluent in Greek than in Latin,

> "sermone impromptus Latio, verum Attica lingua suffecit culti vocibus eloquii" (ibid. lines 9-10).

(32) idem, Parentalia IV, Loeb edition, I,p.65.

(33) idem, Parentalia VI, ibid. p.67.

(34) idem, Commemoratio Professorum Burdigalensium, XI,ibid,p.116.

(35) idem, Parentalia III, ibid.p.63.

(36) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.38.

(37) Eumenius, Pro Instaur. Scholis, 11.

(38) Claudian, Panegyric on the Fourth Consulate of Honorius, 582.

(39) Haarhoff,op.cit.,p.42.

(40) Symmachus, Ep.VI.34.

(41) idem, Ep.IX.88.

(42) Jerome, Chronicon, PL.27,col.687.

(43) ibidem.

(44) Jerome, Ep.125.6.

(45) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.43.

(46) ibid.p.39.

(47) MacKendrick, Roman France, p.141-2.

(48) Paulinus of Pella was born at Pella in Macedonia in 376, though his family came from Bordeaux. We have a poem of his called 'Eucharisticos' or 'Eucharisticon' (whose text can be found in the Loeb edition of Ausonius, vol.2, p.304-351) composed in 459. The poem is useful for the history of Aquitaine and of Bazas in particular, during the time when the Visigoths were settling down there.

(49) Roger, L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin, p.90.

(50) Lelong, La Vie Quotidienne en Gaule, p.153.

(51) Vossler, Langue et Culture de la France, p.12.

(52) ibidem.

(53) Dalton, op.cit.,p.218.

Chapter 3 - Gallic Monasteries and Education

Monasteries in Gaul in the Sixth Century

In the rude and barbaric Gaul of the sixth century, in which Gregory grew up and was educated, the opportunities for meeting men learned in the classical authors or imbued with a love of classical literature were few and far between. One environment in which such a love of classical learning might have been kept alive was that of the Gallic monasteries. The authors of the 'Gallia Christiana' estimated that at the beginning of the 6th century there were about forty monasteries in Gaul, while at the end of that century the number had risen to about two hundred and forty. Gregory is exasperatingly reticent about the type of life lived in the monasteries which he knew, about the occupations of the monks and nuns and their interests. As Dalton points out, (1) Gregory had two large abbeys in or adjacent to his see city of Tours, namely the monastery of Marmoutier (Maius Monasterium), founded by St. Martin about 372 and situated on the north-eastern edge of modern Tours, and the monastery at the Basilica of St. Martin in Tours, as well as several other monastic establishments in the town. Such information as Gregory gives us about the activities of the monks and nuns is almost always incidental to his main theme: the praise of the wonder-working bishops, priests, abbot, monks, nuns and hermits, who confronted sin and sickness in the name of God and St. Martin.

In order to establish the possible monastic contribution to the maintenance of a tradition of classical learning we must first try to establish what monasteries there were, where they were and what were the occupations of their inhabitants. The early Benedictine foundations in Gaul, e.g. Fleury-sur-Loire, south-east of Orléans, and Glanfeuil in Anjou, like the foundations of St. Columbanus at Annegray and Luxeuil, came too late in the century (or came in the 7th century) to make any impact on the overall situation and their influence belongs more properly to the 7th rather than the 6th century. Leaving them out of account for the purposes of this examination, we find that the remaining monasteries can be grouped roughly into two types,

1) The 'Martinian' type: Stemming from the example of the life and deeds of St. Martin and found mainly in northern and western Gaul and the Jura.
2) The 'Lérins-Rhône Valley' type: Stemming from the monastery founded by St. Honoratus on the isle of Lérins in the Bay of Cannes, and the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, founded by John Cassian.

It will be useful to establish the specific existence of as many monasteries as possible in the sixth century. We must realise, however, that some of these 'monasteries' would be little more than a collection of huts where a hermit or a group of hermits, lived. Some of them may have had only a very temporary existence, while others have had a continuous existence, if not as monasteries, at least as churches, down to the present day. In the following list I have been able to identify about 110 of the 240 monasteries mentioned in the 'Gallia Christiana'.

Lugdunensis Prima (corresponding to the ecclesiastical provinces of Lyons and Besançon)

	Monastery	Source
Autun Diocese :	Saint-Symphorien at Autun	H.F.II.82.15.12-13
	Saint-Andoche at Autun	Beaunier,II,p.145
	Saint-Martin	Beaunier,II,p.145
	Sainte-Marie	Mabillon, Annales, I,203-205
Langres Diocese :	Saint-Bénigne at Dijon	G.C.774.42.16
	Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye (Segestrense)	G.C.804.86.1.
	Moutiers-Saint-Jean (Reomense)	G.C.803.87.7.-9
	Saint-Michel at Tonnerre	Beaunier,II,p.145
	Saint-Jôme at Langres	Mabillon,I.49-60
	Monastery on an island in the River Oze	G.C.787,note 3
Chalon-sur-Saone Diocese :	Saint-Marcel at Chalon	G.M.525.52.5
	Sainte-Marie de Losne (Latona)	Mabillon.I.228-9
	Gourdon (Gurthonense)	G.C.802.85.23-24
	Saint-Valérien at Tournus	G.M.525.53.note 4
Besançon Diocese :	Saint-Lauthein de Silèze (nr.Poligny)	Mabillon I.32-33
	Monasterium Maximiacum (unknown)	Beaunier.II.p.146

Lugdunensis Secunda (corresponding to the province of Rouen)

	Monastery	Source
Rouen Diocese	: Saint-Pierre at Rouen (Later Saint-Ouen)	Mabillon.I.122-3
	Andelys (nuns)	Script.Rer.Merov.II.346 Mabillon.I.123
Bayeux Diocese	: Reviers (Redeveriacum)	Beaunier,II.p.147) Mab-
	Chrismat (Christmatum)	Beaunier,II.p.147) illo Acta
	Cérisy-la-Forêt (Cerasium)	Beaunier,II.p.147 Sanct.I.p.354-60
	Les Deux Jumeaux (Duo Gemelli)	Mabillon, Annales I.p.148
Séez Diocese	: Ouche (Uticense)	Mabillon.Acta Sanct.I. 354-60
	Saint-Martin at Séez	Beaunier,II.p.147
	Four other monasteries founded by St. Ebrulfus	Beaunier,II.p.147
Coutances Diocese	: Nanteuil-en-Cotentin (today Saint-Marcouf)	Mabillon.I.138
Avranches Diocese	: Monastery on the Ile de Saint-Pair, near Granville (Sisiacus)	Beaunier,II.p.148
	Several other monasteries founded by St. Paternus.	Beaunier,II.p.148

Lugdunensis Tertia (corresponding to the province of Tours)

Tours Diocese	: Marmoutiers at Tours	Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini and many others
	Saint-Martin at Tours	HFX.447.31.1.
	Sainte-Marie de Scriniolo at Tours	H.F.IX.387.33.4-6(nuns
	Sainte-Monegunde at Tours (nuns)	V.P.XIX.738.2.21-22
	Saint-Venant at Tours	V.P.XVI.725.1.2-3
	Saint-Julien at Tours	S.J.578.note 2
	Loches (Loccis)	V.P.XVIII.734.1.14-16
	Sennevières, near Loches	V.P.XVIII.734.1.12-14
	2 monasteries founded by Bracchio	V.P.XII.713.3.31sqq
	Chinon	G.C.762.22.1

	Monastery	Source
Tours Diocese :	Saint-Senoch	V.P.XV.721.note 4
	Saint-Martin de Latta (uncertain)	H.F.IV.183.48.16
	Maillé (later called Luynes)	G.C.760.21.18-19
	Unnamed monastery where Saint Pappila spent 30 years as a man.	G.C.756.16.26 sqq
Le Mans Diocese :	Saint-Calais-du-Mans (Anninsola)	H.F.V.201.14.18-19
	Saint-Vincent du Mans	)
	Saint-Martin) on the banks of	)
	Saint-Victor) the River Sarthe	)
	Saint-Julien-du-Pré	)
	Saint-Pierre-de-la-Couture	) Archives historiques
	Saint-Germain	) du Maine,II,8.
	Saint-Martin de Pontlieue	)
	Estival	)
	Evron and others	)
Angers Diocese :	Mont-Glonne (now Saint-Florent-le-Vieil)	Beaunier,II.p.150
	Monasterium Colonotense, neat Chalonnes	Beaunier,II.p.150
	Tincillacum (site unknown)	Beaunier,II.p.150
Rennes and the Breton dioceses		
:	Saint-Mélaine at Rennes	Gallia Christiana,XIV.768
	Saint-Nazaire	G.M.529.60.12 sqq
	Besne (cell of St. Friardus)	Longnon,p.312-313
	Rhuiz (Ruiensis)	Acta Sanctorum,I.129-142
	Locmine	Beaunier,II.p.151
	Saint-Mélaine de Brain	Script.Rer.Merov.III.372
	Saint-Mathieu (dio. of Léon)	Gallia Christ.XIv.487
	Kerlouan	Beaunier,II.p.151
	Lanpol (Ile de Ouessant)	Beaunier,II.p.151
	Ile de Batz	Analecta Bollandiana,I. 208-253
	Lanhouarneau	Beaunier,II,p.151
	Landévenech (dioc.of Quimper)	Analect.Boll.III. p.167-264
	Saint-Méen	Analect.Boll.III. p.142-157

Monastery	Source
Saint-Lunaire (dioc. of St. Malo)	Acta Sancti Julii.I. 121-124
Guer	Beaunier,II.p.151
Saint-Jacut	Beaunier,II.p.151
Saint-Samson (dioc. of Dol)	Beaunier,II.p.151
Saint-Tugdual (near Tréguier)	Beaunier,II.p.151
Bourbriac	Beaunier,II.p.152

Lugdunensis Quarta (corresponding to the ancient ecclesiastical province of Sens)

Sens Diocese	: Saint-Pierre le Vif at Sens	Duchesne, Les Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule,II,396
Chartres diocese	: Saint-Père at Chartres	Mabillon, Annales I,147-8
	Saint-Chéron at Chartres	"
	Saint-Martin at Chartres	"
	Brou (Braiacum) (near Châteaudun)	Vita Sancti Leobini, among Venantius's prose works
	Also at community of nuns at Brou	Ibidem
	Corbion (Saint-Laumer-le-Moutier)	Acta Santorum I,317-326
	Bellomer	Ibidem
	Monasterium Pisciacum (unknown)	Longnon,328-331
Auxerre Diocese	: Monastery at the basilica of St. Germain	H.F.V.206.14.3
	Saint-Julien at Auxerre)	
	Saint-Marien at Auxerre)	
	Monasterium Ulfini (Saint-Martin-lèz-Saint-Marien)))	
	Monasterium Decimiacense (Saint-Cyr-les-Colons)))	
	Monasterium Fontanetense)	See: Gallia Christ.XII.355
	Monasterium Cociacense ad Sanctos))	and Mabillon, Annales VI,33 and I,172-3
	Cessy-les-Bois (Sessiacense))	
	Monasterium Mannacense)	
	Monasterium Longoretense)	

	Monastery	Source
Troyes Diocese	: Moutier-la-Celle, near Troyes	G.C.787-788,67.note 3
	Nesle-la-Repost	Gallia Christ.VII.535
Orléans Diocese	: Saint-Mesmin-de-Micy	G.C.810.footnote 3
	Monastery of Segolonia	G.C.810,footnote 3
	Saint-Laurent de Orgeriis	Mabillon, Annales I,194
	Meung	Mabillon, Acta Sanct.I. 114-152
Nevers Diocese	: Cervon	Script.Rer.Merov.III,189
Paris Diocese	: Saint-Laurent	H.F.VI.254.9.26
	Sainte-Croix-Saint-Vincent (Later Saint-Germain-des-Prés)	H.F.IV.156.20.21
	Saint-Cloud (Seine et Oisé)	Mabillon.Annales.III.41
	Monastery at the tomb of St. Denis	Beaunier.II.p.154

Belgica Prima (corresponding to the province of Trier)

Trier Diocese	: Saint-Maximin at Trier	G.C.731.footnote 1
	Carignan (Eposium Castrum)	H.F.VIII.333.15.27
Verdun Diocese	: Monastery at Verdun, where Bucciovaldus was abbot	H.F.IX.380.23.27

Belgica Secunda (corresponding to the province of Rheims)

Rheims Diocese	: Saint-Rémy at Rheims	H.F.X.433.19.3.
	Monasterium Virisiacense (Verzy)	Acta Sanct.II.59-62
Soissons Diocese	: Saint-Médard at Soissons	Mabillon, Annales.I.127
	Notre-Dame, near Compiègne	Mabillon, Annales.I.127
	Saint-Crépin, near Compiègne	Mabillon, Annales.I.127
	Some other monasteries in the area	Mabillon, Annales.I.127
Laon Diocese	: Saint-Vincent at Laon	Mabillon, Annales.I.203
Beauvais Diocese	: Saint-Lucien	Mabillon, Annales.I.189

	Monastery	Source
Amiens Diocese	: Saint-Fuscien (near Boves)	Mabillon, Annales.I.138
	Nuns in Amiens	S.M.I.598.17.8-9

Aquitania Prima (corresponding to the province of Bourges)

Bourges Diocese	: Monastery of Tausiriacum (Toiselay)	V.P.XVIII.734.1.11
	Monastery of Onia (La Forêt d'Heugne)	V.P.XVIII.734.1.11
	Monastery of Pontiniacus	V.P.XVIII.734.1.11
	Saint-Martin at Bourges	G.C.797.79.8 sqq
	Saint-Symphorien at Bourges	G.C.797.79.26
	Colombier (Columbariense)	V.P.IX.704.3.31
	Néris (nuns)	V.P.IX.703.2.30-31
	Selles-sur-Cher (Saint-Eusice)	G.C.800.81.23-25
Clermont Diocese	: Saint-Cirgues at Clermont-Ferrand	V.P.III.672.1.26-27
	Saint-Saturnin de Vensat	V.P.XII.713.3.30-32
	Chantoin	H.F.II.84.21.22-23
	Randan	H.F.IV.168.32.16-17
	Méallet	V.P.XI.709.1.12-13
	Menat	H.F.V.201.12.5
	Saint-Allyre at Clermont	Cousin.p.118, Longnon.477-512
	Mozac	Cousin.p.119
	Cournon (Mon. Crononense)	H.F.IV.173.39.10
	Saint-Pourçain	V.P.V.678.1.11-12
	Royat, at the grotto of Saint-Mars	V.P.XIV.719.2.3.
	Chanturgue (in arce Cantobennici montis)	H.F.II.84.21.22-23
	Pionsat (Ponticiacum)	V.P.XII.712.footnote 1
	Saint-Sauve	Beaunier,II.p.157
Limoges Diocese	: Saint-Yrieux-la-Perche (Attanense)	H.F.VIII.334.15.14
	Monasterium Rozaliae	Beaunier,II.p.158
	Vigeois	Beaunier,II.p.158

	Monastery	Source
	Noblac	Beaunier, II.p.158
	Saint-Junien	Mabillon, I.101-102
	Saint-Vaulry	Mabillon, I.101-102
Cahors Diocese	: Monastery at Cahors	H.F.VII.310.30.28
Mende Diocese	: Javols, at the basilica of St. Privatus	H.F.VI.277.37.36
Toulouse Diocese	: Saint-Sernin, (Mon. Pauliacense)	G.M.521.47.7
	Several unknown monasteries	
Albi Diocese	: Vieux, near Castelnau de Montmirail	G.M.527.57.25

Aquitania Secunda (corresponding to the provinces of Bordeaux and Auch)

Bordeaux Diocese	: An unknown monastery	H.F.IV.160.34.11 sqq and note 1
Angoulême Diocese	: Saint-Cybard at Angoulême	G.C.811.99.footnote 2
Saintes Diocese	: Saujon, near Saintes	G.C.780.56.12-13
Poitiers Diocese	: Ligugé, founded by St. Martin c.360	S.M.IV.657.30.2
	Saint-Hilaire at Poitiers	H.F.IX.404.43.12-13
	Sainte-Croix, founded by St. Radegunde (nuns)	H.F.III.7 & IX.40
	Sainte-Marie, founded by St. Radegunde (Monks)	Beaunier, II.p.159
	Ansion (now Saint-Jouin de Marnes)	Venant.Fort. Vita S. Paterni
	Nouaillé-Maupertuis (Mon. Noidgelense)	Pseudo-Fortunatus, Vita S. Leobini, 73
	Mairé	Mabillon, Acta Sanct.I. 293-5
	Saint-Maixant	H.F.II.100.37.21-24

	Monastery	Source
Périgueux Diocese	: Saint-Cyprien (Monasterium Genoliacense)	G.C.811.98.4
	Primuliacum-Prémillac	Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola, vol.2.ed.Walsh. p.327.footnote.2
Bazas Diocese	: Nuns at Bazas	H.F.VI.259.16.18-20
Tarbes Diocese	: Saint-Savin	Beaunier, II.p.160
	Saint-Sever de Rustan	G.C.778.note.2.

Monastic Education - The Background

Although the Christian Church offers salvation to mankind through faith and grace, and not through the intellectual accomplishments of the mind, a certain amount of basic education is necessary for its priests since the performance of their duties involves reading and meditating on the Bible and the performance of the liturgy, which again, means that the priest must be able to read the prescribed texts. In an age when the cultural level had reached its nadir it was essential for the Church to maintain in towns and in villages priests capable of reading and performing the liturgy. In monasteries too, at least in the West, 'lectio divina' formed a substantial part of the monk's daily activity. In the East early Christian monasticism had been non-intellectual in tone. St. Anthony of Egypt, one of the greatest figures in the development of monasticism who lived from c.251 to 356 was,

> "an illiterate Coptic peasant who was able to get on quite well without any books, as he soon proved to any philosophers who came to argue with him" (2).

However, St. Pachomius laid it down in his Rule, written c.320 - 340, that any illiterate monk who entered the monastery was immediately to be given twenty psalms or two Epistles to learn (3). The Rule of St. Basil (c.358 - 364) allowed young boys to enter the monastery but they were to be instructed in reading by an older monk. This education was available only for boys intending to be monks, though St. Basil does rather grudgingly allow 'παῖδες βιωτικοί' 'children of the world' to come for education if their parents wish it. (4). Marrou points out that Western

monasticism, being later than the Eastern,

> "did not have, as the East had, memories and a kind of nostalgia for its first heroes, those cultureless anchorites to whom St. Anthony's deeds counted for more than Pachomius's Rule. In the East, in fact, no one has ever been surprised to find that a monk could be both illiterate and holy" (5).

The Western monk, who spent a large part of the day engaged in the recitation of the Divine Office and in the 'lectio divina' clearly had to be able to read. It was assumed, long before the Rule of St. Benedict was widely adopted, that there would be books in the monastery. St. Augustine (d.430) introduced monasticism into Latin-speaking North Africa and formed a community around him at Tagaste, which was quite intellectual in tone. His 'Rule' took it for granted that there would be a library in the monastery (6). The monks at the monastery of Marmoutierg, near Tours, founded by St. Martin c.372, worked at copying out manuscripts (7).

As the confusion resulting from the Germanic invasions wrecked the old Roman system of education in Gaul, all inducement to exert oneself to acquire literary skill and knowledge vanished,

> "Education in Merovingian Gaul could but shelter itself where any protection could be found from the violence and insecurity of the age. Until the feuds and wars of the seventh and early eighth centuries had given place to the ordered empire of Charles the Great, a few bishops or monks, and a few referendaries and 'senatorials' might keep alive some reminiscence of the older learning; but where primary education was itself neglected, the higher studies could only be pursued by a few and favoured persons. The State was indifferent, the Church was preoccupied; there was no organisation, no expenditure on instruction. If a man succeeded in advancing beyond the rudiments, there were few careers in which his education might further his advancement" (8).

As Dalton hints in the above passage, the Church, in some aspects of its life, did value the ability to read. Monastic leaders who drew up Rules during the 6th and 7th centuries frequently stress the importance of being able to read, and of the 'lectio divina'.

St. Caesarius of Arles (d.534) stressed that little girls should only be accepted in the convent when six or seven years old and able to learn to read,

> "Et, si potest fieri, aut difficile, aut nulla umquam in monasterio infantula parvula, nisi ab annis sex aut septem, quae iam et litteras discere, et oboedientiae possit obtemperare, suscipiatur" (9).

St. Radegunde (d.587), noble abbess of the Convent of the Holy Cross at Poitiers, and former wife of Lothar I, received and followed the Rule of St. Caesarius in her convent at Poitiers,

> "Post haec - - - Arelatensim urbem expetunt. De qua regulam sancti Caesarii atque Caesariae beatae susceptam - - -" (10).

St. Leander of Seville (d.601), who drew up a Rule for nuns in Spain in the 6th century, stressed the importance of the lectio divina, clearly assuming that his nuns would be able to read,

> "Lectio tibi sit assidua, iugisque oratio. Dividantur tibi tempora et officia, ut postquam legeris, ores, postquam oraveris, legas. Sic alternes perpetim haec duo bona, ut ab iisdem nullo sis tempore otiosa. Quod si aliquid manibus operandum est, vel certe sustentaculis ciborum corpus reficiendum, alia tibi legat: ut dum manus vel oculi intenti sunt operi, pascat aures gratia sermonis divini. Si quidem oramus et legimus, et lubricam mentem a surreptionibus diaboli vix retrahimus; quanto proclivius humanus animus reptat ad vitia, si lectionis et orationis assiduae retentaculo non frenetur? Lectio te doceat, aliquid orando petas; postquam vero oraveris iterum legendo inquire quod postules" (11).

St. Donatus of Besançon (c.594 - c.651), although somewhat later than Gregory of Tours, being born in the year of Gregory's death, assigned a portion of the day for reading in the Rule that he drew up for nuns,

> "A secunda hora usque ad tertiam, si aliqua necessitas ut operentur non fuerit, vacant lectioni; reliquo vero spatio diei faciant opera sua, et non se fabulis occupent - - - " (12).
>
> "Reliquis vero in unum operantibus una de senioribus leget - - - " (13)
>
> "Omnia quaecumque opera facitis, quando lectio non legitur, de divinis scripturis aliquid ruminate" (14).

The Regula Tarnatensis ('Tarnadae' was somewhere in the region of Lyons or Vienne, but its precise location is unknown), which was composed for men, prescribes reading,

> "A sexta hora quoque usque ad nonam vacant quieti vel etiam lectioni"
>
> "Hi vero qui deputati esse videntur culturae, hac observatione constringi pro operis assiduitate non possunt: sed ut tempus exegerit, aut labor eorum opera iniuncta monstraverit, sic consideratione praepositi gubernentur, binis et ipsi horis lectioni nihilominus vacaturi" (15).

Thus we see that even work out in the gardens or fields did not dispense the monk from the lectio divina.

St. Ferreolus of Uzès (d.581) thought that no one who could not read could worthily call himself a monk,

> "Omnis qui nomen vult monachi vindicare, litteras ei ignorare non liceat. Quin etiam psalmos totos memoriter teneat: neque se quacunque excusatione defendat, quominus sancto hoc studio capiatur. Similiter etiam his qui pastores pecorum, ut est moris, de congregatione mittentur, curae erit vacare psalmis ut caeteri: ne id quod maius est minores inveniantur, et in confusionem sui illud eius aptetur exemplum: "Animalis autem homo non percipit ea quae sunt Spiritus Dei" (1 Cor.11) (16).

He presumably means that even a monk out in the fields looking after the flocks was obliged to read the psalms, like the others.

The Regula Magistri, of uncertain date, but now thought to antedate St. Benedict's Rule, provides for the education of boys in the monastery,

> "lectionibus vacet unus de decem per loca, et residui de suo numero audiant. In his tribus horis infantuli decada sua in tabulis suis ad uno litterato litteras meditentur. Nam in alphabeto maiores usque vel ad quinquagesimam aetatem litteras meditari hortamur" (17).

Regula Benedicti. The monastic Rule which, of course, influenced the development of monasticism in Western Europe most profoundly was that of St. Benedict, who lived c.480 - c.550. Although, as we have already said, it arrived in Gaul too late to have any significant influence on the level of culture there in the 6th century, we should nevertheless see what provision it made for reading. The Rule's balanced programme divided the day between sleep, Mass and the Divine Office, manual work, reading, prayer and recreation. St. Benedict knew that idleness was the enemy of the monastic life and legislated accordingly,

> "Otiositas inimica est animae; et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum temporibus in lectione divina" (18).

> "Post sexta hora autem surgentes a mensa pausent in lecta sua cum omni silentio aut forte, qui voluerit legere sibi, sic legat, ut alium non inquietet" (19).

This latter quotation is interesting for it suggests that when a monk read, he normally read out aloud. Dom Leclercq points out,

> "With regard to literature, a fundamental observation must be made here; in the Middle Ages, as in antiquity, they read usually, not as today, principally with the eyes, but with the lips, pronouncing what they saw, and with the ears, listening to the words pronounced, hearing what is called the "voices of the pages". It is a real acoustical reading; 'legere' means at the same time 'audire'; one understands only what one hears, as we still say: "entendre le latin", which means to "comprehend" it. No doubt, silent reading, or reading in a low voice, was not unknown; in that case it is designated by expressions like those of St. Benedict: "tacite legere" or "legere sibi" - - - " (20).

Whatever St. Benedict's precise attitude was towards learning, he does suppose that his monks will be able to read,

> "Likewise, St. Benedict assumes that the monks are not illiterate; a few only are judged unable to read and to study. As a whole, in order to do the public and private reading prescribed by the Rule, they must know how to read, and this implies a school where reading and writing are learned. As a matter of fact, it cannot be supposed that in the 6th century all who entered the monastery were literate. St. Benedict prescribes that "one shall read (legatur ei) the Rule to the novice" as if it could have happened that he was not able, on coming to the monastery, to read it for himself, not having yet learned to read; besides, the word "read" can in this context also mean "comment", the Rule will be read to him and at the same time explained" (21).

St. Benedict's Rule, of course, reflects standards of education in Italy in the first half of the 6th century; in Merovingian Gaul at this time standards were abysmal. Before leaving St. Benedict we should note that in the chapter of the Rule forbidding the monk to have private possessions in the monastery, he forbids him to have,

"neque codicem, neque tabulas, neque graphium" (22)

Summary

The sources quoted above show us that in the 6th and 7th centuries in Gaul, Spain and Italy monastic legislators, framing Rules both for monks and nuns, expected that these religious would be able to read, if not when they entered the monastery, then at least by the time they were adult. Often the level of education achieved would be very low, sometimes just above the borderline of illiteracy. The purpose in ensuring that monks and nuns could read was to make it possible for them to participate in the 'lectio divina' (= meditative reading of the Scriptures of other holy books) and in the Divine Office. The aim of the monastic life was to change the culture and habits of the men and women who came to the monastery. The monastic discipline was not an end in itself but led, as Riché points out, to 'la science théorique de la contemplation', which might well be translated 'the knowledge of how to see God in contemplation' (23).

It should be noted that, although the rejection of 'the world' came to be associated particularly with monasticism, such a rejection seems to be part of the Christian tradition already in Tertullian's time. Monasticism tended to seize on, take over and develop tendencies to reject 'the world', which were already to be found within Christianity. Up to the time of Constantine's "Edict of Milan" (313) being a Christian involved a certain heroism, because of the likelihood of persecution and martyrdom. By Jerome's day, however, the Empire was officially Christian: it was advantageous to be a Christian: there were titles, powers and honours available at court for Christians. Earnest Christians had to face a new problem: was it now possible to follow Jesus any longer in normal human society? To put the matter rather vividly, they needed a hostile environment in which to develop Christian heroism. Up to the time of the "Edict of Milan" ordinary life in the Roman world had offered such an environment, but this was so no longer. The heroic struggle was now transferred to 'the desert'. Thus Festugières can say,

> "si l'ancienne littérature monastique a souvent exprimé l'idée que le moine est la continuation du confesseur et du martyr, on peut dire aussi que, dans un certain sens, le future martyr est la préfiguration du moine" (24).

The type of life which the monk in the desert of Scete or the woods and mountains of Gaul led (25) was characterized by extreme physical asceticism and conflicts with demonic powers. Festugières has a very interesting observation on 'the return of the demonic'. It is that with these monks in the deserts of Egypt or Syria one sees reappearing in literature all those popular beliefs in demonic forces which had been forced into the shade by Greek rationalism from the 6th century B.C. onwards. With the Latin authors of the Golden and Silver Ages we are almost always dealing with the πεπαιδευμένοι, who have been educated in the παιδεία, whose spirit and conduct is based on reason. Festugières says that we never hear the voice of the people, but I think that we do hear it a little in the 'Satyricon' of Petronius. If Gaius (or Titus) Petronius Arbiter is to be identified with the Petronius Arbiter who set the standard of etiquette at Nero's court (26), then he committed suicide in A.D. 66. His 'Satyricon' is a narrative, not unlike a novel, relating the adventures of Encolpius and his companions in some of the half-Greek cities of Southern Italy. A substantial part of the extant text is taken up with 'Trimalchio's Banquet' (27) at which two stories are told of ghostly doings. One concerns a werewolf,

> "At ille circumminxit vestimenta sua, et subito lupus factus est. Nolite me iocare putare; ut mentiar, nullius patrimonium tanti facio. Sed, quod coeperam dicere, postquam lupus factus est, ululare coepit et in silvas fugit" (28).

The other is about witches who exchanged the body of a boy for a straw changeling and caused a strong slave to suffer physically and to die raving mad,

> "Nos cluso ostio redimus iterum ad officium, sed dum mater amplexaret corpus filii sui, tangit et videt manuciolum de stramentis factum - - - Ceterum baro ille longus post hoc factum nunquam coloris sui fuit, immo post paucos dies phreneticus periit." (29)

The only conclusion that I wish to draw from this evidence is that, within the more humble levels of society in the Roman Empire, there lurked stories, legends and traditions about ghosts, witches, demonic forces and other powers. Once the rationalism of Graeco-Roman culture had been laid aside by the less educated Christians, the preoccupation with demonic forces, always there in popular culture, re-emerged into literature in the Lives of the Fathers. It was very easy for it to reappear, as it did in Christian literature, because Christians were naturally predisposed to

think in terms which included the existence of the demonic, since the Gospels themselves contain descriptions of events couched in terms of conflict between Jesus and demonic forces. As we shall see below, one of the principle occupations of the monks in the monasteries of Gaul in Gregory's times was that of casting out demons, e.g.

> Abbot Ursus at Loches used to cast out demons, "dedit autem ei Dominus et gratiam curationis, ita, ut, insufflatis inergumenis, protinus daemonia eiecerentur a corporibus obsessis" (V.P.XVIII.p.734.1.22-23).
>
> St. Abraham at the monastery of Saint-Cirgues was 'fugator daemonum' (V.P.III.p.672.1.28).
>
> St. Sequanus at Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye used to free people from demonic forces, "qui vivens saepe homines a vinculo diabolici nexus absolvit - - - " (G.C.p.804.86.1-2).

In Gregory's works, particularly in his Libri Miraculorum, casting out demons is a commonplace activity. In Gregory's life classical standards based on Greek rationalism had been superseded by Christian standards which entailed some reappearance of demonic elements.

Internal Evidence from Gregory's Writings as to the raison d'être of the Monastery and the occupation of the Monks or Nuns

(In this section all references are to M.G.H. Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum I and only the page number is given)

Abbey of St. Martin at Tours

Leo, the ex-abbot who became Bishop of Tours, had been a joiner, "Faber lignarius" making towers covered with gold, "faciens etiam turres clocriso tectas". He had other skills too, "In aliis etiam operibus elegans fuit" (p.447).

Monastery of Loches

1) Their main occupation was "manibus propriis operari et victum a terra in sudore vultus exegere" (p.734).
2) They also used to cast out demons.
3) Abbot Ursus warned them against 'omni luxoria'.
4) They operated a mill.

Abbey of St. Venantius at Tours

St. Venantius could read the altar-book (p.725).

Nunnery of St. Monigunde at Tours

1) They spent their time in worship, "Ibique in Dei laudibus degens"
2) They prayed for, and gave medicines to, the sick, "multis infirmis, oratione facta salutaria inpertiebat medicamenta" (p.738).

Monastery of Micy

Avitus and Carilefus left it for a place more suitable for an eremitical life (p.810)

Monastery of Segolonia

This was a good spot for the eremitical life (p.810).

Monastery of Ile-Barbe

St. Maximinus wanted to go there "qui occullere quod erat cupiens" (p.761).

Abbey of St. Maurice d'Agaune

After its refounding by King Sigismund of Burgundy in reparation for having had his son, Sigeric, wrongly murdered, the monastery was occupied with 'laus perennis'.

Gregory says,

> "Ibique et psallentium cotidianum instituit locumque tam in territuriis quam in reliquis rebus affluentissime ditavit" (p.537).

> "Nihilominus ille (i.e. Sigismundus) ad sanctus Acaunenses abiens, per multus dies in fletu et ieiuniis durans, veniam praecabatur. Psallentium assiduum instituens, Lugduno regressus est, ultione divina de vestigio prosequente" (p.112).

The 'Laus Perennis' was maintained by nine choirs of monks singing in turn, as is shown by a statement made by the Bishop of Grenoble at the time of the refounding of the monastery c.515,

> "Recte mihi videtur ut secundum plenissimam devotionem domini regis, ex psallendi institutionibus, fiant novem turmae, id est, Granensis, Isiana, Iurensis et Meluensis et cetera; ut succedentes sibi in officiis canonicis, id est, nocturnis, matutinis, prima, tertia, sexta, nona, vespertina, in hac die noctuque indesinenter domino famulentur"
>
> (Concilia Sacrosancta, Tome 4, col.1559)

Monastery of Condat, Saint-Oyand-de-Joux, Saint-Claude

Manual labour was performed,

> "in quo, succisis silvis et in plana redactis, de laboribus manuum propriarum victum quaerebant" (p.664).

Monastery of Saint-Lupicin

The monks kept a swarm of bees,

> "in quo felicis alvearis examen instituerunt" (p.665).

SS. Romanus and Lupicinus spent their time,

> "praedicantes in singulis monasteriis ea quae ad institutionem animae pertinebant" (p.665).

Monastery of Saint-Cirgues

St. Abraham was:

1) "mirae virtutis"
2) "fugator daemonum"
3) "inluminator caecorum"
4) "aliorum quoque morborum potentissimus medicator" (pp.672 - 673)

Monastery of Randan

The priest Julianus was noted for his self-discipline, his watchings and his prayers. (p.168)

Monastery of Méallet

St. Caluppanis used to fast so much that he was too weak to work. He built an 'oratoriolum parvulum' in an almost inaccessible place,

> "Et erat assiduus in opere Dei, nec vacabat ad aliud, nisi aut legeret aliquid" (p.709)

Monastery of Saint-Calais-du-Mans

Merovechus was sent there,

> "ubi sacerdotali eruderetur regula" (p.201)

Monastery of Le Perche

This was a wild and lonely place suitable for the eremitical life. SS. Avitus and Carilefus left Micy

> "ut vastas loci Perthici solitudines expeterent" (p.810)

Cells on the Insula Vindonitensis

Secundellus the Deacon and Friardus

> "strenuae in oratione persisterent" (p.707)

Monastery of Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye

The principal occupation of St. Sequanus was casting out demons (p.804).

Abbey of St. Maximinus at Trèves

'Inergumeni' frequented its atrium. (p.731)

Abbey of St. Martin at Bourges

While there Agustus "semper in oratione vacabat" (p.797)

The Two Main Types of Gallic Monasticism

1) The type of St. Martin

The exile of St. Athanasius of Alexandria to Trèves in 336 - 337 meant that here in the West was an eminent bishop who could tell from close experience of the ascetic exploits of St. Anthony, St. Pachomius and the monks of the Egyptian deserts, but it was left to St. Martin to institute monastic, or ascetic, life in Gaul (30).

Our chief source of information about the career of St. Martin of Tours is the Vita Martini written by the Aquitanian Sulpicius Severus (363 - 420). Martin was born at Sabaria in Pannonia (now Szombathely in Hungary) about 316. At the age of ten years he became a catechumen and,

> "in his youth following military pursuits was enrolled in the imperial guard, first under king Constantine, and then under Julian Caesar. This, however, was not done of his own free will, for, almost from his earliest years, the holy infancy of the illustrious boy aspired rather to the service of God." (31)

It was at Amiens that the famous incident took place when Martin divided his cloak with a beggar, though still only a catachumen. Soon after this he was baptized and withdrew from the military service of Julian the Apostate in order to be a soldier of Christ (32). Joining St. Hilary at Poitiers Martin was ordained exorcist but due to Arian opposition both of them left there, Martin going to Northern Italy where he established a monastery at Milan (33). Arian opposition still being strong he withdrew to the island of Gallinaria in the Gulf of Genoa where he lived an eremetical life. On the return of Hilary to Poitiers Martin soon joined him and founded the first recorded monastery in Gaul, Ligugé, five miles south of Poitiers in the valley of the Clain. This took place in about 360 -363. Sulpicius is tantalizingly uninformative about the foundation of Ligugé and only refers to it casually,

> "and having been most joyously welcomed by him (i.e. Hilary), he established for himself a monastery not far from the town" (34)

> "Nearly about the same time, Martin was called upon to undertake the episcopate of the church at Tours; but when he could not easily be drawn forth from his monastery ---" (35)

Gregory of Tours is scarcely more informative about the foundation at Ligugé, but he does at least name the place of St. Martin's first monastery,

> "cum usque Pectavum accessissemus urbem, libuit gratia tantum orationis monasterium Locotigiacensim adire, quo congregata monachorum caterva locaverat vir beatus" (36)

The 'vir beatus' was, of course, St. Martin. The 'Gallia Christiana' is rather more forthcoming,

> "Tunc audito Hilarii reditu S. Martinus ad ipsum venire festinavit, qui ei locum ad habitandum prope Pictavos concessit, ubi condidit monasterium Locogeiacum, quo nullum in Galliis antiquius" (37).

In another place the Gallia Christiana mentions the monastery of Ligugé, "a Sancto Martino aedificatum, cui et abbas praefuit" (38). In the year 1720, when this section of the Gallia Christiana was compiled, Ligugé was a priory "in commendam", ceded to the Society of Jesus; Earlier this century Ligugé was restored as a Benedictine abbey belonging to the Congregation of Solesmes, and the present writer was very kindly received there in August 1975 and August 1976.

On being elected Bishop of Tours c. 370 St. Martin left Ligugé and moved northward to Tours. He very soon founded another monastery, Marmoutier (Maius Monasterium), a couple of miles from the centre of Tours. The example of Martin's life at Marmoutier was so formative for monasticism in Gaul in the years which followed that it is worth quoting in extenso Sulpicius's account of the establishment at Marmoutier:

> "Full alike of dignity and courtesy, he kept up the position of a bishop properly, yet in such a way as not to lay aside the objects and virtues of a monk. Accordingly, he made use, for some time, of the cell connected with the church; but afterwards, when he felt it impossible to tolerate the disturbance caused by the numbers of those visiting it, he established a monastery for himself about two miles outside the city. This spot was so secret and retired that he enjoyed in it the solitude of a hermit. For, on one side it was surrounded by a precipitous rock of a lofty mountain, while the river Loire had shut in the rest of the plain by a bay extending back for a little distance; and the place could be approached only by one, and that a very narrow passage. Here, then, he possessed a cell constructed of wood. Many also of the brethren had, in the same manner, fashioned retreats for themselves, but most of them had formed these out of the rock of the overhanging mountain, hollowed into caves. There were altogether eighty disciples, who were being disciplined after the example of the saintly master. No one there had anything which was called his own; all things were possessed in common. It was not allowed either to buy or sell anything, as is the custom among most monks. No art was practiced there except that of transcribers, and even this was assigned to the brethren of younger years, while the elders spent their time in prayer. Rarely did any one of them go beyond the cell, unless when they assembled at the place of prayer - - -" (39).

To describe the activities and disciplined life of St. Martin and his followers as 'monastic', and to leave it at that, is to court misunderstanding. There was a considerable difference between a Martinian establishment and, for example, a late-mediaeval or modern Benedictine abbey. The 6th century Rule of St. Benedict, the basis of the great

Western monastic groups, Benedictine, Cluniac and Cistercian, lays great stress on the vow of stability, i.e. remaining a member of a certain monastery all one's life. In contrast with this, the Martinian type of monk was a wanderer seeking ascetic teaching and experiences. Although Sulpicius tells us that St. Martin's monks at Marmoutier rarely left their cells except at the times when they assembled for prayer (40), if they wished to leave the monastery itself, it seems that there was no difficulty. Cabrol points out that the Martinian monastery was simply a school for ascetics from which there went out freely and without scruple those who wanted to experience elsewhere the virtues to which they believed they were called (41). These were ascetics rather than cenobites, laying great stress on individual inspiration, even to the extent of not bothering to join a monastery proper nor seeking guidance from a revered teacher or ancient authority,

> "Souvent, celui qui veut se faire moine ne prend pas même la peine de chercher un monastère, où à defaut d'une règle établie, il puisse du moins profiter de l'abbé ou des Anciens" (42).

Often, alone or with a few companions a man would seek out a hermitage a long way from human habitation as did SS. Avitus and Carilefus when they left Micy for Le Perche, "ut vastas loci Perthici solitudines expeterent" (43). Such men would fast so rigorously that they would need few resources to support them, perhaps only roots and berries. St. Caluppanis used to fast so much at Méallet that he was too weak to work (44).

From our earlier analysis of the activities of the monks and nuns mentioned by Gregory of Tours we can draw up the following picture:

Manual Labour: at Loches, Condat, Méallet (if St. Caluppanis had not been too weak), Saint-Lupicin (bee-keeping).

Prayer, Oratio, Opus Dei: St. Monigunde's Convent at Tours, Randan, cells on Insula Vindonitensis, St. Martin's at Bourges, Méallet.

Laus Perennis: Saint-Maurice-d'Agaune.

Casting out Demons: Loches, Saint-Cirgues, Saint-Seine-l'Abbaye, Saint Maximinus at Trèves.

Healing the sick: a) By medicine: St. Monigunde's nuns at Tours.
b) By miraculous powers: Saint-Cirgues (St. Abraham in particular).

Self-discipline, Watchings, Desire for the eremetical life: Micy (not quite suitable), Segolonia (ideal), Ile-Barbe, Randan, Le Perche.

Reading: St. Venantius read the altar-book at Tours; at Méallet St. Caluppanis used to be absorbed in the Opus Dei, stopping only 'to read a little'.

Teaching or Receiving Instruction in the Monastic Life: Merovechus was sent to Saint-Calais-du-Mans to learn the 'regula sacerdotalis'; at Saint-Lupicin and other neighbouring monasteries in the Jura SS. Romanus and Lupicinus taught things to do with the education of the soul.

The monasteries which were instituted in Gaul by St. Martin himself or by his followers were not rigidly cenobitic but retained rather the looser coherence of the half eremetical oriental communities which existed in the deserts of Egypt and Palestine. Did St. Martin compose anything that could be called a 'Rule' for monks - a Rule such as later monastic legislators like the author of the Regula Magistri, St. Benedict, St. Ferreolus of Uzès, St. Caesarius of Arles composed? It seems unlikely that any such Rule was composed by St. Martin. There were, rather, general ascetic proctices accepted and practiced by him and his followers which formed the natural content of his type of monastic life - continence, prayer, fasting, vigils and copying out manuscripts. This latter occupation was left to the younger monks at Marmoutier, while the elder ones got on with the real business of monastic life, i.e. prayer (45). This general range of monastic and ascetic activities no doubt formed a 'regula', which distinguished the monk from the non-monk, and I think that it is in this sense that we must understand references to a 'Rule', such as that made by St. Gregory of Tours in regard to Salvius (d.584) who entered an unnamed monastery,

> "In quo monasterio diu sub regula a patribus instituta versatus est" (46).

Abbot Martin of Saujon, near Saintes, built his monastery "post magistri dogmata" and he was "Martini - - - nostri discipulus" (47). Cousin sums up the spirit of the Martinian monasticism,

> "C'est une pullulation spontanée, assez souvent éphémère, d'ermitages habités de solitaires, de cabanes closes adossées à une église citadine abritant des reclus" (48).

St. Paulinus of Nola, living in Campania in Italy, corresponded with St. Victricius, Bishop of Rouen c.397-8 and painted a flattering picture of the life of the Church in Northern Gaul,

> "Where once barbarian strangers or native brigands dwelt in deserted, equally hazardous areas of forest and shore, now cities, towns, islands and woods with churches and monasteries crowded with people and harmonious in peace, are thronged by revered, angelic choruses of saintly men. Admittedly this is being achieved throughout the peoples of Gaul and all over the world by Christ - - -" (49).

St. Victricius's diocese consisted of a large part of north-eastern

Gaul, i.e. 'Morinia', made up of Boulonnais, Artois and West Flanders. Although there may have been many monks there

> "ils ne semblent pas organisés en communauté; vivant dans le monde, continents, charitables, pénitents, ils se réunissent regulièrement à l'église pour prière liturgique" (50).

The Martinian Monastery and Classical Learning

Was, then, Martinian monasticism the setting in which a love and respect for the classical authors of Rome's great pagan past might have been nurtured? The answer is, I believe, 'No'. The aim of the monastic life was to change the culture and habits of the men who came to be monks. In some cases it would be a classically-impregnated culture which the monastery consciously sought to eradicate from a man's life. There was often a conscious rejection by the would-be monk or hermit of the standards of 'the world' involving inevitably a playing down of the importance of worldly learning. We frequently find in Gregory's description of the lives of the Gallic Fathers expressions of contempt for 'the world' and its values: phrases like 'spretis mundi blanditiis', often used to describe the attitude of a man as he seeks to enter the monastic state or the eremetical state. In Gregory's 'Vitae Patrum' each new character is introduced with some description of his weariness of the vain values of the world and of his intention to flee them for higher, spiritual things, thus at the beginning of the Life of St. Lupicinus (51) we find,

> "Athletae Christi atque triumphatores mundi vitae istius fugitivae iacturum facere cupientes, pertendere ad illam vitam voluerunt, quae in exultatione perpetua manet - - -".

The monastery or hermitage was not, however, an end in itself but provided the environment in which the practical science of asceticism could be fostered, leading, one believed, to 'La science théorique de la contemplation' (52). The goal of the monastic life, then, was to 'see God', not to become a cultured man. However, a certain amount of education would help the soul on its road to God. It was clearly helpful, even necessary, to be able to read the Scriptures and the lives of the monastic heroes in whose steps the monk hoped to tread. Life in a community such as those at Ligugé, Marmoutier or Condat demanded that monks were able to participate in the Opus Dei - the liturgical round of prayer. St. Caluppanis at Méallet was an arch-example of a Martinian monk indulging in extravagant ascetical practices. He fasted so much that he was too weak to work: the criticism expressed by the other monks on this score led him to withdraw from the monastery proper and

to live as a recluse in a cave nearby - a spot so unpleasant that snakes used to drop on to his head and curl round his neck! He experienced a spiritual conflict with the devil in the form of a serpent or dragon. His food was supplied by the monastery and was supplemented with a little fish from the river which he caught himself. Despite these unpromising surroundings Caluppanis was 'assiduus in Opere Dei' and when not engaged in that, he used to read (53). This was not the setting to produce or foster a love of Virgil or Cicero! The important point to note is that people like St. Caluppanis were regarded as heroes, as models of a perfect Christian monastic life, or eremetical life. Although the monasteries of Gaul admitted boys and youths who received an education there with a view to becoming monks themselves, this education would consist of elementary instruction, the study of Biblical texts and sometimes, as at Marmoutier, the copying of manuscripts. However, it would have been pointless to enter a Martinian monastery in order to receive a grounding in the classical authors, because the treasure of St. Martin and his followers lay not in Athens or Rome, but in Jerusalem and the deserts of Egypt, and it was for these that their hearts yearned.

2) The 'Lérins' Type

1) The Abbey of Lérins

The Abbey of Lérins was founded c.390 - 410 by St. Honoratus on his return from a visit to the East. He applied to the Bishop of Fréjus, St. Leontius, for permission to lead a life of solitude and penance. Leontius directed him to the cave or grotto of Sainte-Baume. His life there was disturbed by the constant stream of visitors asking for his prayers, seeking his advice and edifying themselves at the sight of his holiness. Seeking a place of greater solitude, he moved to the island of Lerina, one of a small group in the Bay of Cannes, after clearing it, so legend says, of the snakes with which it was infested (54). Honoratus soon attracted (no doubt unintentionally as did St. Benedict a century or so later) some of the men possessing the best minds of the age, both married men and single. On this island they escaped something of the violence of the barbarian invasions. The date of Honoratus's arrival on Lerina is disputed: a Lerinian tradition places it in 375, but other scholars prefer the years 400 - 410 (55). Throughout the 5th century

Lérins was a 'nursery of bishops', producing men like St. Vincent of Lérins, St. Victor at Marseilles, and Marmoutier were no longer the centres of learning that they had once been,

> "Yet such was the violence and corruption without their walls that they seemed the sole homes of security and peace" (56)

2) The Raison d'Etre of Lérins

In gathering around him a band of cenobites Honoratus wanted to commit them,

> "à la contemplation des choses divines, en y joignant le travail des mains à l'exemple des solitaires de l'Orient" (57)

His Rule recalled that of the monasteries of Egypt or Palestine more closely than did the rules of the two monasteries founded by St. Martin a quarter of a century earlier. Honoratus's main desire had been to live among the monks of Syria or of the Thebaid and John Cassian, who visited Lérins shortly after its foundation, commented on the conformity of the Rule of St. Honoratus with those of Pachomius and Basil (58).

The most striking resemblance between Lérins and Pachomius/Basil was that at Lérins there was a mixture of the solitary life and cenobitic life. Those starting out on the religious life lived together in the monastery, while those who had had sufficient grounding received permission to withdraw to one of the many cells scattered over the island and there to lead an eremitical life. They were trying as hard as they could to emulate the life lived at Scete and other monastic centres in Egypt and Palestine, but the different circumstances of time and place, as well as of climate, led the monks of Lérins to occupy themselves differently. Outside the time given to meditation on the Scriptures and to the Divine Office, the Oriental monks devoted themselves only to manual labour, viz., basket-weaving, gardening etc., but the spiritual sons of St. Honoratus gave themselves considerably to the literary and theological life of their age. In the West, in contrast with the East,

> "toute la vie littéraire et scientifique du V. siècle, dans le désastre universel de la société, paraît s'être concentrée dans les monastères du midi de la Gaule, et notamment à Lérins" (59).

There does seem to be some real evidence of not only theological study, but of literary study too at the monastery of Lérins. Haarhoff is willing to call the venue for studies at Lérins a "monastic school" (61). According to the 'Chronologia sacrae insulae Lerinensis" (61),

> "At the time when the studies of the monastery of Lérins flourished in the regions of Gaul, the Christian religion - - - began to grow everywhere and to commit itself to the study of letters. In this place there was an excellent abbot, a holy man, Caesarius, the servant of Christ, who afterwards became bishop of Arles" (62).

People flocked to Lérins "pro salute animarum sive studiis litterarum" (63). Among them was an Italian soldier and his son, Siffredus: the father became a monk while "filius vero litterarum studiis traditur" and in a short time he became proficient in grammar, rhetoric and dialectic.

A few ascetics, withdrawing to Lérins in adult life, like the aforementioned Italian soldier, brought their children with them and these children received an education at the monastery. Other than Siffredus the only clear example of this is that of Eucherius who brought his two sons Salonius, aged ten years, and Veranus, who was slightly younger, with him. Salonius started his education under Honoratus and continued it under Hilary, Salvian and Vincent. However, it would seem from the works of Eucherius (d.450-5) - two exegetical treatises, 'Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae' and 'Instructiones ad Salonium' and two short ascetical treatises 'De Laude heremi' and 'De Contemptu Mundi', also a'Passio Agaunensium martyrum' - that their education is likely to have been overwhelmingly theological and ecclesiastical,

> "si distingués qu'aient été leurs maîtres, ils ne leur ont appris que les sciences nécessaires au salut et nul n'a le droit d'en être surpris" (64).

We should note that Caesarius of Arles in his youth made for the monastery of Lérins as soon as he was in a position to do so,

> "Arrepta itaque salubriter fugiendi de saeculi compedibus libertate, Lirinense monasterium tiro sanctus expetiit" (65).

We must, however, note that Caesarius, as we shall see later in more detail, had such misgivings about undertaking secular studies, even from the Christian rhetor Julianus Pomerius in Arles, that after a nightmare arising out of his guilt about this, he abandoned his secular studies (66). Caesarius seems to have been very typical of the monks of Lérins. Indeed, his biographers seem to hold him up as a model monk and outline his perfection in the following categories,

> "Susceptus ergo a sancto Porcario abbate, vel ab omnibus senioribus, coepit esse in vigiliis promptus, in observatione sollicitus, in obauditione festinus, in labore devotus, in humilitate praecipuus, in mansuetudine singularis, ita ut quem instituendum susceperant in disciplinae regularis initiis, perfectum se invenisse gauderent in totius institutionis augmentis" (67).

This description has a theological ring rather than a secular ring about it! Lérins did indeed produce a very considerable number of men who became bishops in the sees of Provence and the Rhône Valley area, e.g. Honoratus (the founder), who became Bishop of Arles in 426; Hilary,

who followed Honoratus at Arles in 428-9; Caesarius, who too succeeded to that see in 502; Eucherius (mentioned above), who became Bishop of Lyons c.434; and Salonius his son, Bishop of Geneva (fl.c.450); and his other son, Veranus, who became Bishop of Vence in the middle of the 5th century; Maximus, who became Bishop of Riez; and the more famous occupant of that see, Faustus, Bishop of Riez from 459; also, Lupus, Bishop of Troyes (427 - 479) and Valerianus, Bishop of Cimiez, near Nice, who died c.460. Such men had great ability but at Lérins they learnt the supernatural virtues and the practice of the ascetic life, they did not, so far as one can detect, expect to find there a centre of classical studies, nor were the standards of classical prose or poetry things which they aimed to emulate,

> "Là, assurément, on ne cultive pas les lettres pour le simple amour de l'art; on n'écrit pas pour écrire" (68).

As we noticed in our examination of Martinian monasticism, men were firstly animated by a desire to save souls, either their own or those of others, or both. Thus at Lérins too,

> "C'est la passion de la vérité, c'est le zèle du salut des âmes qui provoque le moine à prendre le plume et à sortir du silence" (69)

Out of the worn-out scepticism of the latter days of the Roman Empire had emerged a religion burning with certainty and enthusiasm; it knew where it was going and it believed that it knew the methods necessary to achieve it. It embraced heroic asceticism with eagerness; Virgil, Cicero and Horace did not help the soul forward along its path to God, indeed they might positively hinder it, and so were thrust into the background, but not forgotten. The monks had other prioities now, style did not help the soul, fasting and meditation did. The great theological controversy of the age centred around Pelagianism and the doctrines concerning grace and free-will. The monks of Lérins threw themselves eagerly into the fray, using the erudition they had.

In view of the flattering words of the 'Chronologia sacrae insulae Lerinensis' quoted above and the possibility of the existence of a monastic school on Lérins, we must ask whether the monks, who shone so brightly in the Pelagian controversy, had acquired their erudition on Lérins itself. Malnory believes that the men who came to Lérins had received their education elsewhere and that it did not seem to occur to them to establish a school on the island where the basic literary tools, that they had acquired before coming, might be transmitted to succeeding generations of monks,

> "Malheureusement, les auteurs de ces écrits n'ont pas songé à léguer à ceux qui devaient vivre après eux dans leur monastère, avec les monuments de leur science, les méthodes d'éducation et de préparation littéraire par lesquelles ils s'étaient rendus eux-mêmes capable de faire honneur aux lettres chrétiennes. Ils se réunissaient pour les exercices communs de la prière, puis chacun d'eux regagnait sa cellule pour y vaquer avec une liberté sagement prévue par la règle, à des lectures et à des travaux isolés. Aussi, eux disparus, la génération qui les remplaça se trouva-t-elle livrée sans contrepoids à la néfaste influence que les malheurs des temps exercèrent sur les études classiques" (70).

Some nineteenth century historians such as Alliez (71) and Lelangoux (72), held that Lérins had been a centre of secular as well as religious studies. Roger (73) and Kaufmann (74), on the other hand, have favoured the notion that Lérins was above all a theological school; Riché stresses the ascetical aspect of life there (75).

Since Lérins was the source of supply of so many bishops in Southern Gaul, one may justifiably suppose that such bishops took with them from Lérins the same priorities that they had learnt there. However, Eucherius's taste for dialectic and grammar (76) and the rhetorical talents of Salvianus and Hilary (77) were, rather surprisingly, resumed when they left Lérins. Riché attributes this to the fact that the Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua (which we shall be considering below) had not yet made their influence strongly felt (78). If this were the case, it would suggest that classical studies were omitted rather because they were well down in the scale of priorities than because they were thought at Lérins to be inherently evil. Yet, a little later (around the time when the Statuta seem to have appeared), c.500, St. Caesarius fled from his classical studies in Arles, as we have seen.

Haarhoff sums up the situation,

> "while the existence of Christian schools cannot be questioned, their extent and organisation in Gaul during the fifth century are vague and undefined. St. Benedict's example had not yet brought about an ordered system of monasteries, and there was still much that was erratic and irregular. Though the leaders of the Church in the main allowed the use of pagan studies in Christian teaching, yet in practice the methods employed must have depended on the sympathy and inclination of the autonomous abbot. Now where an abbot had enjoyed a rhetorical training, we can hardly doubt that he imparted it to his pupils: for it requires a great deal of intellectual development in a master not to teach as he has been taught. But only a certain proportion of abbots could have had this training. There were many brilliant monks, many perhaps of whose distinction we do not know. But they could not have directed all the monasteries of fifth-century Gaul. The temper of the people, too, was all against literary studies. The number, therefore, of such schools as Lérins, in which secular and religious studies were simultaneously

kept up, was probably not large. In the following century the division between secular and religious schools became progressively marked, chiefly owing to the influence of Cassiodorus. The division between one Christian school and another was naturally far from rigid; we read of Honoratus sending three of his scholars at Lérins to hear the lectures of St. Paulinus at Nola". (79)

Notes - Chapter 3

(1) Dalton, op.cit.,p.353.

(2) Marrou, Education in Antiquity, p.439.

(3) Regula Pachomii, 139-140

(4) Rule of St. Basil, Shorter Rules, 292, in 'The Ascetic Works of St. Basil', W. K. L. Clarke, London, 1925, p.341-342, footnote 7, "Here Basil discusses the problem of educating children for life in the world. If the education can be guaranteed predominantly religious, he approves; but not otherwise".

(5) Marrou, op.cit.,p.443.

(6) St. Augustine, Epistles 211.3.

(7) Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini 10.6.

(8) Dalton, op.cit.,p.414.

(9) St. Caesarius of Arles, Regula Sanctarum Virginum, 7, in Florilegium Patristicum p.7.

(10) HF.IX.P397.40.9-12.

(11) Regula S. Leandri Hispalensis Episcopi, cap.6,PL.72.col.883-4.

(12) S. Donati Viscontionensis Episcopi, Regula ad Virgines, cap.20, PL.87.col.281-2.

(13) ibidem.

(14) ibidem.

(15) Regula Tarnatensis, cap.9.PL.66.col.981.

(16) S. Ferreoli, Regula ad Monachos, PL.66,col.963-4.

(17) Regula Magistri, PL.88.col.1010.

(18) Regula S. Benedicti, C.S.E.L. LXXV.cap.48.p.114.

(19) ibid.p.115.

(20) Dom J. Leclercq O.S.B., The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, p.23-4.

(21) ibid. p.23.

(22) Regula S. Benedicti, cap.33.

(23) Riché, op.cit.,p.140.

(24) A. J. Festugière, Les Moines d'Orient, I.p.18.

(25) H. Waddell, The Desert Fathers, passim, and Gregory of Tours's 'Vita Patrum', passim.

(26) For the identity of Petronius, v. J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age from Tiberius to Hadrian, p.138 sqq.

(27) 'The Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius', ed. Sedgwick.

(28) ibid. para.62.p.55.

(29) ibid. para.63.p.57. We should also note the theme of the witch-cult which runs through Apuleius's 'Metamorphoses'.

(30) Haarhoff says, "Tradition says that Athanasius introduced the idea of monasticism into Gaul - - - during his exile at Trèves (336-7)", op.cit.p.177, but I have not found any concrete evidence for the influence of Athanasius in the foundation of any monastery. Ligugé, founded by St. Martin in 360, is usually accounted the most ancient monastery in Gaul.

(31) Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini, in "A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church", ed Wace and Schaff, vol.XI,p.4.

(32) ibid. cap.4.p.6.

(33) ibid. cap.6.p.7.

(34) ibid. cap.7.p.7.

(35) ibid. cap.9.p.8.

(36) SM.IV.p.657.30.1-3.

(37) Gallia Christiana, II.col.1140.

(38) ibid. II.col.1222.

(39) Sulpicius Severus, op.cit.,cap.10.p.9.

(40) ibid.

(41) Cabrol, Tome II, pt.2.col.3193.

(42) ibid. Col.3195.

(43) G.C.p.810.97.11.

(44) VP.XI.p.709.1.12-13.

(45) Sulpicius Severus, op.cit.,cap.10.p.9.

(46) HF.VII.p.289.1.15-16.

(47) G.C.p.780.56.12.

(48) P. Cousin, Précis d'Histoire Monastique, p.115.

(49) Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola, vol. 1, translated by P. G. Walsh, in Ancient Christian Writers, vol. 35, pp.170-171.

(50) Cousin, op.cit.,p.117.

(51) VP.XIII.p.715.preface.9-10.

(52) Riché, op.cit.,p.140.

(53) VP.XI.p.710.2.29.

(54) A Monk of Lérins, L'Île et l'Abbaye de Lérins, p.21-25.

(55) ibid. p.30.

(56) Dalton, op.cit.,p.349.

(57) L'Île et l'Abbaye, p.30.

(58) ibid. p.31.

(59) ibid. p.33.

(60) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.180.

(61) cited by Haarhoff, but he does not give information as to where the Chronologia can be found.

(62) v. Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.180.

(63) ibid.

(64) G. Bardy, Les Ecoles Monastiques en Occident, article in Sacris Erudiri V,p.103.

(65) Vita Caesarii, cap.1.PL.67,col.1003.

(66) ibid. col.1004.

(67) ibid. col.1003.

(68) L'Ile et l'Abbaye, p.33.

(69) ibid.

(70) A. Malnory, Saint Césaire, Evèque d'Arles, p.20.

(71) Alliez, Histoire du Monastère de Lérins, p.26.

(72) Lelangoux, De Schola Lerinensi aetate Merovingica.

(73) M. Roger, L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin, p.149.

(74) G. Kaufmann, Rhetorenschulen und Klosterschulen oder heidnische and christliche Kultur in Gallien während des V and VI Jahrhunderts, p.69.

(75) Riché, op.cit.,p.142-4.

(76) Schanz-Hosius, IV,2.p.518.

(77) ibid. Iv.2.p.523.

(78) Riché, op.cit.,p.142-4.

(79) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.181.

Chapter 4 - Other Sources of Education

As the system of education in the old Roman schools disappeared in the chaos and reorganisation of Gaul into Frankish kingdoms, the Christian Church alone was capable of providing some sort of education. Although classical education, subsidized by the State or the municipal authorities, had disappeared, there were certain contexts within the society of Frankish/Gallo-Roman Gaul where Christians were able to supply some education.

Gallo-Roman Households

The senatorial class of Gallo-Roman landowners, by now in the sixth century Christian, still placed some importance on receiving an education of sorts. As the Gallo-Roman families themselves became increasingly Christian, there was a change in what they thought important in education. One can note, for example, the considerable difference between what Sidonius Apollinaris (432 - 480) troubled to teach his son, Apollinaris, namely, the plays of Terence and Menander and, presumably other classical authors that he loved, Horace, Virgil, Sallust, Cicero and Statius, and what Avitus, Archdeacon of Clermont, taught Gregory of Tours a hundred years later. Gregory specifically says that Avitus did not teach him the secular authors,

> "Non enim me artis grammatica studium imbuit, neque auctorum saecularium polita lectio erudivit, sed tantum beati patris Aviti Arverni pontificis studium ad eclesiastica sollicitavit scripta" (VP.II.p.668.preface.27-29).

Such was the difference between one Gallo-Roman household belonging to a Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand c.469 and another belonging to an Archdeacon of the same see c.550 (although Gregory calls Avitus 'Arvernus pontifex', he did not become bishop until 571, and was archdeacon when he educated Gregory). Sidonius is certainly remarkable for the flimsiness of his theological knowledge and for the fact that he gives the impression that he is living in an earlier cultural age. The point is that, as the sixth century drew on, Gallo-Roman households tended often to be episcopal or semi-monastic households, where, under the influence of the anti-secular trends in Christian thought (encouraged after 500 by the Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua - see below -)less and less importance was placed on classical learning, other things seeming far more significant. This theme will be taken up again below.

Sidonius, writing to his friend Probus, reminds him how they had studied together, probably in Arles, in the house of their teacher,

Eusebius, "inter Eusebianos lares" (1). This would be about 450 and no doubt things got worse as Euric the Visigoth made his presence felt as he tried to extend the frontiers of his kingdom eastward into Auvergne c.470. Marrou says that the number of pupils gradually declined in the schools and he wonders whether the 'professors' who keep on appearing in Sidonius's writings were not really private tutors in the service of some great family. In his book on Sidonius, Stevens says,

> "One may suspect that the exaggerated praises which Sidonius gives to contemporary writers may have been the desperate encouragements of a man who knows well that he was leading a forlorn hope, and when he says that to diligence in literature he always awards the highest praise of which he is capable he practically admits the fact". (2)

The future of classical education in Gaul thus came to depend on the existence of a way of life, inspired by the classical standards of Rome, among the ranks of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy. Marrou says that through its contacts with its new Germanic masters the aristocracy itself became barbarised and some even began to speak the Frankish language. However, I think Marrou is overstating his case since only once does Sidonius write to a friend reproving him for taking an interest in the Barbarians' Germanic language (3). I think that it was growing christianization rather than growing barbarism which changed the nature of Gallo-Roman life. Marrou points out that the Roman way of life may have lasted longer in certain parts, like Auvergne, where Sidonius came from and in Aquitaine - regions which had not been so upset by the barbarians, but gradually the few remaining centres of the old culture faded out, so that by the 6th century the only kind of education in existence was that which had been taken over by the Church. Yet one can point, at the very beginning of the 6th century, to Julianus Pomerius, teaching in Arles as a rhetor. About 497 Caesarius of Arles went to Arles from Lérins. In Arles he lodged with a devout Christian family who introduced him to Pomerius,

> "Erat autem ipsis personis familiarissimus quidam Pomerius nomine, scientia rhetor, Afer genere, quem ibi singularem et clarum grammaticae artis doctrina reddebat" (4).

Pomerius was himself a Christian and wrote a 'De Vita Contemplativa', whose style is,

> "for the most part, clear and smooth, more elegant than vigorous. There are passages that rise to eloquence; but digressions and needless repetitions mar the quality of the work" (5).

Although Pomerius more properly belongs to the discussion about the late continuance of classical schools in Gaul, he may well have supplemented

his teaching in schools by tuition in private Gallo-Roman households. Gregory of Tours tells us (H.F.IV.180.46.7 sqq.) that Andarchius had some literary training in his master, Felix's house. Felix was a 'senatorial' living somewhere in the South of Gaul (since Andarchius joins up with Lupus at Marseilles). Gregory says,

> "De Andarchi vero interitu locuturus, prius genus ordine placet et patriam. Hic igitur, ut adserunt, Felicis senatoris fuit; qui ad obsequium domini depotatus ad studia litterarum cum eo positus, bene institutus emicuit. Nam de operibus Virgilii, legis Theodosianae libris artemque calculi adplene eruditus est. Hac igitur scientia tumens, despicere dominos coepit - - -".

Andarchius must therefore have received some private tuition in the house of Felix the Senator, c.550 - 560.

Episcopal Schools

At the end of the 4th century, when the fabric of the Western Roman world was tottering, but had not yet fallen, a man or youth who wished to be ordained priest needed a threefold instruction, namely, an intellectual formation still to some extent obtainable in the schools, a professional, Christian formation given by the bishop or a member of his household, and a moral formation given in the context of the family. It is with the second type of formation that we are concerned here. Boys born into ecclesiastical families, both those with relatives who were highly placed clerics and, probably, boys of humbler origins too, born within the larger 'familia' of the bishop's household, might receive a thorough ecclesiastical education. Thus Epiphanius, a relative of Bishop Crispinus (6), and the nephew of the African Bishop Maximus (7) were both comitted to the care of their respective uncles. Gregory tells us that his eminent ancestor, St. Nicetius, Bishop of Lyons, used to educate all the boys born in his house in letters and the psalms, though apparently before he becam a bishop, but doubtless he continued the practice after,

> "Illud omnino studebat, ut omnes pueros, qui in domo eius nascebantur, ut primum vagitum infantiae relinquentes loqui coepissent, statim litteris doceret ac psalmis imbueret" (VP.VIII.p.692.2.13-15).

Nicetius's purpose was entirely ecclesiastical: the boys received this education in order that they might be able to participate more proficiently in the liturgical life of the Church,

> "scilicet ut, cum ad implendum cursum oratorium fuisset ingressus, tale iungeretur psallentium, ut tam antephonis quam meditationibus diversis, ut devotio flagitabat animi, possit implere." (ibid. lines 15-17)

As the years went on during the 5th century and early 6th century and the Roman pattern of secular education disappeared under the weight and

confusion of the Barbarian invasions, Christians tried to remedy the lack of educational facilities. Schools of a sort seem to have been conducted in association with a bishop, but whether such schools should come under the heading of monastic schools, episcopal schools, or contact with learned individuals, is difficult to say, since monasteries were often associated with bishops and their households, and such bishops were usually learned individuals, judged by the standards of their time. St. Eusebius at Vercelli, St. Augustine at Hippo and St. Martin at Tours were all bishops who gathered monastic communities around them. At the beginning of the 6th century Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe, was doing something similar (8) and from the Vita Caesarii we know that at Arles, at the same period, i.e. the first decades of the 6th century, a little group lived with the bishop day and night (9). They ate with Caesarius (10) and had to take part in the offices of terce, sext and none which the bishop caused to be celebrated in the monastic manner. They lived together in the 'domum ecclesiae' and their lives could be scrutinized by their superiors. The education of these future priests was received from contact with the Scriptures: Caesarius wanted to teach them himself and to instruct them by reading during meals or by discussions that he directed (11). He answered their questions and explained obscure passages of Scripture (12). No one might be ordained deacon before he had read the books of the Old and New Testaments through in order at least four times (13). Very young clerks were admitted to this community. Riché concludes that we are justified here in isolating an episcopal school,

> "Ainsi, nous pouvons dire qu'Arles possédait une école épiscopale où les clercs ne recevait seulement une formation professionnelle, mais où ils étaient instruits et éduqués" (14).

Haarhoff, too, calls the establishment at Arles an 'episcopal school',

> "The most famous episcopal school was at Arles, where Hilary taught a large number of students" (15).

One may wonder whether Haarhoff is not attaching too much importance to Caesarius's interest in 'education', when he says,

> "The interest of the Fathers in education may be illustrated from the life of Caesarius" (16).

The incident, already mentioned, from the Vita Caesarii when Caesarius fled from the rhetorical teaching of Julianus Pomerius, should indicate to us that no stress would be laid on classical studies in any school where Caesarius directed the studies. It is reasonable to suppose that the comments of Caesarius's biographers on this incident accurately

reflected his own,

> "Excussus ergo e somno, territus ipso visu, terribilius se ex eodem facto coepit arguere eo quod lumen regulae salutaris stultae mundi sapientiae voluerit copulare. Igitur contempsit haec protinus, sciens quia non deesset illis perfectae locutionis ornatus, quibus spiritalis eminuisset intellectus" (17).

Gregory of Tours, himself, was educated in the house of his uncle Gallus, Bishop of Clermont (18), but the fact that, after the death of Gallus in 551, Gregory was educated not by Cautinus, Gallus's successor, but by Avitus, Archdeacon of Clermont, might suggest that Gregory was educated individually rather than as a pupil in an episcopal school. Yet, Cautinus was such a bad bishop that, had there been an episcopal school, he might simply have ignored it (19).

It is not easy to tell whether hints as to the existence of episcopal schools, that we detect here and there, point to a well established and widespread practice about which we accidentally hear little, or whether such schools were few and far between and organized in a random way. But there certainly was a need for schools where future clergy could be educated,

> "As a result of the urgent need to ensure the training of the clergy, which was endangered by the increasing barbarism, this type of education (i.e. episcopal) became fairly general" (20).

Such is the opinion of such a weighty authority as Marrou.

Towards the end of the 6th century Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, was teaching grammar to the young men of Vienne, for which he was severely censured by Pope Gregory the Great. Desiderius's censure can be dated to Gregory the Great's pontificate, i.e. 590 - 604. The Pope had heard that Desiderius was teaching grammar,

> "fraternitatem tuam grammaticam quibusdam exponere".

Desiderius's fault lay in the fact that he was teaching classical pagan authors, hence Gregory's wrath,

> "in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus Christi laudes non capiunt"
>
> "Unde si post noc evidenter ea quae ad nos perlata sunt falsa esse claruerint, nec vos nugis et saecularibus litteris studere constiterit - - - " (21).

The reason for Gregory's anger may be either that, as he says, Christianity is at the root incompatible with admiration for the pagan poets, or that, although it might be fine for others to teach such trifles (nugae), a bishop has far more important things to do with his time. One cannot but think that by c.595 Desiderius must have been something of a phenomenon from another age; few bishops would by then be

be either capable of, or interested in, teaching 'grammatica'.

Another school, which, although it was not strictly speaking episcopal, was nevertheless of the same mould, was that of which we hear in the pages of Gregory of Tours and which was run by John, Archdeacon of Arles, who used to educate boys in his house,

> "Erat enim hic Iohannes nomine valde religiosus et in archidiaconatu suo studium docendi parvulos habens" (GM.P.540.77.6-7).

One wonders what the relationship was between the Archdeacon's school and the Bishop's school at Arles.

Chartres

Décarreaux thinks that, if there really were episcopal schools, their existence was ephemeral,

> "If there were in fact episcopal schools organised as such they were either so few in number or of so little distinction that they left no trace of their existence behind. The only one that may possibly have been of some duration was that of Chartres, where seventy-two clerics lived as one community. But even here it would be difficult to determine exactly what they were taught" (22).

Chartres did, however, have several bishops with some literary ability:

Martinus (fl.c.400): lived in a milieu sufficiently literary for his friends to have composed these lines on his tomb in the church of Saint-Martin-au-Val,

> "Te coluit Christe Martinus Candidus Iste
> Quem modo tu recreas et recreando beas" (23).

Arbogastes, a contemporary of Sidonius Apollinaris, was praised by Sidonius for his 'urbanitas' (24), but we must bear in mind Steven's caveat, already quoted, when assessing the sincerity of Sidonius's eagerness (25).

SS. Aventinus and Sollemnis were brought up by their maternal great-uncle, Bishop Flavius of Chartres and educated in the liberal arts.

St.Lubinus or Leobinus was Bishop of Chartres from 544 - 556. He showed interest in literary studies at an early age (26) and entered St. Hilary's monastery at Poitiers after making a grand tour of Gallic monasteries including that of St. Avitus at Le Perche and St. Lupus at Isle-Barbe, and Lérins. After a time at Poitiers St. Avitus made him abbot of Brou and then in 544 he became Bishop of Chartres. Some have tried to ascribe to Lubinus the foundation of the school of seventy-two pupils living in community, but there is not much foundation for this (27).

Bishop Caletricus (557 - 567) may have been the author of the Life of St. Lubinus and if so, he must have had some literary accomplishments since the Life is short, simple and in a good style.

Bishop Pappolus (567 - 594) seized on Betharius, a native of Rome and of a noble family, when Betharius came to visit Chartres. He soon had him ordained, "in servitium ecclesiastici ordinis devinxit" (28). Betharius had had a literary training,

> "litteris enim decentissime erat eruditus, urbanitate decorabili ornatus ac sublimatus, tantoque honore institutus, ut doctor divinarum litterarum et magister totius civitatis diceretur" (29).

On Pappolus's death c.594 Betharius was elected Bishop of Chartres and he may have taken over the direction of the school as well, if this is what is meant by

> "coepit namque florere in sanctissimis studiis" (30).

Bishop Lancegesil, who succeeded Betharius, was a pupil of a teacher called Cherimirus, as the inscription on his tomb in Saint-Martin-au-Val used to read,

> HIC IACET LANCEGESILUS PRESBITER DISCIPULUS CHERIMIRI QUI OBIIT ANNO SEXCENTESIMO TRIGESIMO TERTIO NONAS FEBRUARII (Acta Sanct., January, II, p.230).

Cherimirus, who had taught Lancegesil, was a non-episcopal teacher at Chartres. There is a mention of him in the Life of St. Lauromarus, Abbot of Corbie, who as a boy was handed over by his parents for a liberal education,

> "cuidam sacerdoti vitae venerabilis, nomine Cherimiro, committitur, qui intra oppidum Carnotense Domino militans religionis fama celebris habebatur. Qui susceptum parvulum tenere fovebat et pedetentim ad litterarum cognitionem et sanctitatis normam cohortabatur" (31).

Cherimirus must have been teaching at Chartres c.550 and was succeeded by Betharius. All this suggests some preservation of literary standards and 'liberal' education combined with Christian instruction, but it probably did not amount to much.

Schools run by Parish Priests

The success of the Church in converting the masses in Gaul and other Western lands such as Spain and Italy meant that, as Christianity spread from the large towns into the countryside, it became essential to find priests able to staff country churches and perform liturgical and pastoral duties. Such men had to be able to read. The way to ensure that such a supply would continue seemed to be to follow the example of the 'episcopal school': the priest was to gather round him some boys in order to give them a Christian upbringing, teaching them the psalms and the Scriptures with a view to providing a successor to himself. Thus in 529 the

Third Council of Vaison laid down,

> "Hoc enim placuit, ut omnes presbyteri, qui sunt in parochiis constituti, secundum consuetudinem, quam per totam Italiam satis salubriter teneri cognovimus, iuniores lectores, quantoscumque sine uxoribus habuerint, secum in domo, ubi ipsi habitare videntur, recipiant et eos quomodo boni patres spiritaliter nutrientes, psalmis parare, divinis lectionibus insistere et in lege momini erudire contendant, ut et sibi dignos successores provideant et a Domino praemia aeterna recipiant. Cum vero ad aetatem perfectam pervenirent, si aliquis eorum pro carnis fragilitate uxorem habere voluerit, potestas ei ducendi coniugium non negetur" (32).

Since not all the boys would be the priest's successor and some would doubtless marry, there would be a number of boys in other professions or occupations (so far as these could exist in the turbulence of the times) who would have at least an elementary education given in a Christian context. Riché points out that this canon is considered to be the act giving life to parish schools and adds that, though they were at the start for a specialised purpose, they quickly admitted children destined for a layman's life - a development inevitable in view of the disappearance of the small Roman school (33).

There are hints as to the existence of other parish schools, outside Ostrogothic Provence at this time. In the Burgundian kingdom, shortly before the 3rd Council of Vaison mentioned above, the young Eptadius left his family to join some boys who were receiving a clerical education from a priest,

> "Cum est ergo annorum duodecim nesciente parente eius ad disciplina fugit scolare ibique se ipse magistro infanciam aetatis suae traditit sacris litteris edocendam. Ex quo facto pauca quidem tempora quae scolares sibi non tantum quoaequavit - - - scientiam litterarum - - - superavit" (34).

Eptadius was a contemporary of King Sigismund of the Burgundians, who died in 523 (the founder of the renewed monastery of St. Maurice d'Agaune).

If the school, attended by Patroclus and his brother (VP.IX.703.1. 4-5) somewhere in the territory of Bourges under the master Nunnio, "qui quondam cum Childebertho Parisiorum rege magnus habebatur" (ibid.), was a parish school, then such schools must have existed about 506. Perhaps the need for parish schools was being felt and the canon of the Council of Vaison was simply giving formal approval and commendation to a laudable practice already underway.

Other Councils too promulged canons aiming at improving the education of the clergy. Thus the Council of Orléans, held in 533, forbade the ordination of a man as deacon or priest if he were "sine literis" (35). The Council of Narbonne, held in 589, thought that an illiterate

priest was useless, "Ad quid erit in ecclesia Dei, si non fuerit ad legendum exercitatus?" and forbade a Bishop to ordain as a priest or deacon a man "literas ignorantem (36). This Council took an extreme view of the importance of reading even to the point of banishing an idle priest to a monastery.

The Fourth Council of Toledo, held in 633, denounced ignorance among priests and added another reason why priests should be able to read, namely in order to be familiar with the canons promulged by various councils,

> "Ignorantia, mater cunctorum errorum, maxime in sacerdotibus Dei vitanda est, qui docendi officium in populis susceperunt, Sacerdotes enim legere sanctas scripturas admonentur, Paul apostolo dicente ad Timotheum: Intende lectioni, exhortationi, doctrinae, semper permane in his. Sciant igitur sacerdotes scripturas sanctas et canones, ut omne opus eorum in praedicatione et doctrina consistat, atque aedificent cunctos tam fidei scientia, quam operum disciplina" (37).

In order that priests might be able to read some earlier education must have been given in their home parishes.

St. Gregory of Tours relates how the hermit Patroclus established himself in an oratory at Néris (near Montluçon, Allier) and forthwith began to teach boys their letters,

> "sed egressus ab urbe memorata (i.e. Bourges), venit ad vicum Nereensim, ibique aedificato oratorio ac sancti Martini reliquiis consecrato, pueros erudire coepit in studiis litterarum" (VP.IX.703.2.22-24).

In the next century we are told by the writer of the life of St. Géry of Cambrai that a bishop on a pastoral tour enquired whether any boys were being educated for the priesthood in a certain village,

> "Veniens in memorato castro Ebosio, interrogans sacerdotem, cuius sollicitudinem de ipso castro commiserat, quod haberet ad officium praeparatos, illi ita respondencs, ait, "Abemus, domine pontifex, officialibus, inter quos quidam puerolus nomine Gaugericus, adhuc in scolis ad magisterium eruditionibus commendatos, multum se divinis eloquiis noscetur enutrire".

The boys come there 'ad studium litterarum' (38).

We may thus conclude that in the 6th century there were in some villages and small towns parish schools run by the parish priest or other competent teachers (e.g. Patroclus at Néris) who gave a rudimentary education to boys, intending that some at least of these boys would become priests. This policy received official backing at the Council of Vaison (529). One might reasonably suppose that such schools would be more common in Southern Gaul, where Frankish and other barbarian settlement was much thinner.

Possibilities of receiving education through contact with learned individuals

Although the opportunities for receiving a literary education in the 6th century in Gaul seem to have been very limited, we do glimpse in the pages of Gregory of Tours's works and from other sources, people who seem to have had some smattering of culture. It might have happened that such people did not keep their learning entirely to themselves but taught others or encouraged others to learn. Among them we may note the following:

Sulpicius, Bishop of Bourges in 584

He seems to have been brought up in the old Roman tradition, was of excellent family and well versed in literary accomplishments:

> "Est enim vir valde nobilis et de primis senatoribis Galliarum, in litteris bene eruditus rhetoricis, in metricis vero artibus nulli secundus" (H.F.VI.278.39.27-29).

Secundinus and Asteriolus

These royal favourites, who were 'magni cum rege' Theudebert I, were each "sapiens et rhetoricis imbutus litteris" (H.F.III.136.33.18-19). They seem, however to have put their abilities to political ends.

Avignon

Some time before 561 King Lothar I wanted to make Domnolus, Abbot of St. Lawrence at Paris, Bishop of Avignon but Domnolus begged not to be sent there because it was too intellectual in tone!

> "Sed beatus Domnolus haec audiens, ad basilicam sancti Martini antistitis, ubi tunc Chlotharius rex ad orationem venerat, accessit, et nocte tota in vigiliis excubans, per priores qui aderant regi suggessionem intulit, ut non quasi captivus ab eius elongaretur aspectu; nec permitteret, simplicitatem illius inter senatores sophisticos ac iudices philosophicos fatigari - - - " (H.F.VI.p.254.9.30-34)

King Chilperic I of Neustria

He had literary interests which form an interesting additional aspect to the character of the King whom Gregory described as "Nero nostri temporis et Herodis" (H.F.VI.p.286.46.4-5). Chilperic was sufficiently interested in Latin literature to attempt to write Latin poetry in the style of Sedulius, who c.430, possibly in Southern Gaul, wrote his 'Carmen Paschale' "in simple, lively language and an almost classical metrical technique" (39). Gregory, who could write the truth about Chilperic after his death in 584, is scathing about his attempts at poetry,

> "Conficitque duos libros, quasi Sidulium meditatus, quorum versiculi debilis nullis pedibus subsistere possunt; in quibus, dum non

intellegebat, pro longis sillabas breves posuit et pro breves longas statuebat" (H.F.VI.p.286.46.16-18).

Noting the unclassical inflexions with which Gregory expresses his criticisms of Chilperic, we may think that Gregory had little cause for adopting a censorious attitude, but Gregory was aware of his faults and sensitive to them, as we shall see below.

In addition to these 'versiculi' Gregory tells us that Chilperic attempted "alia opuscula vel ymnus sive missas, quae nulla ratione suscipi possunt" (ibid.18-19). By 'missas' it is likely that Gregory means Sequences for use at mass. Gregory also tells us that Chilperic attempted to reform the script in use in Gaul by the addition of some characters, borrowed from the Greek script, though not by any means always denoting the same sound. Gregory says,

"Addit autem et litteras litteris nostris, id est ω, sicut Graeci habent, ae, the, uui, quarum caracteres hi sunt: ω θ , ae ψ , the ƶ , uui Δ . Et misit epistulas in universis civitatibus regni sui, ut sic pueri docerentur, ac libri antiquitus scripti, planati, pomice rescriberentur;" (H.F.V.p.237.44.23 sqq)

It is fascinating to think that this brutal Frankish king not only knew how to read, but actually tried to compose poetry, and even to reform the current orthography. As Gregory presents it, Chilperic's efforts seem slightly ridiculous, but examples from the 6th century of Franks being interested in Roman letters are so rare that each one should be treated as a jewel found on piece of waste land. We should note further that Chilperic must have been under the impression that boys within his kingdom were receiving some written education, which must have meant Latin education, for him to have ordered that they be taught according to his new ideas. Gregory does not tell us what became of Chilperic's orthographical reform, but further silence on the subject must suggest that it was a dead letter from the start.

Ferreolus of Uzès

Ferreolus, Bishop of Uzès, situated about 24 miles west of Avignon, in the former Visigothic kingdom, died in 581. He composed some volumes of epistles modelled on the style of Sidonius Apollinaris, who had been the friend and correspondent of his ancestor Tonantius Ferreolus (40).

Praetextatus of Rouen

Praetextatus, Bishop of Rouen, composed a collection of sacred orations which he read to his brother bishops. Some found them rather lacking in art, others approved of them as conforming to the standards of such oratory (41).

Bertram of Le Mans

Bertram, Bishop of Le Mans, a contemporary of Venantius Fortunatus (c.530 - 600), wrote bombastic and elaborate poems, which Venantius criticized (42).

Jovinus, Govenor of Provence

He exchanged epistles in verse with Fortunatus (43).

Venantius Fortunatus

Venantius Fortunatus, a contemporary and friend of Gregory of Tours, was the other outstanding literary figure in Gaul in the latter part of the 6th century, beside Gregory himself. He was born near Treviso, north of Venice, c.530 and studied at Ravenna. In 567 he went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Martin at Tours and soon afterwards settled at Poitiers, where he was ordained priest under the influence of St. Radegunde, Abbess of the convent at Poitiers which became known as the Abbey of the Holy Cross after Radegunde had received a relic of the True Cross from the Emperor Justinus II. At Poitiers Venantius became chaplain to the former Queen, Radegunde and her foster daughter, Agnes, and towards the end of the 6th century was elected Bishop of Poitiers. Our concern with Venantius at this point is to note that he was there in Poitiers for a number of years and wrote a number of poems, mainly in elegaic distichs. People who were in close contact with him would have had some opportunity to learn from him, though I know of no concrete evidence which tells us that he did teach anyone. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that some of his considerable culture should have rubbed off on to some of his contemporaries at Poitiers.

St. Leobardus of Auvergne

Leobardus came from Auvergne to Tours and settled down in a cell near the abbey of Marmoutier ("ad cellulam Maiori monasterio propinquam" (V.P.XX.p.742.2.13)). While there he occupied himself in preparing vellum and copying out books, no doubt the texts of Scripture or the Lives of the Saints (ibid.14-15). As a boy in Auvergne he had learnt something of the psalms at school with the other boys,

> "Qui tempore debito cum reliquis pueris ad scolam missus, quaepiam de psalmis memoriae conmendavit, nesciens se clericum esse futurum" (V.P.XX.P.741.1.14-15).

Although his time was taken up with fasting, prayer, recitation of the psalms, reading and preparing vellum for manuscripts, he also had time to heal light illnesses, cure people who had been poisoned, and heal paralytics by giving them to drink a cup of wine blessed with the sign of the

cross. In addition he healed those with a fever and on one occasion healed a blind man (V.P.XX.P.743.3.3.sqq). He lived at Marmoutier for twenty-two years and might well in that time have taught the Scriptures to some of those who came to him for healing or other help.

Abbot Brachio

When Theuderic, c.532, marched out of Clermont-Ferrand after the siege of Chastel-Marlhac (Meroliacense castrum), he left behind him a relative, Sigivald, to guard the town (H.F.III.p.120.13.3-4). In Sigivald's service was a young Frank called Brachio who, while out hunting one day, came upon the cell of a holy man under whose influence he eventually renounced the world. On the death of Sigivald Brachio joined the hermit in his cell and, being illiterate, spent three years committing the psalter to memory, "cum eodem duos vel tres annos faciens, psalterium memoriae conmendavit" (V.P.XII.p.713.2.26-27). In his later life, as a founder of monasteries in Touraine and Auvergne, he may well have imparted to others some of the sacred learning that he had imbibed in that Arvernian hermit's cell.

The Dissolute Cleric of Lisieux

A cleric, originating from Le Mans, of dissolute life, "Luxuriosus nimis amatorque mulierum et gulae ac fornicationis omnique immunditiae valde deditus" (H.F.VI.p.276.36.8-10), was redeemed from prison by the kind-hearted Bishop of Lisieux, Aetherius. On his release "profert se litterarum esse doctorem, promittens sacerdoti (i.e. Aetherio), quod, si ei pueros delegaret, perfectos hic in litteris redderet" (ibid.19-20). Aetherius must have been fairly desperate to have employed this cleric as a teacher since his life had been appalling and his later doings were no better. We should note firstly that this apparently learned cleric was there in Lisieux and secondly that, dissolute though he was, Aetherius could not afford to miss the opportunity of finding a teacher for the boys who were perhaps receiving an education in the bishop's household.

St. Patroclus

When Patroclus retired to Néris (Allier) to live as a recluse, he nevertheless spent time teaching boys their letters (V.P.IX.703.2.22-24). Whether we should regard this teaching as the activity of a lone individual or whether he did it as some aspect of the life of a school run by a parish priest, it is impossible to say.

Queen Brunhildis

Brunhildis was the daughter of Athanagild and Goiswintha, King and

Queen of the Visigothic kingdom in Spain. She came to Gaul in 566 to marry Sigibert I of Austrasia. Venantius Fortunatus, who was at Sigibert's court at Metz at the time, composed an elaborate nuptial poem, "De Nuptiis Sigiberti regis et Brunichildis reginae", (Carm.VI.2),

> "on this occasion the subject of the eulogy deserved it better than was usually the case with those who received his praise. It is said that Brunhild herself was one of the very few present who knew enough Latin to understand this epithalamion" (44).

Brunhildis is addressed as 'altera nata Venus' and is hailed as the new jewel, sprung from Spain, 'novam genuit Hispania gemmam'. In Carmen VI.3 Venantius Fortunatus further describes Brunhildis as,

> "Pulchra, modesta, decens, sollers, grata atque benigna,
> Ingenio, vultu, nobilitate potens".

Gregory of Tours says she was "puella elegans opere, venusta aspectu, honesta moribus atque decora, prudens consilio et blanda conloquio" (H.F.IV.p.163.27.11-12). Although she had been brought up as an Arian, she was converted to Catholicism and "in nomine Christi catholica perseverat" (ibid.17). Although she was not specifically praised for her love of literature, the notion that, coming from the comparatively cultured Visigothic kingdom, she might have been moderately versed in Latin letters, receives support from words that Pope Gregory the Great wrote to her,

> "Codicem vero, sicut scripsistis, praedicto dilectissimo filio nostro Candido presbytero nobis offerendem transmittimus, quia boni vestri studii esse participes festinamus" (45).

One finds it difficult to believe, however, that in the midst of her tempestuous political feuds with Queen Fredegundis of Neustria and Fredegundis's son, Lothar II (who had her cruelly killed in 613) Brunhildis spent time instructing young people in Latin letters!

Notes - Chapter 4

(1) Sid.Apoll.Ep.IV.1, PL.58.col.508.

(2) C.E. Stevens, Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age. p.82.

(3) Sid. Apoll. Ep.V.5 and IV.20, col.535 and 524.

(4) Vita Caesarii, PL.67, col.1004-5.

(5) Sister M. J. Suelzer, Julianus Pomerius, The Contemplative Life, p.11.

(6) Ennodius, Vita Epiphanii.

(7) PL.50, col.433, "ab ipsis cunabulis milites Christi".

(8) Vita Fulgentii, 27.

(9) Vita Caesarii, PL.67,col.1027.

(10) ibid. col.1024.

(11) ibidem.

(12) ibidem, col.1036.

(13) ibidem, col.1022, "nisi quatuor vicibus in ordine libros Veteris Testamenti legerit ante, et quatuor Novi".

(14) Riché, op.cit.,p.167.

(15) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.178 and see Vita Hilarii, PL.51,col.1229.

(16) Haarhoff, op.cit.p.178.

(17) Vita Caesarii, PL.67,col.1005.

(18) VP.II.p.670.2.5-8.

(19) "Cautinus - - - talem se redditit, ut ab omnibis execraretur, vino ultra modum deditus" etc (HF.IV.p.148.12.13sqq).

(20) Marrou, op.cit.,p.445.

(21) Greg. Magnus, Ep.54, ad Desiderium, PL.77,col.1174-5.

(22) Décarreaux, Monks and Civilisation, p.169 sqq.

(23) Cabrol, Tome III, part 1, col. 1023.

(24) Sid. Apoll. Ep.IV.17, PL.58,col.521.

(25) Stevens, op.cit.,p.82 and Sid.Apoll.Ep.II.10.1.

(26) Acta Sanctorum, March, Tome II, p.350.

(27) Cabrol, loc.cit., "on a imaginé, sans grand fondement, de faire remonter à Lubin la fondation d'une école épiscopale fixée au nombre de soixante-douze élèves constitués en communauté avec des règlements concernant la prière et l'étude".

(28) Acta Sanctorum, August, Tome I,p.169-170.

(29) ibidem.

(30) ibidem, p.170.

(31) Vita Lauromari, Acta Sanctorum, January, Tome II, p.231.

(32) 3rd Council of Vaison, 529, Canon 1, in Concilia Galliae, Corpus Christianorum, vol,148a, p.78.

(33) Riché, op.cit.,p.170.

(34) Vita Eptadi, MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, III,p.186.

(35) 2nd Council of Orléans, 533, Canon 16, "Presbyter vel diaconus sine literis vel si baptizandi ordinem nesciret nullatenus ordinetur", Concilia Galliae, p.101.

(36) Council of Narbonne, 589, Canon 11, "Amodo nulli liceat episcoporum ordinare diaconum aut presbiterum literas ignorantem; set si qui ordinati fuerint, cogantur discere - - - Aut Quid erit in ecclesia Dei, si non fuerit ad legendum exercitatus? Et si perseveraverit desidiose, et non vult proficere, mittatur in monasterio, quia non potest nisi legendo edificare populum", Concilia Galliae, p.256.

(37) 4th Council of Toledo, 633, Canon 25, in Sacrosancta Concilia, Tome, 5, col. 1713.

(38) Vita S. Gaugerici Episcopi Camaracensis, MGH, Script. Rer.Merov. III,p.652.

(39) B. Altaner, Patrology, p.484.

(40) Sir S. Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age, p.474.

(41) ibidem.

(42) Fortunatus, Carmina III,18.

(43) Dalton, op.cit.p.410.

(44) ibidem p.69.

(45) Greg. Magnus, Ep.XI, PL.77,col.955.

Chapter 5 - The Christian Dilemma

In his fascinating study of monasticism, 'Les Moines d'Orient', Fr. Festugières draws our attention to a problem that tantalized Christians living within the culture and environment of the Roman Empire for centuries, a problem which, in a general way, affects Christians today, namely, the relationship between faith and reason, between the values of Christianity and those of 'the world' (1). The Greeks, copied later by the Romans, had founded a civilisation which was humanistic and rationalistic, man was very aware of himself as a rational being - λογικόν ζῷον.

Cicero, in his Tusculanae Disputationes, helps us in forming a judgement on the value of the progress of human society and its conformity to the overall providential designs of God. The great men of the past have helped us, says Cicero, in pioneering the knowledge of crops, clothing, building, vine-growing and in developing protection against the wild beast of nature. Having being groomed and civilised by these men in the skills necessary to life, we have moved on to occupy ourselves with more sophisticated matters, "elegantiora" (2). These "elegantiora" are in fact not the practical conveniences for modern living, but are the arts which set free and exercise the human spirit, enabling man to become fully man,

> "ceux qui délient et exercent l'esprit et permettent à l'homme de se conduire en homme" (3).

These 'artes' are 'liberales' because they liberate the spirit of man. Cicero lists them as:

Music : "oblectatio auribus inventa et temperata varietate et natura sonorum" (4).

Astronomy : "et astra suspeximus - - -" (5). Astronomy included arithmetic and geometry.

Grammar : "poetam grave plenumque carmen" (6).

Rhetoric : "eloquentiam - - - abundantem sonantibus verbis uberibusque sententiis" (7).

Philosophy : "philosphia - - - omnium mater artium" (8).

Obviously, Cicero makes these observations out of the Graeco-Roman humanistic experience which was his and which he shared with his contemporaries. His observations have the ring of common sense about them and are likely to be accepted by most reasonable men.

St. Augustine of Hippo (354 - 430), one of the profoundest of early Christian thinkers was deeply indebted to Cicero's Tusculanae Disputationes, as is shown in his reliance on the Disputationes in developing the thought in his De Quantitate Animae. Augustine takes up

Cicero's theme and develops it in a particularly Christian manner. Augustine was no more able than Cicero to imagine that our faculties had been given us for no purpose and that we would be free to leave them to wither. Augustine divides the life of the soul in seven grades and in chapter 72 of the De Quantitate Animae he deals with the grade three, which is that proper to man:

> "Ergo attollere in tertium gradum qui iam et homini proprius, et cogita memoriam non consuetudine inolitarum, sed animadversione atque signis commendatarum ac retentarum rerum innumerabilium, tot artes opificum, agrorum cultus, exstructiones urbium, variorum aedificiorum ac moliminum multimoda miracula; inventiones tot signorum in litteris, in verbis, in gestu, in cuiuscemodi sono, in picturis atque figmentis; tot gentium linguas, tot instituta, tot nova, tot instaurata; tantum librorum numerum, et cuiuscemodi monumentorum ad custodiendam memoriam, tantamque curam posteritatis; officiorum, potestatum, honorum dignitatumque ordines, sive in familiis, sive domi militiaeque in republica, sive in profanis sive in sacris apparatibus:
>
> Vim ratiocinandi et excogitandi,
> fluvios eloquentiae,
> ludendi et iocandi causa milleformes simulationes,
> modulandi peritiam,
> dimetiendi subtilitatem,
> numerandi disciplinam,
> praeteritorum et futurorum ex praesentibus coniecturam.
>
> Magna haec et omnino humana. Sed est adhuc ista partim doctis atque indoctis, partim bonis ac malis animis copia communis" (9).

We should note that Augustine omits from his list philosophy, which Cicero had described as follows:

> "Philosophia vero, omnium mater artium, quid est aliud nisi, ut Plato, donum, ut ego, inventum deorum? Haec nos primum ad illorum cultum, deinde ad ius hominum, quod situm est in generis humani societate, tum ad modestiam magnitudinemque animi erudivit, eademque ab animo tamquam ab oculis caliginem dispulit, ut omnia supera infera, prima ultima media videremus". (10).

Augustine could not, as a Christian, accept that philosophy, as Cicero had conceived it, could 'dispel the mist from one's eyes', since he followed Jesus Christ, who was himself the opener of the eyes of the blind, in both a literal and a metaphorical sense. The ninth chapter of St. John's Gospel is concerned with The Man Born Blind: after Jesus has given physical sight to the man the remainder of the chapter is devoted to a discourse on 'seeing', in which the conversation gradually passes from questions of physical seeing to metaphorical or spiritual seeing, and ends,

> "Some Pharisees in his company asked, 'Do you mean that we are blind?' 'If you were blind,' said Jesus, 'you would not be guilty, but because you say "We see", your guilt remains'." (11).

Indeed, St. Paul had minimized the importance of the wisdom of 'this

world' and in the early chapters of his First Epistle to the Corinthians he presses this view,

> "This doctrine of the cross is sheer folly to those on their way to ruin, but to us who are on the way to salvation it is the power of God. Scripture says, 'I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and bring to nothing the cleverness of the clever'. Where is your wise man now, your man of learning, or your subtle debater - limited, all of them, to this passing age? God has made the wisdom of this world look foolish. As God in his wisdom ordained, the world failed to find him by its wisdom, and he chose to save those who have faith by the folly of the Gospel." (12)

I suggest that these words of St. Paul, together with other similar paradoxical notions to be found in the Gospels, echoed throughout the Roman, Christian, world for several centuries and were only relieved of their immediate power in the West by the changed circumstances in the 8th century when Charlemagne needed well-educated Christian clerks for the survival of his Christian kingdom. Christians rarely seemed to revel in the joys of literary excellence without entertaining the guilty feeling that, since Christ was the fount of salvation and life, to enjoy and to exalt literary excellence, stemming from pagan days and pagan models, was a betrayal of Christ. In the first six centuries A.D. Christians varied a great deal in the intensity with which they felt this feeling: Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, from 469 - 480 seems not to have been troubled by this problem since his thought-world and intellectual interests were classical rather than Christian (13), but Caesarius of Arles fled in horror from a mild education in classical authors at the hands of the Christian Julian Pomerius c.A.D.500!

It was under the influence of this quandary that Augustine modified the 'artes liberales' as listed by Cicero. He omitted philosophy which Cicero called 'omnium mater artium'. However, since Cicero's philosophy had in fact dealt with ethics, physics and man's perception of the gods, or God, Augustine could not, and did not, ignore this area. We have noted that in the De Quantitate Animae Augustine deals with the human soul and its properties as grade three in the seven grades: he now devotes grades four to seven to providing an alternative to Cicero's philosophy. Grades four to seven are "le programme de la philosophie jusqu'ici absente" (14). The nature of these grades is inspired by Plato. Both Plato and Cicero insist that in the ascent towards the contemplation of the Supreme Idea, the Good, or the One, there must be a double purification, namely, a κάθαρσις of the soul by "éloignement de tout sensible" (15) and by the practice of the moral virtues, and by a

κάθαρσις of the intellect brought about by the practice of dialectic. As a Christian Augustine was not interested in purification by dialectic and passed directly from purgation of the soul to contemplation, which is reached in grade seven, after passing through 'virtus', 'tranquillitas' and 'ingressio'. In the fourth grade, 'virtus', the soul enters the order of morality and detaches itself from concern about bodily goods and fortifies itself against all adversity, practices justice and follows the authority and precepts of the wise. However, at this stage the soul still fears death. At the fifth grade, that of 'tranquillitas', the soul no longer fears death. With 'ingressio', the sixth grade, the soul is tranquil and is overtaken by an "appetitio intellegendi ea quae vere summeque sunt" and thenceforward directs its attention towards that which it is called upon to contemplate. With grade seven the soul reaches the vision of truth itself, "contemplatio veritatis". Here Augustine's thought is very close to Plato's:

Augustine	Plato
"quae sint gaudia, quae perfructio et veri boni, cuius serenitatis atque aeternitatis afflatus, quid ego dicam?" (16)	"But tell me, what would happen if one of you had the fortune to look upon essential beauty entire, pure and unalloyed; not infected with the flesh and colour of humanity, and ever so much more of mortal trash? What if he could behold the divine beauty itself, in its unique form? (17).

Such was the heritage which the Christian, educated in the classical models, would have at his command and in which he would naturally see similarities and points of contact with the content of the Christian revelation. A Christian, like others from the higher social classes, might well be called upon to govern; the liberal arts were indispensible in the Roman world for one who wanted to govern. They provided him with the categories in which to marshal and order his thoughts and they provided him with the culture and language with which to impress, persuade and govern.

Festugières draws our attention to an important distinction between modern and ancient rationalism. Modern rationalism recognises only <u>reason</u> and everything that is not the object of syllogism, being contrary to reason, is therefore inexistant. Thus God, essentially a mystery because he is infinite, must either be reduced to the Supreme Being, to a pure axiom totally intelligible (and therefore less than God really is), or not exist at all. Thus any religion founded on the notion of a God of mystery, as is Christianity (whose mysteries of the Trinity,

Incarnation and Redemption derive from the first mystery, which is God), not being entirely intelligible, has no right to exist. Ancient rationalism, on the other hand, recognised that above λόγος , the faculty of being able to reason, there exists νοῦς , the faculty of intuition and contemplation, the organ of the intellectual mysticism of Plato and his school. Thus there was a point of contact upon which Augustine was able to seize and to find no radical clash between the heritage of Greek thought, in this field at least, and the message of Christ. The Greeks had discovered God the Orderer of the universe, the Beginning and End, but they had also entertained the notion of the infinite God, i.e. infinitely free, infinitely mysterious. Thus a message uniquely founded upon the divine freedom need not a priori shock anyone wishing to remain faithful to the Platonic tradition as it was offered to people in the 4th century. A God whom one could call 'Deus ineffabilis', a God whom one could recognise only by suprarational intuition (θεὸς ἄγνωστος) is not essentially different from a God hidden in his mystery who can only be recognised as a result of his self-revelation. Since God is infinitely free, it depends on him precisely what form the revelation takes.

It was in this sort of way that Augustine and other intellectual minds in the 4th and 5th centuries could be Christians without disavowing the ancient culture entirely. However, there were many others who found it quite impossible to continue a study of profane culture and renounced it. The idealistic adolescent or young man or woman often found Christ's call irresistible,

> "Jesus said to him, "If you want to be perfect, go sell your goods give the money to the poor - then you will have treasure in heaven - then come, follow me." (Matthew 19.21).

It was, indeed, those very words which, according to Gregory, brought about the conversion of St. Paulinus of Nola (GC.p.817.168.4 sqq). Following Jesus meant carrying the cross (Matthew 16.24) and perfection lay not in following philosophical systems or in erudition but in following Jesus. Augustine is cautious about the ultimate value of the liberal arts because, as he points out, there are men who know the liberal arts "et sancti non sunt" (18) and there are men, totally ignorant of the liberal arts, who have become saints. If nothing matters in the end but being holy, then it is to this that the Christian must apply himself.

Other Examples of the Christian Dilemma

The Christian uncertainty about the attitude Christians should adopt towards classical culture in general manifested itself nowhere more

clearly than in relation to literary culture. It would be a mistake to suppose that the Christian community in Western Europe up to and including the 6th century took a completely anti-intellectual stance. Rather, the Church had a love-hate relationship with the classical authors and the Roman system of education; attraction was countered by suspicion. The realities of life were such that, while Roman institutions lasted, boys needed a grounding in classical literature and some training in rhetoric in order to succeed in life and be generally considered as cultured. From the third century onwards there were Christians among the teachers of rhetoric. When the Emperor Julian the Apostate (361 - 363) debarred Christians from the teaching profession on the grounds that they could not honestly expound the pagan poets and philosophers, his action caused a storm of protest (19). He ordered Christian teachers to go to the churches and expound Matthew and Luke. Two of them, Apollinaris, a grammarian of Laodicea in Syria and his son, another Apollinaris, took him at his word and,

> "Between them they rewrote the scriptures in classical form. To replace Homer, the father composed an epic poem in twenty-four books covering the historical books of the Old Testament from the creation to the reign of Saul, and converted other books into Euripidean tragedies, Menandrian comedies and Pindaric odes. The son rewrote the New Testament in the form of Platonic dialogues" (20).

However, their efforts were wasted because as soon as Julian died Christian teachers once again took up the pagan classics (21). It is clear from this incident that it was not simply literature of a classical type that Christian felt obliged to teach, but the actual, concrete, pagan texts,

> "This story well indicates the immensely strong hold which the classical literary culture had on the educated classes of the empire. To mix in polite society, and to make his way in the world, whatever profession he adopted, a man had to know his pagan authors, and to Christian parents of the upper classes, it was unthinkable to deprive their sons of the standard course of education, whatever the spiritual dangers. It was not only correct diction and style that were essential; the works of the Apollinares were, so Socrates assures us, models of style, and provided examples of all the modes of composition taught in the schools; it was the genuine classics, with all the pagan gods and myths, which were necessary to make a cultivated man" (22).

Qualms about the right for Christians of reading, studying and teaching the pagan authors had been expressed long before the time of Augustine. Tertullian, (160 - 220), the brilliant lawyer, born in Carthage, had "a penetrating intelligence, passionate eloquence, ever-ready wit and was extraordinarily well-versed in all departments of knowledge" (23). In his work De Praescriptione Haereticorum, c.200, he

poured out his disdain for any other learning than that involved in the Christian Faith,

> "Quid ergo Athenis et Hierosolymis?
> Quid academiae et ecclesiae?
> Quid haereticis et christianis?
> Nostra institutio de porticu Solomonis est qui et ipse tradiderat Dominum in simplicitate cordis esse quaerendum. Viderint qui Stoicum et Platonicum et dialecticum christianismum protulerunt. Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Iesum nec inquisitione post evangelium. Cum credimus, nihil desideramus ultra credere" (24).

It is noteworthy that his very denunciation is couched in terms rich in antithesis and paradox. Cochrane points out that the eccentricity of Tertullian's mind, which led him c.207 to leave the Church and join the rigorist sect of the Montanists, prompted him to make extreme statements, also,

> "They are the product of a time of crisis, when the dispute between Church and empire had entered upon its last and most acute phase. They do not so much reflect the normal attitude of the believer as the spirit with which he resisted imperial persecution. But, even so, they are not without significance, for they point to elements of opposition between Christianity and Classicism which were not to be ignored" (25).

St. Jerome, a contemporary of Augustine, who lived from c.347 - 419/20, was also troubled by the same problem - was it right to read and enjoy pagan authors? In one of his letters there is a passage strongly reminiscent of Tertullian's famous 'quid ergo Athenis' passage quoted above, Jerome says,

> "Quae enim communicatio luci ad tenebras?
> Qui consensus Christo cum Belial?
> Quid facit cum Psalterio Horatius?
> Cum evangeliis Maro?
> Cum apostolo Cicero?
> Nonne scandalizatur frater, si te viderit in idolio recumbentem? Et licet omnia munda mundis, et nihil reiiciendum, quod cum gratiarum actione percipitur; tamen simul bibere non debemus calicem Christi et calicem daemoniorum" (26).

In the same letter he records his guilt at the distaste he felt when he returned to the Prophets after reading Plautus,

> "Plautus sumebatur in manus. Si quando in memetipsum reversus, Prophetas legere coepissem, sermo horrebat incultus" (27).

A little further on in the same letter he recounts his famous dream which surely illustrates the guilt and uncertainty that he felt in his dealings with the pagan authors:

> "Cum subito raptus in spiritu ad tribunal iudicis pertrahor; ubi tantum luminis et tantum erat ex circumstantium claritate fulgoris, ut proiectus in terram, sursum aspicere non auderem. Interrogatus de conditione, Christianum me esse respondi. Et ille qui praesidebat: Mentiris, ait, Ciceronianus es, non Christianus: ubi enim thesaurus tuus, ibi et cor tuum. Illico obmutui, et inter verbera (nam caedi me iusserat) conscientiae magis igne torquebar, illum mecum versiculum reputans: "In inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi?" (Ps.66) - - - Tandem ad praesidentis genua provoluti, qui astabant, precabantur ut veniam tribueret adolescentiae et errori locum poenitentiae commodaret, exacturus deine cruciatum, si Gentilium litterarum libros aliquando legissem. Ego qui in tanto constrictus articulo, vellem etiam majora promittere, deiurare coepi et nomen eius obtestans, dicere, 'Domine, si unquam habuero codices saeculares, si legero, te negavi" (28).

Although he here outlines a flamboyantly anti-secular attitude, he does elsewhere acknowledge that it is a necessity for boys to learn pagan letters, but it is wrong for priests to do so,

> "Sacerdotes Dei omissis Evangeliis et prophetis videmus comoedias legere, amatoria bucolicorum versuum verba canere. Virgilium tenere, et id, quod in pueris necessitatis est, crimen in se facere" (29).

Jerome's dilemma could be summed up in the words 'si codices saeculares lego, te nego'. Gregory of Tours would not, I think, have gone quite so far, though he was certainly influenced by similar misgivings.

Sulpicius Severus, the late 4th century biographer of St. Martin, took a very harsh line about what should be the Christian's attitude to pagan literature. In his opinion all literature except the Bible and theological writings are utterly vain,

> "For what did the pagan writers themselves gain by a literary glory that was to perish with their generation? Or what profit was it to posterity to read of Hector's battles or Socrates' philosophy? Not only is it folly to imitate those writers, but not to attack them with the utmost fierceness is sheer madness" (30).

This is the most extreme anti-classical statement that I have found in this context, though Claudius Victor of Marseilles, in attributing the woes of his day to the pagan schools and authors, comes a close second,

> "Non vitium nostrum est? Paulo et Salamone relicto quod Maro cantatur Phoenissae et Naso Corinnae, quod plausum accipiunt lyra Flacci aut scena Terenti? nos horum, nos causa sumus: nos turpiter istis nutrimenta damus flammis" (31).

Yet he frames his denunciation in hexameters!

Sidonius Apollinaris

Sidonius was born on 5th November 432 at Lyons. He belonged to an aristocratic family; his father and grandfather had both been Praetorian Prefect of Gaul, the highest office available to a civilian. He was, thus, a member of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy, a member of the Senatorial

order. His extensive writings give little indication of the real problems affecting the life of Gaul, e.g. the flight of the agriculturalists from the land, the danger from marauding bands of Bacaudae and the threat and reality of Visigothic invasion and domination. As Stevens says, the life which Sidonius depicts might be that of the days of Trajan or Hadrian (32).

It seems that Sidonius did not attend a 'ludus litterarius', but acquired a primary education at home. This is suggested by his words in a poem addressed to Consentius, where, presumably, he is describing what would happen to a child of his social level at that time,

"Iam primo tenero calentem ab ortu,
Excepere sinu novem sorores
Et te de genitrice vagientem.
Texerunt vitreae vado Hippocrenes
Tunc hac mersus aqua loquacis undae
Pro fluctu mage litteras bibasti" (33).

At the early age of six Sidonius entered the school of the grammaticus and read a number of classical works; he remained in this school until he was sixteen. Evidence from his works suggests that he studied at least the following authors:

Menander. He read Menander's 'Epitrepontes' with his son Apollinaris,

"Epitrepontem Menandri in manibus habebam" (34)

Menander seems to have been the only Greek author whom we know that Sidonius specifically read. Although Homer had been studied by Paulinus of Pella earlier in the 5th century, there is no indication that Sidonius had studied him (35).

Horace and Virgil he quotes extensively and it seems that he had Virgil 'caned into him',

"ut modo mihi post ferulas lectionis Maronianae" (36).

Terence. He mentions the 'Eunuchus' of Terence and he read 'Hecyra' with his son,

"Nuper ego filiusque communis Terentianae Hecyrae sales ruminabamus" (37).

Sallust. He seems to have been well acquainted with Sallust, e.g.

"Nam, ut Crispus vester affirmat, idem velle, atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est" (38).

Cicero. Although Ausonius in the 4th century had not mentioned Cicero among the authors to be read, he was nevertheless certainly studied in the schools of Gaul in the 5th century, as the two following quotations from Sidonius indicate,

"postque desudatam varicosi Arpinatis opulentiam loquacitatemque" (39).

"Surgentes anni Musis formantur, et illo
Quo Cicerone tonas" (40).

Statius. There are frequent reminiscences and imitations of Statius in the works of Sidonius and Sidonius speaks warmly of him, e.g.,

"Non quod Papinius tuus, meusque,
Inter Labdacios sonat furores" (41).

In addition there are reminiscences of Pliny the Younger and a considerable imitation of Claudian in Sidonius's Panegyrics.

We should note how completely classical Sidonius's education was. There is no suggestion in his works that the Bible or the Christian Fathers were studied in the schoolroom,

"the education of the lay-schools still remained a pagan education; the principles with but slight alterations of detail remained as they had been laid down by Quintilian three centuries before" (42).

It is interesting to note in passing the vast change in educational priorities which comes about in the hundred years or so which separate Sidonius in the middle of the 5th century from Gregory of Tours in the middle of the 6th: Sidonius's education is supremely classical, with later accessions of Christian knowledge; Gregory's is supremely Christian with later accessions of classical knowledge.

At the age of sixteen Sidonius began his education with the rhetor. He studied not only the art of declamation, but also the philosophical doctrines of Plato and Aristotle. In writing to a friend Sidonius reminds him of how they had studied together 'inter Eusebianos lares' (43). Some scholars have thought that this meant that Sidonius and his friend had had private tuition, rather than public schooling. Stevens, however, interprets this to mean that Eusebius held a kind of seminar at his house, at which the pupils discussed the 'Categories' of Aristotle (44). Another branch of knowledge in which Sidonius was quite adept was that of astronomy (45). We can note that this subject was also studied by Gregory of Tours and his 'De Cursu Stellarum Ratio' is the result.

Sidonius's rhetorical education was probably obtained at Arles and his earlier, grammatical education may have been obtained at Arles or, possibly, at Lyons, his home-town. What did Sidonius and his contemporaries make of their education? Dill says,

"Even in the fifth century, before the Imperial system had fallen, all the bent of the school training was towards a perverse, tactless rhetoric and an impotent effort to imitate inimitable models. Early in the fifth century the knowledge of Greek was dying out, except perhaps in the district around the ancient colony of the Phocaeans and at Arles. Dialectic (philosophy) had shrunk to a mere drill in formal logic, with anecdotes and frivolous reminiscences of the great Greek thinkers. In the sixth century, at

least in Gaul, even this degenerate school tradition, which had moulded Sidonius and Ausonius, Prosper and Mamertus Claudianus, had been broken down by the invasions and social disorganisation" (46).

Avitus of Vienne

Avitus was born c.450 of a noble Gallo-Roman family living at Vienne. He became Bishop of Vienne in 490 and died in 519. His principal literary fame rests on a poem consisting of 2552 hexameters, in five books, called the 'De Mosaicae Historiae Gestis'. The poem deals with the Scriptural narrative of original sin, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise, the deluge and the crossing of the Red Sea. In addition to this poem he wrote a poem in 666 hexameters, entitled 'De Virginitate' for his sister, Fuscina, who was a nun. In prose he wrote a treatise in two books, 'Contra Eutychianam Haeresim' c.512 - 513, and also 87 Letters which are of considerable importance in reconstructing the ecclesiastical and political history of the time.

He was very learned for his age. He took his writing very seriously,

"Une seule chose est sure, c'est que ses études durent être très sérieuses: son oeuvre littéraire (et théologique) témoigne d'une culture extraordinaire pour son temps" (47).

He was one of the last masters of the art of rhetoric as it had been taught in the schools of Gaul in the 4th and 5th centuries. Although his poetic diction is rich in archaisms and in rhythmic redundancy, it is pure and well chosen, and he observes correctly the laws of metre.

Perhaps the most interesting insight into the erudition of Avitus is given by his lengthy and learned riposte to the rhetor Viventiolus who had accused him of uttering a barbarism in a sermon at the dedication of a basilica at Lyons by saying 'potĭtur' instead of 'potĭtur'. Viventiolus had adduced as evidence Virgil's use of the word with the short syllable in the phrase 'vi potitur' at Aeneid III,56.

"Igitur culpasse vos ferunt, quod POTITUR mediam syllabam productam dixerim, Virgilium in hoc verbo scilicet non secutus, qui syllaba ipsa correpte usus est dicens,

'vi potĭtur'.

Sed istud remissibile est poematis necessitate, quod perinde saepe invenimus Virgilium praesumpsisse, ut scilicet metri legem, sicubi opus est, barbarismo contempto expediat et syllabarum naturam certis quibusque locis artem minime secutus inventat." (48)

He proceeds to quote other examples of Virgil's use of poetic licence from books VI, VII and VIII of the Aeneid and goes into a comparison of the stress on this syllable throughout many inflexions of this verb. He maintains that making the middle syllable of 'potitur' short is excluded

by the 'integritas Latinitatis'. It is fascinating that this exchange could have taken place at this late stage. Apart from showing us that Avitus knew what he was talking about it also informs us of the existence of another rhetor, present in Lyons that day, sometime between 490 and 519.

Julianus Pomerius

Another rhetor whose existence we can glimpse and who has left remains in the realm of ascetic theology is Julianus Pomerius, an African by origin, who was teaching in Arles c.497. The Vita Sancti Caesarii, written by Bishops Cyprian, Firminus and Viventius, tells us that St. Caesarius went to the monastery of Lérins where he overdid his austerities. In order to recover his health he was sent by the abbot of Lérins to stay at Arles for a while, where he lodged with a devout family,

> "Erat autem ipsis personis familiarissimus quidam Pomerius nomine, scientia rhetor, Afer genere, quem ibi singularem et clarum grammaticae artis doctrina reddebat. Concipiunt igitur animo personae generosae, quatenus tanta Dei gratia S. Caesarius refertus, tantaque memoria dono Christi videretur esse fulcitus, ut saecularis scientiae disciplinis monasterialis in eo simplicitas polleret" (49).

The dramatic consequences and agonies of conscience which ensued for Caesarius will be related below, but here we should note the presence of Pomerius in Arles at this time. His teaching of the grammatic art rendered him 'singularem' and 'clarum', perhaps as much because of the rarity of anyone teaching grammar at all by then, as by his actual personal talents.

Pomerius was himself a Christian, and was ordained priest while in Gaul. He may have directed an association of clerics living a common life in Arles. Ruricius, Bishop of Limoges, (who calls him 'abbas'), tried to persuade him to leave Arles for Limoges so that others might benefit by his piety and learning (Ruricius, Ep.II.9, PL.58,col.89), but Pomerius would not leave Arles. Four religious treatises are ascribed to him of which only the De Vita Contemplativa has survived. For more information on this interesting man see Sister M. Suelzer's edition of his work, no.4 in the series Ancient Christian Writers, p.4 et alibi.

Christians with new priorities

There were other eminent Christians who, while giving literary studies a low priority, did not abandon them altogether. Such men tended to regard themselves as 'under new management' once they had become Christians. Thus Paulinus of Nola, writing to his former master in Gaul,

Ausonius, declares that the Christian heart must say 'No' to Apollo and the Muses. A new force now motivates him,

"Nunc alia mentem vis agit, maior deus
vacare vanis, otio aut negotio
et fabulosis litteris
vetat" (50)

To Paulinus the education and literature of the pagan world is nothing but the clever influence of a sophist, the knack of a rhetor, the false imagination of a bard (51). The professors of such literature are men who miss the truth,

"Qui corda falsis atque vanis imbuunt
tantumque linguas instruunt;
Nihil adferentes ut salutem conferant,
quod veritatem detegat" (52).

Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia in Italy, was born at Arles in 474 and in the earlier part of his life he was enormously influenced by the forms and methods of the pagan authors. He puts lofty claims into the mouth of rhetoric when he makes her say,

"Ego illa quae vel commuto si sunt facta vel facio: quantisvis actionum tenebris involuto lux sufficit, quam legendo contulero. Ego sum per quam expectant homines reatum de turbida et innocentiam de serena - - - ad meum compendium ubicumque est Romanus invigilat: fasces divitias honores si non ornamus, abiecta sunt: nos regna regimus" (53).

Grammar is the necessary precedent, to be learnt in order to lead young men to the fire of Ciceronian eloquence,

"Istae (virtutes) tamen prae foribus quasi nutricem ceterarum anteponunt Grammaticen, quae adulescentium mentes sapore artificis et planae locutionis inliciat, et ad Tullianum calorem scintillis praefigurati vaporis adducat" (54).

Later in his life Ennodius had qualms about his former adulation of rhetoric and the praise he had eagerly sought from his rhetorical successes. He began to see things in a new light and regretted his earlier priorities,

"Erat orandi fastidium dum perorandi tenebar cupiditate" (55)

He had been led astray by vanities,

"Sic dum me concinnationis superfluae in rhetoricis et poeticis campis lepos agitaret, a vera sapientia mentitam secutus abscesseram, nihil cupiens nisi auris vanae laudationis adsurgere" (56).

Self-deprecating 'Rustics'

When the bishops saw that their congregations often consisted of simple and unlettered people, they were aware of the need to preach the Gospel to them in a more direct style of speech than the rhetoric of the

later empire permitted. As the awareness of the distinction between Christian and pagan values persisted, and as asceticism, the standard of monastic virtue, became increasingly accepted as a Christian attitude, preachers and writers began to feel that they ought to be 'rustic', or simple and unadorned in their speech, or, at least, ought to appear to be so. Thus the custom grew up of apologising in advance for the 'rusticitas' of one's style, whether the style really was 'rustic' or not. Salvian (400 - 480), an older contemporary of Sidonius, writing from Marseilles, thinks that Christians are concerned with substance rather than form - it is what you say that matters, not how you say it. It is therefore all the more astonishing to find Sidonius Apollinaris himself, the very incarnation of concern with form at the expense of substance, joining the ranks of the self-deprecating 'rustics'!

"Si quid stilo rusticante peraravero" (58)

"in hoc stylo cui non urbanus lepos inest sed pagana rusticitas" (59)

John Cassian, living at the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles, feels constrained to the same sort of modesty,

"me quoque elinguem et pauperem sermone et scientia - - - quamvis imperito digeram stilo" (60).

The 6th century authors of the Vita Caesarii apologised for their rhetorical and grammatical poverty,

"quod stylus noster videtur pompa verborum et cautela artis grammaticae destitutus" (61)

Such self-deprecation and excuse for 'rusticitas' occurs often, but not exclusively, in the preface to a work. One result of such a practice, which seems to have become 'de rigueur' by the time of Gregory of Tours, was that one thereby gained the approval both of those who passionately believed that a Christian's style should be straightford and unadorned and 'rustic', and those who preferred a style more informed by the classical literary tradition. Such 'Bescheidenheitstopoi' (62) thus became a commonplace literary device and we must bear this in mind when we come to examine Gregory of Tours's considerable self-deprecation. Even Augustine, who knew what he was doing if ever anyone did, apologises for his 'barbarismus',

"melius in barbarismo nostro vos intellegeritis quam in nostra disertutudine vos diserti estis" (63).

Intelligibility is again his criterion when he says,

"illud etiam quod iam auferre non possumus de ore cantantium populorum: 'super ipsum autem floriet sanctificatio mea', nihil profecto sententiae detrahit. Auditor tamen peritior mallet hoc corrigi, ut non 'floriet', sed 'florebit',

> diceretur, nec quidquam impedit correctionem nisi consuetudo cantantium" (64).

The custom of singing 'floriet' had grown up from acquaintance with an Old Latin version of the Bible and was too firmly established to correct, since it was part and parcel of the fabric of Church life.

Ruricius, Bishop of Limoges, a contemporary of Sidonius, several times apologizes for his 'rusticitas'. What matters for him is the maintenance of the bond of love (vinculum caritatis) which might well be broken if he did not cater for the pastoral needs of his people by addressing them in a language they could understand,

> "rusticitatem meam malo prodere quam perdere caritatem" (65).

Elsewhere he speaks of his 'ineptia rusticitatis' (66) and his 'rusticus sermo' (67).

In a sermon attributed to St. Caesarius of Arles (fl.c.500) the preacher says that an educated preacher must be prepared to adapt his speech to his hearers,

> "And therefore I humbly ask that the ears of the learned bear patiently the words of simplicity (rustica verba) if only the whole flock of God may partake of Spiritual food by means of speech which is unadorned and, if I may say so, pedestrian" (68).

Caesarius's dream, which prompted him to leave his studies at Arles which he had been receiving from Pomerius (see above), gives us further insights into how the dilemma worked itself out in Christian lives. Caesarius had been persuaded to study the pagan authors under Pomerius,

> "Sed eruditionis humana figmenta non recepit, quem instruendum per se sibi divina gratia praeparavit. Librum itaque quem ei legendum doctor tradiderat, casu vigilia lassatus in lectulo sub scapula sua posuit; supra quam cum nihilominus obdormisset, mox divinitus terribili visioni percellitur; et in soporem aliquantulum resolutus, videt quasi scapulam in qua iacebat, bracchiumque quo innixus fuerat codici, dracone colligante conrodi. Excussus ergo a somno, territus ipso visu, terribilius se ex eodem facto coepit arguere eo quod lumen regulae salutaris stultae mundi sapientiae voluerit copulare. Igitur contempsit haec protinus, sciens quia non deesset illis perfectae locutionis ornatus, quibus spiritalis eminuisset intellectus" (69).

One of the factors which may have persuaded Caesarius of the dubiousness of reading pagan authors was the appearance in Gaul of the Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua.

The Church in the West could be very strict towards those in positions of authority in the Christian community, people who should set an example. The Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua were a body of canons drawn up to enforce a certain type of discipline on bishops, priests, neophytes etc. The Statuta were long thought to have originated with the 4th Council of

Carthage, held in 398, but that view is no longer upheld. They seem to have been composed in or around Arles c.500 and St. Caesarius's name has been associated with them as the possible author, but Charles Munier believes that the author was Gennadius of Marseilles (70) and would date them between 476 and 485. As Munier has restored them, they consist of 102 canons. The ones relevant to this study are:

No. 5 Ut episcopus gentilium Libros non legat, haereticorum autem pro necessitate et tempore.

No. 3 Ut episcopus nullam rei familiaris curam ad se revocet, sed ut lectioni et orationi et verbi dei praedicationi tantummodo vacet.

No.45 Omnes clerici, qui ad operandum validi sunt, et artificiola et litteras discant.

No.70 Clericus, quamlibet verbo dei eruditus, artificio victum quaerat.

There is no suggestion here of a lingering love for the classics being encouraged within the Christian community. Yet, since it was felt necessary to draw up canon 5, no doubt some bishops were given to reading the books of pagan authors. Certainly Bishop of Avitus of Vienne, a contemporary of the author of the Statuta, was, as we have seen, familiar with the pagan authors, particularly Virgil. Yet the spirit of the Statuta is uncompromising. Although in canon 3 the bishop is urged to spend time in reading, and in canon 45 all clerics, strong enough to work, are told to learn 'litteras', one feels that the author would only have approved of them reading the Scriptures, the Lives of the Fathers or other Christian literature.

The Statuta stand in the tradition of the pseudo-apostolic collections of disciplinary and liturgical regulations which appeared in the 3rd and 4th centuries, particularly in Syria, collections such as the Didache, the Didascalia Apostolorum, the Apostolic Tradition (attributed to Hippolytus of Rome), the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles and the Penitential Canons of the Apostles. At the end of the 4th century and beginning of the 5th a compilation of these documents was made in Syria, which became known as the Apostolic Constitutions. A Latin version of the Apostolic Constitutions circulated in the West from the middle of the 5th century. The Statuta may well have appeared in Gaul under the influence of the Apostolic Constitutions. The monasteries of Provence, such as Lérins and St. Victor at Marseilles, felt that they were the heirs of the tradition of the monastic fathers of Egypt and Syria and it was out of a mixture of oriental rigorism and Gallic monasticism that the Statuta sprang. It would be difficult to prove any direct influence by the Statuta on Gregory of Tours, but we can consider it

extremely likely that Gregory's teachers, Bishop Gallus and Archdeacon Avitus of Clermont-Ferrand, has been influenced by the ideas of the Statuta, which accorded ~~se~~ well with the spirit of both Martinian and Lérins-Rhône Valley monasticism.

Since many bishops became such when they were elderly, or when their main qualification was that they came from the literate Gallo-Roman aristocracy, the Church, in order to ensure their suitability, laid down that they could only be consecrated bishop after a year's probation (71),

> "La 'conversion intellectuelle' était un des éléments de la 'conversio morum' qu'ils devaient réaliser pendant cette période" (72).

Notes - Chapter 5

(1) A-J. Festugière O.P., Les Moines d'Orient, I,p.9.

(2) Cicero, Tusculanae Disputationes, I, xxv.xxvi.

(3) Festugière, o.cit.,p.11, but Cassiodore derives it from 'liber', book, i.e. 'the written arts', cf. PL.70,col.1151.

(4) Cicero, ibid. xxv.

(5) ibidem

(6) ibidem xxvi.

(7) ibidem

(8) ibidem.

(9) Augustine, De Quantitate Animae, cap.72, PL.32,col.1074.

(10) Cicero, op.cit.,I,xxvi.

(11) St. John 9.40, in New English Bible translation.

(12) 1 Corinthians 1, 18-21.

(13) v. Stevens, op.cit.,p.1-5 et passim.

(14) Festugière, op.cit.,p.12.

(15) ibid. p.12.

(16) Augustine, op.cit.,col.1076.

(17) Plato, Symposium, 211, Loeb translation. Augustine had read both Plato and Plotinus, cf. Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, Tome I. col.2271.

(18) "Displicet mihi - - - quod multum tribui liberalibus disciplinis, quas multi sancti multum nesciunt, quidam etiam scient et sancti non sunt", Augustine, Retractationes, I,3-4.

(19) Julian, Ep. LXIa.

(20) A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602, vol.II,p.1006.

(21) ibidem.

(22) ibidem.

(23) Altaner, op.cit.,p.166.

(24) Tertullian, De Praescriptione Haereticorum, 7.

(25) C. N. Cochrane, Christianity and Classical Culture, p.214.

(26) Jerome, Ep.22.29.

(27) idem, Ep.22.30.

(28) ibidem.

(29) Jerome, Ep.146, to Pope Damasus.

(30) Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini 1.

(31) v. PL.61,col.970.

(32) Stevens, op.cit.,p.3.

(33) Sid. Apoll., Carmina XXIII, 204-209, PL.58,col.735.

(34) idem, Ep.IV.12, PL.58,col.517.

(35) Paulinus of Pella, Eucharisticon, 73-4.

(36) Sid. Apoll., Ep.V.5, PL.58,col.535.

(37) idem, Ep.IV.12, PL.58, col.517.

(38) idem, Ep.V.3, PL.58, col.534.

(39) idem, Ep.V., PL.58, col.535.

(40) idem, Carmina CII, 175, PL.58, col.682.

(41) idem, Carmina IX.226, PL.58, col.701.

(42) Stevens, op.cit., p.5.

(43) Sid. Spoll. Ep.IV.1, PL.58,col.508.

(44) Stevens, op.cit.,p.6-7.

(45) Sid. Apoll., Ep.VIII.2, but Gregory's purpose is different and he rejects the classical nomenclature for the stars and constellations, (CS.p.863.16.10sqq).

(47) Oeuvres Complètes de Saint Avit, ed. Chevalier, introduction.

(48) MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, vol.6, part 1, p.85-6.

(49) Vita Caesarii, PL.67, col.1004-5.

(50) Paulinus of Nola, Ep.31, 29sqq.

(51) v. Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.170.

(52) Paulinus, Ep.31.37 sqq.

(53) Ennodius, Ambrosio et Beato, in C.S.E.L. VI,p.407.

(54) ibid. p.405

(55) Ennodius, Eucharisticum de Vita Sua. ibid.p.395.

(56) ibid. p.396.

(57) Salvian, De Gubernatione Dei, preface, 3.

(58) Sid. Apoll., Ep.VII.2.1.

(59) Sid. Apoll., Ep.VIII.16.3.

(60) Cassian, Institutes, pref.3.

(61) Vita Caesarii, preface, PL.67.col.1001. Cf. Also "Sed quia beneficia orationum Servi Domini, quae corporibus et animabus Christus per illum praestitit, omnino nulla lingua valet ut dignum est expedire, licet rusticitas meae eloquentiae quasi fatua resonet, quia nec peritus sermone existo" (Vita Caesarii, PL.67,col.1040).

(62) E. Auerbach, Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und in Mittelalter, p.78.

(63) Augustine, In Psalm 36, Serm. 3.6.

(64) idem, De Doctrina Christiana, 2.13.20.

(65) Ruricius of Limoges, Epistles ii,39.

(66) idem, i.4.

(67) idem, ii.19.

(68) v. PL.39, col.1758 , Appendix, Augustine, Sermones 10.

(69) Vita Caesarii, PL.67, col.1004-5.

(70) C. Munier, Les 'Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua', p.242.

(71) c. Canon 13 of the Council of Sardica, PL.61, col.407, and canon 16 of the Council of Agde.

(72) Riché, op.cit.,p.137.

Chapter 6 - Gregory of Tours - Introduction

Gregory of Tours - his education and career

Since excellent summaries of Gregory's life and career are easily available to the reader (1), I shall not discuss these areas except in so far as they relate to his literary abilities and attitudes.

Gregory was born into one of those Gallo-Roman families, whose type we have already met, who lingered on in Gaul amid the devastation caused by the invasions of the Barbarians. He was born at Clermont-Ferrand (then, Arvernus, or Arvernorum Civitas) on 30th November, St. Andrew's Day, in (probably) 539. Gregory concludes his work on the Miracles of St. Andrew,

> "depraecans eius misericordiam, ut, sicut in illius natale processi ex matris utero, ita - - - et, sicut in die passionis eius sumpsi vitae huius exordium, ita - - - " (S.A.,p.846.38.6-8).

The year 539 is generally accepted as the most likely year of his birth since he tells us that, after his episcopal ordination, which took place on 20th August 573, his mother came to Tours and was cured of a muscular pain that had troubled her since giving birth thirty-four years before, which, if the birth in question were Gregory's, would place it in or around 539 (2). We hear almost nothing about Gregory's father, except that his name was Florentius, and he was the son of 'Georgi quondam senatoris' (3). Gregory heard from his father how both a friend, Nivardus, and he himself were healed of sicknesses at the hands of Abbot Martius; Florentius must have lived, therefore, at least until Gregory was old enough to listen to and remember such anecdotes, but lack of further mention of him suggests that he died when Gregory was still a boy (4). His mother, Armentaria, was a granddaughter of St. Tetricus, Bishop of Langres (539 - 572) and a great-great-granddaughter of St. Gregory, Bishop of Langres (507 - 539). It seems that after the death of her husband, Florentius, Armentaria went to live on her estates near Cavaillon in Burgundy (5), while Gregory was brought up in the household of his uncle Gallus, Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand from 525 - 551,

> "Tempore, quo Gallus episcopus Arvernam regebat eclesiam, horum scriptor in adolescentia degens graviter aegrotabat, et ab eo plerumque dilectione unica visitabatur, eo quod patruus eius esset" (V.P.II.p.670.2.5-8).

When he was about seven or eight years old, be began to learn to read,

> "Nam et recolo in adolescentia mea, cum primum litterarum elementa coepissem agnoscere et essem quasi octavi anni aevo - - - " (V.P.VIII.p.692.2.20-21)

This would have been about 547. Bishop Gallus died in 551 and was

succeeded by Cautinus (551 - 571). Gregory apparently stayed on in Clermont and received his education at the hands of Avitus, Archdeacon of Clermont, later its Bishop from 571 - 576. It seems to have been Avitus who framed the mind of Gregory towards ecclesiastical rather than classical studies,

> "Non enim me artis grammaticae studium imbuit, neque auctorum saecularium polita lectio erudivit, sed tantum beati patris Aviti Arverni pontificis studium ad eclesiastica sollicitavit scripta" (V.P.II.p.668.pref.27-29).

From Clermont Gregory went on extended visits to various eminent ecclesiastical relatives such as his great-uncle St. Nicetius, Bishop of Lyons (V.P.VIII.p.693.3.12sqq), and St. Eufronius, Bishop of Tours, his first-cousin once removed (SM.I.p.603-4.32.25sqq). During the same illness when he had been lovingly visited by Gallus he had vowed that, if he recovered, he would become a cleric, "clericum se futurum" (6), but such a career would seem the natural one for a boy of such innate piety and from such an eminently ecclesiastical family. On the death of Eufronius in 573 Gregory was elected Bishop of Tours, an important metropolitan see. He went to Rheims to be consecrated by Bishop Egidius, and also, probably, to have his election confirmed by King Sigibert who was there at the time (7). After visits to Clermont-Ferrand and the shrine of St. Julian at Brioude, he began his work as Bishop of Tours, which he pursued until his death in 594.

Whatever ostensible reasons a man or woman might offer for having put pen to paper, such a person must have <u>wanted</u> to because it gives expression to a need in his or her personality. We shall be considering Gregory's avowed motives for writing later; at the moment we can note that,

> "At some moment after his consecration in August 573, having weighed carefully the demands upon his time and strength of all his new responsibilities, and having, one can well imagine, begun already to feel a pressing need for relaxation from them, he took upon himself the task of writing such a contemporary history. He continued to work at this book until the year of his death, although the last year treated in detail is 591" (8).

Amidst his writing of the Historia Francorum Gregory also found time to write the hagiographical works for which he is also well known.

I now append a survey of Gregory's works, giving where possible, the likely year(s) for the composition of the work in question.

Survey of Gregory's Works

Almost at the end of the Historia Francorum Gregory tells us himself what he wrote:

"Decem libros Historiarum,
Septem miraculorum,
unum de Vita Patrum scripsi;
in Psalterio tractatu librum unum commentatus sum;
de Cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi"
(HF.X.p.449.31.6sqq).

We have almost all of Gregory's compositions extant today. We have:

1) Historia Francorum, Books I - X ("decem libros historiarum") (573-593/4) (9)

2) Seven Books of Miracles, i.e. ("septem miraculorum"),

1) In Gloria Martyrum (106 chapters) (586-7) (10)

2) De Passione et Virtutibus Sancti Iuliani (50 chapters) (581-6)

3) De Virtutibus Sancti Martini I (574-5)

4) " " " " II (575-81)

5) " " " " III (before 587)

6) " " " " IV (591-3)

7) In Gloria Confessorum (110 chapters). (587, prologue 593)

3) The Vitae Patrum, ("unum de Vita Patrum scripsi"). (11)

If, however, we follow the list of Gregory's works which he gives us at GC.p.748.pref.14sqq, his works include the following in this order,

1) In Gloria Martyrum	: "in primo libello inseruimus aliqua de miraculis Domini ac sanctorum apostolorum reliquorumque martyrum, quae actenus latuerunt".
2) De Virtutibus S. Iuliani	: "in secundo posuimus de virtutibus Sancti Iuliani".
3) De Virtutibis S. Martini I	
4) " " " " II	: "Quattuor vero libellos de virtutibus sancti Martini/
5) " " " " III	
6) " " " " IV	
7) Vitae Patrum	: "Septimum de quorundam feliciosorum vita"
8) In Gloria Confessorum	: "Octavum hunc scribimus de miraculis confessorum".

In the M.G.H. edition Krusch says that he has restored the order quoted immediately above, whereas earlier editors had placed the Gloria Confessorum third in the list (p.451).

4) Liber de miraculis beati Andreae Apostoli (38 chapters) (593)

Gregory does not include this in the list of his works which he gives on the two occasions quoted above. Only one manuscript has

Gregory's name at the beginning of this work, but Theodore Ruinart, G. Monod and others, have attributed it to Gregory on grounds of style and motive (12).

5) Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Septem Dormientem apud Ephesum (before 587)

At GM.p.552.94.11-12 Gregory mentions a Passio of the Seven Sleepers, which expatiates more fully on their story than he is able to do at that point in his writing,

> "Quod passio eorum, quam Siro quodam interpretante in Latino transtulimus, plenius pandit".

The Passio Septem Dormientium is Gregory's translation, mentioned in the quotation(13).

6) De Cursu Stellarum Ratio "de Cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi"

The "De Cursu Stellarum Ratio" was lost until 1853 when it was discovered by Haase in an ancient codex belonging to the Royal Library at Bamberg. The manuscript is written in eighth century Lombard script and formerly belonged to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Bamberg. Leclercq gives no definite date for this work.

This interesting little work of 47 chapters, includes the following:

Chapters 1 - 9 Seven Manmade Wonders of the World
" 10 - 19 Seven Natural Wonders of the World
" 20 - 47 Cursus Stellarum

7) In Psalterii Tractatum Commentarius "in Psalterii tractatu librum unum commentatus sum"

This work is only extant in the incipit and the headings of the psalms; Mabillon unearthed two short fragments from other authors (14). No definite date available.

8) Gregory tells us that he wrote a book about the masses composed by Sidonius Apollinaris,

> "Quod in praefatione libri, quem de missis ab eo compositis coniunximus, plenius declaravimus" (HF.II.p.85.22.4-5).

Unfortunately this work has been completely lost.

9) H. Leclercq wishes to attribute a work 'Miracula Sancti Thomae' to Gregory, but points out that sholars by no means agree on such an attribution (15).

Perspectives on Gregory of Tours

Around the turn of the century Fustel de Coulanges, following the tradition of French scholars like A. F. Ozanam (16), stressed the positive classical content of Gregory's learning in an attempt to prove that the tradition of Roman education was not lost in Gaul, but taken over by

the Church, thus bridging the gap between the end of the municipally-financed schools and the rebirth of interest in learning in the reign of Charlemagne. Since Gregory of Tours is virtually the only writer of any significance in Gaul in the latter part of the 6th century who was actually educated in Gaul (Venantius Fortunatus was educated in the schools of Ravenna), a great deal depends on him in proving Fustel de Coulanges's contention. Consequently de Coulanges exaggerates the extent of Gregory's learning.

He finds him "un pur Romain" (17), who had received an education "toute romaine" (18), namely that of the Seven Liberal Arts. Gregory quotes Virgil, Sallust, Pliny and Aulus Gellius as well as knowing Sidonius Apollinaris, Sedulius, Orosius and the Theodosian Code. De Coulanges contends that Gregory knew the history, not only of the Church, but that of Rome; he knew the list of emperors from Augustus and those of Constantinople to his own day. De Coulanges thinks that Gregory had received an education "très littéraire" as all young aristocrats did at that time. Those who have considered him ignorant or rustic have been duped by his protestations of modesty and "n'ont pas observé ses livres d'assez près" (19). His language is "trés étudiée", but, granted, it is not that of Cicero. Gregory was constantly occupied with writing well and producing "savant" phrases. His style was rarely simple and often pretentious.

I believe that Fustel de Coulanges is here distorting the facts and that if his own scrutiny had been "d'assez près" he could not possibly, for example, have imagined that Gregory had received an education in the Seven Liberal Arts. He himself has been misled by his loyalty to his theory and has judged by appearances only.

I hope to show in the following parts of the thesis something of the real extent of Gregory's learning and how his ideas were influenced by some of the factors which we have already considered.

The Literary Genres of Gregory's Works

1 Historia Francorum

Gregory wrote his Historia basically in the form of a chronicle. A chronicler was "a recorder who listed happenings in quasi-diary form more or less as they occurred" (20). Because of his acquaintance with the chronicles of Eusebius of Caesaria, Jerome, Orosius and Sulpicius Severus, it would seem natural to him to approach his historical work in

this way. The pressure and uncertainty of his life, and life generally at that epoch, was such that, if he had waited until he had accumulated all his material and then proceeded to write a history, he might well have been dead before he managed it (21). His acquaintance with classical models was so slight that he was not influenced by them in selecting the form for his work. Slight knowledge of Sallust (see below), limited to two philosophical observations on the problems facing 'historiograffi' in obtaining acceptance for their interpretation of events, and an adaptation of part of the prologue to the 'Catalina', is shown, but these could well have been taken from a handbook of selected passages which he had used to acquire some slight knowledge of pagan authors. He may have read no more of Sallust than that. He shows no knowledge of Livy, Tacitus or Suetonius. Yet, he was more than a mere chronicler, as one can easily see by comparing his Historia with the Chronicles of his contemporaries Marius, Bishop of Avenches (22) and John, Abbot of Biclar in Spain (23). Both these gentlemen wrote chronicles vastly inferior to Gregory's Historia; they are much shorter, lacking in personal involvement and passion, lacking too in narrative power and gossipy detail,

> "Gregory's 'History' is, of course, much more than a chronicle, for there is a strong sense of narrative about it, the more important events are built up into dramatic sequences, and Gregory is no mean raconteur; but the smaller self-contained incidents are entered in a chronicle fashion" (24).

Despite his two philosophical observations borrowed from Sallust, Gregory is no philosophical historian,

> "He rarely seeks to explain the remoter causes of things; he does not always seem to realize the dependence of events upon wide general causes. Often he falls back on the Chronicler's method of presenting no other relation between occurrences than temporal succession. But this is not to say that no dominant ideas direct and colour his work. - - - His mind is penetrated by the belief that the whole creation groans and travails under many evils, and that against these the Church fights the battle of mankind, disputing the world with the heathen and confounding the misbeliever. For him the one hope lies in loyalty to the orthodox faith. Yet despite apparent acceptance of the belief held by many of his time, that the world was sinking in the decline of age, he does not hold that evil reigns alone - - - Always convinced that good had the power to counter evil, if men would only seek it, he refused to abandon the weary struggle. And indeed the Frankish nation, however barbarous, had yet within it principles of life and growth, not possessed in quite the same degree by other Teutonic tribes." (25).

One may note that, just as Gregory's lack of acquaintance with the Seven Liberal Arts did not deter him from writing, so his lack of knowledge of classical attitudes to historical writing did not deter him from

this task. His personal commitment, his beliefs which so often influenced, rather arbitrarily, his view of individuals (e.g. all Jews and heretics were automatically evil), all contribute to make his Historia a much more readable work than Bede's History of the English Church and Nation.

2 Hagiography

Gregory followed a well-established tradition when he wrote his hagiographical works, In Gloria Martyrum, In Gloria Confessorum, Vita Patrum, De Virtutibus S. Martini, De Virtutibis S. Iuliani, the Passio Septem Dormientium and the De Miraculis S. Andreae.

As the Church developed in the period of persecution lists of martyrs and other saints were compiled for commemoration in the local churches. Such lists were supplemented by accounts of the mode of life, arrest, trial, execution and miracles wrought by the intercession of the saint in question. The Acta Martyrum Scillitanorum, c.180, give us an example of a restrained and factual account, written by a Christian observer, of a martyrdom in North Africa (26). Sulpicius Severus's Vita S. Martini put the writing of hagiography on a firm footing in the late 4th century, though it had long been a popular genre among Christians. Gregory clearly had access to a considerable number of 'vitae sanctorum' on which he drew for some of his material; other material he heard about or experienced himself. The belief in the power of saints to work miracles through their intercessory powers with God brought about the result, manifest clearly in Gregory's works, that the saints seemed more powerful and interesting when dead than alive! Thus, for example, in his work on St. Julian, Gregory devotes part of chapter 1 to events (and very sparse too) in the life of St. Julian, his manner of death and burial. The remainder of chapter 1 and chapter 2 - 50 deal with the miracles wrought by the saint after his death. The Vita Patrum is concerned more with their earthly lives, but even there the post mortem miracles figure extensively.

3 Minor Works

a) Passio Septem Dormientium apud Ephesum. As we have seen Gregory 'translated' this, into Latin, i.e. prepared a Latin version from John the Syrian's translation. It is hagiography at its most improbable.

b) De Cursu Stellarum Ratio. There are really three parts to this work:

1) The Seven Man-made Wonders of the World In the 2nd century B.C.

Antipater of Sidon and Philo of Byzantium made guide-books including such wonders. I have not been able to find specific lists of these wonders elsewhere before Gregory's time. See Pseudo-Bede for a later list.

2) The Seven Natural Wonders These are wonders that God maintains in existence. Gregory seems to have supplied this list himself, from his own knowledge.

3) The Courses of the Stars The purpose of this was to provide a means of knowing at what time the ecclesiastical offices were to be said, "qualiter cursus in Dei laudibus rationabiliter impleatur, exhortor, vel quibus horis qui in officio adtente versari cupit, debeat nocte consurgere vel quibus horis qui in officio adtente versari cupit, debeat nocte consurgere vel Dominum deprecare" (CS.p.863.16.13-15). He rejects the classical names for the stars and supplies new ones "quae vel usitate rusticitas nostra vocat" (ibid.11).

Gregory's acquaintance with Christian Writers

Although we are principally concerned with Gregory's knowledge of pagan writers, in order to obtain a perspective of his total culture, we must make a brief survey of his acquaintance with Christian writers too. Gregory used a number of minor works by Christians in the compilation of his Historia Francorum; here are a few examples.

1) Passio Sancti Saturnini (d.c.257). Its author is unknown. See H.F.I.p.48.30.6-7.

2) Gesta Pilati This was an apocryphal book, not earlier than the 4th century. The text can be found in 'The Apocryphal New Testament', translated and edited by M. R. James, p.94 sqq. (HF.I.p.44.21.5 and p.45.24.6).

3) The Chronica of Sulpicius Severus the biographer of St. Martin. Severus lived c.363 - 420. (HF.I.p.37.7.17).

4) The Cursus Paschalis of Victorius Aquitanus a 4th century writer. (HF.I.p.34.pref.26 and HF.X.p.435.23.4)

5) Passio Sancti Irenaei He shows an acquaintance with it at HF.I.p.48.30.

6) Vita et Miracula Sancti Hilarii by his contemporary Venantius Fortunatus, (HF.I.p.51.39.24-25.)

7) Itinerarium Theodosii de situ terrae sanctae written by an otherwise unknown Theodosius Archidiaconus, who probably came from North Africa, c.520 - 530. Parts of HF.I.p.37.7 have been ascribed to the Itinerarium.

More Important Christian Writers

St. Ambrose, (c.339 - 397), Bishop of Milan

Gregory knew of Ambrose's existence. He tells how the whereabouts of the bodies of Ss. Gervasus and Protasus were revealed to St. Ambrose (GM.p.519.46.6sqq). He relates too how St. Ambrose, dropping off to sleep during a service at Milan, was miraculously informed about the death of St. Martin at Candes. The editor of the Virtutes S. Martini (p.591) points out, however, that since Ambrose died in 397 and Martin in 401, such a revelation could hardly have been possible. In telling of this incident Gregory describes Ambrose as one "cuius hodie flores eloquii per totam eclesiam redolent" (SM.I.p.591.5.1-2); no doubt his hymns were used.

St. Avitus of Vienne, bishop (c.494 - 518)

Gregory speaks eagerly of Avitus,

> "Magnae enim facundiae erat tunc temporis beatus Avitus, nameque insurgente heresim apud urbem Constantinopolitanam tam illam quam Eutices quamque Sabellius docuit - - - ipse contra eas scripsit. Extant exinde nunc apud nos epistulae admirabilis - - - Scripsit enim humiliarum librum unum, de mundi principio et deversis aliis condicionibus libros sex versu compaginatus epistolarum libros novem, inter quas supradictae continentur epistolae." (HF.II.p.97.34.11sqq)

Gregory thus seems to have been aware of most of Avitus's output.

St. Caesarius of Arles, (d. 542).

Gregory certainly knew about the Rule of St. Caesarius, designed for nuns. He tells us that because Radegunde and her nuns could get no help from Maroveus, Bishop of Poitiers, they turned to Arles for help, whenathey received St. Caesarius's 'Regula ad Virgines', under which his sister, Caesaria, had lived,

> "de qua regulam sancti Caesarii atque Caesariae beatae susceptam - - -" (HF.IX.p.397.40.11)
>
> "regulam, sub qua sancta Caesaria deguit, quam sollicitudo beati Caesarii antestites Arelatensis, ex institutione sanctorum patrum convenienter collegit, adscivi" (HF.IX.p.401.42.15sqq).

Gregory gives no indication of having known Caesarius's 238 Sermons, Epistles and anti-heretical works.

John Cassian, (c.360 - 435).

It is clear that Gregory knew of the existence of John Cassian's monastic rule, taken from his "De Institutis Coenobiorum" (419 - 426), since he tells us that Cassian's Rule, among others, was observed at the monastery of Saint-Yrieux-la-Perche, founded by St. Aredius,

> "coenobiumque fundavit, in quo non modo Cassiani verum etiam Basilii - - - celebrantur regulae" (HF.X.p.441.29.8).

There is no suggestion that Gregory was aware of a wider range of works by Cassian.

Orosius, early 5th century

Gregory relied on Orosius's 'Historiae adversus Paganos', written in Africa in 417-18, for information in the early books of the Historia Francorum, e.g.,

> "Nam et Horosius diligentissime haec inquaerens, omnem numerum annorum ab initio mundi usque ad suum tempus in unum colligit" (HF.I.p.34.pref.25).

> "Haec est Babilonia a Nebron gygante aedificata, filio Chus. Et, sicut Horosi narrat historia - - - " (HF.I.p.36.6.26).

> "Multa et alia de hac civitate isdem historiographus narrat, addens, "Et cum tanta fuisset honestas aedifitii, attamen victa atque subversa est" " (HF.I.p.37.6.5.)

We should note that Gregory quotes Orosius very inaccurately at this point, perhaps from memory. Orosius's actual words are: "Et tamen magna illa Babylon illa prima post reparationem humani generis condita, nunc paene etiam minima mora victa, capta, subversa est" (27).

St. Gregory the Great, Pope from 590 - 604

Gregory of Tours certainly knew Pope Gregory the Great by reputation. Gregory of Tours has preserved the only account of the address which Pope Gregory gave to the people of Rome, oppressed by an epidemic, in 590, only four years before our own Gregory's death. A written or verbal report of Pope Gregory's speech was brought to Tours by the deacon Agiulf. Gregory of Tours speaks warmly of Pope Gregory's literary and rhetorical abilities,

> "Litteris grammatecis dialecticisque ac rhetoricis ita est institutus, ut nulli in Urbe ipsa putaretur esse secundus" (HF.X.p.407.1.8).

There is, however, no indication that Gregory of Tours was personally familiar with any of Pope Gregory's writings.

Lactantius, (c.240 - c.320)

Of the works of the 'Christian Cicero' Gregory refers only to the 'De Ave Phoenice' in his account of the Seven Wonders of Nature. The Phoenix is the Third Wonder and Gregory's prose narrative of the Phoenix's life cycle is filled out with lines taken from Lactantius's 'De Ave Phoenice' (De.C.S.p.861.12.1sqq). He seems to know nothing of Lactantius's major works.

Eusebius of Caesarea, (c.260 - c.340)

Gregory drew from two works by Eusebius of Caesarea, namely, his 'Chronicles' and his 'Church History'.

a) The 'Chronicles': Altaner says, "This work, which was published c.303, is extant in Greek only in fragments, but is preserved complete in an Armenian translation dating from the 6th century. We also possess the second part, continued till the year 378, in the free Latin version of Jerome" (28). It was clearly Jerome's version of Eusebius which was known to Gregory. There are references by Gregory to Eusebius's Chronicles at:

HF.I.p.34.pref.24 HF.I.p.51.36.9 HF.II.p.58.pref.29

b) The 'Church History': The 10 books of this History cover the period from the foundation of the Church to the victory of Constantine over Licinius in 324. Although it was written in Greek, Rufinus made a Latin translation in 403 and continued the narrative until 395. Gregory refers to Eusebius's History, in Rufinus's version at:

HF.IX.p.371.15.14-15 GM.p.500.20.20sqq VP.VI.p.680.1.15

St. Jerome, (c.342 - 420)

Almost the only references that Gregory makes to the works of Jerome are concerned with Jerome's Latin translation of the second part of Eusebius's 'Chronicles', referred to above. Jerome made a continuation of the Chronicles down to 378 and it is to this continuation that Gregory refers when he speaks of Eusebius and Jerome,

> "De subpotatione vero huius mundi evidenter chronicae Eusebii Caesariensis episcopi ac Hieronymi presbiteri prolocuntur et rationem de omni annorum serie pandunt" (HF.I.p.34.pref.23sqq)

There are other references to Jerome's Chronicles at:

HF.I.p.51.36.9sqq HF.I.p.52.41.16 HF.II.p.58.pref.29sqq

Gregory's only reference to Jerome's works, other than his Chronicles, is to the famous anecdote, related by Jerome in his letter to Eustochium (29), where he saw himself brought before the judgement seat to face the Eternal Judge and condemned for being a Ciceronian, not a Christian,

> "Hieronimus presbiter et post apostolum Paulum bonus doctor ecclesiae refert, se ductum ante tribunal aeterni Iudicis et extensum in supplicio graviter caesum, eo quod Ciceronis argutias vel Vergilii fallacias saepius lectitaret - - - " (GM.p.487.pref.19sqq).

Sedulius, (fl.c.431)

Gregory shows only the most incidental knowledge of the works of this Christian poet who lived in Southern Gaul or Northern Italy in the first part of the 5th century. There is no direct reference either to Sedulius's 'Carmen Paschale' or to the hymns which he wrote. Gregory mentions Sedulius twice, but in the same context both times: King Chilperic of Neustria tried his hand at poetry in the style of Sedulius, but with laughable results,

> "(Chilpericus) scripsit alios libros idem rex versibus, quasi Sedulium secutus - - - " (HF.V.p.237.44.21sqq)

"Conficitque duos libros quasi Sidulium meditatus, quorum versiculi debilis nullis pedibus subsistere possunt" (HF.VI.p.286.46.16).

Sulpicius Severus, (c.363 - 420)

We have mentioned briefly above that Gregory drew on Sulpicius's 'Chronica' in the compilation of the early books of the Historia Francorum. Gregory also knew and used Sulpicius's 'Vita Martini Turonensis' in his own work on the Miracles of St. Martin. Gregory refers three times to Sulpicius in this context,

"(Martinus) de cuius vita tres a Severo Sulpicio libros conscriptos legimus" (HF.X.p.443.31.34sqq).

"Multi enim sunt, qui virtutes sancti Martini vel stante versu vel stilo prosaico conscripserunt. Quibus primus ille Severus Sulpicius, cui tantus fervor amoris fuit in sanctum Dei, ut, eo adhuc degente in saeculo, unum librum de mirabilibus vitae eius scriberet, exinde post transitum beati viri duos scripsit, quos dialogos voluit vocitari" (SM.I.p.586.1.19sqq).

Gregory's distinction corresponds to the one book of the Vita Martini and the two books of the Dialogi, extant today (30). Gregory's third reference to Sulpicius Severus is as follows,

"Sed si ad Severi recurramus historiam, ipsa hora eum sibi scripsit cum libro vitae suae fuisse revelatum" (SM.I.p.590.4.23-24).

Gregory clearly had a high estimate of Sulpicius Severus's capabilities since, when he is bewailing his own inadequacy in attempting to describe the miracles of St. Martin, Sulpicius is one of the three writers whom, ideally, he would call upon to do the task better,

"Utinam Severus aut Paulinus viverent, aut certe Fortunatus adesset, qui ista describerent!" (SM.I.p.586.pref.3-4)

St. Paulinus of Nola, (353 - 431)

Gregory shows a knowledge of some of the works of St. Paulinus of Nola. Paulinus was a native of Bordeaux and a pupil of Ausonius. After a period as governor of Campania he returned to Bordeaux, where he became a Christian in 390. After living in Spain where, almost against his will, he was ordained priest, he settled at the shrine of St. Felix at Nola in Campania with Therasia his wife in 395. In 409 he was elected Bishop of Nola. Paulinus produced a considerable literary output. He wrote thirty-five Carmina, fourteen of which are written in honour of St. Felix; some of the remainder were addressed to Ausonius his former master at Bordeaux. Paulinus also corresponded in prose with some of the leading churchmen of his day, namely, St. Augustine, St. Martin of Tours and Sulpicius Severus. Gregory refers to Carmina XV, XVI, XVIII and XXIII in his thumb-nail sketch of St. Paulinus of Nola at GM.p.557.103.6sqq. He draws from Paulinus's Carmina and incorporates

phrases and ideas into his own narrative. He similarly draws on Carmen XIII at GM.p.559.103.8. He refers twice to a lost letter of Paulinus in which mention had been made of relics of SS. Gervasus and Protasus, sent by St. Martin from Italy to Gaul, see HF.X.p.444.31.23-24 and GM.p.519.46.19-20.

Gregory unfortunately confuses Paulinus of Nola with Paulinus of Périgueux. The Bishop of Nola died in 431, while Paulinus of Périgueux flourished in Gaul between 459 and 472 (31). He was a poet who wrote an epic 'De Vita S. Martini' in 3622 hexameters, whose subject-matter was chiefly drawn from Sulpicius Severus's works. He also wrote two minor poems praising St. Martin. Gregory thought the two Paulini were the same man,

> "Gregorius Paulinum Nolanum et Petrocordiensem eundem habuit. De Miraculis S. Martini non Nolanus sed Petrocordiensis scripsit" (32).

Arndt, the editor of the Historia Francorum in M.G.H., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, thinks that this confusion on Gregory's part is excusable,

> "Error autem quodammodo excusari potest, cum Nolanus quogue de S. Martino nonnulla scripserit, qui Severi Libros 'non per Italiam tantum, sed per totum etiam Illyricum difudisse dicitur'" (33).

Gregory's confusion is shown at GC.p.818.108.6sqq, where he says,

> "Erat autem vir sanctus mirae prudentiae et rhetoricis litteris eruditus - - - Nam cum ad diversos tam versu quam prosa scripserit, de virtutibus beati Martini sex versu conscripsit libros; scripsit et alios versiculos in laude eius".

As we have just noted, Paulinus of Nola did write much about St. Martin, but he did not write the six books in verse on the miracles of St. Martin; these correspond to the 'De Vita S. Martini' of Paulinus of Périgueux, and the 'alios versiculos' correspond to the two minor poems written in St. Martin's honour by the same poet. Gregory also assumes the identify of the two Paulini at SM.II.p.629.60.12 and SM.I.p.586.2.28, where the sixth book of Paulinus of Périgueux's De Vita S. Martini is being referred to. At HF.II.p.80-81.13.23sqq Gregory quotes the evidence of a Paulinus whose identity is not known: Arndt says, "Quis fuerit, ignoratur" (p.80).

Sidonius Apollinaris, (432 - 480)

Sidonius had been the Bishop of Clermont-Ferrand, where Gregory was born in 539 and, whatever tiresome literary tendencies he may have had, bravely led the defence of the city against the attacks of Euric the Visigoth between 470 and 474. We have seen above how classical in

character was Sidonius's own education. To what extent was Gregory familiar with the literary works of this former bishop of his native town? Gregory certainly knew something about Sidonius. He praises his noble origins

> "Quo (i.e. Eparchio) migrante, Sidonius ex praefecto substituetur (as Bishop of Clermont), vir secundum saeculi dignitatem nobilissimus et de primis Galliarum senatoribus, ita ut filiam sibi Aviti imperatoris in matrimonio sociaret" (HF.II.p.84.21.25-27).

Not only does Gregory praise Sidonius's noble origins, he praises his 'facundia' too,

> "Sanctus vero Sidonius tantae facundiae erat, ut plerumque ex improviso luculentissime quae voluisset, nulla obsistente mora, componeret" (HF.II.p.84.22.31-32).

Gregory gives as an example of his talent for improvisation the story of how once, when Sidonius was presiding at a liturgical function at the monastery of Saint-Cirgues, some ill-intentioned person had removed the missal from the altar! Sidonius, however, was not perturbed by this, but seems to have improvised so well that those around thought that it had been an angel, not a man, speaking! (HF.II.p.85.22.1sqq). Gregory tells us that Sidonius's Epistles had served as a model for Ferreolus of Uzès in writing his own (HF.VI.p.253.7.10-13).

There are three occasions in Gregory's works where he clearly knew certain compositions of Sidonius and drew on them,

1) Sidonius wrote the 'epitaphium' about St. Abraham the Abbot and Gregory acknowledges that he is drawing on this 'epitaphium' for some of his information in his own Life of St. Abraham,

> "Huius vero sancti epitaphium beatus Sidonius scripsit, in quo aliqua de his quae locutus sum est praefatus" (VP.III.p.673.1.17-18) and see footnote 1 on p.672.

2) Gregory twice calls Sidonius 'Sollius noster' (his full name was 'Caius Sollius Sidonius Apollinaris'). Gregory, in describing the evil character of Bishop Cautinus of Clermont-Ferrand, quotes words which Sidonius had used in his letter to Ecdicius about Seronatus. Gregory's version is as follows,

> "Quibus et a quibus, ut Sollius noster ait, nec dabat pretia contemnens nec accipiebat instrumenta desperans" (HF.IV.p.148.12.19-20)

Thorpe translates this as,

> "He disdained to pay for what he took from these people, and yet he was in despair if they did not surrender the title-deeds" (34).

Sidonius's actual words are,

> "Totum quod concupiscit quasi comparat, nec dat pretia

3) Gregory adduces the support of Sidonius in his description of the finding of the body of St. Ferreolus and the head of St. Julian of Brioude incorrupt in the same grave at the basilica of St. Ferreolus on the banks of the Rhône. Gregory says,

> "Praebet tamen huic operi testimonium Sollius noster, ipsi Mamerto scribens his verbis:

Gregory's Version	Sidonius's Version
Tibi sola concessa est in partes orbis occidui martyris Ferreoli solida translatio, adiecto nostri capite Iuliani. Unde pro compensatione deposcimus, ut nobis inde veniat pars patrocinii, quia vobis hinc rediit pars patroni (SJ.p.565.2.22-25)	Et quia tibi soli concessa est post avorum memoriam vel confessorem Ambrosium duorum martyrum repertorem in partibus orbis occidui - - - capite Iuliani, quod istinc turbulento quondam persecutori manus retulit cruenta carnificis; non iniuriam est quod pro compensatione - - - patroni etc. (Ep. ad Mamertum, VII.12)

Gregory seems to have been quoting from memory. Considering the vast bulk of the works of Sidonius, and that he had been the Bishop of Gregory's native town, the latter's acquaintance with him seems to have been surprisingly thin. Gregory feels some affection for him, since he calls him 'Sollius noster', but too much can not be made of this since he also calls Prudentius and Martianus Capella 'noster'. He may simply mean 'one of us', i.e. a Christian. Although Martianus Capella was not a Christian Gregory probably thought he had been, for reasons which we shall find below. One would have expected Gregory to have been much more imbued and impressed with Sidonius's writings than he appears from the rather slender evidence to have been. Gregory was familiar with the text of several masses that Sidonius wrote, since he himself wrote a book (which is lost) on the masses (HF.II.p.85.22.4-5).

Prudentius

Aulus Prudentius Clemens was born in Spain in 348 and died after 405. He was an outstanding Christian poet,

> "Prudentius is undoubtedly the greatest early Christian poet of the West, who wanted to contribute to the glory of the Church's faith in conscious opposition to paganism and heresy" (36).

Prudentius's works consist of:

1) Cathemerinon liber : This is a work containing lyrical poems for the various times of day together with some hymns for the Church's seasons.

2) Apotheosis : Prudentius defends the Church's doctrine of the Trinity against heresy.

3) Hamartigenia : This work deals with the origin of sin.

4) Psychomachia : A fight for man's soul between the Christian virtues and the pagan vices.

5) Contra Symmachum : Prudentius opposes Christianity to paganism in general.

6) Relatio Symmachi : He opposes the petition drawn up by Symmachus in favour of the Ara Victoriae.

7) Peristephanon : Fourteen poems in various metres in honour of Spanish and Roman martyrs.

8) Dittochaeon : This work, which is important for the history of art, explains biblical scenes.

Gregory seems to have been familiar with at least four of Prudentius's works, from which he quotes or alludes to in his own writings; they are the Cathemerinon, the Apotheosis, the Hamartigenia and the Peristephanon.

Cathemerinon: In the De Cursu Stellarum Gregory writes about the 'tristitias' which are heralded by a comet and quotes in support some lines from Prudentius's hymn for the Epiphany. His quotation varies sufficiently from what seems to be the poet's original text, to make it worth while illustrating what changes have occurred in transmission,

Prudentius, Cath.XII.21-24	Gregory, De Cursu Stell.p.870.34.3-6
Tristis cometa intercidat,	Tristis comita intercedat,
Et si quod astrum Sirio	Et sicut astrum sibi
Fervet vapore, iam Dei	Offeruit vapore, iam Dei
Sub luce destructum cadat.	Sublucendis tractum cadat.

Gregory also quotes, this time fairly accurately, from the Cathemerinon VI,

> "Ergo si te senseris captivum abduci in lege peccati, tuta frontem tuam signum crucis insigne, quo prepellas iaculum huius insidiae, quia iutum Prudentium:"
>
> Crux pellit omne crimen,
> Fugiunt crucem tenebrae.
> Tali dicata signo
> Mens fluctuare nescit. (Cathemerinon Vi.133sqq)

Apotheosis: In the Gloria Martyrum Gregory, in order to show,

> "quid nomen christianum, quid crucis vixillum prosit his, qui fide credentes, opere perficiunt quae crediderunt" (GM.p.515.40.35-36)

retells a miraculous story whose substance is taken from Prudentius's "Apotheosis", as he himself acknowledges,

> "sicut Prudentius noster in libro contra Iudaeos meminit, quod etc" (GM.p.514.40.3-4)

Firstly he tells the story in prose, filling out his narrative with phrases or words taken from the Apotheosis lines 449-499 of chapter 5. He does not stick to precise quotations, "non semper iisdem usus est verbis nonnullaque addidit" (37). He follows his prose narrative with an extended quotation from Prudentius's work, Apotheosis V, lines 449-502, but omits several lines.

Hamartigenia: He twice quotes the same line from the Hamartigenia, line 257, but has rather different versions,

"Auri namque famis parto fit maior ab auro" (VP.VI.p.679.3.31)

"Auri namque famis parto conqueritur auro" (GC.p.819.110.14).

Peristephanon: In his account of the miracles accompanying the martyrdom of SS. Emeterius and Celedonius at Calahorra in Spain, Gregory quotes from the Peristephanon, I, 82-90, v.GM.p.550.92.10.18.

We may conclude, then, that Gregory had some acquaintance with the works of Prudentius since he quotes from four of his eight works, however inaccurately on occasion.

In conclusion we should note that Gregory seems not to have known the works of some major Christian writers, who wrote in Latin, such as Tertullian and Augustine, nor does he seem to have known Ausonius.

Notes - Chapter 6

(1) Dalton, Introduction, p.3-19, and Thorpe, op.cit.,p.7-16.

(2) SM.III.p.635.10.13-17, but we should note that it is not certain that it was Gregory's birth which caused the trouble. Gregory actually says, "Tempore, quo postquam transactis parturionibus doloribus edidit, dolorem in uno tibiae musculo incurrit" (ibid. lines 8-9). Although the best manuscripts do not have 'me' before 'edidit', 'me' has been inserted by some. Gregory had a brother, Peter, who was a deacon at Langres (HF.V.p.196.5.9sqq), and a sister whose daughter was Justina, Prioress of St. Radegunde's Abbey at Poitiers (HF.X.p.423.15.24sqq). Presumably the muscular trouble could have been caused at the birth of one of these other children, but see the discussion in MGH., Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, I, p.5.

(3) VP.XIV.p.720.3.13.

(4) "Haec autem a mei genitoris relatione cognovi" (ibid. line 7).

(5) cf. SM.III.p.647.60.9-10.

(6) VP.II.p.670.2.19.

(7) This can be conjectured from the words of Fortunatus, addressed to Gregory,

> "Martino proprium mittit Iulianus alumnum
> et fratri praebet quod sibi dulce fuit.
> Quem partis Egidii Domino manus alma sacravit,
> ut populum recreet, quem Radegundis amet.
> Huic Sigibercthus ovans favet et Brunichildis honori:
> iudicio regis nobile culmen adest"
> (Carmina V.3.11-16)

(8) Thorpe, op.cit.,p.24.

(9) It is difficult to establish the order in which Gregory wrote the books of the Historia Francorum with any certainty. A possible analysis (following Thorpe) might show:

Book I	after 573
Books II, III, IV	after 575
Books V and VI	575 - 584
Books VII, VIII, IX and X	584 - 591
Book X chapter 31	593.

(10) The following series of dates is taken from H. Leclercq's article on Gregory in Cabrol, Tome VI, part 2, col.1736-7.

(11) According to Leclercq chapters 12 - 15 and 16 - 19 were composed before 587; chapter 8 was composed in 591-2, chapter 20 after 592. The work was revised and chapters 1 - 11 added in 593. The name of this work varies. It has come down to us as 'liber Vitae Patrum'. At GC.p.748.pref.18 Gregory calls it 'librum - - de quorundam feliciosorum vita'. In the preface to this book (p.662) Gregory has a disquisiton on whether it is more correct to say 'vita' or 'vitae' when naming such a work. He decides on the title 'Vitae Sanctorum', "in hoc, quod vitae sanctorum vocitare voluimus, libro" (p.663, lines 1-2).

(12) MGH. Script. Rer. Merov.,I,p.821.

(13) ibid. p.847.

(14) ibid. p.877.

(15) Cabrol, Tome VI, part 2, col.1733.

(16) A. F. Ozanam, La Civilisation Chrétienne chez les Francs, 1861, p.408.

(17) Fustel de Coulanges, La Monarquie Franque, 1905, p.2.

(18) ibidem.

(19) ibid. p.3.

(20) Thorpe, op.cit.p.24.

(21) ibidem.

(22) Marius of Avenches wrote a short Chronicle, from 455 - 581, borrowing some material from Gregory. He lived from 530 - 594. See PL.72, col.793-802.

(23) John of Biclar, Chronicum, PL.72, col.863 - 870. He died in 621 and wrote a short Chronicle of the years 567 - 590.

(24) Thorpe, op.cit.,p.24.

(25) Dalton, op.cit.,p.28-9.

(26) Keeton, op.cit.,p.53-67.

(27) HF.I.p.37, footnote, but the editor does not give the reference in Orosius.

(28) Altaner, op.cit.,p.264.

(29) Jerome, Ep.22, ad Eustochium, PL.22 col.416.

(30) v. C. Halm, Sulpicii Severi Libri qui supersunt, C.S.E.L.,I, p.107-137 and 152-216.

(31) Altaner, op.cit.,p.598 and Clavis Patrum Latinorum, p.247.

(32) MGH, Script. Rer. Merov.,I.p.882, line 11 sqq.

(33) SM.I.p.587.footnote continued from previous page.

(34) Thorpe, op.cit.,p.205.

(35) Sid. Apoll. Ep.II.1.

(36) Altaner, op.cit.,p.479.

(37) GM.p.514, footnote 1.

Chapter 7 - Gregory and Classical Authors

Gregory and Virgil

It was Virgil above all with whom Gregory was familiar. Before considering in what precise manner Gregory was acquainted with the great poet, let us state in some detail a list, not exhaustive, but representative, of places where Gregory did owe the inspiration for his expression to Virgil.

Virgil	Gregory
Aen.1.36 Juno, aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus	H.F.II.89.27.6-7 servans abditum sub pectore vulnus
Aen.1.46 Et soror et coniux Jovisque	H.F.II.90.29.15 ut ipsa ait (Juno): Jovisque soror et coniux.
Aen.1.82 Venti, velut agmine facto, Qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant.	G.C.758.18.12 St. Euphronius cannot start his journey because of bad weather: atque venti cuncta turbine perflant.
Aen.1.87 & 90 Insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum	G.M.545.83.3-4 (a storm breaks) nec mora, flante noto, insequitur clamor virum strepitusque mulierum - - -
Aen.1.92 Extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra; Ingemit, et duplices tendens ad sidera palmas - - -	S.M.I.594.9.3-5 Tunc resolutis timore membris prosternitur senior in oratione cum lacrymis, et geminas tendens palmas ad astra - - -
Aen.1.94 O ter quaterque beati	G.M.560.105.9 O ter quaterque exsecranda cupiditas
Aen.1.100,118 Ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis Scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto	H.F.IV.166.30.4-8 fecitque Rhodanus tunc quod fecisse quondam Simois legitur de Troianis: Correpta sub undis Scuta virorum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit. Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.
Aen.1.106 Hi summo in fluctu pendent, his unda dehiscens Terram inter	S.M.I.593.9a.35sqq. Tollitur caput primum in fluctus, secundum declinatur inter undarum

fluctus aperit

hiatus. Hi in scena montis aquosi dependent, hi apertis undis in ima dehiscunt.

Aen.1.148 - 150

Ac veluti magno in populo quum saepe coorta est Seditio, saevitque animis ignobile vulgus, Iamque faces et saxa volant; furor arma ministrat

V.P.VIII.697.7.11-12

Seditio etenim in quodam loco coorta cum vulgo saeviente volantibus saxis ac facibus furor arma non mediocriter ministraret

Aen.1.203

Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit

SM.I.606.40.33-34

Dicente poeta: Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.

Aen.1.371

Suspirans, imoque trahens a pectore vocem

H.F.V. 228.35.3.

Alta trahens suspiria

Aen.1.457

totum volgata per orbem

G.F.817.108.24

tot vulgatus orbe

Aen.2.8.

Quid talia fando
Temperet a lacrymis?

G.F.815.104.13 & 30

cum a lacrynis temperare non valeremus - - - nullus posset a lacrymis temperare

Aen.2.265

Invadunt urbem somno vinoque sepultam

H.F.V.218.20.35

Vina libant - - - somno vinoque sepulti

Aen.2.268

Tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris
Incipit, et dono Divum gratissima serpit

G.M.560.105.24

cum prima quies nocturno tempore data fuisset

Aen.3.56

Quid non mortalia pectore cogis
Auri sacra fames?

S.M.I.603.31.19-21

Sed,
Quid non mortalia pectora cogis exsecranda cupiditas?

Aen.3.56

Quid non mortalia pectore cogis
Auri sacra fames?

S.J.18.30

A scelerata cupiditas, quid agis?

Aen.3.56.

Quid non mortalia pectore cogis
Auri sacra fames?

H.F.IV.181.1-2

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri sacra fames

Aen.3.56

Quid non mortalia pectore cogis
Auri sacra fames?

H.F.VI.276.36.15

Et sicut cogit auri sacra fames,

Aen.3.56	H.F.VIII.339.22.26
Quid non mortalia pectore cogis Auri sacra fames?	Sed quid pectora humana non cogat auri sacra fames?
Aen.2.774. 4.280. 12.865	G.M.525.52.9
- - - vox faucibus haesit	haesit vox in faucibus
Aen.4.30	G.F.758.18.20-21
Sic effata, sinum lacrymis implevit obortis	Haec effata genas lacrymis rigabat obortis
Aen.5.553 & 575. 6.308	H.F.III.120.13.1
Impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum	(The captives of King Theuderic are ill-treated) 'ante ora parentum'
Aen.8.322	H.F.III.131.23.11
(Saturnus) - - - - - Latiumque vocari Maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris	(Sigivaldus, fleeing from his father,) Latium petiit, ibique et latuit

The above list is by no means a complete collection of all the phrases used by Gregory as an echo of Virgil, but they give some idea of the manner in which Gregory drew upon Virgil. However, in addition to the examples given above we must mention several poetical phrases which occur frequently in Gregory and are clearly Virgilian in origin, e.g.

flante noto	G.M.545.83.3
nec mora	H.F.VII.315.35.16
dedit membra sopori	G.F.802.83.1
sub alto noctis silentio, dedissent membra quieti	cf.G.M.547.88.17-18
dicto citius	V.P.XVI.726.2.1
oscula libat	S.M.III.636.16.19
terga dedit	H.F.II.94.32.10

Kurth (1) points out that there was one particular expression of Virgil's that Gregory loved to use, that is, 'fundere' used with a noun to designate an outpouring of words. In the Aeneid at 3.44 we find 'Talia fundebat lacrymas' and at 6.55 'Fuditque preces rex pectore ab imo'. Gregory is particularly fond of the phrase 'orationem fundere' or 'preces fundere'. Gregory sometimes recalls the Virgilian use by linking tears with the prayers, e.g.

> "Unde tremore magno concussus, pavimento prosternitur, et iterum cum lacrimis orationem fundens, surrexit incolomes" (S.J.581.45.24-26).

The word 'fundere' prospered among mediaeval hagiographers who took Gregory as their model and an old biography of St. Lambert of Liège, from the8th century, contains the phrase 'orationem fundens cum lacrimis', though it might be that both Gregory and the author of St. Lambert's biography were drawing upon a phrase widely current in Christian literature.

Another interesting and important indication of the extent of Gregory's familiarity with Virgil and, perhaps, with Ovid, occurs in the preface to the Liber Primus Miraculorum (G.M.Pref.487-488) where he holds forth in the following way:

> "Hieronimus presbiter et post apostolum Paulum bonus doctor eclesiae refert, se ductum ante tribunal aeterni Iudicis et extensum in supplicio graviter caesum, eo quod Ciceronis argutias vel Vergilii fallacias saepius lectitaret - - - Non enim oportet fallaces commemorare fabulas neque philosophorum inimicam Deo sapientiam sequi, ne in iudicium aeternae mortis, Domino discernente, cadamus. Quod ego metuens - - - non me his retibus vel vinci cupio vel involvi.

Non ego Saturni fugam,	Virg.Aen.VIII.320
Non Iunonis iram,	Virg.Aen.I.4
Non Iovis stupra,	Virg.Aen.I.47
Non Neptuni iniuriam,	Virg.Aen.I.126
Non Eoli sceptra,	Virg.Aen.I.141
Non Aeneada bella, naufragio vel regna commemoro.	Virg.Aen.I.102 sqq
Taceo Cupidinis emissionem,	Virg.Aen.I.695
non Ascanii dilectionem emeneosque,	Virg.Aen.I.718
lacrimas vel exitia saeva Didonis,	Virg.Aen.IV.413 & 705
non Plutonis triste vestibulum,	Virg.Aen.IV.243 & VI.548sqq
non Proserpinae stuprosum raptum,	Ovid,Met.V.385-408
non Cerberi triforme caput,	Virg.Aen.VI.417
non revolvam Anchisae colloquia,	Virg.Aen.VI.687
non Itachis ingenia,	Virg.Aen.II.44
non Achillis argutias,	Virg.Aen.II.29
non Senonis fallacias.	Virg.Aen.II.195
non ego Laguonthe consilia,	Virg.Aen.II.41
non Amphitrionidis robora,	Virg.Aen.VIII.214 sqq

non Iani conflictus, fugas,
vel obitum exitiale proferam. Not known

non Eomenidum variorumque
monstrorum formas exponam Virg.Aen.Vi.280

non reliquarum fabularum commenta, quae hic auctor aut
finxit mendacio aut versu depinxit heroico."

We shall be concerned later with Gregory's general attitude towards Classical culture and we note here only what this passage tells us about his actual acquaintance with Virgil and, possibly, Ovid. In the passage quoted above I have inserted in brackets the source from which Gregory drew each incident. Gregory assumes that he has drawn all these incidents from Virgil but, as Krusch points out in a footnote (p.488,no.17), 'Proserpinae stuprosum raptum Ovidius cecinit' (2). We should note that there is a preponderance of references in this list to incidents occurring in the earlier books of the Aeneid and no reference to anything coming later than Book VIII.

How did Gregory obtain his knowledge of Virgil?

There has been considerable discussion among scholars in this matter. What one might call the 'Fustel de Coulanges/Ozanam School' stressed in the 19th and early 20th century the positive Roman content in Gregory's culture. Ozanam, writing in 1861 found him

"tout pénétré de l'antiquité, familier, non avec Virgile seulement, mais avec Salluste, Pline, Aulu-Gelle" (3).

As we have seen, Fustel de Coulanges, writing in 1905, continued this line, stressing the continuity of Gregory's education with the old Roman system, maintained by wealthy families (4). According to this view Gregory would have received a thoroughly classical education in the household in which he was brought up, despite the fact that it was the household of a bishop. Clearly Gregory did at some stage in his education become acquainted with Virgil's Aeneid, but one is led to think that the priorities in education in the household of a Gallo-Roman bishop, himself very likely influenced by the Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua, would be geared to Biblical studies and not to classical ones. We know that Gregory began to read when he was about eight years old:

"in adolescentia mea, cum primum litterarum elementa coepissem agnoscere et essem quasi octavi anni aevo - - - ".
(V.P.VIII.692.2.20-21)

Although one is careful about taking everything Gregory says about his rusticity of style at face value, he was, no doubt, speaking the simple truth when he said that Avitus, Archdeacon of Clermont, who took over

Gregory's education on the death of Gregory's uncle, Gallus, was keen that he studied not grammar, nor the secular authors, but 'eclesiastica scripta',

> "Non enim me artis grammaticae studium imbuit, neque auctorum saecularium polita lectio erudivit, sed tantum beati patris Aviti Arverni pontificis studium ad eclesiastica sollicitavit scripta" (V.P.II.668.Preface.27-29).

No doubt after a few years, when Gregory's reading ability had developed he would be introduced to some of the writings of the great classical, pagan authors. Bonnet thinks that this introduction would have been made when the initial difficulties in reading had been overcome (5). Kurth thinks that Gregory became acquainted with Virgil 'du premier âge' (6). Leclercq places this introduction 'at the age when the intellect begins to wake up' (7).

Did Gregory use a Handbook of Selected Passages?

As we have seen, Gregory was familiar only with Virgil's Aeneid, and that mainly in the earlier books of Virgil's work. Sallust's 'Catalina' he quotes a little. He had a very slight acquaintance with "Pliny the Elder" and with Aulus Gellius. He may have read a little Ovid. Kurth favours strongly the idea that Gregory made his acquaintance with Virgil in particular through the medium of a chrestomathy, or handbook of selected passages. If such a book existed it would help to explain why Gregory is apparently far better acquainted with the early books of Aeneid, i.e. passages from these books had been included in the handbook, together with passages from Sallust's 'Catalina' and possibly other works too,

> "Supposez l'existence d'un recueil de ce genre, contenant les extraits les plus remarquables, non seulement de Virgil et de Salluste, mais encore de Cicéron, de César et des principaux classiques; tout s'explique alors de la manière la plus simple et la plus satisfaisante. Le jeune élève de Gallus et d'Avitus aura étudié une bonne partie de ces extraits; il aura appris par coeur les passages les plus saillants, comme l'étaient à coup sur la description de la tempête dans l'Eneide, et les considérations philosophiques qui ouvrent le 'Catalina'; les tournures de phrase, les idées, les limages que lui fournissaient ces excellents modèles seront restées gravées dans sa mémoire, et se seront presentées à chaque instant sous sa plume pendant qu'il écrivait ses propres ouvrages." (8)

It is impossible to assert that Gregory did not use such a handbook, but, if it contained extracts from Cicero and Caesar, it is surprising that Gregory does not quote from or allude to these authors at all, other than to affect to despise 'Ciceronis argutias' (G.M.Preface,487.21).

Gregory and Sallust

The only classical writer, apart from Virgil, whose works we can be certain Gregory read, is Sallust (86 - 35 B.C.). There are two certain quotations from Sallust's 'De Coniuratione Catalinae' in Gregory's Historia Francorum. In addition there is one phrase which may have lingered in Gregory's mind from a reading of the 'De Bello Iugurthino'. It is possible that the prologue to Gregory's Life of St. Quintianus in his Vitae Patrum may have been strongly influenced by the prologue to Sallust's 'Catalina'.

1) In the two following passages Gregory quotes from the 'Catalina':

> Sed nos haec narrantis, Salustii sententiam, quam in detractaturibus historiografforum I protulit I, memoramus. Ait enim: "Arduum videtur res gestas scribere: primum quod facta dictis exaequanda sunt; deinde quia plerique quae delecta repraehenderis malevolentia et invidia dicta putant". Sed coepta sequamur." (H.F.IV.151.13.3sqq)

> "Ego vero haec scribens vereor, ne alicui legenti sit incredibile, iuxta id quod Salustius, historiam scribens, ait; "Ubi de virtute adque gloriam bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accepit; supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit." (H.F.VII.291.1.24sqq)

Both his quotations are from Catalina 3.

2) A phrase to which Bonnet draws our attention is 'apud animum suum' which Gregory uses, "Ubi adiuncta congregatione, statuit apud animum suum, ne - - -" (V.P.XVIII,734.1.17). It is slightly reminiscent of Sallust's " - - - pretium tuae amicitiae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo" (Iugurthinum 110,3). However, Bonnet concludes that it is unlikely that Gregory ever read the Iugurthinum and may have lighted upon that expression out of his own mind (9). One is tempted to wonder why Bonnet thinks it unlikely that Gregory read the Iugurthinum. If it is because it does not seem likely reading matter for a cleric in Arverna, could we say that the Catalina, which he certainly read, is any more suitable?

3) The prologue to the Life of St. Quintianus, which forms the eighteenth chapter in Gregory's Vitae Patrum has distinct echoes of the prologue to the Catalina.

Catalina	Vita S. Quintiani
Omnis homines, qui sese student praestare ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet ne vitam silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona atque ventri oboedientia finxit	Omnis, qui se terrenae materiae corpus ferre cognoscit, cogitare debet, ne in his devolvatur, quae terrena et carnis amica esse noscuntur - - - Ergo non nos more pecorum carnis sectatio ad terrena submergat ac depremat, sed potius - - - "

There is enough similarity of form and idea in the two quotations to justify the view that Gregory had Sallust's prologue at the back of his mind and adapted it in a Christian way to fit in with his story. He must therefore have read it at some time and absorbed it. In this example Kurth finds support for his idea that Gregory may have used a 'chrestomathy' or handbook of selected passages during his education and the handbook would have contained the opening chapters of the Catalina. Kurth sees Gregory's acquaintance with a fairly limited part of Virgil's Aeneid as further indication of the existance of such a handbook (10).

If one wonders why it was Sallust from among the Roman writers of history and not Caesar, Livy, Suetonius or Tacitus who was familiar to Gregory, it is not easy to find an answer. The key may lie in the theory of history which Sallust worked out, by which he presented political crises as moral crises and showed the logical and disastrous sequence from peace and security, which bring wealth, ambition, corruption and discord, through to social and civil war. This theme was taken up by St. Augustine and fitted into the apology against the pagans which he gives in his 'City of God'. However, whatever the reasons for the popularity of Sallust over the others, it was he, together with Orosius, who became the chief sources for mediaeval historiographers (11).

Aulus Gellius

Gregory has heard of Aulus Gellius (fl.c.150) and thinks of him as a philosopher rather than as the interesting archaising antiquarian that he actually was. In discussing whether it is more correct to say 'Vita Sanctorum' than 'Vitae Sanctorum', Gregory adduces the support of Aulus Gellius in support of 'Vitae',

> "A. Gellius quoque et conplures philosophorum vitas dicere voluerunt" (VP.p.662.pref.20).

Gregory is referring to Noctes Atticae I, 3.1 and XIII, 2.1. It is interesting that only four manuscripts of the Vitae Patrum give Gellius's name as 'A. Gellius' while the rest call him 'Agellius'! Krusch, the editor of the Vitae Patrum in the M.G.H. edition adds the note, "Agellium medii aevi scriptores haud raro Aulum Gellium nuncupaverunt" (op.cit.p.662,footnote 1). This is Gregory's only reference to Aulus Gellius and it seems unlikely that he had anything but the slightest acquaintance with his works.

"Pliny the Elder"

Gregory was familiar with, or had a very slight acquaintance with,

the De Arte Grammaticae, wrongly attributed to Pliny the Elder. The read author of this work is unknown. In connection with the same question of 'Vita' or 'Vitae', mentioned above, Gregory cites 'Plinius auctor' in support of 'Vita',

> "Nam Plinius auctor in tertia artis grammaticae libro ait: Vitas antiqui cuiuscumque nostrum dixerunt, sed grammatici pluralem numerum non putaverunt habere vitam" (VP.p.662.pref.21-23).

The Theodosian Code

Gregory knew of the existence of the Theodosian Code, produced in the year 428, since he tells us that Andarchius had been 'bene institutus' and 'emicuit' (HF.IV.p.180.46.9). The extent of his erudition, mentioned specifically by Gregory, was that,

> "de operibus Vergilii, legis Theodosianae libris artemque calculi adplene eruditus est" (HF.IV.p.180.46.9-11).

Was Gregory Familiar with Philostratus's Life of Apollonius of Tyana?

Professor Pierre Courcelle has drawn attention to two incidents in the career of Apollonius of Tyana depicted by Philostratus in his 'Life', which may have been used by Gregory as models and developed by him. There is a certain parallel between these incidents and two incidents in Gregory's works.

1) Death of Domitian/Death of Charibert

a) Vita Apollonii, VIII,26,ed. Weslemann, p.192, Paris, 1849

Apollonius is at Ephesus discussing philosophy with some of his followers in the gardens of the palaestra. He suddenly lowers his voice, as if afraid, then he tries to take up the thread of his sentence again, but is clearly preoccupied. Suddenly he stops, stares at the ground and shouts, 'Strike the tyrant, strike him'. The onlooking Ephesians are seized with amazement, ἐκπεπληγμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου. Apollonius assures the crowd that, at the moment he shouted out, Domitian was murdered. They are incredulous until messengers arrive from Rome with the good news - ἦλθον οἱ τῶν εὐαγγελίων δρόμοι. They confirm that the assassination took place at the very same hour that the philosopher, inspired by the gods, revealed it - καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦτ' ἐνεγκοῦσα ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία --- οὕτως εἶχεν ὡς οἱ θεοὶ τούτων ἕκαστα διαλεγομένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνέφαινον.

b) Gregory of Tours, Gloria Confessorum, p.758.19,30sqq.

Eufronius had on several occasions been pressed by his entourage to go and find King Charibert. At last he decides to go and gives the order for his carriage to be prepared for the journey. When all is

ready he suddenly gives the order that everything is to be stood down and explains it with,

> "Princeps, ad quem vos me conpellitis, obiit, nec viventem, si abierimus, inveniemus".

The men of Tours are amazed, "stupefacti audientes", but make a note of the day and of what Eufronius had said, then,

> "Advenientibus autem ab urbe Parisiaca hominibus, ea hora regem transiasse nuntiant, qua sacerdos plaustra de itinere iusserat revocari".

The parallels are easy to spot,

Strike the tyrant, strike him	-	Princeps obiit
They are incredulous	-	Stupefacti audientes
Men arrive from Rome with the good news, giving the day, time etc.	-	Men arrive from Paris confirming that it was at the same time etc.

Gregory records the death of King Charibert, which occurred in 567, at De Virtutibus Sancti Martini, I, p.602, which he wrote in the period 575 - 580. Because Charibert will not concede some land at Nazelles, near Amboise, to St. Martin's Basilica at Tours, Saint Martin's relics cause the horses stabled on the ground at Nazelles to be seized with madness. Soon Charibert dies,

> "Qui protinus divina iussione transitum accipiens, requievit" (SM.I.p.602.29.24)

However, about ten years later in 587, when Gregory wrote the In Gloria Confessorum, he expanded the account of the death of Charibert by additional material and,

> "Cet épisode nouveau, qui figure quelque dix ans plus tard dans l'In Gloria Confessorum, a donc le caractère d'un développement romanesque, imité du récit de Philostrate" (12).

2) Death of Apollonius/Death of St. Leobardus

a) Apollonius's Death

Apollonius gets rid of Damis by sending him with a letter to the Emperor Nerva, for he wishes to die without witnesses, ἀπάγων οὖν ἑαυτὸν τὸν Δάμιν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ μάρτυσι καταλύοι.

Apollonius, being in Crete, then breaks into the temple of Artemis without waking up the guard-dogs. However, the keepers of the sanctuary catch him and chain him up, but he breaks out of his bonds, ὁ δ' ἀμφὶ μέσας νυκτὰς ἑαυτὸν λύσας and, seen the guards, enters the temple; the door opens itself and closes behind him, a choir of virgins is heard inviting him to ascend to heaven.

b) St. Leobardus's Death (VP.XX.p.743.4.20sqq)

St. Leobardus, a recluse at Marmoutier, knows by divine revelation

that he is going to die soon. When the day comes, he asks his servant to prepare some food, then, when it is ready, he sends him out, "egredere foris", but this is on some pretext because he wishes to die alone,

> "Hoc autem dicebat, non quod cibum capere vellet, sed ut transitu suo nullus testis adesset" (ibid.29-30).

It was clear, says Gregory, that he had been taken up by angels (though not bodily),

> "Unde manifestum est, eum ab angelis susceptum - - - " (ibid.32sqq).

Earlier, when he had first begun to feel really ill, he had said,

> "Tempus meum iam impletur, iubente Domino, ut me ab huius corporis vinculis iubeat relaxari" (ibid.21-22).

Similarities : the foreknowledge of one's own death
the desire to die without witnesses
the liberation from 'bonds'.

In the case of Leobardus Gregory has made the bonds, not those of the temple-guards, but those of the bodily state. Courcelle points out that, although in the story of Leobardus's death Gregory does not use the Temple Guardians, The Door That Opens By Itself, and the Choir of Voices, he has already used them in his account of Gregory of Langres (v.VP.VII. 2.p.687.24sqq). One night Gregory of Langres goes to the baptistery to pray in secret. He is spotted by a deacon who later tells that,

> "veniens sanctus Dei ad ostium baptisterii, pulsans manu propria, ostium, nemine conparente, aperiebatur, illoque ingrediente, diutissime silentium erat. Postea psallentium tamquam multarum vocum per trium horarum et fere amplius spatio audiebatur" (ibidem).

Courcelle thinks that these parallels leave us in no doubt that Gregory knew books 26 - 30 of the Vita Apollonii and borrowed incidents from them with which to enrich his own narrative. He altered them considerably, so that his borrowing from a pagan author should not be too obvious. In the case of the death of Apollonius, he divides up the incidents between Gregory of Langres and Leobardus.

Could Gregory have read Philostratus's Vita Apollonii?

The answer is, Yes, he could have read it. Although, of course, Philostratus wrote in Greek and Gregory could not read Greek, the Vita Apollonii had been translated into Latin by Nichomachus Flavianus and Tascius Victorianus, at the end of the 4th century, as Sidonius Apollinaris tells us. Sidonius himself made an improved translation:

> "Apollonii Pythagorici vitam, non ut Nichomachus Senior ex Philostrati sed ut Tascius Victorianus ex Nichomachi schedio exscripsit, quia iusseras, misi - - - " (13).

If Sidonius, who had been Bishop of Clermont where Gregory was born, had not only read but actually translated the Vita Apollonii before 480, it would not be astonishing if Gregory, brought up in aristocratic circles in the same town, found this work to hand in Latin c.550, particularly so since, rather surprisingly, the work was highly thought of by Christians. Labriolle (14) believes that Philostratus wrote his Vita Apollonii with a view to rivalling the Gospels, substituting a 'Hellenistic Christ' for the Christ of the Gospels. It is certain that in the 3rd and 4th centuries it was used as a weapon against the Christians: the miracles of Apollonius were balanced against those of Jesus. Despite its polemic usefulness as a counter-attraction to the Christian faith, Christians took an interest in it and respected the figure of Apollonius. Thus St. Jerome (342 - 420) could say,

> "Invenit ille vir (i.e. Apollonius) ubique quod disceret: et semper proficiens, semper se melior fieret" (15),

and St. Augustine,

> "multo enim melior, quod fatendum est, Apollonius fuit, quam tot stuprorum auctor et perpetrator, quem Iovem nominant" (16).

The Case Against

Despite the interesting evidence adduced above, Dom Antin O.S.B., Monk of Ligugé, remains unconvinced that Gregory drew on Philostratus for his inspiration in these incidents. Antin asks (17) whether it is really necessary to go to Philostratus for these incidents; they are really clichés in Gregory's style and there are other possible sources, and other independent examples of miraculous incidents of this type. St. John's Gospel itself furnishes the model for people in one place, knowing about, or causing, actions in another place,

> "servi occurrerunt ei - - - interrogabat ergo horam ab eis - - - Cognovit ergo pater quia illa hora erat in qua dixit illi Jesus: Filius tuus vivit" (John 4.51-53).

St. Gregory the Great, a contemporary of Gregory of Tours, shows us St. Benedict learning miraculously about the death of the Bishop of Capua,

> "is qui missus fuerat - - - agnovit eodem momento fuisse illius obitum quo vir Domini eius cognovit ascensum" (18).

Gregory of Tours himself gives other examples of miraculous announcements of death by telepathy, messengers, synchronism etc., e.g.

> "Tunc illi stupefacti pariter et admirantes, diem et tempus notant, sollicite requirentes - - - " (SM.I.p.591.5.13-14),

also,

> "Haec audientes clerici, stupent auditu, et quid ex hoc factum fuisset diligenter inquirunt - - - et clerici stupentes - - - " (GM.p.560.105.16-19).

Dom Antin observes that,

> "Il est douteux que la stupeur d'Ephèse soit à l'origine de toutes ces stupéfactions. Charibert n'est probablement pas un Domitien métamorphosé. Grégoire pouvait rédiger l'anecdote de Eufronius avec les moyens du bord, sans piller Philostrate" (19).

As for the death of Leobardus, Dom Antin does not think that Philostratus is indispensible as the source. There are many other examples of people wishing to die alone, e.g. St. Paul the Hermit, as recorded by St. Jerome,

> ""Quaeso, perge, nisi molestum est, et pallium quod tibi Athanasius episcopus dedit ad obvolvendum corpusculum meum, defer." Hoc autem beatus Petrus rogavit, non quod magnopere curaret, utrum tectum putresceret cadaver, an nudum - - - sed ut a se recedenti moeror suae mortis levaretur" (20).

In the Lausiac History of Palladius, written c.419 in Asia Minor, we learn that the recluse, Alexandra, died alone in her tomb where she has lived, without a witness, which spares her the pain of parting with her disciple (21).

Is Philostratus the source of "corporis vinculis relaxari"? Antin points out that, rather than Philostratus, Gregory could have had in mind either of two Biblical sources for this concept, either Simeon's words at Luke 2.29, νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλον σου, or St. Paul's words to Timothy, ὁ καιρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναλύσεως ἐφέστηκε at 2 Tim.4.6. At GM.p.560.105.10-11 Gregory writes,

> "Cum olla impleta fuisset a nummis, huic mulieri <u>tempus resolutionis</u> advenit".

Gregory has here borrowed 'tempus resolutionis' from a Latin version of 2 Tim.4.6., the Vulgate reads "tempus meae solutionis instat". As for bonds that loose themselves, Antin points out that the classic source is furnished by Acts 12.7, where bonds miraculously fall off Peter's hands, καὶ ἐξέπεσον αὐτοῦ αἱ ἁλύσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν. Bonds that loose themselves are, says Antin,

> "chéz Gregoire une banalité" (22).

Dom Antin's conclusion is as follows:

> "De ce que deux récits, bâtis sur un thème littéraire non rarissime, contiennent une ou deux tournures analogues peu caractéristiques, on ne peut guère conclure à une dépendence. Cela serait admissible pour la Bible, qui est le pain quotidien de Grégoire, ou pour Sulpice Severe, qu'il connaît bien. Mais pour un Philostrate!" (23).

One must be convinced by Antin's judgement. The miraculous and the uncanny is so much an element of Gregory's mental world that one is not justified in limiting his sources for these incidents to Philostratus's

Vita Apollonii. This, however, does not disprove that Gregory was familiar with this work and, for the reasons given above, he may have had it at the back of his mind as another miraculous element in human affairs. What is most interesting is that, with the reappearance in literature of the miraculous and the demonic, whether in the Vita Apollonii or in the works of Gregory of Tours and other Christians, we have a distinct declination from that spirit of Greek rationalism which from the 6th century B.C. in Greece, and later among the Romans, ousted more popular beliefs from the literary scene. (24) This theme is developed elsewhere in this thesis.

Gregory's Knowledge of Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts

At one point in his writings Gregory shows us that he was aware of the existence of Martianus Capella and the latter's classification of the Seven Liberal Arts. Who was Martianus Capella? Teuffel gives us the answer:

> "In the North of Africa and before it was conquered by the Vandals, Martianus Capella wrote his encyclopaedia of the seven artes liberales in nine books. The very strange invention according to which the single Artes appear at the nuptials of Mercury and Philology, is executed in a very pedantic manner. In most parts of the subject matter Varro was the principal source - - - Many passages are in poetical form, likewise in imitation of Varro. These parts are relatively more enjoyable than those in prose which often disgust the reader with their pedantry and then again exaggerate the ornate style of Apuleius to an unbearable degree" (25).

Martianus, who wrote between 410 and 439, was clearly not one of the great men of classical literature. He was a pagan, not a Christian, and had a good knowledge of Greek (26). His work, 'De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae' was used as a schoolbook in the Middle Ages. As Sallust and Orosius became the favourite sources for the historiographers of the early Middle Ages, so Martianus Capella and Fronto served as models for those studying rhetoric, more than did Cicero and Quintillian.

Let us see in full Gregory's mention of Martianus and the Artes:

> "Quod se te, sacerdos Domini, quicumque es, Martianus noster septem disciplinis erudiit, id est,
>
> si te in grammaticis docuit legere,
>
> in dialecticis altercationum propositiones advertere,
>
> in rhetoricis genera metrorum agnoscere,
>
> in geometricis terrarum linearumque mensuras colligere,
>
> in astrologiis cursus siderum contemplare,
>
> in arithmeticis numerorum partes colligere.

> in armoniis sonorum modulationes suavium accentum concrepare, si in his omnibus ita fueris exercitatus, ut tibi stilus noster sit rusticus, nec sic quoque, deprecor, ut avellas quae scripsi" (HF.X.p.449.31.14-20).

The context of this passage is that Gregory is calling upon his successors in the see of Tours not to alter or destroy anything that he has written, even if they should have been well educated in the 'septem disciplinae' of Martianus. There are several points to note in connection with this reference:

1) Martianus noster: By 'noster' did Gregory mean 'Martianus whose works I know and love'? Or did he think Martianus had been a Christian? (Prudentius and Sidonius are two others whom he fondly calls 'noster'). Martianus was not a Christian, but his work had been revised by a Christian, Securus Memor Felix, in 534 in Rome and it might have been in a slightly christianized form that Martianus's work became familiar to Gregory (27)

2) It would have been perfectly possible for Gregory to have known of the works of Martianus, even to have known his classification of the Seven Arts, without ever having read more of them than the titles. Mere mention of a work, or indication of some slight acquaintance with it, does not prove that Gregory had read Martianus's 'De nuptiis' from start to finish, had absorbed it and allowed it to influence his own works. Since, as we have seen, Gregory's familiarity with even some of the really great Christian writers was very superficial, it would not be surprising if his familiarity with Martianus were equally superficial.

3) Riché points out that, (28) although Gregory mentions each of the arts, he does not state them in the order which had become classic from the time of Martianus and was followed by Boethius (c.480 - c.524) and Cassiodore (c.485 - c.580). He places dialectic before rhetoric, geometry before arithmetic, and astrology (i.e. astronomy) before music. In addition, Gregory impoverishes the content of certain of the arts considerably: rhetoric is only 'genera metrorum agnoscere', and logic has diminished to 'in grammaticis legere'. The four branches of the 'quadrivium' (i.e. geometry, astrology, arithmetic and harmony) only keep their practical applications; there is no speculative aspect left. Riché concludes that,

> "Grégoire connaît mal les sept arts, mais il a le mérite de les citer tous et nous n'avons pas d'autres témoignage que le sien" (29)

Yet Gregory does seem to consider it possibe that his successors might

study the Liberal Arts: in charging his successors, who might be better educated than he, not to tamper with his works, he is assuming that they will be in a position to know about the Liberal Arts and, what is more, be educated in them. This might suggest that he himself certainly did know about them to some extent, but, for various reasons not made explicit, was unable to profit by them himself - perhaps texts were not available for him at Clermont or his mentor, Avitus, was disinclined to allow Gregory to study them.

In commenting on Gregory's reference to Martianus Capella and the Seven Arts, Haarhoff seems to me to make several unjustifiable assumptions. He rightly places Gregory's words in the context of the tension between liberal Christians, willing to permit some learning from the pagan classics, and "the extreme monastic party" (30),

> "By the time of Gregory of Tours (6th century) the extremists had so far given way that he allowed his theological students to pass through the seven arts of Capella, and to write poetry, which, however, was still suspect, and had fallen from its previous prominence to a precarious place at the end of the list - - -(quotes HF.X.p.449 31.14-20 cited above by me)- - - When we take all this into account we cannot fail to see a certain exaggeration in Kaufmann's statement that the training of the monastic school was entirely religious and moral".

Haarhoff seems to be implying that the 'extremists' had had some policy against classical studies on which they had formerly taken a hard line but on which they were now easing up, and that Gregory, under the influence of such an easing up, re-admitted classical studies in the form of the Seven Arts into the school where his 'theological students' were trained. To this one must object that, far from living in a time of revival of interest in pagan authors, one receives from Gregory's works the impression that he was culling sparsely vestigial remains. In his plea Gregory is addressing his successors in the see of Tours - would he expect them to come from a body of 'theological students' that were in some sense 'his'? Haarhoff assumes that Gregory's successors would be monks, trained in a school attached to a monastery in the area of Tours; no doubt he has Marmoutier or the abbey of St. Martin in mind (31). However, our examination of education in monasteries in 6th-century Gaul gives us little reason for supposing that the Seven Arts were highly valued or even taught at all in these monasteries. As Riché points out, as quoted above, Gregory is the only author from his period to mention the Liberal Arts - which does not suggest a high esteem of them in the monasteries. To use the term 'monastic schools' of the teaching given

in monasteries in Gaul in the 6th century is, I believe, as anachronism; it comes from reading back into the 6th century attitudes and institutions more properly belonging to the late 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, when Charlemagne's encouragement of learning among monks and clerks, together with the orderly regime of the Benedictine Rule, did lead to what may properly be called 'monastic schools'.

Gregory's apostrophe to his successors at Tours must to some extent be seen as a literary device. Yet, Gregory must surely have thought it possible that they might receive such an education from someone, or he would not have framed his apostrophe in that form. He might have foreseen such an education coming from some learned monk or priest associated with the monasteries of Marmoutier and St. Martin at Tours; or, perhaps from a priest or monk associated with the household of the bishop. We have seen that such possibilities seem to have existed at Chartres during the 6th century. There might still have been the odd rhetor around, seeking employment wherever he could find it; or, a learned cleric like the Dissolute Cleric of Lisieux (who originated in Le Mans), who had picked up a smattering of education in pagan letters (HF.VI.p.276.36. 19-20). His successors might, as far as he knew, come from some other part of Gaul; after all, he himself had come from Clermont-Ferrand to Tours and had probably secured the see of Tours through family connections, since thirteen of the previous eighteen bishops of Tours had belonged to his family (32).

Notes - Chapter 7

(1) G. Kurth, Saint Grégoire de Tours et les Etudes Classiques au VIe Siècle, in Revue des Questions Historiques, Tome 24, Paris, p.590.

(2) Where did Gregory read about the Rape of Proserpine? He could have read it in Ovid's Metamorphoses, or in Claudian's 'De Raptu Proserpinae', but there is no other indication that he knew the works of either of these two authors. Sidonius Apollinaris makes a very circuitous allusion to the 'De Raptu Prosperpinae' of Claudian,

> "Non Pelusiaco satus Canopo
> Qui ferruginei toros mariti
> Et musa canit infernos superna" (Carmina 9, co.702,PL.58).

However, Sidonius's allusion is so obscure that Gregory would not have understood what he was talking about unless he knew about the incident from another source beforehand. Perhaps a passage concerned with this incident from one or other of the two poets was included in a handbook of selected passages used by Gregory.

(3) Ozanam, opcit.,p.408.

(4) Fustel de Coulanges, op.cit.,p.2.

(5) Bonnet, op.cit.,p.49.

(6) Kurth, op.cit.,p.591.

(7) Cabrol, op.cit.,Tome VI, part 2, col.1720.

(8) Kurth, op.cit.,p.592. Could the 'Formulae Arvenenses' have contained classical passages?

(9) Bonnet, op.cit.,p.49.

(10) Kurth, op.cit.,p.592.

(11) B. Smalley, Sallust in the Middle Ages, in Classical Influences on European Culture A.D.500 - 1500, ed. R. R. Bolgar, p.165 - 175.

(12) P. Courcelle, article in Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, p.314.

(13) Sid. Apoll., Ep.VIII.3, PL.58,col.590-1.

(14) P. de Labriolle, La Réaction Païenne, p.188.

(15) Jerome, Ep.53, ad Paulinum, PL.22,col.541.

(16) Augustine, Ep.III, 138, ad Marcellinum, PL.33,col.533.

(17) Dom Antin O.S.B., Recueil sur St. Jérôme, p.432 sqq.

(18) Greg. Magnus, Dialogues 2.35.

(19) Antin, op.cit.,p.432-3.

(20) Jerome, Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitae, PL.25, col.26.

(21) Palladius, Historia Lausiaca, II, Texts and Studies VI, p.21.

(22) Antin, op.cit.,p.433.

(23) ibid. p.434.

(24) Festugière, op.cit.,p.20-21.

(25) Teuffel, A History of Roman Literature, vol.II, p.464.

(26) Oxford Classical Dictionary, 2nd edition, p.653.

(27) Teuffel, op.cit.,p.467, section 7.

(28) Riché, op.cit.,p.237.

(29) ibid. p.238.

(30) Haarhoff, op.cit.,p.188.

(31) v. Cabrol, Tome XV, part 2, col.2622. In fact we know so little about Gregory's successors in the see of Tours that it is impossible to draw conclusions about whether they did in fact know the Liberal Arts. Gregory was succeeded by Pelagius or Peladius, to whom Pope Gregory the Great wrote a letter in July 596 recommending the mission of St. Augustine (on his way to England) to him; Leupacharius acted as host to St. Columbanus during his exile in 608/9, and seems to have died about 614. Aigiricus made an agreement with Bishop Bertram of Le Mans. Gwalachus, Sigilaicus, Leobaldus, Medegesilus (bishop c.627 - 638), Latinus (present at the Council of Chalon in 650), Charegesilus and Rigoberthus (bishop c.654) are little more than names to us. Gregory's continuator, 'Fredegarius' does not seem to give any useful information about the see of Tours, v. PL.71, Fredegarii Scholastici Chronicon, col.605 - 664.

(32) "ignorans miser (Riculfus), quod praeter quinque episcopos reliqui omnes, qui sacerdotium Turonicum susceperunt, parentum nostrorum prosapiae sunt coniuncti" (HF.V.p.242.49.23-24).

Chapter 8 - Gregory's Attitude to Classical Letters - Some Comparisons

Gregory's Own Attitude

As we have seen above, Gregory specifically tells us that Avitus, Archdeacon of Clermont, who had largely been responsible for his education, had encouraged only the study of ecclesiastical writers,

> "tantum beati patris Aviti Arverni pontificis studium ad eclesiastica sollicitavit scripta" (VP.II.p.668.pref.28-29).

Furthermore, he states clearly on the same occasion that he did not study "the art of grammar" nor "the polished speech of secular authors" (ibid.lines 27-28). Elsewhere he tells us again that he was "inops litteris" (SM.I.p.586.pref.2); that he was lacking in an adequate education in grammar and rhetorical letters,

> "quia sum sine litteris rhethoricis et arte grammatica" (GC.p.747.pref.24-25);

that he had had neither the "grammatical arts" nor "liberal letters" instilled into him, "me - - - nec imbutum grammaticis artibus nec litteris liberalibus eruditum" (SJ.p.566.4.11-12). Before launching into his Historia Francorum Gregory begs our pardon beforehand in case he strays outside the rules of grammar in respect of letters or syllables, since he has not had a proper education in that field,

> "si aut in litteris aut in sillabis grammaticam artem excessero, de qua adplene non sum imbutus - - - " (HF.I.p.33.pref.13-14).

All this must surely mean that Gregory had not received an education on the Roman model in the ludus litterarius, the ludus grammatici and the ludus rhetoris. The reason for this is twofold:

1) Such schools were no longer to be found in Gaul, any education involving pagan, classical, authors now being given in the restricted circumstances which we have outlined above.

2) The priorities in the mind of Avitus of Clermont and of Gregory's uncle, Gallus, Bishop of Clermont, were preeminently Christian. Although Gregory had clearly read some snatches or excerpts from the works of a few classical authors, notably Virgil and Sallust, sometime in his education, he obviously felt strongly aware, even allowing for the fashionable vogue in self-deprecation, that, not having received an education in the arts of grammar and rhetoric, he lacked something. He felt much, I think, as one who has not had the benefit of a thorough grounding in the Summa Theologiae and the Summa Philosophiae of St. Thomas Aquinas feels after having read one or two tomes and having committed to memory a few facts and arguments.

Gregory is frequently self-deprecating vis-à-vis classical literary culture. His style is unrefined, unpolished, "incultus", e.g. "etsi incultu effatu" (HF.I.p.31.prologue.11), "sermo incultus" (SM.I.p.586.pref.17), "quod nos inculte - - - discribimus" (GC.p.748.pref.12-13). He is "iners" - lacking in art (SM.I.p.586.4); he is "minus vel idoneum vel peritum ad haec narranda" (SJ.p.566.4.10-11); he feels he is foolish and ignorant, "stultus et idiota" (SM.I.p.586. pref.3) and not competent to write about the wonderful miracles wrought by St. Martin - "tam admirandas virtutes" (ibid.line 2). Most of all, he feels that he is "rusticus", perhaps to be translated "awkward, unsophisticated, gauche". This is the most frequent self-deprecating epithet that he uses. His style is awkward, "libros licet stilo rusticiori conscripserim" (HF.X.p.449.31.8), "ut tibi stilus noster sit rusticus" (ibid.19-20). He mentions several times the awkwardness of his style, its lack of sophistication, e.g. "rusticitatem meam" (SM.I.p.586.pref.14), "meam rusticitatem" (GC.p.748.pref.11), "crudae rusticitatis temeritatem ostendens" (VP.II.p.669.pref.6). He implies that he is not a 'philosopher', but a 'rustic' (SM.I.p.586.pref.14). He feels, in short, that he is a bumpkin, "rusticanus" (SM.I.p.586. pref.10) when it comes to writing. It would, he suggests, take a miracle from God to make him suited to the task but, since God was able to bring water out of the rock in the wilderness (Exodus 17.6) and to open the mouth of Balaam's ass (Numbers 22.28), he might be able to use profitably the uncultured Gregory (SM.I.P.586.pref.12). Nevertheless, he undertakes to write about St. Illidius with what finesse he can muster, "quo possum - - - stilo" (VP.II.p.669.6-7), though his style is dark, obscure, black, "stilo nigrante" (GC.p.748.pref.12).

He fears the reproach of others who <u>have</u> received an education in the liberal arts. Thus he begs his successors in the see of Tours not to destroy his work, "nec sic quogue, deprecor, ut avellas quae scripsi" (HF.X.p.449.31.10), because having received an education in the liberal arts, they might despise his rustic efforts. He is willing for his work to be used as the subject-matter of verse composition, provided that they preserve his work intact, "salvo opere nostro, te scribere versu non abnuo" (ibid.21). Others will say that he is "rustice et idiota" (GC.p.747.pref. 25); that he has no literary skill, "cui ingenium artis non subpeditat" (ibid.pref.26); that he has no knowledge of letters (ibid.p.748.pref.1) no useful ability in letters (ibid.1-2). They will reproach him for not knowing the difference between nouns, "nomina discernere nescis"

(ibid.2-3), with confusing the gender of nouns (ibid.2-3), with mixing up ablatives and accusatives (ibid.5). He will be accused of not knowing how to place prepositions correctly according to what "nobilium dictatorum observari sanxit auctoritas" (ibid.4). He is like an ox stumbling about in the gymnasium (ibid.6) or like a lazy ass lumbering about among ball-players (ibid.6-7).

We must note a very important point in connection with Gregory's attitude to the pagan authors, namely, that, although he professes to attach little importance to having received an education in pagan letters, he never despises or criticises anyone for having received it. Gregory the Great's considerable learning in grammar, dialectic and rhetoric receives a special mention by Gregory of Tours as a part of his commendation of the Pope to us (HF.X.p.407.1.8). Thinking that he was commending Paulinus of Nola (when in fact it was Paulinus of Périgueux), Gregory lauds him as one "rhetoricis litteris eruditus" (GC.p.818.108.6). In the case of Andarchius, what Gregory condemns him for is not his knowledge of pagan letters, even though he was "adplene eruditus" in the works of Virgil and the Theodosian Code (HF.IV.p.180.46.9sqq). It was the fact that, though born a slave, he began to despise his masters once he had acquired some learning, "Hac igitur scienciam tumens, dispicere dominos coepit" (ibid.line 11) and went on to involve himself in an elaborate attempt to swindle sixteen thousand gold coins out of Ursus and to marry his daughter! The Dissolute Cleric of Lisieux is criticised not because "profert se litterarum esse doctorem" but because of his extremely immoral life. In Gregory's eyes a knowledge of pagan letters is really an adornment, an additional advantage that an ever-decreasing number of people in Gaul can enjoy, "Decedente atque immo potius pereunte ab urbibus Gallicanis liberalium cultura litterarum - - - " (HF.I.p.31. prologue.1-2). Even though Gregory affected to despise pagan literary learning or standards he is quite pleased with himself when he is able to quote an apt excerpt from Virgil or Sallust, and his regrets at not having had an education in grammar or rhetoric should, I believe, be regarded as genuine, not mere "Bescheidenheitstopoi". I cannot believe that in his heart of hearts Gregory would have gone along with Sulpicius Severus's contention that Christians should not only not imitate pagan authors but should not cease from attacking them,

> "cum eos non solum imitari stultitia sit, sed non acerrime etiam impugnare dementia" (1).

Gregory makes a show of despising "Ciceronis argutias vel vergilii fallacias" (GM.p.487.pref.21), but follows this by telling us at length what he is not going to write about, namely the list of the exploits of pagan gods and goddesses taken (largely) from Virgil and quoted in detail earlier. He is obviously proud to be able to include such a list and he felt, I believe, that no denunciation of pagan learning would be complete without such an elegant list! Perhaps (if he had known Plato and Aristotle!) he would have gone some of the way with Gerald Vann,

> "But the new wisdom does not mean the destruction of the old; it means the destruction of the arrogant self-sufficiency, and therefore the falsehood, of the old. Plato and Aristotle are not foolishness, but to think that Plato and Aristotle are enough is foolishness. They are not enough, and all the wisdom of the world is not enough unless wedded to the folly of the Cross" (2).

His Motives for Writing

1) Since the state of literary culture in Gaul in his day was so poor,

> "Decedente atque immo potius pereunte ab urbibus Gallicanis liberalium cultura litterarum" (HF.I.p.31.prologue.1-2),

someone had to have a care for the preservation of information about the past, "pro commemmoratione praeteritorum" (ibid.11). Others bewailed the state of things,

> "Vae diebus nostris, quia periit studium litterarum a nobis, nec repperiretur in populis, qui gesta praesentia promulgare possit in paginis" (ibid.8-9),

regretting that there was no one to make a chronicle of current events. Gregory could not bear to allow it all to pass without being recorded,

> "nequivi tamen obtegere vel certamena flagitiosorum vel vitam recte viventium" (ibid.21-22).

2) He was encouraged by the thought that, because his style was 'rustic' people would understand him all the better,

> "et praesertim his inlicitus stimulis, quod a nostris fari plerumque miratus sum, quia philosophantem rhetorem intellegunt pauci, loquentem rusticum multi" (ibid.13-14).

Here we have the interestingly ironic situation that his 'rusticitas' is alleged to be a stimulus to write rather than a deterrent!

3) In a rather obscure sentence at SM.I.p.586.pref.5sqq. Gregory appears to be saying, by the artifice of putting words into his mother's mouth in a dream recounted by him, that he has an obligation to write since he has some knowledge about the various peoples, "propter intellegentiam populorum" (ibid.5-6). Being a man equipped with the knowledge, he ought to record it. To keep silent would be a 'crimen' (ibid.7).

4) He wrote because he actually wanted to write! - "haec agere cupiens". He wanted to record the miracles of St. Martin, but found himself upon

the horns of a dilemma: he was torn between sorrow at the prospect of seeing such wonderful happenings going unrecorded on the one hand, and dread at his own insufficiency for the task of recording the miracles on the other,

> "duplicis taedii adfligor cruciatu, maeroris pariter et terroris. Maeroris, cur tantae virtutes - - - non sunt scriptae; terroris ut adgrediar opus egregium rusticanus" (SM.I.p.586.pref.9sqq).

5) His motive in writing the De Virtutibus S. Iuliani was quite simply love for his patron saint,

> "sed quid facio, quod inpellit me amor patroni, ut nequeam silere?" (SJ.p.566.4.12).

6) Rustic though he is, he dares to write because Jesus had chosen humble people to follow him, thus his attempting the work of recording the miracles of St. Martin fits in with the general theme of the humble and rustic being chosen to act, rather than the proud and sophisticated,

> "sed quid timeo rusticitatem meam, cum dominus Redemptor et deus noster ad distruendam mundanae sapientiae vanitatem non oratores sed piscatores, nec philosophos sed rusticos praeelegit?" (SM.I.p.596.pref.14-16).

Although his own awkward prose cannot adorn the page with merit, he is sure that St. Martin will very adequately adorn it with wonderful miracles (ibid.17-18).

7) He feels that he is having to do the writing that others, more fitted, ought to be doing. To potential critics of his work he says bluntly, "opus vestrum facio", (GC.p.748.pref.10). If they are so critical of his ability to undertake such a task, then they ought to have done it themselves! However, Gregory sees one benefit coming from his work, namely, that what he has written in a poor prose style, they are at liberty to expand into magnificent and lucid verse,

> "quod nos inculte et breviter stilo nigrante discribimus, vos lucide ac splendide stante versu in pagnisi prolixioribus dilatetis" (ibid.12-13).

<u>A Comparison of the Attitudes of Gregory of Tours with those of Cassiodore, St. Benedict and St. Gregory the Great</u>

The 6th century was turbulent not only in Gaul, where the Franks had made themselves master, but also in Italy, where Ostrogothic domination in the first half of the century yielded to a brief interlude which saw the return of Roman rule, exercised from Byzantium, before this too fell to a new wave of invaders, the Lombards. It was against the background of these unsettled years that three figures of importance for the future of European culture lived, namely, Cassiodore, St. Benedict and

St. Gregory the Great. Just as Gregory's Gaul was tormented by wars, plots and injustice, so was the Italy known by these three. In order to appreciate the setting in which their lives were lived and their contribution and attitudes we must first briefly look at the upheavals of their times.

Italy in the 6th Century

In 478 the Eastern Emperor Zeno gave Theodoric the Ostrogoth his blessing for the conquest of Italy. In 488 Theodoric and his Goths rounded the northern end of the Adriatic and defeated Odovacar and his Rugians at the Battle of the Adda, near Ravenna. Odovacar and his Rugians, Scyrrian and Herulian tribesmen were beseiged in Ravenna for two years. Theodoric was unable to take Ravenna and Odovacar and, lured out of the city by friendly promises, was killed by Theodoric at a feast. Zeno had given Theodoric the rank of 'magister militum' and patrician and Theodoric ruled Italy from 490 to 526 in the name of the Byzantine emperor, carefully avoiding any theoretical usurpation of power, while in fact exercising real power himself. He made Ravenna his capital, not Rome, partly for strategical reasons, partly because it would please the emperor and the senate since there was no suggestion of living in Rome as its ruler, and partly because, as an Arian, Theodoric was more acceptable to the Pope at a distance. However, Theodoric was a Roman magistrate:

> "he repaired the Roman aqueducts and paid the salaries of rhetors as of old; the sons of Roman provincials could still prepare for the civil service by attendance at their schools.
>
> Theodoric's maintenance of the whole fabric of Roman civil life for the provincials was perhaps occasioned by his knowledge of and veneration for 'civilitas', for the Roman life he had known at Constantinople - - - " (3).

In 523 intrigue made Theodoric fearful of the Emperor Justin I. Pope John I was sent on an embassy to the Emperor, which instead of allaying Theodoric's fears, aggravated them, with the result that the Pope was imprisoned and died. Boethius had been killed in prison in 524, a victim of the same set of intrigues and conspiracies. On his death in 526 Theodoric was succeeded by his grandson, Athalaric, who ruled till his death in 534. His mother, Amalasuntha, who had been the power behind the throne during her son's rule, took over power and married her cousin, Theudohad, who promptly had her murdered in her bath. In 536 the Emperor Justinian sent Belisarius to Italy to reconquer it for the empire. Belisarius succeeded in taking Naples and threatened Rome. In the north of Italy the Ostrogoths deposed Theudohad and elected Witigis

king. Witigis was married to Theodoric's granddaughter, Matsuentha. Belisarius took Rome in 537 and Ravenna in 540. In 542 Ostrogothic resistance flared up again under the leadership of Totila, who even recaptured Rome in 546. In 550 Justinian appointed Germanus to lead a fresh attempt at the conquest of Italy. Germanus married Witigis's widow, Matsuentha, but died late in 550. Narses, a seventy-four year old eunuch, defeated Totila near Ravenna and thus restored Italy to the empire. From 550 - 568 Italy remained part of the empire, ruled from Constantinople.

Among the members of Narses's victorious army were some Lombards, Germanic barbarians who had been living in Hungary. In 568 they entered Italy under the leadership of Alboin, taking Aquileia (on the northern shore of the Lagoon of Venice), Friuli and Verona. They captured Milan in 569 and Pavia in 572. Alboin ruled the confederation of tribes from 568 - 571 and was followed by Cleph (571 - 574). Lombard rulers, known as 'duces', established themselves in the captured cities. The Byzantine Emperor Maurice attempted a reconquest of Italy and, strengthened by an alliance with the Franks, he reconquered Classis, the port of Ravenna in 579.

In 584 the Lombard nobles decided to restore the monarchy, probably to give them a firm leadership in the face of Byzantine ambitions of reconquest. Authari, son of the last king, Cleph, was elected king and the Byzantine reconquest was halted. Authari's successor in 590 was Agilulf, duke of Turin, who ruled till his death in 616. The same year that Agilulf became king of the Lombards in Italy, Gregory the Great was elected Pope. Although there was a Byzantine exarch in Ravenna, it was Gregory in Rome who had to deal with the Lombards when the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento marched against Rome in 592 and Agilulf, having captured Perugia in 593, besieged Rome in 593. Gregory bought off Agilulf with a promise of tribute worth 500 pounds of gold; however, the Byzantine exarch refused to ratify this arrangement and the war continued until in 598 the Emperor Maurice, who was having difficulties with the Slavs and Avars, sent a new exarch, Callinicus, to make an armistice through Gregory's mediation. After some respite for Rome Agilulf again renewed the struggle, taking Padua in 602, then Mantua and Cremona. When Agilulf died in 616 he was threatening Rome again.

The Lombards were Arians until their conversion in the 7th century through the influence of Theodelinda, wife of King Agilulf, and her daughter Gundeberga, who married Rothari, duke of Brescia, and Lombard king of Italy, who reigned from 636 to 652. The Catholic hierarchy was

reestablished in 680 but the still Arian king Agilulf had helped St. Columbanus to found the Lombard monastery of Bobbio at the beginning of the seventh century. Compared with the Ostrogoths the Lombards were crude barbarians,

> "Of all the Germanic barbarians, they had progressed least in subjugating their tribes to monarchical rule. The king was only a war-leader, dispensable in times of peace. Society, half-nomadic, and mainly pastoral, rested upon the clan and justice was still maintained by the primitive method of the blood feud. At no point in their wanderings had the Lombards had much contact with the Greeks or a settled civilisation; they had penetrated to Hungary and fought the Mongol Avars there, and they had acquired some knowledge of Arian Christianity about the time of their contact with the Gepids, though many were still pagan when they entered Italy." (4)

St. Benedict, c.480 - c.542

Our primary source for information about the life of St. Benedict is Book II of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great (5). He came from a noble family of Nursia (now Norcia), east of Spoleto (6). He went to Rome to study 'liberal letters' (7), but, seeing the corruption of life there, he left,

> "cum in eis multos ire per abrupta vitiorum cerneret, eum, quem quasi in ingressu mundi posuerat, retraxit pedem" (8).

He gave up liberal studies, left his father's home (9) and went off to sort himself out spiritually,

> "Despectis itaque litterarum studiis, relicta domo rebusque patris, soli Deo placere desiderans, sanctae conversationis habitum quaesivit" (10).

St. Gregory says, with delightful paradox, "Recessit igitur scienter nescius et sapienter indoctus" (11). He settled for a while at 'Enfide', which might be the same as the modern Affile, two miles from Subiaco, among some sort of religious community (12). Shaking off his nurse, he left there and made for Subiaco,

> "nutricem suam occulte fugiens, deserti loci secessum petiit cui sublacus vocabulum est" (13).

He settled in a cave on the mountainside a mile or two out of the modern town of Subiaco, near the ruins of a villa of Nero. The site of his cave, the 'Sacro Speco', is today contained within the monastery of St. Benedict at Subiaco. The monks of a monastery situated not far away - "Non longe autem monasterium fuit"(14) - usually identified with Vicovaro, east of Tivoli, pressed him to become their abbot. He went there but after a while they found his régime too severe and tried to

poison him, "qui inito consilio venenum vino miscuerunt" (15). Benedict was saved because when he made the customary sign of the cross over the cup offered to him, it shattered (16). He returned to Subiaco where others, attracted by the holiness of his life, joined him. He organised them into a number of monasteries round about, but the jealousy felt towards him by some of his fellow monks obliged him to leave Subiaco. He settled on a site on a mountain overlooking the town of Cassino in the valley of the rivers Liri and Garigliano some eighty miles south of Rome. There at Monte Cassino (where the present author was kindly received in July 1974) he lived from c.525 until his death c.542. Others once more joined him and he formulated a rule for monks, drawing upon the rules of John Cassian, Basil, Caesarius of Arles and the Regula Magistri (now generally regarded as ante-dating the Rule of St. Benedict). The extreme austerities which had characterised, for example, Martinian monasticism, and the Martinian tendency to wander about from monastery to monastery, were avoided. St. Benedict's monastery was a 'coenobium' (17), where monks lived a common life firmly but flexibly regulated under the rule of an abbot.

According to the Rule of St. Benedict the main activity of the monastic day is the Opus Dei, to which nothing should be given preference, "Operi divino nihil praeponatur" (18). The rest of the day, apart from periods for eating and sleeping, was to be filled with work, either manual, or mental/spiritual. Benedict knew that idleness was the monk's worst enemy,

> "Otiositas inimica est animae; et idcirco certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina" (19).

In the summer months, from Easter to the end of September, Benedict provided for two periods of manual work and one period of 'lectio'. In addition, after lunch the monks were to rest on their beds and might read, silently, if they so wished (20). In the winter period, from 1st October to Lent, two periods were prescribed for reading and one for manual work (21). On Sundays time should generally be spent reading. "Dominico autem die lectioni vacent omnes" (22), but those with a specific duty to perform were excused. It is clear that boys and youths were admitted to the monastery (23), and it was recognized that they might not be able to read at the time of their admission,

> "Quam petitionem manu sua scribat: aut certe si non scit litteras, alter ab eo rogatus scribat et ille novicius signum faciat" (24).

'Lectio' in St. Benedict's Rule

Nowhere in St. Benedict's Rule do we find the words 'grammatica',

'rhetorica' or 'dialectica'. All the uses of 'lectio' and 'legere' occur in a context where religious reading is involved. There is no suggestion at all of any interest in the old classical pagan literature. Very likely the 'conversatio morum', which the prospective monks promised, involved a turning away from pagan literature, if, indeed, any interest in it had been shown before. The 'lectio' envisaged by Benedict's Rule was pre-eminently, indeed exclusively, that of the Scriptures, the Fathers, Lives of Saints etc.

> "Elle comprend surtout, et peut-être, exclusivement, la lecture de la sainte Ecriture et des Pères" (25).

With this in mind it might seem strange that Benedictine monks were to become the preservers par excellence of the literature not only of Christian writers, but of pagan writers too. McLaughlin identifies three factors which led to this remarkable development (26)

1) The influence of the ideas of Cassiodore (which we shall be examining below).

2) The destruction of the monastery of Monte Cassino by the Lombards in 581 or 589 (27) led the monks to flee for safety to Rome where they settled near the Lateran. Manual work, suitable for the hills around Monte Cassino, was unsuitable for the city of Rome, and the monks tended to develop the other sort of work permitted to them, namely, 'lectio', which implied study too.

3) The elevation of monks to Holy Orders (St. Benedict implies that his monks are not necessarily priests, but that the abbot will choose a monk or monks to be ordained priest to serve the altars in the monastery (28)) gave an impulse to the intellectual movement in the monasteries. It was felt not to be fitting that the time of a priest-monk should be spent in manual work which could be done by servants. The obligation to work, however, remained and, quite naturally, the time, which would otherwise have been given to manual labour, was divided between prayer and study, thus giving greater time to each of these activities.

When the monastery of Monte Cassino was rebuilt by Abbot Petronax in 720 and the monks were able to return, they brought with them their revised attitude to learning, which has persisted ever since in the Benedictine Order, with, however, varying attitudes towards it.

The influence of the Benedictine Rule made itself felt in Gaul in the 7th century, when the monasteries which had been founded by St. Columbanus, such as Luxueil and Fontaines-lès-Luxueil, adopted the Benedictine Rule. In addition the abbeys of Glanfeuil (on the south bank of the Loire between Angers and Saumur) and Fleury (now Saint-Benoît-sur-

Loire south-east of Orléans) were founded as Benedictine monasteries. However, the influence of St. Benedict's Rule came to Gaul too late to influence the situation in which Gregory of Tours found himself and our intention in introducing St. Benedict at this point is to enable us to compare his attitudes towards classical literature with those of Gregory.

In some ways Benedict is closer to St. Martin, and Gregory is closer to Cassiodore. St. Benedict's priorities are:

1) The foundation of a monastery.
2) The regulation of the life of that monastery in such a way as to establish the greatest possible conducement to prayer, meditation and the discovery of God in the life of the soul. All was to be done that 'in omnibus glorificetur Deus', but the 'omnia' included only a limited selection of activities (29)

On the other hand the priorities of Gregory of Tours are:

1) To rule his diocese faithfully.
2) To record for posterity the doings of the Franks and the Frankish Church.
3) To record for posterity the wonderful doings of the saints, whose lives exhibited to a miraculous degree the mighty power of God, Jesus Christ, St. Martin and the other saints.

Like Cassiodore, Gregory seems to think that an education in grammar and rhetoric would have helped him in his task, but, not having had it, he is not deterred from his objective. Benedict's goal, being less ambitious and less ostentatious, needed less ambitious equipment for its fulfilment. Benedict no doubt received an education in pagan letters during his stay in Rome, but did not regard it as of great importance when he came to do his life's work. Gregory did not have such an education, but would have found such an education helpful in at least the literary part of his life's work.

Both men lived at a time when the political situation in both Gaul and Italy was extremely disturbed. Gregory threw himself into the contemporary scene and, as Metropolitan of Tours and Bishop of the see of St. Martin, held a very important position in the life of Gaul. The fact that the Franks were Catholic Christians made his task somewhat easier: he was not having to contend with barbarians who were also heretics. Gregory both took part in the major events of his day and wrote about them. St. Benedict, on the other hand, lived in an Italy under the control of the Arian Ostrogoths. He did not involve himself with the world, but shunned it in order to devote himself and his energies

to the search for God. It is paradoxical that the work of St. Benedict has proved of infinitely greater benefit to human society than has that of St. Gregory of Tours. Indeed, because of the Benedictine tradition of manuscript copying, we can say that we only know what St. Gregory wrote, by courtesy of St. Benedict!

Cassiodore

Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator (477 - 570) was born of a family of senatorial rank, which had estates in the extreme south west of Italy, in Calabria, at Squillace (Scyllaceum). He was born the year after Odovacar and his mixed band of barbarians established themselves as 'de facto' rulers of Italy under the reluctant patronage of the Byzantine Emperor Zeno. Cassiodore, who lived to be ninety-three, lived through the reign of Theoderic the Ostrogoth (490 - 526), the Gothic Wars which followed his death and lasted until Narses conquered Italy in the name of the Emperor in 550. Byzantine rule lasted until 568. Two years before Cassiodore's death in 570 the Lombards had entered Italy under Alboin and were establishing dukedoms in the important centres.

Under Theoderic Cassiodore's career flourished: he was Councillor to the Praetorian Prefect in 501. A panegyric of Theoderic drew him to this king's attention and sometime between 507 and 511 he was appointed quaestor. The rule that magistrates could not govern their native areas was waived in his favour and he was appointed Corrector of Lucania and Bruttium. He was consul in 514 and he was one of Theoderic's ministers when the king died in 526. Both in Theoderic's reign and in the anarchic period which follows, when Athalaric, Amalasuntha, Theudohad, Witigis, Matsuentha and Totila all loomed large on the political scene, Cassiodore devoted his energies to trying to make Ostrogothic rule in Italy work. In 536 Cassiodore was Theudohad's Master of Offices, conducting Ostrogothic rule from Ravenna. When Belisarius took Ravenna in 540, Cassiodore was permitted to retire to Sicily whence he took a trip to Constantinople. On his return from Constantinople c.548 he founded his famous monastery on his estate at Squillace. He called the monastery 'Vivarium',

> "He had earlier made an aquarium, fish ponds hewn out of the rock, at Squillace, and here too, comparing the monastic enclosure with the walls of his rock pool, he founded his Vivarium for monks on a beautiful site" (30).

What was Cassiodore's motive in founding the monastery of Vivarium? Clearly, a desire to preserve 'Romanitas' in an increasingly barbarized

world was at least a part of his motive. Roman culture and values (which had, by the 6th century, been to some extent amalgamated with Catholic Christian values, seemed in danger of dying out in the chaotic situation,

> "The Gothic wars which followed his (i.e. Theoderic's) death destroyed not only the Ostrogoths as a nation, but that old Roman traditional culture which the senatorial party, and pre-eminently Cassiodorus, had striven to preserve. The second half of the 6th century saw the dying out of the senatorial class in Italy, and the traditions that it stood for: in so far as these did not pass over into the keeping of the Bishop of Rome and other Catholic bishops" (31)

Among his prolific writings the ones most relevant to this study are the two books of the Institutiones. These two works were written to provide a programme of studies for the monks at his own personal monastery of Vivarium and consist of the "De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum" and the "De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum". If we are to believe Cassiodore there was no shortage of people eager to study pagan letters in Italy in the 6th century in order to obtain "mundi prudentiam", but no similar eagerness for sacred letters was to be found,

> "Cum studia saecularium litterarum magno desiderio fervere cognoscerem, ita ut multa pars hominum per ipsa se mundi prudentiam crederet adipisci, gravissimo sum (fateor) dolore permotus, quod Scripturis divinis magistri publici deessent, cum mundani auctores celeberrime procul dubio traditione pollerent" (32).

Amid the turbulence of life in Ostrogothic Italy there was no place for quiet study, or perhaps he means that during his involvement in politics no such time was found, when he says,

> "Sed cum per bella ferventia et turbulenta nimis in Italico regno certamina, desiderium meum nullatenus valuisset impleri, quoniam non habet locum res pacis temporibus inquietis - - - " (33)

His work on Divine Letters is a treatise on the way to teach knowledge of the Scriptures and on what his monks should learn. He thinks that they should learn the disciplines of 'liberales litterae', but if they have not the ability, all is not lost since "non tantum litterati, sed etiam qui litteras nesciunt, accipiunt a Deo sapientiam" (34). Cassiodore proceeds to set out the by now familiar rationale by which Christians are allowed to study profance letters;

> "Sciamus tamen non in solis litteris positam esse prudentiam, sed perfectam sapientiam dare Deum unicuique prout vult. Nam si tantum in litteris esset scientia rerum bonarum, qui litteras nesciunt, utique rectam sapientiam non haberent. Sed cum multi agrammati ad verum intellectum perveniant, rectamque fidem percipiant coelitus aspiratam, dubium non est puris ac devotis sensibus Deum concedere, quod eis iudicat expedire" (35).

We have hear an echo of Augustine's words that they are many who know letters "sed sancti non sunt". Cassiodore is a rare example in the 6th century of a Christian writer who actually gives a justifying reason for deliberately maintaining and teaching the old grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. He clearly espouses what Haarhoff calls the 'liberal' attitude and regards liberal studies as the handmaid of the study of Christian writings,

> "Verumtamen nec illud Patres sanctissimi decreverunt, ut saecularium litterarum studia respuantur, quia exinde non minimum ad sacras Scripturas intelligendas sensus noster instruitur; si tamen - - - notitia ipsarum rerum sobrie ac rationabiliter inquiratur; non ut in ipsis habeamus spem provectus nostri, sed per ipsa transeuntes, desideremus nobis a Patre luminum proficuam salutaremque sapientiam debere concedi." (36)

He rightly points out that a number of Christian Fathers, who had received a literary education, remained as perfectly steadfast Christians and came through to 'true wisdom',

> "Multi iterum Patres nostri talibus litteris eruditi, et in lege Domini permanentes, ad veram sapientiam pervenerunt, sicut beatus Augustinus in libro de Doctrina Christiana meminit (Lib.II.cap.4), dicens: Non aspicimus quanto auro et argento et veste suffarcinatus exierit de Aegypto Cyprianus, et doctor suavissimus, et martyr beatissimus, quanto Lactantius, quanto Victorinus, Optatus, Hilarius" (37).

To these names Cassiodore wants to add Augustine himself, Ambrose and Jerome and "multos alios innumerabiles Graecos" (38).

Cassiodore's work on the Liberal Arts, "De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum" contains less specific rationale and justification for studying pagan letters than does his work on Divine Letters. After an introduction, he launches into chapters on Grammar (ars grammatica), rhetoric (ars rhetorica), dialectic; his section on 'mathematica' is divided into chapters on arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy.

The effect of Cassiodore's work has been enormous, he

> "set an example of learned industry and care for books, the effect of which was incalculable. In his Institutions of Divine and Human Study he included all knowledge: the second part (the Humanities) established the Trivium and Quadrivium for all future schools" (39)

Cassiodore constantly connects Holy Scripture and secular writings in his works as though they were two sides of the same coin,

> "In the course of the treatise these two elements are constantly associated: Cassiodore mentions, for example, "The Holy Scripture and secular writings"; elsewhere he says: "both the salvation of the soul and secular learning". This 'and' is very revealing: studies are placed second in order of importance but are given almost as much consideration as the spiritual life. In still other places reference is made to one or the other as subjects for study:

All this is in considerable contrast with St. Benedict, who made no provision whatever for secular learning in his monastery. Yet Cassiodore's concern for the copying of manuscripts and the correct orthography (41) became a considerable part of the work of St. Benedict's monks at a later date.

We have no indication that Gregory of Tours knew Cassiodore's works. One might hazard the statement that Gregory might well have admired Cassiodore very much, if he had known him. After all, he was a founder of a monastery, an upholder of the literary culture which Gregory bewails is fading away from Gaul, and, what is more, he has a knowledge, far superior to Gregory's own, of the Septem Disciplinae. Gregory might well have envied him had he known of him. In spite of Chapman's rather jaundiced assessment of Cassiodore (42), stressing his pedantry, artificiality, awkwardness and excessive piety, one cannot really agree with him that,

> "So little is his ideal the study of literature, that he is careful to provide caves for solitaries. He suggests no classical studies. Holy Scripture and the commentaries on every part of it, and introductions by the Fathers, are assumed to be the staple of monastic reading. But for the appreciation of this sacred literature, and for correctness in copying, he thinks a cursory knowledge of grammar, logic and rhetoric to be necessary" (43).

Assuming that he actually meant his monks to read the work on the liberal arts, then, judging by the standards of the 6th century, at least as compared with Gaul, his interest in the liberal arts was by no means 'cursory'. It was infinitely more thorough than Gregory's own. Although Cassiodore had been actively involved in the Ostrogothic politics of Italy (as we have seen above), his retirement to Vivarium left him as something of a dilittante. He was not a monk himself, but wanted to organise monks. There was something rather unreal about his monastic aims when contrasted with the less ambitious, but far more silently earnest and grimly determined aims of St. Benedict. If Gregory of Tours had had to decide which of the two he would plump for, he would, I believe, have chosen St. Benedict because in the end Gregory always follows his religious duty, rather than his intellectual interests. But, if he would have chosen Benedict as his first choice, he would have looked back with regret at Cassiodore, who knew so much of what he would like to have known himself.

St. Gregory the Great

Our chief authority for the life of St. Gregory the Great is the Vita S. Gregorii Magni, written by John the Deacon, a monk of Monte Cassino, c.790, but we have also a considerable volume of his Epistles and other works.

He was born about 540 in Rome of one of the most noble families, connected with the 'gens Anicia'. His father was Gordianus and his mother, Silvia, He had a brother, whose name we do not know, who had a distinguished civil career, becoming Prefect of Rome in 590, as his brother Gregory had been in 573. Gregory refers to him as "gloriosus frater meus palatinus patricius" (44); he seems to have died c.598. His father, Gordianus, died c.570 and his mother then moved from the family mansion to a smaller house on the Aventine.

His educational opportunities

Earlier in the century, while Ostrogothic rule lasted, opportunities for education for the wealthy were good. Theoderic protected the schools and during the regency of his daughter, Amalasuntha (524 - 534), handsome salaries had been paid to professors of grammar, rhetoric and law, but in the Ostrogothic wars which followed the death of Amalasuntha's son, Athalaric, the Roman 'university' was brought to the verge of ruin,

> "The State ceased to make the usual grants. The more distinguished teachers transferred themselves to Constantinople or Berytus, or retired into private life. Their pupils left their books to learn more practical lessons in the school of war. Lectures ceased, and the class-rooms were closed" (45).

After Narses's victory over the Goths in 550 and the renewal of Roman (Byzantine) rule over Italy, Justinian tried to revive culture at Rome but,

> "The University had lost prestige. Culture was no longer fashionable. The men of wealth or refinement had perished or migrated, and the last admirer of classic literature had shut himself up in a monastery (46), nor were the necessary funds forthcoming; for it is more than doubtful whether the salaries guaranteed by Justinian were ever paid, while the Church which had the means of endowing learning, lacked the will to do so. Further, the Gothic War almost certainly involved destruction of the libraries" (47).

Thus, by the time Gregory the Great was in his teens, the educational institutions at Rome had fallen upon evil times,

> "When these facts are taken into consideration, it can scarcely be maintained that Gregory received a first-rate education. He had, however, the best that could be got at the time, and by comparing some passages in the "Lives" with a contemporary treatise of Cassiodore entitled, "De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum", we are able to arrive at a very fair idea of the training to which he was subjected" (48).

His Career

In 573 Gregory became Urban Prefect of Rome (Praefectus Urbi), a position which at that time put him third in order of importance below the Pope, as Bishop of Rome, and the Magister Militum, who ranged the countryside fighting against the Lombards. However, in 574 Gregory decided to become a monk and he withdrew to his family mansion on the Caelian Hill and founded the monastery of St. Andrew, where, eventually, the Rule of St. Benedict was adopted. He was not allowed to remain amid monastic austerities for long for the Pope made him 'regionarius', i.e. one of the seven deacons of Rome. Soon afterwards, c.578, Pelagius II made him 'apocrisiarius', or envoy, to the Imperial Court at Constantinople. He returned to Rome c.585 and remained then. He was elected Pope in 590, the same year that Agilulf, Duke of Turin, became Lombard King of Italy.

His Attitude to Classical Culture

According to John the Deacon's Life of St. Gregory, the Pope was well educated,

> "Disciplinis vero liberalibus, hoc est grammatica, rhetorica, dialectica, ita a puero est institutus, ut quamvis eo tempore florerent adhuc Romae studia litterarum, tamen nulli in urbe ipsa secundus putaretur" (49).

But there is no reason to suppose he had received an education superior to others of his class,

> "Culturally he owed no more to profane literature than any other well-educated Roman of his day" (50).

Having had a reasonable education in liberal letters, he left it at that. The skills he had acquired remained part of him, but he was not interested in developing them, his mind being occupied with things which seemed far more important.

His remarks, quoted earlier, about St. Benedict's decision to abandon the study of letters at Rome show us his own mind. He clearly approved of Benedict's course of action. His Letter to Bishop Desiderius of Vienne is famous and I have referred to it earlier. Gregory was horified to learn that Desiderius was teaching 'grammatica' at Vienne. It was not even fitting for a layman to recite ('canere') the poets, let alone a bishop! For Gregory the Great life was far too serious, too earnest, to important, to permit a bishop, who should be bringing souls to God, to dabble in "nugae" and "saeculares litterae" (51). Some of the reasons which caused Gregory to see things in this way are as follows:

1) He thought the world was going to end soon. The general decay, the ruin of civilisation, etc., led him to think that the end was nigh,

> "Ecce iam mundi huius omnia perdita conspicimus, quae in sacris paginis audiebamus peritura. Eversae urbes, castra eruta, ecclesiae destructae - - - Appropinquantem itaque aeterni iudicis diem sollicita mente conspicite etc." (52).

One of the great differences between the age of the two Gregories and our own is that, for them the past was glorious and admired - the greatness that was Rome at the height of its power, its magnificent literary culture, the glorious witness of the Church, edifying martyrdoms, lives of great saintliness. For us, however, it is not quite the same. We are full of self-confidence (mixed with trepidation) about the wonder of the future - if not of the present. The great times are ahead; the past is despised, the adjective 'mediaeval' has almost become a term of abuse. For the two Gregories, the greatness had been. In view of the impending End, it was not seemly for a Bishop, who was concerned with the eternal destiny of his flock, to be playing around with pagan learning.

2) Studying the pagan texts meant readings pagan myths about gods and goddesses. Unlike today, Romans of the late 6th century could not read classical texts with complete impartiality and objectivity; enjoying only the beauty of the language. It was too soon for that. A little earlier that century, c.525, St. Benedict had had to destroy a sanctuary of Apollo on Monte Cassino before building his two churches there.

> "In many of the country districts the old deities were still worshipped; and even where this was not the case, men nevertheless regarded them, not yet as myths, as mere creations of the poetic imagination, but as real existences, as demons, spirits of evil" (53).

Gregory the Great did not, like Sulpicius Severus in the 4th century, want to wage a constant war on the pagan authors. Rather, he seemed to want to forget them, or not to be entrammelled by them. He refused to allow himself, when writing his theological works, to be cramped by rigid conformity to the rules of Donatus, the same Donatus whom Cassiodore had taken as his guide in his work on the liberal arts. Gregory says,

> "Unde et ipsam loquendi artem, quam magisterii disciplinae exteriores insinuant, servare despexi. Nam sicut huius quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs motusque et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quid indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba coelistis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati" (54).

If we compare the two Gregories (for ease of reference, Gregory G. and Gregory T.), we find a number of points of interest,

1) Like many other people who have had some advantage in life, education, money, etc., Gregory G. could afford to despise the importance of a classical education. It was part of him, whether he thought it important or not, and he would benefit from it unconsciously. Gregory T., however, wistfully yearned after the education in the liberal arts, that he had never had.

2) Gregory G.'s grasp of Latin was in fact far better than that of Gregory T.. Although both had spoken Latin all their lives, Gregory G. had moved in the best circles of Roman society, while Gregory T. had been a provincial, speaking provincial Latin in a country under the rule of barbarians for a hundred years.

> "Needless to say that he (i.e. Gregory G.) did not express himself with the exactitude of classical Latin, but it is enough to compare his style to that of Gregory of Tours to know that in quality they were worlds apart. Although he was less picturesque, Gregory of Rome was never at fault in the usages of grammer" (55).

3) Both men did not allow the requirements of classical rules to restrain them in what they thought was their work and duty. Gregory G. refused 'restringere verba coelestis oraculi' and Gregory T. went ahead with his writing despite his self-consciousness about his rusticity.

4) Both men were motivated by a deep commitment and loyalty to the Gospel of Christ and, in the end, they would both be loyal to their duty to the Gospel, in the terms in which they conceived that duty.

Notes - Chapter 8

(1) Sulpicius Severus, Vita Martini I, ed. Halm, p.110.

(2) G. Vann O.P., The Paradise Tree, p.32.

(3) M. Deanesly, A History of Early Mediaeval Europe 476 - 911, p.37.

(4) ibid. p.245. See also Dudden, Gregory the Great, vol.I,p.158-186 and Vol.II,p.3-42.

(5) PL.66, col.125sqq.

(6) ibid. col.126.

(7) ibidem.

(8) ibidem.

(9) "relicto domo rebusque patris" (ibid.) - This does not necessarily mean that his father had moved to Rome. It could equally well indicate the desire to "leave father and mother" (cf. Matthew 10.37) and begin to live his own life; yet his nurse tagged along with him for some time.

(10) ibidem, col.126.

(11) ibidem

(12) ibid. col.128.

(13) ibid. col.136.

(14) ibidem.

(15) ibidem.

(16) ibidem.

(17) At the beginning of his Rule St. Benedict lists four types of monks:
(1) coenobitae, living a common life in a monastery under the rule of an abbot;
(2) anachoritae or heremitae - hermits, living alone;
(3) sarabaitae - groups of three or four self-made monks living according to their own whims;
(4) gyrovagi - wandering monks "propriis voluntatibus et gulae illecebris servientes" (cap.1).

(18) S. Benedicti Regula, cap.43, in Sancti Benedicti Regula, ed. Arroyo, p.63, "Ad horam divini officii, mox auditum fuerit signum relictis omnibus quaelibet fuerint in manibus, summa cum festinatione curratur, cum gravitate tamen, ut non scurrilitas inveniat fomitem. Ergo nihil Operi Dei praeponatur".

(19) Ibid. cap.48, p.67.

(20) ibid. cap.48, p.68, "pausent in lecta sua cum omni silentio; aut forte qui voluerit legere, sibi sic legat ut alium non inquietet".

(21) ibidem.

(22) ibidem.

(23) cf. capita 30, p.50; 37, p.57; 59, p.81.

(24) ibidem cap.58, p.80.

(25) T. P. McLaughlin, Le Très Ancien Droit Monastique de l'Occident, p.74.

(26) ibidem.

(27) v. Deanesley, op.cit.,p.247-8.

(28) S. Benedicti Regula, cap.62,p.84-5.

(29) e.g. "Etiam sibi invicem - - - oboediant fratres, scientes per hanc oboedientiam se ituros ad Deum", ibid. cap.71, p.94-5.

(30) Deanesly, op.cit., p.48-9.

(31) ibid. p.44.

(32) Cassiodore, De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum, preface, PL.70, col.1105.

(33) ibid. col.1106.

(34) ibid. cap.28, col.1141.

(35) ibidem.

(36) ibid. col.1142.

(37) ibidem.

(38) ibidem.

(39) W. P. Ker, The Dark Ages, p.81.

(40) J. Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, p.29.

(41) cf. Div. Litt., cap.33, col.1144-1146, and his treatise 'De Orthographis', also in PL.70, col.1239-1270.

(42) J. Chapman, St. Benedict and the Sixth Century, p.89.

(43) ibidem.

(44) Ep.IX.98, PL.77, col.1036 et alibi.

(45) Dudden, Gregory the Great, I, p.71.

(46) i.e. Cassiodore at Vivarium.

(47) Dudden, op.cit., p.71.

(48) ibid. p.72.

(49) John the Deacon, Vita S. Gregorii Magni, cap.2, PL.75, col.52. His description may well owe something to Gregory of Tour's description of Gregory the Great, HF.X.p.407, 1.8-9.

(50) Décarreaux, Monks and Civilisation, p.251.

(51) Ep.LIV, ad Desiderium, PL.77, col.1174-5. John the Deacon says that Gregory forbade all bishops to read pagan literature, but this may just be a generalisation of John's based on this one incident. v. Vita III.33.

(52) Ep.III.29, PL.77, col.627.

(53) Dudden, I, p.289.

(54) Ep. Missoria ad Libros Moralium in Iob, cap.5, PL.75, col.516.

(55) Décarreaux, op.cit., p.251.

Chapter 9 - Varia Gregoriana

Some Aspects of Gregory's Language

The Latin of the Christian Community developed out of the millieu of Latin-speakers in the first centuries after Christ (1). Two factors in particular characterized the nature of Christian Latin: the unsophisticated setting out of which it emerged, and the need to find words to convey Christian ideas or to describe Christian hierarchical or liturgical structures. By the time that we reach the works of Gregory of Tours in the late 6th century we find that both of these factors have been maintained, but with an interesting development. The specifically Christian vocabulary has grown with the development and wider organisation of the church; the development of monastic life has equipped Christian Latin with yet more technical terms. Instead of being the specialised language of a persecuted sect, the Latin of the Church has given words to common usage so that 'episcopus' and 'monasterium', for example, would be immediately known to any Latin speaker. Although Jerome and Augustine had had qualms, as we have noted, about the rightness of placing a high regard on grammar and rhetoric, they had, nevertheless written well and had, albeit unintentionally, brought into being what one might call a 'classical' Christian literature. Because they had been trained in grammar and rhetoric they had produced writings of a considerable literary calibre. Gregory of Tours had, as we have seen, received no such training in grammar and rhetoric and his language makes this patently clear. It would be tedious and pointless to reproduce here the observations and acute analysis of Gregory's language made by Max Bonnet in his monumental work, 'Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours'. Suffice it here to note a few of the characteristics that strike one in reading Gregory's works.

Loss of the Final 'M' and the 'Accusative Absolute'

Quite clearly final 'm' had ceased to be pronounced in the spoken Latin of Gaul in the 6th century (2). There are numerous inscriptions which illustrate this point. This being so, we should be careful not to attribute unusual syntactical features to Gregory where what is really wrong is that, since he did not pronounce a final 'm' in his own speech and since had never received proper instruction in grammar, he had only a hazy idea as to where a final 'm' should occur. On a preliminary reading of Gregory's Latin one is struck by the appearance of what seems to be an 'accusative absolute', coming frequently in Gregory's prose, e.g.

"Fide plena et de martyris pietate secura Treverus est ingressus, inventumque virum gratia imperiali receptum, laeta regreditur" (SJ.p.566.22-24),

" - - - unum volucrum facit, inpositumque umeris, ac elevatam crucem manu, ad locum unde discesserat repetit, ac positam capiti sarcinam, peccati sopore conpraessus, obdormivit" (SJ.p.573.20.14-16).

In these examples, as in many others, the use of the accusative could simply result from an ignorance on Gregory's part of when the declension of a noun or adjective requires a final 'm'. He himself freely confesses that he confuses ablatives and accusatives (GF.p.748.pref.5). Yet there are numerous other examples available where the confusion cannot be attributed to the loss of the final 'm', since he uses accusatives ending in 'os' and 'as', e.g.,

"Hortatosque socios, ita hostes ad internitionem caecidit, ut - - -" (SJ.p.567.7.35-36)

"Dehinc ipsos (i.e. pastores ovium) verberibus adfectos, quae voluit abstulit" (SJ.p.571.17.40-41)

"Quas acceptas, dum via cum psallendo regreditur, Remensim est ingressus campaniam" (SJ.p.577.32.35-26).

Perhpas the origin of this feature in Gregory's syntax might be found in it being an illegitimate extension of the legitimate use of the accusative in such sentences as,

" - - - (quidam) super cancellum beati sepulchri cursu prosilit rapido, detractatamque a summo unam gemmis corrscantibus crucem ad terram deiecit" (SJ.p.573.20.11-13).

In this latter case the participle 'detractatamque', agreeing with 'crucem', is the direct object of the transitive verb 'deiecit'. Gregory commonly uses an 'accusative absolute' when, in a coordinate sentence, he wishes to link up the second part to the first, thus,

"Quod coniux illius cognitum, dum tumulare viri membera festinat, ad Brivatinsim vocum pervenit, repertosque viros, dum diversa studio intento rimaretur, cognoscit, quid in eo loco - - - gestum fuerit" (SJ.p.566.4.14-16)

Use of Diminutives

The use of diminutives forms where no particular diminutive sense is required is a feature characteristic of Vulgar Latin. It is found in texts of Plautus, Catullus (for poetic effect), the Satyricon of Petronius, the Peregrinatio Aetheriae and many other texts reflecting the language of the lower strata of people speaking Latin. Here are a few examples of the use of diminutives in a non-diminutive context in the De Virtutibus S. Iuliani of Gregory:

'magnum igniculum'	SJ.p.563.1.17	'a great fire'
'voluculum'	SJ.p.573.20.14	'a bundle'
'cellariolum'	SJ.p.579.36.8	'a store-house'
'vasculum'	SJ.p.579.36.24	'a vessel'
'puerulus parvulus' (pleonastic strengthening)	SJ.p.580.39.12	'a small child'
'infantulus'	SJ.p.580.39.15	'infant'

A few other examples from elsewhere in Gregory's works,

'in viridariolo'	GC.p.763.23.1	'a garden (big enough to contain laurel trees with spreading branches)'
'corpusculum'	GC.p.797.79.16	'body'
'oratoriolum parvulum'	VP.XI.p.709.1.12-13	'small oratory'

Words Characteristic of Vulgar Latin

Habetur = 'is', or 'is situated'.

SJ.p.565.3.26	"In loco autem illo, quo beatus martyr percussus est, fons habetur splendidus".
SJ.p.575.27.35-36	"per fenestram, quae super sanctum habetur tumulum".
SJ.p.583.47.8-9	"ad cancellos, qui ante sepulchrum sancti antistitis habentur extrinsecus"

Grandis for Magnus

SJ.p.566.5.28	grande delubrum
SJ.p.572.18.27-8	cum cautela grandi
SJ.p.575.24.2	cum grandi maerore
SJ.p.577.31.16	cum grandi admiratione

Comedit for Edit

SJ.p.571.17.40	'Putasne, quia Iulianus commedit arietes?

Unus = 'a'

HF.VII.p.303.22.18	"Presbiterum quoque unum, pro eo quod ei vinum dare differet, cum iam crapulatus aspiceretur - - - "

Caballus for Equus

SJ.p.572.18.27-28	"cum cautela grandi caballum in loco unde digressus fuerat, reformavit"

Gregory apparently uses the word 'eques, equitis' not for 'horseman' but for 'horse'. Thus at SJ.p.573.21 he tells the story of a poor man who came to pray at St. Julian's shrine but could not find his horse again afterwards, though he did eventually find it again with the aid of the martyr. The equine words used by Gregory in this story are as follows:

"laxatoque equite"	= "having released his horse"
"caballum quem reliquerat non invenit"	= "he did not find the horse which he had left."
"conspicit eminus a quodam viro suum equitem reteneri"	= "he saw from a distance his horse being held by some man"
"dum discutit - - - ex quo tempore hunc habeat equum, didicit - - - "	= "while discussing - - - from what time he had had the horse, he learnt - - - "

One suspects that Gregory normally used the word 'caballus' (Mod. French 'cheval') in his everyday speech; his excursion into the more classical usage is ill-fated since he seems unable to distinguish between 'equus' and 'eques', though he does get it right in the last example.

Gregory's Treatment of Place-Names

Usually Gregory uses the same form of place-name for Gallic cities and towns as had been used by classical writers, e.g. Burdigala for Bordeaux, Arelate for Arles, but in some cases the classical form has disappeared and been replaced by another, usually emphasizing the tribal name; for example, Rheims is 'Remus' or 'urbs Remensis', but never 'Durocortorum'; similarly Clermont-Ferrand is 'Arvernus' or 'urbs Arverna', but never 'Augustonemetum'.

Gregory shows a distinct preference for the adjectival form of place-names, e.g. 'urbs Viennensis' rather than 'Vienna'. I think that this is because he feels more confident construing them with a preposition than with a locative. We can find examples where his usage coincides with the classical locative and many other examples where his usage is much more bizarre. We shall consider his treatment of place-names under three headings: 'to' a town, 'in' a town, 'from' a town.

'To' a town

Classical usage prefers the simple accusative, e.g.

"Legati Athenas missi sunt"	Livy, III,31.
"Caesar Narbonem profectus est"	Caesar, De Bello Gall.iii,7.
"Ibimus Afros"	Virgil, Buc. 1.64.

At times Gregory coincides with this usage. I say 'coincides' because his overall usage suggests a vast uncertainty in his mind in this area.

Coincidence with Classical Usage

(Brioude)	"ut antedictus pontifex Brivatem adveniret"	SJ.p.576.29.22
(Vienne)	"Viennam adire"	SJ.p.564.2.21.

(Poitiers)	"Pectavum accedere voluit"	HF.VII.p.306.26.24.
(Angoulême)	"Ecolisinam accessit"	HF.VII.p.307.26.4.

There are other examples where he may be groping after the accusative - bearing his uncertainty over the forms '-os' and '-us' in mind - when he says,

(Clermont-F.)	"Arvernus advenit" (repeated many times)	SJ.p.564.1.2.

if he has in mind 'Arverni', the men of Arverna, but I do not think that this is likely. The basic form of the place-name is Arvernus and another example,

(Trèves)	"Treverus est ingressa"	SJ.p.566.4.23,

where the sense could not possibly admit "men of Trèves", makes it clear that Gregory was very uncertain in this area. Here are some other examples illustrating the way that he tackled the accusative of place whither,

(Clermont-F.)	"Arvernus accederem"	SJ.p.578.34.20-21.
(Auvergne)	"contulit se in Arverno territurio"	SJ.p.569.13.28-29.
	"in Arverna regione - - - migravit"	SJ.p.570.14.12-13.
	"caput Viennae defertur"	SJ.p.564.1.14.
(Limoges)	"Lemovicas accesserat" (where 'Lemovicas is the nominatives form of Limoges's place-name)	HF.VII.p.297.13.21.
(Limousin)	"Lemovicinum accedens" (where 'Lemovicinum' means Limousin, the territory of Limoges)	HF.VII.p.296.10.14-15.
(Saintes)	"ad Sanctonicam urbem dirigit	SJ.p.583.47.13.
(Paris)	"Parisius advenit"	HF.VII.p.293.4.8.
	"Parisius urbem ingrederetur"	HF.VII.p.294.6.5.
(Chalon-sur-S.)	"Cabillono regressus"	HF.VII.p.302.21.12.
(Toulouse)	"usque Tholosam accessit"	HF.VII.p.295.9.21.
(Brives-la-Gaillarde)	"Briva-Curretia vicum - - - advenit"	HF.VII.p.296.10.15.

'In' or 'At' a town

Classical usage prefers a locative in 'ae', 'i' in the singular and 'is' or 'ibus' in the plural, e.g. Romae, Athenis, Gadibus.
Since the nominative forms of some place-names in Gregory's usage vary within his works, it is not always possible to say what the 'correct' locative form ought to be. Trèves, for example, varies between 'Treverus' and 'Trevera'; Albi appears as 'Albiga' and 'Albigis'. Chalon-sur-Saône appears as 'Cabillonum' and 'Cabillonus'. Poitiers varies as 'Pectavus', 'Pectava' and 'Pectavis' (not to mention

variations over 'Pect-' and 'Pict-'). Toulouse has both Tholosa and Tholosacium. Angers appears both as 'Andecava' and 'Andecavus'. Gregory does occasionally feel after a locative on the classical model, e.g. "artus Brivate reconduntur" (SJ.p.564.1.14) (remembering that he is constantly confused over 'e' and 'i' - a feature of vulgar Latin), "in basilica sanctae Mariae Tholosae" (HF.Vii.p.296.10.19). Far more frequently than a locative, however, Gregory uses a preposition, usually 'apud' or 'ad' with the adjectival form of the place-name, e.g.,

	"apud urbem Arvernam"	SJ.p.574.23.13.
	"igitur instante persecutione ad Brivatinsim vicum"	SJ.P.564.1.8.
	"apud Albigensem urbem"	HF.VII.p.292.1.2.
(Tours)	"apud Turonicam urbem"	SJ.p.578.34.23.
(Meaux)	"apud Meldensem urbem"	HF.VII.p.293.4.12.

"From" a town

Classical usage prefered an ablative of place whence, without preposition, e.g. redire Roma, Athenis, Epheso, Gadibus etc.. Gregory prefers the prepositions 'a' or 'ab', 'de' and 'ex' with urbs, civitas or vicus, e.g.

	"ab urbe Pectava"	HF.VII.p.307.28.29.
(Velay)	"a Vellavo veniens"	SJ.p.567.7.34.
	"ex Lemovicino"	SJ.p.580.41.26.
(Rouen)	"de Rhodomago submotus fuerat"	HF.VII.p.301.19.25.

The Adjectival form of the Place-Name

Gregory uses a variety of adjectival forms, many of which are well attested apart from his usage.

a) 'us', 'a', 'um' added to the stem. But I can only find this in the one case of Arverna; the only form Gregory uses is 'Arvernus, a,um'.

b) By the addition of '-ensis' to the stem of the place-name

(Bordeaux)	"Burdigalensis urbis"	HF.IV.p.161.26.12.
(Arles)	"Arelatensim - - - urbem"	HF.III.p.131.23.9.
(Metz)	"apud Metensem civitatem"	HF.IV.p.146.7.4.
(Angoulême)	"ad Ecolonensim civitatem"	HF.IV.p.185.50.22.
(Albi)	"apud Albigensem urbem"	HF.VII.p.292.1.2.
(Rouen)	"in Rhodomagensi termino"	HF.VII.p.301.21.12.
(Rheims)	"Remensim est ingressus campaniam"	SJ.p.577.32.26.

Gregory had considerable trouble deciding how to write the adjectival form of the place-name, Angoulême: it appears as Ecolisina and Ecolesina,

and has a large crop of adjectival forms, Ecolisnensis, Ecolesinensis, Ecolonensis, Egolismensis, Equolesinensis and Equolonensis.

c) By the addition of '-icus, a, um' to the stem

(Saintes)	"ad Sanctonicam urbem" (nominative - Sanctonas)	SJ.p.583.47.13.
(Tours)	"apud urbem Toronicam" (nominative - Turonus)	HF.VI.p.264.25.22.
(Avignon)	"infra murus Avennicae urbis" (nom - Avennio)	HF.VII.p.296.10.13.

d) By the addition of '-iacus" to the stem

I have only been able to find one example of this, i.e. Paris, 'urbs Parisiaca',

"ad urbem Parisiacam"	HF.VII.p.300.16.22.
"in aecclesia Parisiaca"	HF.VII.p.299.15.30.

but there are several place-names incorporating the termination 'iacum', e.g. "Taurisiacus", where that alone seems to be the place-name itself (HF.X.p.448.31.6.).

Comparison of Gregory's Usage with that of the Vita Caesarii, Marius of Avenches and John of Biclar

We find the same tendencies at work in these other 6th century writings. The two Chroniclers, Marius and John, wrote nowhere as extensively as did Gregory and examples are infinitely less frequent than in his massive works.

(all references are to PL.67; the column number only will be given)

Vita Caesarii: 'To'

"Lirinense monasterium - - - expetiit"	col.1003
"ad civitatem Arelatensem - - - adduci"	col.1004
"in Burdegalensem civitatem est - relegatus"	col.1009
"Romam veniens"	col.1016
"sancti viri sancta opera volavit Romam opinio"	col.1015
"Nullus - - - Arelato venit"	col.1024

'At' or 'In'

"in castro Ugernensi teneretur" (Beaucaire)	col.1011
"In Arelato - - - replentur basilicae sacrae"	col.1012
"captivi Arelato - - - exhiberentur"	col.1027

'From'

"cum ab Arelato fuisset abstractus - - - "	col.1009
"e Massiliensi monasterio"	col.1013
"extrahi ab Arelate antistitem fecit"	col.1014

It is surprising that the bishops who wrote the Vita Caesarii were not sure what the usual form of the place-name for Arles was. They give it a locative in 'o', an accusative in 'o' and an ablative in 'o'. The usual form was 'Arelate', 'urbs Arelatensis'.

Marius of Avenches's Chronicum 'To' (all references to PL.72)

"Constantinopoli properavit" col.797

"in marca Childeberti regis, id est, Avinione, confugit" col.802

"ingressus est Theodosius - - - Arelato" col.793

'At' or 'In'

"pugna facta est Divione" (Dijon) col.795

"Gundobagaudus Avenione latebram dedit" col.796

'From'

"Genava civitate egressus" col.799

John of Biclar's Chronicum (PL.72)

'To'

"Constantinopolim redit" col.864

" " veniunt" col.864/5

" " dirigit" col.865

"filium - - - in exsilium Valentiam mittit" col.867

"Seggo manibus amputatis Gallaeciam exsulans mittitur" col.868

Note the more classical forms in this Spanish chronicler's Latin.

'In' or 'At'

"CL Patrum Constantinopoli congregatorum" col.863

'From'

No examples.

We may conclude that, because of his unfamiliarity with classical models, Gregory was uncertain how to construe place-names. The breakdown of the case-system and the prefered use of prepositions, illustrated not only by Gregory but also by the writers mentioned above, was well advanced and Gregory is much more at ease in using this device for construing place-names.

Three Interesting Christianisms - Inergumenus, Contestatio and Virtus

By the sixth century when Gregory wrote a vast number of words of a specifically Christian meaning had found their way into the everyday Latin of Gaul. There follows a scrutiny of three of the more interesting words used by Gregory.

Inergumenus (Energumenus)

According to the Thesaurus, an 'inergumenus' was someone 'qui a diabolo vi daemonica occupatus'. This accords well with the use of the word in Gregory's writings, a use which is very frequent. Here are a few examples,

> "Erat tunc temporis apud Randanensim monasterium civitatis Arvernae presbiter praeclarae virtutis Iulianus nomine - - - cui inergumenos curare - - - facile erat" (HF.V.168.32.16sqq).

> "Inergumeni vero cum advenerint, plerumque evoment in sanctum Dei convitia, cur sanctus alios ad suam convocat festa, ipsoque nominatim confitentes, eorum fatentur virtutues et merita. Aiunt enim: 'Sufficiat tibi, Iuliane, nos propria virtute torquere; ut quod reliquos provocas? quid invitas extraneos? etc." (S.J.576.30.28sqq).

The 'inergumeni' were possessed by an 'inergia',

> "Nam quadam vice conductam pecuniam mulierem clamare fecit in ecclesia quasi per inergiam et se sanctum magnumque Deo carum confiteri" (HF.IV.148.11.9-10).

The same word is used in the decrees of the Councils of Carthage and Orange,

4th Council of Carthage (398), Canon 92

> "Energumenis, in domo Dei assidentibus, victus quotidianus per exorcistas opportuno tempore ministretur" (3)

1st Council of Orange, (441), Canon 14 and Canon 15

> "Energumeni iam baptizati, si de purgatione sua curant, et se solicitudini clericorum tradunt, monitisque obtemperent, omnimodis communicent, sacramenti ipsius virtute vel muniendi ab incursu daemonii, quo infestantur, vel purgandi, quorum iam ostenditur vita purgatior" (Canon 14).

> "Energumenis catechumenis, quantum vel necessitas exegerit, vel opportunitas permiserit, de baptismate consulendum" (Canon 15). (4)

In this use of the word 'energumenus' we have another example where Christian speakers of Latin have simply taken over a Greek word describing a technical aspect of life within the Christian ambit. The verb ' ἐνεργεῖν ' has a basic meaning of 'to operate, cause an effect in'. In Classical Greek neither it not its cognate forms contain any meaning suggesting spirit possession. Nor does the Septuagint appear to have used it in this way. In the New Testament literature ' ἐνεργεῖν ' is neutral in meaning, i.e. there is no suggestion, inherent in the word, that the effect produced is either good or bad. It may be that the development from ' ἐνεργεῖν ' to 'inergumenus' has been influenced by the phrase in 2 Thessalonians 2.9 where the author speaks of the coming of an evil man whose appearance is the work of Satan

'οὗ ἐστιν ἡ παρουσία κατ' ἐνέργειαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ', this linking up 'ἐνέργειαι' with evil forces.

'Inergumenus', though perhaps startling to eyes used to Classical texts, appears very commonly among Christian writers in the first six centuries A.D.. Here are some examples of its use:

Pseudo-Ambrosiaster (5th century ?)

"ut sacerdos Apollinis - - - diabolo repletus per septem dies energumenus clamaret" (Epst.2.10).

Rufinus (c.345 - 410)

"exemplo sunt hi quos vulgo energumenos vocant, quos amentes et insanos videmus" (Rufinus's translation of Origen's 'De Principiis', 3.4).

Sulpicius Severus (c.363 - 420/5)

"omnia illa, quae energumeni solent ferre, perpessus - - - purgatus est non tantum daemone sed - - - " (Dial.1.20.9).

John Cassian (c.360 - 435)

"quemadmodum energumenis immundi spiritus dominentur" (Conferences, 7.12).

Cassiodore (c.480 - 580)

"David - - - "mutavit vultum", ita ut salivis ora compleret, quatenus energumenus aestimatus - - - dimitteretur illaesus" (Complexiones in Actus, 19.9, in psalm 33).

Venantius Fortunatus (c.535 - 600)

"clericus - - - nequitiae spiritu vexatus adducitur, unde expulso adversario, videntibus circumstantes, velut avis parvula de capite energumenis - - - egreditur" (Vita Germani 52.142)

"cum per salivam oris sui multa curata fuerint ulcera, purgata sint inergumena" (ibid.70.187).

"cuius minister quocumque loco sancti tangebat baculo, illuc inergumenus pendebat religatus aerio vinculo" (ibid.70.188).

'Inergumenus' is also found to mean the devil himself who has occupied a person, but I have not found this use in Gregory of Tours,

"qui tamen inergumenus (or inergumenis) etsi seminavit mendacium, non defendit obsessum" (Venant. Fort., Vita Germani 36.105).

"dum plurimis diebus inergumine (or inergumino) torqueretur carpentarii cuiusdam uxor" (Vita Radegundis 33.75).

Contestatio

This word was used in classical contexts to mean:

a) Legal proceedings generally.

b) An affirmation or solemn declaration, e.g.

"Compositum ese (testimonium) dixit a mentis contestatione" (Aulus Gellius, 7(6).12.1).

"in tam atroci re ac tam misera - - - iniuriae publicae contestatione" (ibid.10.3.4.)

Christian Usage

In Christian usage 'contestatio' came to have a liturgical significance, meaning the preface which begins the Canon of the Mass. And it is in this sense that we meet the word in Gregory of Tours's works. This use of 'contestatio' seems to follow on naturally from the secular use meaning 'a solemn affirmation or declaration', since it is the part of the eucharistic canon which leads up, by solemn declaration of various aspects of redemption wrought by Jesus Christ, to the high point of the consecration. The preface or 'contestatio' culminates in the 'Sanctus', when the priest and people join in this great act of praise before the priest goes on to consecrate the Body and Blood of Christ. Thus Gregory says,

> "Cumque nos sacramenta solemnia celebrantes, contestationem de sancti domini virtutibus narraremus, subito illa vociferare coepit et flere, indicans se torqueri. At ubi, expeditam contestationem, omnis populus 'Sanctus' in laudem Dei proclamavit, statim dissoluti sunt nervi - - - " (SM.II,p.613.14.29-32).

This is the only occasion when Gregory uses this word in his works, but on one occasion he uses the verb 'contestari' in the neutral sense of 'I give it as my solemn opinion' when he says,

> "Illos vero, qui dicunt: 'Erat quando non erat', execrabiliter renuo et ab eclesia segregare contestor" (HF.I.p.33.pref.20).

There is some other evidence of the use of 'contestatio' to mean the preface in the canon but 'contestatio' did not gain acceptance generally in the Latin West in this liturgical context, being eventually ousted by 'praefatio'. Paulinus of Nola provides us with a semi-liturgical usage (i.e. his words may echo the language in which the Church talked about the liturgy) when he says,

> "Quid Paschale epulum? Nam certe iugiter omni
> Pascha die cunctis Ecclesia praedicat oris
> Contestans Domini nostri cruce, de cruce vitam
> Cunctorum" (5)

Ducange refers to Gregory's use of 'contestatio', then expands on it,

> "Quibus locis 'contestatio' idem sonat quod CONTESTADA; ita enim appellari in Codice Remensi MS monet Medardus, 'Praefationem', seu Orationem quae Canoni praemittitur, quo deponitur Sacerdos et populus ad tremendorum mysteriorum confectionem, quod, ut est in alio Codice Thuano, "Contestetur Sacerdos fixam ac veram professionem populi, id est, gratias referre Dei dignum esse" (6)

Further explanation of the meaning of 'contestatio' can be found the liturgical works of Cardinal Giovanni Bona (7) and in Wilson's edition of the Gelasian Sacramentary (8).

Virtus

The classical usage of this word is exemplified by Cicero's use of the word to mean 'physical strength', or 'manly strength'. Here is an example of Cicero using it to mean 'physical strength', or 'grim determination',

> "Sunt autem bestiae quaedam, in quibus inest aliquid simile virtutis, ut in leonibus, ut in canibus, in equis, in quibus non corporum solum, ut in suis, sed etiam animorum aliqua ex parte motus quosdam videmus" (9).

In his interesting article on the use of 'Virtus' by Merovingian writers (10) S. Axtens draws attention to some rather different usages.

a) Heavenly Powers. The Vita S. Arnulfi, a 7th century life of this saint who lived c.580-before 655), uses 'virtutes' to mean 'the powers of heaven', i.e. angels, archangels etc.,

> "Fit autem ilico gaudium magnum procul dubium supernarum virtutum in caelo et ingens luctus pauperum Christi atque monachorum in saeculo" (11).

I have not found this usage in Gregory's works.

b) Miracles. This was a very common usage of the word in Merovingian writers. Axtens quotes 41 examples of this usage in contrast with only 13 examples of its use in Merovingian writers to mean 'physical, or manly, strength'. This the Vita S. Arnulfi says,

> "Cumque denique hae et similes quam plures virtutes per illum coepissent crebescere in populum, mox remociora a fragoribus vulgi expetiit loca" (12).

It is in this sense that Gregory of Tours uses the word very extensively. Indeed, two of his works use 'Virtus' in their titles, De Virtutibus S. Iuliani, and the four books of the miracles of St. Martin, De Virtutibus S. Martini.

The stages of development in the use of this word seem to be something like this:

a) What people cannot obtain by their own 'Virtus' - "Quod procul dubio virtute propria non obtenerent" - their goodness, virtue, (SJ.p.563.1. 29-30)

b) they might obtain through the 'virtus' of a saint - "Igitur cum per annum integrum ante sanctam aedem decubasset, tandem visitatus a virtute beati martyris, ab omni infirmitate sanatus est" (SJ.p.569.12.22-23).

c) 'What the saint does' or 'his miraculous power' is, then, his 'virtus', "aliquid de hostilitate Theoderici regis ac infirmitatibus Sigivaldi - - - propter virtutem tamen beati martyris est diligentius exponendum" (SJ.p.569.13.27-29).

d) Specific acts, manifesting the miraculous power of the saint, then become 'virtutes' and the word is then interchangeable with 'miracula', e.g.

> "Miracula, quae dominus Deus noster per beatum Martinum antistitem in corpore positum operari dignatus est, cotidie ad conroborandum fidem credentium confirmare dignatur. Ille nunc exornans virtutibus eius tumulum - - - " (SM.I.p.585.pref.27-29)

Gregory tends to use 'miracula' more for miracles done during the saint's lifetime, and 'virtutes' for miracles wrought by him after his death, but the distinction is by no means rigid. For example, in the preface of his book on the miracles of St. Andrew he says that he found a book "de virtutibus sancti Andreae Apostoli" (SA.p.827.pref.15-16) which he proposes to reproduce in a less prolix version. These miracles are ones performed during St. Andrew's lifetime on the whole, but the book now has the title 'Miracula B. Andreae Apostoli'. We cannot, however, be certain that Gregory was the author, but it seems very likely.

We should note too that the saint's 'virtus' rubbed off, as it were, on to objects connected with him, above all, of course, his tomb. Chapter 37 of the work on St. Andrew is entitled 'De virtute sepulchri eius' (SA.p.827.line 8). This can be paralled from many other places in Gregory's works.

For further uses of 'virtus' in Merovingian writers see Axtens's article (13).

Notes - Chapter 9

(1) Keeton,op.cit.,p.1 - 24.

(2) L. Palmer, The Latin Language, p.160;

(3) in Concilia Sacrosancta, Tome II, col.1207.

(4) ibid. Tome III, col.1450.

(5) Paulinus of Nola, Natalia, 9.

(6) Ducange, Glossarium, III, under 'contestatio'.

(7) Johannis Bona, Opera Omnia, Rerum Liturgicarum, II, cap.X.p.340.

(8) H. A. Wilson, The Gelasian Sacramentary, p.314.

(9) Cicero, de Finibus, V, 14 (38).

(10) Article by S. Axtens entitled "'Virtus' onder de Merovingers", in Miscellanea Historia in honorem Albert de Meyer, p.266 - 285.

(11) Vita S. Arnulfi, MGH, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, II, p.442. 22.10-11.

(12) ibid. p.438.15.10-11.

(13) Axtens, op.cit.,

Chapter 10 - Conclusions

The Roman aim of making Gaul into "une seule nation romaine" (1) had largely been achieved by the 3rd century A.D., but from then onwards the cultural and political integrity of Roman Gaul began to break down under the onslaught of the barbarian Germanic tribes, of the Franks in particular. Centres for the diffusion of education on the Roman model grew less numerous as the 5th century advanced until by the middle of the 6th century they had disappeared from Gaul; only at the hands of random learned individuals might a knowledge of pagan authors be obtained.

The Church, on the other hand, had something definite to teach both Gallo-Romans and Franks, but it was not the pagan classics, nor the 'ars bene loquendi', but a faith in God, Jesus Christ and St. Martin, a faith which produced intense energy, a faith which, once the rationalism of Greco-Roman civilisation had vanished from Gaul, allowed the popular, earthy, preoccupation with the demonic and the miraculous to surface and to colour the literature, already well established, of the Church. Monasteries, aristocratic households, episcopal and parish schools were all earnestly engaged in the exciting quest for salvation.

The Christian dilemma - "culture ou sainteté" (2) - had exercised the minds of great Christian thinkers like Tertullian and Augustine. Men and women had polarised over this issue: in the 4th century Sulpicius Severus had wanted a permanent attack on pagan literature, while in the 6th century Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, taught 'grammatica', which would include the pagan authors.

Gregory of Tours was a man who coped well with the educational and cultural limitations which his age forced upon him. His knowledge of classical literature was slight, his attitude towards it was an ambiguous mixture of reverence and disdain. In this he was a man of his time, but he by no means belonged to the severest anti-classical school of thought. As Lelong rightly says, the Church rejected the "savoir" of the pagan literature, while not completely rejecting the "savoir faire" (3). As an eager Christian Gregory rejected the "savoir", while having an externally dutiful disdain of the "savoir faire", but really respecting it and casting longing glances at it over his shoulder.

Although rightly conscious of his limitations, he fortunately for us did not allow this consciousness to inhibit his literary creativity, and his marvellously interesting 'Historia Francorum', and his rather more turgid and predictable hagiographical writings are the result. His language and style bear the marks of the unliterary, 'vulgar',

Latin of Clermont-Ferrand in the 6th century, owing little to Gaulish and Frankish influence, but a vast amount to enrichment from Christian theology, liturgy and institutional life. Gregory is a Janus-like figure looking back at classical antiquity with some nostalgia, but with another face looking into the Christian Middle Ages.

Notes - Chapter 10

(1) Mohl, op.cit.,p.249.

(2) Festugières, op.cit., the title of the first part of his work.

(3) Lelong, op.cit.,p.154.

Bibliography

Section A - The Works of St. Gregory of Tours

For the purposes of this thesis I have accepted as authoritative the edition of the works of St. Gregory published in:

Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum, I,

which is part of the series Monumenta Germaniae Historica, edited by W. Arndt and B. Krusch at Hanover in 1884. I have accepted as correct the M.G.H.'s list of Gregory's works and I have follwed the readings given in the main text of the work, except where reference to manuscripts is specifically relevant.

St. Gregory's works, except for the De Cursu Stellarum Ratio, are also available in the series Patrologia Latina, vol.71, edited by J-P. Migne at Paris in 1849.

Section B - Encyclopedias, Dictionnaries and other Collections

Bolland, J. and Henschen, G. — Acta Sanctorum, various tomes, Venice, 1734.

Cabrol, Dom F. and Leclercq, Dom H. — Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, various tomes, Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1925.

Cottineau, L-H. — Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés, vol.I, Mâcon,1935; vol.II,Mâcon,1937.

Cross, F.L. — Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, Oxford Univ. Press,1957.

Ducange — Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, various tomes, Librairie des Sciences et des Arts, Paris, 1937.

Gwatkin, H.M. and Whitney, J.P. — Cambridge Medieval History, vols. I and II, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1911.

Migne, J-P. — Patrologia Latina, various tomes, Paris, from 1840.

Niermeyer, J.F. — Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1964.

Poras, Dom G. — Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés, vol.III,Mâcon,1970.

Sammarthani, Dom D. — Gallia Christiana, Tome I (1715) and Tome II (1722), Paris.

Sandys, Sir J.E. — A Companion to Latin Studies, C.U.P., 1929.

Vacant, A. and Mangenot, E. — Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique, Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1909, various tomes.

Encyclopedia Britannica, various tomes.

Clavis Patrum Latinorum, in Sacris Erudiri, III, Bruges/The Hague,1951.

Concilia Galliae A.D. 511 - 695, in Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXLVIII, Turnhout, 1963.

Mélanges Colombaniens, Editions Alsatia, Paris, 1950.

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Teubner, Leipzig, from 1900, various tomes.

Monumenta Germaniae Historica,
1) Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum
2) Auctores Antiquissimi,
Hanover, 1884, various tomes.

Sacrosancta Concilia, ad regiam editionem exacta, Jesuit edition, Paris,1671, Tomes 4,5 and 6.

Section C - Alphabetical List of Other Books Consulted

A Monk of Lérins — L'Ile et L'Abbaye de Lérins, Lérins,1909.

Altaner, B. — Patrology, translated by H. Graef, Nelson, Edinburgh - London, 1960.

Antin, Dom P. — Recueil sur Saint Jérôme, Collection Latomus, vol.XCV, Brussels, 1968.

Arroyo, G. — Sancti Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum cum concordantiis eiusdem, editio Iubilaris, Abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, Burgos, Spain, 1947.

Aubert, R. — Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques, Fascicules 102-3, Letouzey et Ané, Paris.

Auerbach, E. — Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter, Francke Verlag, Bern, 1958.

Auerbach, E. — Introduction aux Etudes de Philologie Romane, Frankfurt am Main, 1949.

Axtens, S. — Virtus onder de Merowingers, article in Miscellanea Historica in Honorem Albert de Meyer, Louvain-Brussels, 1946.

Bardy, G. — The Christian Latin Literature of the First Six Centuries, translated by Mother Mary Reginald O.P., Sands & Co., London, 1930.

Bardy, G. — Les Ecoles Monastiques en Occident, article in Sacris Erudiri, V, Bruges/The Hague, 1953.

Beaunier, Dom — La France Monastique, I, Introduction, Liguge and Paris,1906; II, Les Moines de l'Ancienne France, Paris,1906.

Bellet, C-F. — Les Origines des Eglises de France et des Fastes Episcopaux, Paris, 1898.

Binns, J.W. — Latin Literature of the Fourth Century, London and Boston, 1974.

Bona, Cardinal G. — Omnia Opera, Rerum Liturgicarum II, Antwerp, 1723.

Bonnet, M. — Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours, Paris, 1890

Brogan, O. — Roman Gaul, London, 1953.

Caput, J.P. — La Langue Française, I, Librairie Larousse, Paris, 1972.

Chadwick, N.K. — Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul, London, 1955.

Chapman, Dom J. — St. Benedict and the Sixth Century, London 1929.

Chevalier, U. — Oeuvres Complètes de Saint Avit, Lyons, 1890.

Clark, W.K.L. — The Ascetic Works of St. Basil, London, 1925.

Cochrane, C.N. — Christianity and Classical Culture, A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine, Galaxy Books, New York & London, 1957.

Coquet, Dom J. — L'Inscription d'Ariomeres suivie de Pierres à Decor Mérovingien, Société des Amis du Vieux Ligugé, 1961.

de Coulanges, F. — La Monarquie Franque, in Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France, Paris, 1905.

Courcelle, P. — Philostrate et Grégoire de Tours, in Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, Tome I, Gembloux, 1951.

Courtois, C. — Il Monachesimo nell'Alto Medioevo e la Formazione della Civiltà Occidentale, vol.IV in Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 1957.

Cousin, P. — Précis d'Histoire Monastique, Belgium, 1956.

Dalton, O.M. — The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours: vol.I Introduction vol.II Translation of the Text, O.U.P., 1927.

Dawson, C. — The Making of Europe, London, 1939, chapter entitled Classical Tradition and Christianity.

Deanesly, M. — A History of Early Mediaeval Europe 476 - 911, University Paperbacks, Methuen, London, 1969.

Décarreaux, J. — Monks and Civilisation, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1964.

Desjardins, E. — Géographie de la Gaule Romaine, Tome IV Paris, 1893.

Dill, Sir S. — Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age, London, 1926.

Dudden, F.H. — Gregory the Great, vols.I & II, Longmans, Green & Company, New York & Bombay, 1905.

Festugières, A-J. — Les Moines d'Orient,I, Culture ou Sainteté, Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1961.

Fournier, P. & Le Bras, G. — Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident,Tome I, Paris, 1931.

Griffe, E. — La Gaule Chrétienne à l'Epoque Romaine, vols.I,II & III. Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1965.

Graesse, J.G.Th.& Benedict, F. — Orbis Latinus, oder Verzeichnis der wichtigsten lateinischen Orts- und Ländernamen, Berlin, 1922.

Grober, G. — Sprachquellen und Wortquellen des lateinischen Wörterbuchs, article in Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik, Leipzig, 1884.

Gwynn, A. — Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926.

Haarhoff, T.J. — Schools of Gaul, A Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the last Century of the Western Empire, O.U.P., 1920.

Halm, editor — Sulpicii Severi Libri Qui Supersunt, Gerold, Vienna, 1866.

Hanson, R.P.C. — The Church in Fifth Century Gaul, article in Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol.21, C.U.P., 1970.

Highet, G. — The Classical Tradition, O.U.P., 1949.

Hofmann, J.B. — Lateinische Umgangsprache, Heidelberg, 1926, Indogermanische Bibliothek, No.17.

Jones, A.H.M. — The Later Roman Empire, 284 - 602, Blackwell's Oxford, 1964.

Kaufmann, G. — Rhetorenschulen und Klösterschulen, oder heidnische und christliche Kultur in Gallien während des V und VI Jahrhunderts, Raumens Historisches Taschenbuch, 1869.

Keeton, B. — Some Observations on the Origin and Development of Christian Latin, with Special Reference to the Peregrinatio Aetheriae, M.A.dissertation, Univ. of Durham, 1969.

Ker, W.P. — The Dark Ages, Mentor Books, New York, 1958.

Kurth, G. — Etudes Franques, Tomes I & II, Paris & Brussels, 1919.

Kurth, G. — Saint Grégoire de Tours et les Etudes Classiques au VI^e Siècle, article in Revue des Questions Historiques, Tome 24, Paris, 1878, pp.586-593.

de Labriolle, P. — Latin Christianity - History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius, translated from the French by H. Wilson, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.Ltd., London, 1924.

Laistner, M.L.W. — Letters and Thought in Western Europe A.D.500 - 900, London, 1957.

Le Blant, E. — Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e Siècle, Paris, 1856, vol.sI & II.

Le Blant, E. — Nouveau Recueil des Inscriptions Chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e Siècle, Paris, 1892.

Leclercq, J. — The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, Mentor Omega Books, Fordham Univ. Press, 1961.

Lelong, C. — La Vie Quotidienne en Gaule à l'Epoque Mérovingienne, France, 1963.

Loebell, J.W. — Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit, vornehmlich aus seinen Werken geschildert, Leipzig, 1869.

Longnon, A. — Les Noms de Lieu de la France, Paris, 1920 - 1929.

Longnon, A. — Géographie de la Gaule au VI^e Siècle, Paris, 1878.

Lot, F. — La Gaule, Paris, 1947.

Lot, F. — A Quelle Époque a-t-on Cessé de Parler le Latin ? Article in Bulletin Ducange, VI, 1931, in Archivium Matinitatis Medii Aevi.

MacKendrick, P. — Roman France, G. Bell & Sons, London, 1971.

Marrou, H.I. — A History of Education in Antiquity, Mentor Books, New York, New American Library of World Literature, 1964.

Mâle, E. — La Fin du Paganisme en Gaule et les plus Anciennes Basiliques Chrétiennes, Paris, 1950.

McLaughlin, T.P. — Le Très Ancien Droit Monastique de l'Occident, in Archives de la France Monastique, vol.38, Liguge, 1935.

Mohl, F.G. — Introduction à la Chronolgie du Latin Vulgaire, Paris, 1899.

Molinier, A. — Les Sources de l'Histoire de la France, I, Paris, 1901.

Morin, Dom G., editor — Florilegium Patristicum, Bonn, 1933.

Muller, H.F. — L'Epoque Mérovengienne: Essai de Synthese de Philologie et d'Histoire, New York, 1945.

Munier, C. — Les 'Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua', Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1960.

Norden, E. — Antike Kunstprosa, vols. I & II, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1909.

Otto, A. — Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer, Hildesheim, 1962.

Ozanam, A.F. — La Civilisation Chrétienne chez les Francs, in Etudes Germaniques II, Paris, 1861.

Palmer, L. — The Latin Language, Faber & Faber, London, 1954.

Perowne, S. — The End of the Roman World, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1966.

Pope, M.K. — From Latin to Modern French, Manchester, 1934.

Rand, C.E.K. — Founders of the Middle Ages, Cambridge, 1941.

Riché, P. — Education et Culture dans l'Occident Barbare 6e - 8e Siècle, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1962.

Roger, M. — L'Enseignement des Lettres Classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin, Paris, 1905.

Rose, H.J. — A Handbook of Latin Literature from the Earliest Times to the death of St. Augustine, Methuen, London, 1936.

Schanz-Hosius — Römische Literaturgeschichte, IV Teil, 2 Band, C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Munich, 1920.

Schmitz, Dom P. — Histoire de l'Ordre de Sant Benoît, Tome I editions de Maredsous, 1942.

Sedgwick, W.B. — The Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius, 2nd ed., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1959.

Smalley, B. — Chapter entitled Sallust in the Middle Ages in Classical Influences on European Culture A.D.500 - 1500, ed. R.R. Bolgar, Cambridge, 1971.

Stevens, C.E. — Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1933.

Suelzer, Sr. M.J. — Julianus Pomerius, The Contemplative Life, Ancient Christian Writers IV, Longmans, Green & Co.,London, 1947.

Teuffel, W.S. — A History of Roman Literature, vol.II, translated by W. Wagner, George Bell & Sons, London, 1873.

Teuffel,W.S. — Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, 6th ed., Tomes I,II & III, Berlin, 1913.

Thorpe, L. — Gregory of Tours, The History of the Franks, translated with an introduction, Penguin Classics, Harmondsworth, 1974.

Vann, G. — The Paradise Tree, Collins, London, 1959.

Villard, C. — Le Latin des Diplômes Royaux et Chartres Privées de l'Epoque Mérovingienne, in the series of the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris, 1927.

Vossler, C. — Langue et Culture de la France, Paris, 1953.

Waddell, H. — The Desert Fathers, Fontana Library, London, 1962.

Waddell, H. — The Wandering Scholars, Fontana Library, London, 1968.

Walsh, P.G. — The Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola,vols. 1 & 2, translated by P.G. Walsh, in Ancient Christian Writers, vols.35 and 36, Longmans, Green & Co.,London, 1967.

Wight Duff, J. — A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age, Ernest Ben Ltd., London, 1960.

Wright, F.A., & Sinclair, T.A. — A History of Later Latin Literature, London 1969.

Section D - Books referred to but not personally consulted by me.

Alliez	Histoire du Monastère de Lérins.
Lelangoux	De Schola Lerinensi Aetate Merovingica.
Mabillon, Dom	Annales.
Malnory, A.	Saint Césaire, Eveque d'Arles.
Monod, M.G.	Études Critiques sur les Sources de l'Histoire Mérovingienne.
	Archives Historiques du Maine.
	Analecta Bollandiana.