

# GREGORIUS TURONENSIS

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## FORTUNA\*

Gregory of Tours was born Georgius Florentius on 30 November in 538 or 539 in Arvernus (Clermont-Ferrand) in the kingdom of the Franks. He was appointed bishop of Tours in 573, a position he held until his death on 17 November 594. Gregory belonged to both the old and new aristocracy of Francia. His family was an ancient Gallo-Roman one, which, on his father's side, could trace its roots to Vectius Epagatus, a Christian who was martyred at Lyons in 177. The family did not rest on its senatorial laurels during the tumultuous sixth century when rival Frankish factions fought for control of Gaul. Six of its members served during this period as bishops in Clermont, Langres, Lyons, and Tours. When Georgius Florentius was

called to the bishopric of Tours in 573, where he succeeded his second cousin, Bishop Euphronius (556–73), he began to use the name Gregory (Gregorius), apparently to recall his sainted relative, Bishop Gregory of Langres (506–39). Gregory thus assumed his position among the rising ecclesiastical aristocracy of the new Germanic kingdoms.<sup>1</sup>

The see of Tours was no sinecure. Tours was an important city, significant enough to have been fought over and pillaged several times during Gregory's pontificate. Gregory traveled both frequently and in high circles in his stalwart defense of the people and property of Tours. His participation in these events alone would have earned him sufficient credentials as an observer of the major events of his lifetime. Gregory's experiences and consequently his writings were influenced by a second stream. In addition to its strategic political importance, Tours, as the location of the tomb of St. Martin of Tours (315?–97), was renowned as one of the most celebrated sites of the Christian cult in Francia. Gregory's fourth-century predecessor as bishop was a noted miracle worker both during his life and af-

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1. See R.W. Mathisen, "The Family of Georgius Florentius Gregorius and the Bishops of Tours," *Medievalia et Humanistica*, N.S., 12 (1984) 83–95, and M. Heinzlmann, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century*, trans. C. Carroll (Cambridge, 2001), 7–35.

ter his death, and his tomb continued to serve as the locus for miraculous cures even in Gregory's day. The afflicted who came to Tours for relief offered continual proof of the validity of Gregory's deeply held Christian beliefs. Encouraged by his mother, Armentaria, Gregory recorded the lives and, primarily, the miracles not only of Martin of Tours, but also of many other Gallic holy men and women.

Seven works are known to have been composed or commissioned by Gregory:

1. *Decem libri historiarum* (cited hereafter as *Hist.*);<sup>2</sup>

2. *Libri octo miraculorum* (book 1: *Liber in gloria martyrum*; book 2: *Liber de passione et virtutibus sancti Iuliani martyris* [B.H.L. 4541]; books 3–6: *Libri I–IV de virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi* [B.H.L. 5618]; book 7: *Liber vitae patrum* [B.H.L. 6541]; book 8: *Liber in gloria confessorum*);

3. *In psalterii tractatum commentarius* (fragments);

4. *De cursu stellarum ratio* (Gregory's title for this work is *De cursibus ecclesiasticis*; see *Hist.* 10.31);

5. *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli* (B.H.L. 430, translation commissioned by Gregory);

6. *Passio sanctorum martyrum septem dormientium apud Ephesum* (B.H.L. 2313, translation commissioned by Gregory);<sup>3</sup>

7. *Collection of the Masses of Sidonius Apollinaris* (lost; mentioned in *Hist.* 2.22 [ed. 67.29–30]: "Quod in praefatione libri, quem de missis ab eo compositis coniunximus, plenius declaravimus").

2. Modern commentators, taking the evidence of some manuscripts, occasionally prefer for Gregory's chief work the title *Ecclesiastical Histories* to the shorter (and more usual) *Histories*. The former would seem to capture better the spirit of Gregory's writings, for he was no secular historian, but a Christian bishop committed firmly to documenting the growth of Christianity in his times and the rewards and punishments that history shows await the good and the evil. See K. Mitchell, *History and Christian Society in Sixth-Century Gaul: An Historiographical Analysis of Gregory of Tours' Decem libri Historiarum* (Diss. Michigan State University, 1983).

3. Gregory's connection with a third adapted translation, the *Passio sive Miracula Thomae apostoli* (B.H.L. 8140), ed. M. Bonnet, *Supplementum codicis apocryphi*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1883), 96–132, no longer holds; see the studies cited in W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988), 128–29.

This roster of his works is significant from several points of view inasmuch as it reveals an author of wide interests and expertise. Well known as a historian and hagiographer, Gregory was also an exegete, an astronomer and computist, and a Westerner concerned to make works of Byzantine spirituality known in Latin translation. A gap in the list of Gregory's works is equally noteworthy. He must have written letters, but in contrast to the literary legacy of his sixth-century contemporary, the *other* Gregory, i.e., Pope Gregory I (590–604), the bishop of Tours' register of correspondence does not survive.

The *Histories* and his hagiographical pieces were very influential throughout the Middle Ages and afterwards. But these works were never the subject of a commentary before 1600 since they were read as factual writings requiring little interpretation or discussion and used accordingly. Nor have any commentaries been located on Gregory's other writings, which were much less popular.

#### THE MIDDLE AGES

The predominant pattern in the *fortuna* of Gregory's works was anticipated by the author himself when, at the end of the *Histories*, he pleaded with future generations to keep his works intact:

I have written ten books of histories, seven books of miracles and one on the lives of the fathers. I have composed one book treating the Psalter. I also wrote one book on the ecclesiastical offices. While I have written these books in a plain and simple style, I, nevertheless, conjure all the bishops of the Lord who will have charge of the church of Tours after my unworthy self—by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the Judgment Day feared by all sinners, so you may never emerge in confusion from that judgment condemned along with the devil—that you never permit these books to be destroyed or to be rewritten, choosing some parts and omitting others. Keep them in your possession intact and uncut just as I have left them to you.<sup>4</sup>

4. Gregory, *Hist.* 10.31 (ed., 535.20–536.8): "Decem libros Historiarum, septem Miraculorum, unum de Vita Patrum scripsi; in Psalterii tractatu librum unum commentatus sum; de Cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum condidi. Quos libros licet stilo rusticiori conscripserim, tamen coniuro omnes sacerdotes Domini, qui post me humilem

Despite the conventional practice he followed here in deprecating his prose style, Gregory's very act of enumerating his literary legacy and the words in which he did so reveal the great pride he took in his writings: and justly so, for they would have been a considerable achievement for any author, much less for a bishop active in tumultuous times.<sup>5</sup> But this command to leave his work intact went unheeded. Early manuscripts dropped sections of the texts and, in the thousand years following Gregory's death, his historical and hagiographical works were steadily mined by excerptors with differing agendas who could easily isolate coherent passages and join them to other material. Moreover, the hagiographical works helped to define that genre in the Middle Ages and were copied many times over.<sup>6</sup>

The process began in Gregory's own lifetime, for Marius, bishop of Avenches from 574 to 594, used the *Histories* as a source for his own *Chronicle*, and the former remains today the foremost literary source for the history of sixth-century Francia.<sup>7</sup> Excerpts from the *Histories* also began to appear in other works, most notably in the six-book version of the *Histories* known as the *His-*

*toria Francorum*, in Fredegar's *Chronicle* and its continuations, and in the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. The authors/editors of these histories adapted what they found in Gregory to suit their own needs. What new audiences wanted was the history of the Franks and their kings, a *Historia Francorum*, and not as much religious and local episcopal history. Some of Gregory's stories and sometimes even Gregory himself, a prominent actor in his own text, also fell by the wayside.<sup>8</sup> For example, the anonymous author of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*, writing in 727, wanted a particular history of the Franks, one that emphasized the Neustrians and not the Austrasians.<sup>9</sup> Although Gregory no doubt would have been pained by the fate of his *Histories*, he might have taken some comfort from the realization that readers found the work immediately useful and important enough to reuse and to adapt parts of it in their own reconstructions of the past. That the complex textual tradition of Gregory's *Histories* contrasts sharply with the relatively pristine early tradition of Bede's great history of the Anglo-Saxon church testifies to the almost immediate appeal Gregory's work had for a wide audience of readers with varied interests.<sup>10</sup>

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ecclesiam Turonicam sunt recturi, per adventum domini nostri Iesu Christi ac terribilem reis omnibus iudicii diem, sic numquam confusi de ipso iudicio discedentes cum diabolo condempnemi, ut numquam libros hos aboleri faciat aut rescribi, quasi quaedam eligentes et quaedam praetermittentes, sed ita omnia vobiscum integra inlibataque permaneant, sicut a nobis relictas sunt." Translation adapted from L. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours: The History of the Franks* (Harmondsworth, 1974), 602–3.

5. The classic study of Gregory's Latin is M. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890; repr. Hildesheim, 1968). Modern studies lead in the direction of a more nuanced appreciation of the bishop's prose, long an exemplar of low-level Merovingian Latin. According to P. Brown, "Gregory of Tours' simple Latin words, once accepted as proof of irreparable educational disability, were the most magnificently universal feature of his culture" ("Gregory of Tours: Introduction," in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, 7). See also C. Leyser, "Divine power flowed from this book: Ascetic Language and Episcopal Authority in Gregory of Tours' *Life of the Fathers*," *ibid.*, 282–94.

6. For Heiric of Auxerre in the third quarter of the ninth century, Gregory was the "miraculorum curiosus indagator ac studiosissimus editor" (*Miracula sancti Germani* 1.4 [PL 124.1227A]).

7. For Marius, see *La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches (455–581)*, ed. J. Favrod (Lausanne, 1991). Pope Gregory I may also have been an early reader of Gregory of Tours; see A. de Vogüé, "Grégoire le Grand, lecteur de Grégoire de Tours?" *Analecta Bollandiana* 94 (1976) 225–33.

8. See H. Reimitz, "Social Networks and Identities in Frankish Historiography. New Aspects of the Textual History of Gregory of Tours' *Historiae*," in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, ed. R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger, and H. Reimitz (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 229–68 and 3 plates.

9. See Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, 192–201. For the seventh-century compiler of the *Historia Francorum*, see W. Goffart, "From *Historiae* to *Historia Francorum* and Back Again: Aspects of the Textual History of Gregory of Tours," in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, ed. T. F. X. Noble and J. J. Contreni, *Studies in Medieval Culture* 23 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1987), 55–76; and, for additional references, Reimitz, "Social Networks and Identities." For Fredegar, see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, ed. and trans., *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar with its Continuations* (London, 1960); Wallace-Hadrill, "Fredegar and the History of France," in the same, *The Long-Haired Kings and Other Studies in Frankish History* (London, 1962), 71–94; and W. Goffart, "The Fredegar Problem Reconsidered," *Speculum* 38 (1963) 206–41. For an analysis of the early eighth-century *Liber Historiae Francorum* and its use of Gregory's *Histories*, see R. A. Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the Liber Historiae Francorum* (Oxford, 1987), 31–46.

10. Bede (d. 735), *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. Mynors (Oxford, 1969; repr. with corrections, 1991). The boom period for Bede's great work, to judge from manuscript survival, is post-twelfth century. See

The list of authors who borrowed from the *Histories* is lengthy. Almost every writer of history in the land of the Franks—from Paul the Deacon through Notker of St. Gall, Flodoard of Reims, Letald of Micy, and Hugo of Flavigny down to the fifteenth-century French national historians—paid homage (sometimes silently) to Gregory. Aimoin of Fleury's early eleventh-century rewriting of the history of the Franks depended greatly on Gregory's *Histories* and, in its turn, became the basis for the late thirteenth-century *Grandes chroniques*.<sup>11</sup> Gregory's work was especially useful to authors of local episcopal history, such as the histories of the bishoprics of Naples, Reims, Trier, Cambrai, Verdun, Metz, and even Hamburg.<sup>12</sup> Controversialists in the church-state conflict of the eleventh century, Peter Damian in his *Disceptatio synodalis* of 1062 and the monk-author of the *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* in 1090, drew historical ammunition from Gregory's *Histories*.<sup>13</sup>

J.J. Contreni, "Bede's Scientific Works in the Carolingian Age," in *Bède le Vénérable: Entre tradition et postérité/The Venerable Bede: Tradition and Posterity*, ed. S. Lebecq, M. Perrin, and O. Szerwiniack (Lille, 2005), 247–48; and, especially, J. Westgard, *Dissemination and Reception of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica in Germany, c. 731–1500: The Manuscript Evidence* (Diss. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2005) and P. Kershaw, "English History and Irish Readers in the Frankish World," in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, ed. P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (Manchester, 2008), 126–51.

11. See M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1911–31), 2.240–42; *Les Grandes chroniques de France*, ed. J. Viard, 10 vols. (Paris, 1920–53); R. Levine, *France before Charlemagne: A Translation from the Grandes Chroniques*, Studies in French Civilization 3 (Lewiston, N.Y., 1990), 1–9.

12. *Gesta episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, *Scriptores rerum langobardicarum et italicarum saec. VI–IX* (Hannover, 1878; repr. 1964), 398–436; Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. M. Stratmann, MGH, *Scriptores* 36 (Hannover, 1998); *De rebus Treverensibus saec. VIII–X libellus*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, *Scriptores* 14 (Hannover, 1883; repr. 1963), 98–106; *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, MGH, *Scriptores* 7 (Hannover, 1846; repr. 1968), 393–489; *Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, *Scriptores* 4 (Hannover, 1841; repr. 1968), 36–51; Paul the Deacon, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH, *Scriptores* 2 (Hannover, 1829; repr. 1968), 260–68; Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, MGH, *Scriptores rerum germanicarum* (Hannover, 1917; repr. 1993).

13. For an overview, see W. Levison, *Wattenbach-Levison: Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, Vorzeit*

The *Histories* could also be quarried for material useful to canonists and preachers.<sup>14</sup> In Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 1172, s. IX, second quarter, Gregory was even put to theological use. This codex contains the *Liber pontificalis* preceded by a variety of conciliar and credal *sententiae* concerning the Trinity and ecclesiastical discipline. Just after a selection from the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* on the ordination of bishops, excerpts from *Hist.* 5.43–44 and 6.5 and 40 are assembled under the rubric "Sententia de chronica altercatio de fidei trinitatis quod fecit Gregorius Toronensis episcopus" (fols. 16ra–20rb). The selections from book 5 recount Gregory's dramatic debates with Agilan, the Arian emissary of King Leovigild of Spain, and with King Chilperic, both of whom could only gnash their teeth in the face of Gregory's stalwart defense of his Trinitarian views. The compiler of the texts in the Vatican manuscript also found useful the reports in book 6 of Gregory's encounters with Priscus, a Jew, and Oppila, another Spanish Arian.

Excerpts of one to four manuscript leaves from the *Histories* occur in some eighty manuscripts ranging in date from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> Most carry the stories of individual saints and appear in collections of saints' lives or in collections of sermons for feast days. The life of Bishop Briccius of Tours (397–444) from *Hist.* 2.1 enjoyed extensive independent retelling and appears in at least twenty-one manuscripts. Readers perhaps enjoyed following the tumultuous career of this figure, an arrogant but innocent man falsely accused and ul-

und Karolinger, 1. Heft: *Die Vorzeit von den Anfängen bis zur Herrschaft der Karolinger* (Weimar, 1952), 99–119. See also the detailed indices and *Nachträge* in each of the three volumes of Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, and the additional references in W. Maaz, "Gregor von Tours," *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, ed. R. W. Brednich, vol. 6 (Berlin and New York, 1990), cols. 119–20, for the medieval influence of the *Histories*. For the Carolingian period, see M. Sot, "Les Dix livres d'histoire chez les écrivains carolingiens," in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois: actes du congrès international, Tours, 3–5 novembre 1994*, ed. N. Gauthier and H. Galinié (Tours, 1997), 319–29.

14. See P. Bourgain and M. Heinzelmann, "L'oeuvre de Grégoire de Tours: la diffusion des manuscrits," in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois*, 292–93.

15. See pp. 69–70 below and also Bourgain and Heinzelmann, *ibid.*, 291–94, 309–10.

timately vindicated—in one instance by a talking baby who denied Brictius' paternity. The lives of Sidonius Apollinaris and the recluse Hospitius of Nice from the second and sixth book respectively of the *Histories* also stand alone. By far the most frequently excerpted passage from Gregory's grand work is chapter 48 from book 1, which, in its independent existence, appears at least forty-five times as either the *Epistola* or the *Sermo Gregorii de obitu (or transitu) sancti Martini episcopi*. In the ninth century this chapter, along with other relevant Gregorian texts, was joined to Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini* and other writings about Martin of Tours by Odo of Cluny and Venantius Fortunatus to form a handy and popular anthology known as the *Martinellus*.<sup>16</sup>

The *Eight Books of Miracles* especially lent itself to the excerpting process. Composed of discrete cameos of the lives and deeds of more than 220 martyrs, confessors, saints, and fathers, passages from it could be excised for use in passionaries and compilations put together to honor local saints. It was also a treasure trove of exempla. Bruno Krusch listed more than eighty-five manuscripts of the *Eight Books of Miracles*; in addition, more than seventy-five excerpts survive independently in many other codices.<sup>17</sup> Most of the passages selected come from the "Miracles of St. Martin," "The Glory of the Martyrs," "The Glory of the Confessors," and the "Life of the Fathers." Some heroes attracted repeated attention from readers—Martin, of course, then the True Cross and its associated miracles, followed by Bartholomew, Melanius, Vincent, Felix of Nola, Nicetius of Trier, and Venantius among the most frequently selected from the *Eight Books*. Generally the excerpts are introduced by expressions such as "pauca uerba de . . ."

"The Book of the Suffering and Miracles of the Martyr St. Julian" (book 2 of the *Eight Books*) ap-

parently did not inspire excerptors. But this text can claim pride of place as the first of Gregory's own works translated into the vernacular: Guillaume Danicot (d. 1472/73) produced a French translation sometime between 1463 and 1467 for Queen Charlotte of Savoy (1442–83), the wife of King Louis XI (1423–83) of France. Charlotte, an important royal bibliophile, admired Merovingian saints' lives. An anonymous monk of the monastery of Saint-Julien in Tours composed two nearly identical French translations of the same work in very special circumstances (Paris, BNF, fr. 1044 and 2100). The monk, who worked sometime between the end of the fifteenth century and 1515, intended his work for the eyes of the king, either Charles VIII (1483–98) or Louis XII (1498–1515). He first took pains to distinguish his monastery's St. Julian from lesser homonyms on the authority of Gregory and then offered Julian as the special protector of France (*patronus regni*) and its kings from the time of Clovis down to the present. In drawing the king to St. Julian, the monk and his community hoped to draw him to Julian's monastery as their special patron.<sup>18</sup> At present, all three French translations of the *Vita sancti Iuliani* are still unpublished. A late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century French translation of the Latin translation Gregory commissioned of the *The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus* has been published.<sup>19</sup>

The medieval reception of Gregory's other works, although not as full or as complex as those of the *Histories* or the *Eight Books of Miracles*, nevertheless sheds interesting light on patterns of medieval readership.

Two of the works, the collection of the masses of Sidonius Apollinaris and the commentary on the Psalms, had hardly any history at all and probably not many readers. The collection of masses is apparently lost; no record of it ex-

16. See P. Lehmann, "Mittelalterliche Büchertitel," in the same, *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1959–62), 5:59–60. For the complex textual history of the *Martinellus*, see Bourgain and Heinzelmänn, "L'oeuvre de Grégoire de Tours," 300–309.

17. See Krusch's preface to his edition of *Libri octo miraculorum*, MGH, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum* 1, part 2, new ed. (Hannover, 1885; repr. 1969 with new pagination and revised index, 1988), 12–27; see pp. 70–71 below for manuscripts containing excerpts and also Bourgain and Heinzelmänn, "L'oeuvre de Grégoire de Tours," 310–11.

18. On the French translations, see C. Beaune, "Traduire Grégoire à Tours au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois*, 331–39. According to Beaune, Danicot's translation is faithful to Gregory's *vita*, but the royal translator did embellish certain themes that would have resonated with his audience. For example, Danicot editorialized on Gregory's chapter 7, which concerns invading Burgundians, and on chapter 20, where Danicot drew a parallel between Gregory's church robbers and those who would harm the royal couple's kingdom.

19. See B.S. Merrilees, "La *Passio Septem Dormientium* en français," *Romania* 93 (1972) 547–63.

ists apart from Gregory's own reference in *Hist.* 2.22. Mabillon, who encountered the commentary on the psalms in a manuscript at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Martin, Tournai, was apparently the last person to see the complete text of this work. The two excerpts he sent to his confrère, Thierry Ruinart, were published in Ruinart's edition of Gregory's works.<sup>20</sup> Another fragment, first published by Henri Léonard Bordier in the mid-nineteenth century and subsequently included in Krusch's edition, is preserved in Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 275, fol. 197v, s. IX (provenance: the monastery of Saint-Aubin, Angers); it attributes to *Florentius Georgius Gregorius* an *Explanatio de titulis psalmorum*.<sup>21</sup> The *explanatio* is followed by *tituli* down to psalm 89 where the text in the Angers manuscript breaks off. Krusch thought that the *tituli*—brief explanations of the Christological significance of each Psalm—were the chapter headings for Gregory's lost commentary. This they certainly are not. Their most recent editor classified the *tituli* themselves as "inspired by Origen."<sup>22</sup> But the preceding *explanatio*, found in five manuscripts in addition to the Angers witness, is a genuine fragment.<sup>23</sup> Certainly our view of Gregory would be enriched had something more survived besides the morsels ("De compunctione" and "De retributione iustorum") published by Ruinart. As to why the commentary did not survive in more manuscripts than the one Mabillon saw in the seventeenth century: perhaps it lacked that all-important advantage enjoyed by the *Histories*—

an immediate seventh- and eighth-century audience to multiply copies and thereby ensure its survival.<sup>24</sup>

The relevance of audience to transmission is also underscored by the limited circulation of the *De cursu stellarum ratio*.<sup>25</sup> Only fragments of this work were known until 1853, when Friderich Haase discovered a complete text in a late eighth-century manuscript (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Patr. 61 [HJ IV 15]) written in Beneventan script, perhaps at Montecassino.<sup>26</sup> This codex is doubly famous. In addition to preserving the earliest complete copy of Gregory's *De cursu stellarum ratio*, it has a complete copy of Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* (one of only three copies of both books of the *Institutes*) with a colophon identifying the text as the *codex archetypus* against which all others are to be corrected. The manuscript also contains the *De metris liber* of Malleus Theodorus and Isidore of Seville's *De natura rerum*. The *De cursu stellarum ratio*, positioned between the *De metris* and the *De natura rerum*, shares

20. T. Ruinart, ed., *Sancti Georgii Florentii Gregorii episcopi Turonensis Opera omnia, necnon Fredegarii scholastici Epitome et Chronicum, cum suis continuatoribus et aliis antiquis monumentis* (Paris, 1699), 1259–60; reprinted in 1849 in PL 71.1097b–c; MGH, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum* 1, part 2, 427.23–32.

21. H. L. Bordier, *Les Livres de miracles et autres opuscules de Georges Florent Grégoire, évêque de Tours, revus et collationnés sur de nouveaux manuscrits et traduits pour la Société de l'histoire de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1857–64; repr. New York and London, 1965), 3.402–403; MGH, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum* 1, part 2, 424.1–425.2.

22. See P. Salmon, *Les "Tituli psalmorum" des manuscrits latins* (Paris, 1959), 28–30, 133–48. In Krusch's edition (MGH, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum* 1, part 2, 425.3–427.21), the apparently spurious *tituli* appear sandwiched between the authentic *explanatio* and fragments recorded by Mabillon.

23. The *explanatio* also appears in Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 4228 and 5729; Paris, BNF, lat. 6 and 16744; and, Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, III 86.

24. Of the twelve extant complete or fragmentary manuscripts of Gregory's works copied before 800, nine contain the *Histories*; see s. v. "Gregorius Turonensis" in E. A. Lowe, ed., *Codices Latini Antiquiores. A Palaeographical Guide to Manuscripts Written before 800 A.D.* (= CLA), 11 vols. and Supplement (Oxford, 1934–71), Supplement, 75 ("Index of Authors"). The other texts represented in CLA are the *De cursu stellarum ratio* and the *Liber in gloria martyrum*.

25. MGH, *Scriptorum rerum merovingicarum* 1, part 2, 404–22. For Gregory's reference to this work in his *Histories*, see n. 4 above. See also B. S. Eastwood, "The Astronomy of Macrobius in Carolingian Europe: Dungal's Letter of 811 to Charles the Great," *Early Medieval Europe* 3.2 (1994) 119; W. Bergmann and W. Schlosser, "Gregor von Tours und der 'rote Sirius': Untersuchungen zu den astronomischen Angaben in *De cursu stellarum ratio*," *Francia* 15 (1987) 43–74; and S. McCluskey, "Gregory of Tours, Monastic Timekeeping, and Early Christian Attitudes to Astronomy," *Isis* 81 (1990) 8–22.

26. See S. Georgii Florentii Gregorii Turonensis episcopi *liber ineditus De cursu stellarum ratio qualiter ad officium implendum debeat observari sive De cursibus ecclesiasticis* (Bratislava, 1853) and CLA 8, no. 1029 and 10, no. 1510. Anonymous fragments of the work had been published earlier by A. Mai, ed., *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, 10 vols. (Rome, 1825–38), vol. 3.2 (1828), 239 and M. Haupt, ed., *Ovidii Halieutica Gratii et Nemesiani Cynegetica. Accedunt inedita Latina et tabula lithographica* (Leipzig, 1838), pp. 67–73 (*De cursu stellarum ratio* 9–12). Krusch twitted Henri Omont for publishing fragments of the text as "opuscules... complètement inconnus" ("Les Sept Merveilles du monde au Moyen Age," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 43 [1882] 44, 50–55) thirty years after Haase's discovery; see Krusch's MGH ed., 407.28–32.

common intellectual and pedagogical ground with them and with Cassiodorus' *Institutes*—Gregory intended his practical text to teach clerics how to read the night sky so they could properly observe the night office. This treatise, based on his careful observations and accompanied by star charts, was sufficiently useful to be copied probably several times before the late eighth century when it ended up as an anonymous tract in the Beneventan manuscript now in Bamberg.<sup>27</sup> The survival of the complete text in only two manuscripts can be attributed to the appearance of fuller and more sophisticated computistical tracts in the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>28</sup> Bede and Irish computists made Gregory's *De cursu stellarum ratio* obsolete.

Obsolete, but not forgotten. The Middle Ages remembered the *De cursu stellarum ratio* for the first sixteen of the treatise's forty-seven chapters in Krusch's edition.<sup>29</sup> In these chapters Gregory had compared the seven *human* wonders (e.g., Noah's Ark, the Colossus at Rhodes) with seven *divine*, everlasting wonders (e.g., the tides, Mt. Etna, and the heavenly bodies): "Haec sunt enim miracula, quae nulla aetate seniscunt, nullo occasu occidunt, nulla labe minuuntur, nisi cum Dominus mundum dissolvi praeciperit."<sup>30</sup> Gregory's roster of such wonders experienced much the same fate as the two books of Cassiodorus' *Institutes of Divine and Human Learning*, which were normally copied separately. In fact, six of the ten witnesses, ranging in date from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, preserve only the human and divine wonders, i.e., chapters 1–16 of the *De cursu stellarum ratio*. A ninth-century Bobbio manuscript (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vindob. lat. 2 [olim Vienna 16]), for example, preserves chapters 9–16 under the rubric *De septem mira-*

*culis mundi*. A twelfth-century codex (Paris, BNF, lat. 12277) also uses that title in reference to chapters 1–9, with chapters 10–16 introduced as *Item alia*.<sup>31</sup> Only two independent witnesses to chapters 16–47, the astronomical portion of the text, are presently known to survive from the period after 800.<sup>32</sup> Once again, it was the *miracula* that appealed most to Gregory's medieval readers.

In addition to his own accounts of miracles, Gregory helped to spread news of Eastern miracles through translations he commissioned and adapted. The *Liber de miraculis beati Andreae apostoli* survives in at least eleven copies, most of which seem to have come from French centers.<sup>33</sup> Gregory's version of Andrew's *acta* served as the basis of the Icelandic translations.<sup>34</sup> His account of the life and death of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus likewise turned out to be quite popular. He composed two versions of the *Seven Sleepers*, namely, a short treatment in chapter 94 of the *Glory of the Martyrs* and a longer, freestanding *passio*. In the *Glory of the Martyrs* version, Gregory acknowledged the assistance of "Siro quodam interpretante," whom he named in the colophon to the *passio*, "interpretante Iohanne Syro." John doubtless assisted Gregory with other Greek texts. The *Seven Sleepers* had wide appeal, to judge from the number of extant manuscripts and references in medieval literature.<sup>35</sup>

31. The other manuscripts that preserve the first half of the work are Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 22, s. XIII (chapters 1–16) and London, Lambeth Palace, 414, s. X (chapters 1–17); St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 855, s. IX (chapters 10–12; 4–5; 13–14; 6; 15; 8–9; 16–17); and the Vienna manuscript cited in n. 27 above.

32. Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 422, early s. IX (chapters 17, 19–34); Vatican City, BAV, Reg. lat. 1324, s. XV (chapters 18, 19, 20–34).

33. To the manuscripts listed by Bonnet, ed., 373–75, add Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 8565, s. XII, pp. 241a–266b. See G. Quispel, "An Unknown Fragment of the Acts of Andrew (Pap. Copt. Utrecht N. 1)," *Vigiliae Christianae* 10 (1956) 129–48, for the suggestion that Gregory may have altered his source.

34. See L. Harty, "An Edition of a Fourteenth-Century Version of *Andreas saga postola* and Its Sources," *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977) 121–59.

35. To the ten manuscripts used by Krusch for his edition (MGH, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum* 7 [Hannover, 1920], 757–58), add Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 193; Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, B-23/141; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14540; Paris, BNF, lat. 5565; Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1378; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 5771; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 420. For

27. There is only one other early witness, namely, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ser. nov. 37 (suppl. 2731) + lat. 15269 (suppl. 2730), from late eighth-century Salzburg (CLA 10, no. 1510). Although it bears a partial text (chapters 1–8, 12–17), this is the only manuscript of the ten surviving witnesses to attribute the work to Gregory; see B. Obrist, "Les manuscrits du 'De cursu stellarum' de Grégoire de Tours et le manuscrit, Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale 422," *Scriptorium* 56 (2002) 341.

28. Vatican City, BAV, Urb. lat. 67, s. XII, contains the only other complete text of *De cursu stellarum ratio* that is known at present (Obrist, *ibid.*, 340–41).

29. See Obrist, *ibid.*, 336–41 for the ten surviving manuscripts and their contents.

30. Krusch, ed., 410.12–14.



The text even turns up in Anglo-Saxon medical charms.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, it was one of the few works of Gregory to be translated into the vernacular (see below).

#### THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND LATER

Gregory first appeared in print not on his own terms, but in excerpts from the *Histories* and the *Eight Books of Miracles* that were published in the *Martinellus* by Hieronymus van Clichtove at Paris in 1511 (contents: collection of medieval texts on St. Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus, Odo of Cluny, Venantius Fortunatus, and Gregory of Tours; Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum*, *Opus in gloriam Iuliani martyris turonensium patroni cum capitum indice*, and *Epistola ad beatum Sulpitium bituricensem archiepiscopum in vitam sanctorum Septem Dormientium*). Others works appeared in print soon after in 1512 (contents: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* [editio princeps], *In vitas patrum*, and *De gloria confessorum*; Ado of Vienne, *Sex aetatum mundi breves seu Commentarii usque ad Carolum simplicem Francorum regem*; Jean Gilles de Tours, *Vie de St. Grégoire*; and Jerome, *Vie de S. Paul, premier ermite*); 1561 (contents: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* and Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon*; includes a biography of Gregory of Tours attributed to Abbot Odo of Cluny, but this is actually an anonymous work composed at Tours in the tenth century); 1563 (contents: Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* and *De gloria confessorum*); 1568 (contents: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*; Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon*; an appendix with the editio princeps of Ps.-Fredegar's continuation ("alio quodam autore"); 1583 (Paris) (contents: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* and Ps.-Fredegar's continuation; *Liber in gloria martyrum beatorum*; and the *Liber in gloria confessorum*); 1583 (Cologne) (contents: Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, *De gloria confessorum*, and *De virtutibus et miraculis sancti Martini*); and, in 1589 (contents as in the 1583 Paris edition).<sup>37</sup>

an echo in the eleventh-century *Cronaca di Novalesa*, see P.J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), 131.

36. W. Bonser, "The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus in Anglo-Saxon and Later Recipes," *Folk-Lore: A Quarterly Review of Myth, Tradition, Institution, and Custom* 56 (1945) 254–56.

37. For all the early printed editions of Gregory's works,

Claude Bonnet Dauphinois, known only to have been a doctor in civil and canon law, produced a French translation of the *Histories*; this was published at Paris in 1610 and is the first rendering of the *Histories* into the vernacular. There is a reference to a 1608 English translation of the *Lives and Miracles of the Saints*, but the volume itself has not yet been located.<sup>38</sup>

Seventeenth-century editors supplemented Gregory's texts with notes detailing toponomical or historical facts,<sup>39</sup> and scholarly scrutiny of his works generally focused on the respective manuscript traditions and on his Latinity. But, in 1666, Charles Le Cointe (1611–81), following early, faulty manuscripts, argued in his *Annales ecclesiastici Francorum* (Paris) that much of the *Histories* consisted of unwarranted interpolations. His radical hypothesis furnished the impetus for Thierry Ruinart's new edition of Paris, 1699. Ruinart (1657–1709), a learned Benedictine and member of the Congregation of Saint-Maur, did extensive manuscript research that enabled him to vindicate the texts of many of Gregory's works by bringing to bear witnesses unknown to Le Cointe. In the process of analyzing previous editions, examining codices, and appending his own philological and historical comments to his edition, Ruinart became the father of modern studies on Gregory of Tours. Three centuries after he published *Gregorius noster*, scholars continue to admire Ruinart's achievement.<sup>40</sup> He saw, for example, that the earliest manuscripts of the *Histories*, Krusch's class B manuscripts with their six-book version of the text, do not represent Gregory's original work but, rather, an early reworking of it.

see Bordier, *Les Livres de miracles et autres opuscules de Georges Florent Grégoire* (n. 21 above) 4:277–318, and H. Omont and G. Collon, eds., *Grégoire de Tours: Histoire des Francs (Texte de manuscrits de Corbie et de Bruxelles)*, new ed. by R. Poupardin, *Textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire* 47 (Paris, 1913), xx–xxx.

38. R. Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica; or A General Index to British and Foreign Literature*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1824), 1:439: "St. Gregory on the Lives and Miracles of the Saints. Translated into English. Lond. 1608, 8vo."

39. For example, Antonius Dadinus Alteserra (Antoine Dadin de Hauteserre, 1602–82), *Notae et observationes in x. libros Historiae Francorum B. Gregorij Turonensis episcopi, & Supplementum Fredegarii* (Toulouse, 1679).

40. For *Gregorius noster*, see Ruinart's *Epistola nuncupatoria*, PL 71:9–12; Goffart, "From *Historiae* to *Historia Francorum* and Back Again," 59–60; and Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, 198.



Gregory's work continued to be printed.<sup>41</sup> The general pattern that emerges is dominated by the *Histories* since the *Eight Books of Miracles*, if not tagging along as *opera minora*, were not usually published in their own right when the *Histories* were reedited in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. This pattern began to shift during the last quarter of the twentieth century when scholars such as Kathleen Mitchell, Walter Goffart, Raymond Van Dam, Martin Heinzelmann, and especially Giselle de Nie appreciated Gregory's accounts of holy men and women for the new perspectives his wonder stories open up on early Frankish society and spirituality.<sup>42</sup> The recent publication of English translations of the texts that make up the *Eight Books of Miracles* and the scholarship they have inspired help to limn a portrait of an emerging "new Gregory."<sup>43</sup> The flurry of scholarship on Gregory of Tours and his work fostered by the 1400th anniversary commemorations of his death in 594 has also demonstrated what a rich harvest Gregory's writings can yield when subjected to imaginative and sophisticated readings. But no one in the Middle Ages was ever interested in "The World of Gregory of Tours" or in "Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois." Some wanted the "History of the Franks," more sought in Gregory's works the documentary foundation for a local cult or texts to celebrate exemplary virtuous lives. Perhaps Rodulfus Glaber (about 980–

about 1046) spoke for most medieval readers of Gregory of Tours when in his life of William of Dijon he referred to Gregory as "beatus multorum sanctorum descriptor miraculorum Gregorius Turonorum pontifex."<sup>44</sup>

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#### D. *Liber de miraculis Andreae apostoli*

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C. Beaune, "Traduire Grégoire à Tours au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace gaulois*, 331–39.

F. *Libri VIII miraculorum*

S. Boesch Gajano, "Il santo nella visione storiografia di Gregorio di Tours," in *Gregorio di Tours*, 27–91; H. L. Bordier, ed. and trans., *Les Livres de miracles et autres opuscules de Georges Florent Grégoire, évêque de Tours, revus et collationnés sur de nouveaux manuscrits et traduits pour la Société de l'histoire de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1857–64; repr. New York and London, 1965); G. de Nie and J. M. Pizarro, "Image and Miracle in Gregory of Tours: A Discussion," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 9 (1999) 77–101; A. De Prisco, "Gregorio di Tours agiografo e la comunicazione verticale nella Gallia del VI secolo," in *Origini del linguaggio: frammenti di pensiero* (Verona, 1999), 113–26; De Prisco, "Il pubblico dei santi nei *Miraculorum libri octo* di Gregorio di Tours," in *Il pubblico dei santi: forme e livelli di ricezione dei messaggi agiografici. Atti del III. Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia. Verona 22–24 ottobre 1998*, ed. P. Golinelli (Rome, 2000), 23–51; M. Heinzelmänn, "La réécriture hagiographique dans l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Tours," in *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'occident médiéval: transformations formelles et idéologiques*, ed. M. Goullet and M. Heinzelmänn, *Beihefte der Francia* 58 (Ostfildern, 2003), 15–70; Heinzelmänn, *Gregorio di Tours—Gregorio di Fozio, I sette dormienti: una leggenda fra Oriente e Occidente*, trans. A. De Prisco, G. Avezzi, and M. E. Craveri (Milan, 2002); E. James, trans., *Gregory of Tours: Life of the Fathers*, 2d ed. (Liverpool, 1991); C. Leyser, "Divine Power Flowed from this Book: Ascetic Language and Episcopal Authority in Gregory of Tours' *Life of the Fathers*," in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, 281–94; R. van Dam, trans., *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs* (Liverpool, 1988); van Dam, trans., *Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Confessors* (Liverpool, 1988); van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, 1993); D. Shanzer, "So Many Saints, So Little Time: The *Libri miraculorum* of Gregory of Tours," *Journal of Medieval Latin* 13 (2003) 19–60.

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*and Custom* 56 (1945) 254–56; B. S. Merrilees, "La *Passio Septem Dormientium* en français," *Romania* 93 (1972) 547–63; G.-M. Oury, "Les Sept Dormants de Marmoutier: la vocation à la réclusion," *Analecta Bollandiana* 99 (1981) 315–27.

## V. INFLUENCE

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Fortunatus, and Gregory of Tours; Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum*, *Opus in gloriam Iuliani martyris Turonensium patroni cum capitum indice*, and *Epistola ad beatum Sulpitium bituricensem archiepiscopum in vitam sanctorum Septem Dormientium*. NUC.BNF; (MH).

1512, Parisiis (Paris): ab impressore Iodoco Badio et Ioanne Parvo. Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* (editio princeps), *In vitas patrum*, and *De gloria confessorum*; Ado of Vienne, *Sex aetatum mundi breves seu Commentarii usque ad Carolum simplicem Francorum regem*; Jean Gilles de Tours, *Vie de St. Grégoire*; and Jerome, *Vie de S. Paul, premier ermite*. NUC.BL; BNF; (DLC; MH; InNd; CU; CtY).

1561, Parisiis (Paris): apud Guil. Morelium typographum Regium et Gulielmum Guillard ac Almaricum Warancore. Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* and Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon*. Included is a life of Gregory of Tours attributed to Abbot Odo of Cluny, but this is actually an anonymous work composed at Tours in the tenth century. NUC.BL; BNF; (NjP; WU; IU; CtY; NcU; KSt-MC).

1563, Parisiis (Paris): apud Guil. Morelium, typographum regium. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum* and *De gloria confessorum*. NUC.BL; BNF; (CtY).

1568, Basileae (Basel): per Petrum Pernam. Ed. Flaccus Illyricus (Mathias Flach Franco-witz, 1520-75). Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*; Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon*; an appendix with the editio princeps of Ps.-Fredegar's continuation ("alio quodam autore"). In a long preface, Flaccus praised Gregory as a witness to the early Church, i.e., a Church unencumbered by the evils against which the Reformers inveighed. A copy at the British Library (shelf mark: 596.b.15) exhibits manuscript notes attributed to Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614). NUC.BL; BNF; (ICU; MA).

1583, Parisiis (Paris): apud Michaellem Sonnium. Ed. René Laurent de la Barre (fl. 1580). Life of Gregory of Tours (from the Paris 1561 edition); Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* and Ps.-Fredegar's continuation, *Liber in gloria martyrum beatorum*, and the *Liber in gloria confessorum*. Reprinted in the *Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum, seu, scriptorum ecclesiasticorum probabiliū, tomi novem*, vol. 7, cols. 521-796 (Paris, 1589) and the *Bibliothèque des Pères* (Lyons, 1618, 1624, 1677). NUC.BNF; (IU; MnU).

1583, Coloniae (Cologne): apud Maternum Cholinum. Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, *De gloria confessorum*, and *De virtutibus et miraculis sancti Martini*. NUC.BNF; (ICU; MH).

1589, Parisiensis (Paris): Marguerin de La Bigne, ed., *Sacra bibliotheca sanctorum patrum, seu, scriptorum ecclesiasticorum probabiliū, tomi novem*, vol. 7, cols. 521-796. Contents the same as in the 1583 (Paris) edition. NUC.BNF; BL (ICU).

1610, Parisiis (Paris): apud Nicolaum du Fosse. Ed. Laurent Bouchel (1559-1629). Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* and Ps.-Fredegar's continuation; an appendix with the life of Gregory, various texts concerning the monastery of Saint-Martin, Tours, Alcuin's sermon on the miracles of St. Martin, and a list of variant readings for the text of Gregory's *Historiae*. NUC.BNF; (MH).

1610, Parisiis (Paris): e typographia Petri Chevalerii. Contents the same as in the preceding edition. NUC.BL; BNF; (MH; CtY).

1613, Hanoviae (Hanau): apud haeredes Joannis Aubrii. Marquard Freher, ed., *Corpus Francicae historiae veteris et sinceræ*, part 2, 1-244: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*. NUC.BL; BNF; (NN; ICU; InU; PU; MH).

1618-22, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): Marguerin de La Bigne, ed., *Magna bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum*, vol. 6, part 2: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, *De gloria martyrum*, *De gloria confessorum*, *Miraculorum sanctissimi Martini libri IV*. NUC.BL; BNF; (PVU).

1636-49, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): sumptibus S. Cramoisy. Andre Du Chesne, ed., *Historiae Francorum scriptores coetanei . . .*, vol. 1 (1636), 251-459: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*. Du Chesne consulted an early manuscript containing Gregory's preface, and he was the first to publish this preface and to use the title *Historia ecclesiastica*. NUC.BL; BNF; (NN; MH; DLC; NjP; CtY).

1640, Parisiis (Paris): ex typographia Iacobi Dugast. Ed. Jean Ballesdens (1595-1675). Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum et confessorum*, *De miraculis sancti Martini*, *De vitis patrum*. *De Septem Dormientibus in Majori Monasterio prope Turonum liber unus*. BL; BNF.

1640, Parisiis (Paris): ed. Jean Gilles. Gregory of Tours, *De miraculis s. Martini archiepiscopi turonensis libri IV*. BNF.

1677: Lugduni (Lyons): apud Anissonios.

Philippe Despont, ed., *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum et antiquorum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, primo quidem a Margarino de La Bigne. . . . in tomos XXVII distributa*, vol. 11: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* and Ps.-Fredegar's continuation, *De gloria martyrum*, *De gloria confessorum*, *De miraculis sancti Martini*, and *De vitis patrum*. NUC.BL; BNF; (MB; MH).

1699, Luteciae Parisiorum (Paris): excudebat Franciscus Muguet, regis, cleri, Gallicani, et illustrissimi archiepiscopi Parisiensis typographus. The *Opera omnia* of Gregory of Tours edited by Thierry Ruinart. NUC.BL; BN (DLC; MH; MdB; CLSU; PPPD).

## TRANSLATIONS TO 1699

S.XIIIex–XIVin: anonymous French translation of Gregory of Tours, *Passio sanctorum martyrum Septem Dormientium apud Ephesum*. Edition: B.S.Merrilees, "La *Passio Septem Dormientium* en français," *Romania* 93 (1972) 547–63.

1463–67: French translation by Guillaume Danicot (d. 1472/73) of Gregory of Tours, *Vita sancti Iuliani* (Paris, BNF, fr. 2009).

1500 (ca.): two anonymous French translations, perhaps by a monk of the monastery of Saint-Julien, Tours, of Gregory of Tours, *Vita sancti Iuliani* (Paris, BNF, fr. 1044 and 2100).

1610, Paris: chez Claude de la Tour. French translation by Claude Bonnet Dauphinois of Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* and Ps.-Fredegar's continuation, together with the life of Gregory. The Seigneur d'Hemery d'Amboise's long dedicatory preface to Henriette de Balsac, marquise de Verneuil, precedes the translation of the *Historiae*. The author emphasizes the benefits of reading Gregory's works for moral virtues and good examples and is especially concerned to attack the reading Flaccus Illyricus gave to Gregory in his edition of 1568. BL; BNF.

1668, Paris: chez Frédéric Léonard. French translation by Michel de Marolles, abbé of Villeloin, of Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* and Ps.-Fredegar's continuation, *In gloria martyrum*, *De virtutibus s. Martini episcopi*, and *Vitae patrum*. 2 vols. BL; BNF; (MB).

## MANUSCRIPTS

### A. Provisional List of Manuscripts Containing Excerpts from the *Historiae*

(Note: Where excerpts have been identified, book and chapter number appear in parentheses.)

Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, 2, fols. 219v–221r (I.48), 221r–222r (II.1)

Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 815, fol. 50v (I.35, 48)

Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 29

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Phillipps 1840, 1852, 1877, 1878

Theol. lat. fol. 355

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 48, fols. 162r–163v (II.1)

Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 828, fol. 64r (I.48)

Chalons-sur-Marne, Bibliothèque Municipale, 70, fol. 110r (I.48)

Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 507, fol. 347r (I.48)

Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale, 147, fols. 98r–99r (II.1), 104r–105v (I.48)

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek

NKS 252b

Rostgaard 160, fols. 1r–2v

Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 641, fol. 126v (I.48)

Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 246, fols. 133r–134r (II.1)

Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, 42, fols. 39v–40r (I.48), 43v–44v (II.1)

Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 121, fols. 108r–121v (I.34; VI.21; X.1; VII.1; X.24)

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit

B.P.L. 21

114A, fols. 61v–65r

Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, 132, fols. 129a–130a (I.48)

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

1346, fols. 187r–214r

9448, fols. 7r–8r (II.15–17)

Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 10, fol. 22v (I.48)

Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale

223, fols. 127r–129r, 141r–143v

304 (I.48)

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 67 inf., fols. 41r–42v (I.48; II.1)



Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire,  
Section Médecine

31, fols. 74v–165r

42, fols. 49r–50r (I.48), 53v–54v (II.1)

305, fols. 150r–154v, 160r

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum, M.504 (I.48)

Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale

197, pp. 162–163

341, pp. 43–46 (II.1)

344, fol. 50r (I.48)

Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 2009, fol. 27r  
(I.48)

———, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

lat. 1451, fols. 11v–15v

lat. 18312, fols. 113r–118v (II.1)

———, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève

154, fols. 1r–45r, 46r–47r

559 (I.48)

597, fols. 121r–122r (I.48)

Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, 44, fols. 186vb–187v  
(I.48)

Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale

1405, fol. 35v (I.48)

1409, fol. 87r (I.48)

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale

1343 (U.043), fols. 142v–143r (I.48)

1395 (U.133), fol. 55r (I.48)

1399 (U.002), fol. 164v (I.48)

1405 (Y.027) (I.48)

St. Petersburg, Archive of the Historical Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2/625  
(II.31–32)

Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 20, fols. 52v–55v

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale

168, fols. 217rv (VI.6)

518, fol. 148r (I.48)

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Vat. lat. 1190, fols. 183vb–184va (I.48),

195vb–196vb (II.1)

1192, fols. 58rb–59ra (II.1)

5696, fols. 58vb–59ra (I.48), 67vb–68vb (II.1)

5771, fols. 143r–144v (II.1)

6074, fols. 229vb–230va (II.1), 233va (I.48), 235rb–235vb (I.48)

6076, fols. 95ra–95vb (II.1)

6453, fols. 119r (I.48), 211ra–b (II.1)

10380, p. 5 (I.48)

15699, fols. 54v–55r (I.48)

Pal. lat. 430, fols. 154v–155r (I.48)

Reg. lat. 457, fols. 182r–183r (I.48), 184v–185v (II.1)

489, fols. 117v–118v (I.48), 120v–122v (II.1)

495, fols. 109r–110r (I.48), 119r–120v (II.1)

496, fols. 171v–172v (I.48)

529, fols. 29r–30v (I.48)

543, fol. 62v (I.48)

586, fols. 126r–128r (II.1), 133r–134r (I.48)

630, fols. 1r–13r (I.1–47)

634, fols. 110v–111v (II.21–23)

Urb. lat., 67, fols. 206v–207v (I.48)

Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LII (50)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 468, fols. 74r–77v (I.48), 77v–79v (II.1)

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek

Cod. Guelf. 10.9 Aug. 2°

Cod. Guelf. Gud. lat. 4435, fols. 87r–112r

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.f. 38, fol. 121r (I.10)

#### B. Provisional List of Manuscripts Containing Extracts from the *Libri octo miraculorum*

(Note: Texts that have been identified are noted in parentheses according to the following abbreviations: GC = *Liber in gloria confessorum*; GM = *Liber in gloria martyrum*; VM = *Libri I–IV de virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi*; VP = *Liber vitae patrum*; VJ = *Liber de passione et uirtutibus sancti Iuliani martyris*.)

Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 802, fols. 78r–79v (VP; GC)

Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, 35, fols. 1r–v (VM)

Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, II 973, fols. 81r–83r (GM)

Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque Municipale, 147, fols. 67r–73v (GM), 99r–101r (VM), 105v–109v (GC)

Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek

C.10a (VM)

C.11 (VM)

Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 246, fols. 140r–141v (GC)

Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, 42, fols. 40r–40v (VM)

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