GREGORIUS TURONENSIS

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Fortuna.

Bibliography.

Editions to 1699.

Translations to 1699.

Manuscripts with excerpts.

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.¹

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 (316–97), 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-

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.);
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 Andrae apostoli (B.H.L. 430, translation commissioned by Gregory);
6. Passio sanctorum martyrum septem dormientium apud Ephesum (B.H.L. 2333, translation commissioned by Gregory);
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).


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.

4. Gregory, Hist. 10.31 (ed., 535.20–536.8); "Decem libros Historiarum, septem Miraculorum, unum de Vita Patrum scripsit; in Psalterii tractatu librum unum commentatus sum; de Cursibus etiam ecclesiasticis unum librum considdi. Quos libros licet stilo rustici conscriptorum, tamen conjuro 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. 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 exegetors 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.

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. Excerpts from the Histories also began to appear in other works, most notably in the sixbook version of the Histories known as the Historia 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. 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. Although Gregory no doubt would have been painsed 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.

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5. The classic study of Gregory’s Latinity is M. Bonnet, Le latin de Grégoire de Tours (Paris, 1980; 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 Heirc of Auxerre in the third quarter of the ninth century, Gregory was the “miraculous curious 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?” Aneclet Bollandiana 94 (1976) 225–33.


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.*

Gregory’s work was especially useful to authors of local episcopal history, such as the histories of the bishops of Naples, Reims, Trier, Cambrai, Verdun, Metz, and even Hamburg. 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.*

The *Histories* could also be quarried for material useful to canonists and preachers. 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 65 and 40 are assembled under the rubric “Sententia de chronica altercatio de fidei triinitatis quod fecit Gregorius Tonoresensis 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* come from some eighty manuscripts ranging in date from the ninth to the fourteenth centuries. 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 Brichtius of Tours (397–444) from *Hist.* 21 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


timately vindicated—in one instance by a talking baby who denied Bricius’ 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*.

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. 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 “paucat etera de...” “The Book of the Suffering and Miracles of the Martyr St. Julian” (book 2 of the *Eight Books*) apparently 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 VII (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. 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.

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-

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17. See Krusch’s preface to his edition of *Libri octo miraculorum*, MGH, Scriptores rerum merovingiarum 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 Heinzelmann, “L’oeuvre de Grégoire de Tours,” 310–11.

18. On the French translations, see C. Beaune, “Traduire Grégoire à Tours au XVe 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.

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.20 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.21 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."22 But the preceding explanatio, found in five manuscripts in addition to the Angers witness, is a genuine fragment.23 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—


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.

an immediate seventh- and eighth-century audience to multiply copies and thereby ensure its survival.24 The relevance of audience to transmission is also underscored by the limited circulation of the De cursu stellarum ratio.25 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 [IJ IV 15]) written in Beneventan script, perhaps at Montecassino.26 This codex is doubly famous. In addition to preserving the earliest complete copy of Gregory's De cursu stellarem 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 stellarem ratio, positioned between the De metris and the De natura rerum, shares


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. 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. 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. 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 aetas seniscunt, nullo occasu occidunt, nulla labe minuuntur, nisi cum Dominus mundum dissolvit praecipient.” 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 miraculis 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. Only two independent witnesses to chapters 16–47, the astronomical portion of the text, are presently known to survive from the period after 800. 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. Gregory’s version of Andrew’s acta served as the basis of the Icelandic translations. 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 Ioanne 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.

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. Obriß, “Les manuscrits du ‘De cursus stellarum’ de Grégoire de Tours et le manuscript, 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 cursus stellarum ratio that is known at present (Obriß, ibid., 340–41).

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


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 17–37); 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, Var. lat. 8565, s. XII, pp. 2418–266b. See G. Quispel, “An Unknown Fragment of the Acts of Andrew (Pap. Capt. Utrecht N. 1),” Vigiliae Christianae 10 (1956) 139–48, for the suggestion that Gregory may have altered his source.


35. To the ten manuscripts used by Krusch for his edition (MGH, Scriptores rerum merovingicarum 7 [Hannover, 1920], 575–58), add Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 193; Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, B-23/14; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14540; Paris, BNF, lat. 5565; Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1378; Vatican City, BAV, Var. lat. 5771; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 420.
The text even turns up in Anglo-Saxon medical charms. 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 Clichove 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 turonensis patroni cum capitum indice, and Epistola ad beatum Sulpitum bituricensem archiepisopum in vitam sanctorum Septem Dormientium*). Others works appeared in print soon after in 1512 (contents: Gregory of Tours, *Historiae* [editio princeps], *In vsat rad* patrum, and *De gloria confessorum*; Ado of Vienne, *Sex aetatum mundi breves seu Commentarior 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 (“ali 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 Martinii*); and, in 1589 (contents as in the 1583 Paris edition).

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.

Seventeenth-century editors supplemented Gregory’s texts with notes detailing toponomastic or historical facts, 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. 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.

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40. For *Gregorius noster*, see Ruinart’s *Epistola nuncupatoria*, PL, 71:9–12; Goiffart, “From *Historiae* to *Historia Francorum* and Back Again,” 59–60; and Heinzelman, *Gregory of Tours*, 198.
Gregory’s work continued to be printed.41 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 Heinzellmann, 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.42 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.”43 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–

41. See n. 37 above for Bordier’s and Omont-Colon’s census of editions to the mid-nineteenth century.
42. Mitchell, History and Christian Society in Sixth-Century Gaul (n. 2 above); Goffart, Narrators of Barbarian History (n. 3 above); R. van Dam, Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul (Princeton, 1993); Heinzellmann, Gregory of Tours (n. 1 above); G. de Nie, Views from a Many-Winged Tower: Studies of Imagination in the Works of Gregory of Tours, Studies in Classical Antiquity 7 (Amsterdam, 1987); and de Nie’s essays collected in Word, Image and Experience: Dynamics of Miracle and Self-Perception in Sixth-Century Gaul (Aldershot, Eng. and Burlington, Vt., 2003). See also the essays in The World of Gregory of Tours, ed. K. Mitchell and I. L. Wood (Leiden, 2002).
43. For translations of the Eight Books of Miracles, see E. James, Gregory of Tours: Life of the Fathers (Liverpool, 1985); R. Van Dam, Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Martyrs (Liverpool, 1988); van Dam, Gregory of Tours: Glory of the Confessors (Liverpool, 1988); van Dam, “Gregory of Tours: The Suffering and Miracles of the Martyr St. Julian,” and “Gregory of Tours: The Miracles of the Bishop St. Martin,” in the same, Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul (Princeton, 1993), 162–95, 199–303. (The last text accounts for four of the Eight Books of Miracles.)

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.”44

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See also MGH, Scriptores rerum merovingicarum 7: Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici (Hannover, 1920; repr. 1997), with an appendix by B. Krusch containing additional information on the Libri octo miraculorum (pp. 707–56), Passio sanctorum martyrum Septem Dormientium apud Ephesum (pp. 757–69, with new edition on 761–69), and De cursu stellarum ratio (pp. 770–71).

II. Collected Studies


III. General Studies


IV. Studies on Individual Works of Gregory of Tours

A. Commentarii in psalmos fragmenta


B. Decem libri historiarum


C. De cursu stellarum ratio


D. Liber de miraculis Andreae apostoli


E. Liber de passione et virtutibus sancti Iuliani martyris

F. Libri VIII miraculorum

G. Passio sanctorum martyrum Septem Dormientium apud Ephesus

V. Influence

Editions to 1699

1511, apud Parrhisios (Paris): exaratum opera Ioannis marchant & impensis Ioannis parui, bibliopole in vico diui Iacobi ad intersignium Lili aurei commorantis. Ed. Hieronymus van Clichtove. Collection of medieval texts on St. Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus, Odo of Cluny,
Fortunatus, and Gregory of Tours; Gregory of Tours, *In gloria martyrum, Opus in gloriam Iuliani martyris Turonensis patroni cum capitum indice*, and *Epistola ad beatam Sulpitium bituricensem archiepiscopum in vitam sanctorum Septem Dormientium*. NUC. BNF; (MH).

1512, Parisiensis (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, Parisiensis (Paris): apud Guil. Morel. *Morelum typographum Regium et Gulielm 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; KsMC).


1568, Basileae (Basel): per Petrum Pernam. *Flaccus Illyricus* (Mathias Flach Francozít, 1520-75). Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*; Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon*; an appendix with the editio princeps of Ps-Fredegarius'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 (1559-1641). NUC. BL; BNF; (ICU; MA).


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


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


1618-22, Coloniae Agrippinæ (Cologne): Marquerin 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 coeptanei . . .*, vol. 1 (1636), 251-499: 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; DcL; NjP; CtY).


1677, Lugduni (Lyons): apud Anissonios.
TRANSLATIONS TO 1699


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, fol. 219r–221r (1.48), 221r–222r (II.1)
Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 815, fol. 50v (I.35, 48)
Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 29
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz
Phillips 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, fol.
133r–134r (II.1)
Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, 42, fols. 39v–40r (I.48), 43v–44v (II.1)
Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 121, fols. 108r–
121v (1.34; 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 (V.16)
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. 2o
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 1er, 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)

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

Lambach, Stiftsbibliothek, 42, fols. 40r–40v (VM)
Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 424, fols. 187r–188v (GM)
Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit
B.P.L. 114 A, fols. 61v–65r (GM)
Voss. lat. F.85, fols. 54v–55r (GM)
Lilienfeld, Stiftsbibliothek, 132, fols. 130r–131v
(VM)
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 494 (VM)
Le Mans, Bibliothèque Municipale
10, fols. 47v–57r (VM)
217, fols. 25v, 26v, 30r, 34r, 45r (GM)
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, C 67 inf., fols. 43r–55v (VM)
Montpellier, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médicine, 42, fols. 50r–51v (VM)
Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, C-11/74, fols. 110r–v (GM), 138v–139r (GM)
Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale
175 (152), pp. 167–168 (VM)
197 (174), pp. 163–166 (VM)
323 (274), pp. 12–13 (VM)
334 (283), pp. 122–128 (GC)
341 (289), pp. 37–38 (VM)
343bis (292), pp. 2–103 (VM)
Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine
1710, fols. 64r–64v (GM)
1735, fols. 104r–106r (VP)
—, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat.
12606, fol. 93v (VJ)
—, Bibliothèque Ste-Geneviève
124, fol. 139v (GM)
134, fols. 3r, 4v, 45r–46r, 61v (GM)
547, fols. 122r–123v (VM)
553, fols. 67v (GM), 121r (GC), 124r (GC), 129v–130r (GM), 184v–185r (GM)
559, fols. 89v–111v (VM)
Rein, Stiftsbibliothek, 44, fols. 187v–190r (VM)
Rheims, Bibliothèque Municipale
1390, fol. 124v (GC)
1395, fols. 38r–39v (GM), 54v–55v (GM)
1404, fols. 50v–52r (GM)
Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
1343 (U.43), fols. 143r–144r (VM), 163r–176r (VM)
1390 (U.36), fols. 40r–41v (VP), 82r–83r, 124v
Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 150, fols.
557v–581r (GM)
Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1, fols. 23rb (GM), 35rb–35va (GM), 55vb–57ra (GM), 65vb (GM), 151vb–152ra (GM), 158rab (GM), 189rab (GM)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Vat. lat. 636, fols. 109v–119v (GM)
1192, fols. 48ra–48va (VM)
3539, fols. 40r–43r (VM)
6074, fols. 234v–235r (VM)
6453, fols. 199rb–201ra (VM)
Reg. lat. 43, fols. 170r ff. (VM)
301, part II, fols. 55rb–55va (VM)
457, fols. 183r–184v (VM)
465, fols. 82v–83r (GC)
486, fols. 64v–65r (GC)
489, fols. 118v–120v (VM)
492, fols. 147r–148v (GC)
493, fols. 170r–175v (VM)
495, fols. 110v–113v (VM)
529, fols. 30v–31r, 79v–80v (VM)
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
468, fols. 74r–74v (VM)
503, fols. 25r–28v (VM)
748, fols. 80v–84r (GC)
Wolfebüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod.
Guelf. Gud. lat. 4435, fol. 86v (GM)