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Scattered Bones and Miracles – The Cult of Saints, the Resurrection of the Body and Eschatological Thought in the Works of Gregory of Tours

Gregory of Tours' position on the time remaining until the Last Judgment has been interpreted in very different ways among recent scholarship. These contradictory readings are due to an apparent contrast between the bishop's calculations of the number of years since Creation, and the gloomy tone of the tenth book of his Histories. *While the numbers seem to express that there was still time, the last book of the* Histories *is full of* prodigia *pointing to the Apocalypse. Numbers and signs notwithstanding, it is the underlying concept of the cult of saints in his works that offers an intriguing insight into Gregory's eschatological thinking. To him, the cult of the saints and their relics served as a preview of the Last Things and made tangible fundamental Christian doctrines such as the afterlife of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the Last Judgment. By bringing the Last Things into the here and now, the cult of the saints reminded believers of the imminence of the end.*

5792 – this is the number of years that had, according to Bishop Gregory of Tours, passed since Creation at the time that he finished his *Ten Books of Histories* in about A.D. 594.[1] Despite its precision, historians have interpreted this figure in surprisingly different ways. This article will contribute to our understanding of Gregory's ideas about the afterlife, the End Times and the Last Judgment, and especially the resurrection of the body, by focusing on one particularly important theme in his works, the cult of the saints and their relics. I start by exploring Gregory's seemingly inconsistent thoughts about his own time and its relation to the Last Things. Examining the principles of the cult of saints and their relics as Gregory understood them can illuminate the bishop's ambiguous position towards the proximity of the end of time. In order to understand how the cult of saints and their relics was connected to eschatological thinking in the author's mind, I will go on to analyse a passage that has largely been neglected so far: a theological debate about the resurrection of the

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1 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.31, ed. Krusch and Levison, 537. (In the following, page numbers after the source texts refer to their given edition.) A calculation of Gregory's own numbers actually sums up to 5793 years since Creation. Unless otherwise indicated, the translation used is by Thorpe, Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, here: 604.

body between Gregory and one of his priests, which offers many insights into how Gregory imagined the afterlife and the Last Days.[2]

1 Chronology and Prodigies – How much Time until the Last Days?

It has been noted in contemporary scholarship that, at least in the West, the sixth century was a time of increased eschatological concern. Gregory's namesake, pope Gregory I, for example, made explicit statements about the end of all things being imminent.[3] We also find evidence for apocalyptic movements of some sort in the bishop of Tours' own works.[4] Furthermore, Gregory included two remarks about the proximity of the Last Days in an exchange of letters between Gallic bishops and the former Queen Radegund, which he quoted verbatim in his *Histories*.[5]

However, scholars have disagreed as to how close to the end of the world Gregory of Tours thought his own lifetime to be. Given the meticulous chronological efforts in the *Histories,* this might seem astonishing at first sight. Gregory starts the first book with counting the years since Creation up to his own day, first according to biblical ages, and then by counting the years between what were to him key historical events. He states that he modelled his calculations on the chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome, the work of Orosius and the Easter tables of Victorius.[6] Whilst the periodisation he uses is strongly influenced by the Eusebius/Jerome tradition, it

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2 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 496–500. Discussed shortly in context with ideas about the afterlife, but with a different set of questions, only in Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 158–162. Similarly in Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, who dismisses some of Gregory's arguments as "inconsistent", 110; mentioned in passing in Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours*, 68, 73, 138, 149. Not mentioned in Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*; Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*; nor in Landes, "Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled." The dialogues are discarded as theologically irrelevant in Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 143.
3 Meier, "Eschatologie und Kommunikation im 6. Jahrhundert," 56–63. Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, 55–68. In the words of the Roman bishop: *Nam in hac terra, in qua nos vivimus, finem suum mundus iam non nuntiat, sed ostendit.* Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum libri quattuor*, 3.38.3, ed. Migne, col. 316.
4 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 9.6, ed. Krusch and Levison, 417–420; 10.25, 517–519.
5 Bishops: *declinante tempore saeculi vetustate*, Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 9.39, ed. Krusch and Levison, 461; Radegund: *Sed quoniam incerta sunt humanae conditionis momenta vel tempora, quippe mundo in fine current [...]*. Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 9.42, ed. Krusch and Levison, 471.
6 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 1.prologue, ed. Krusch and Levison, 5; 2.prologue, 36. The biblical generations he inserts follow the same tradition as Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 22.30, ed. Dombart and Kalb, 865.

deviates from it in some minor instances.[7] The first sections count from Creation, or from Adam, to the Flood or Noah, and from there to Abraham, to the Crossing of the Red Sea, to the building of the first Temple, and from its destruction to Christ's passion, respectively. By adding up these sections, the date of the passion emerges as 5184 *anno mundi*.[8] After the Passion, the next caesura Gregory counts to is the death of Saint Martin of Tours, to whose popularity in Gaul Gregory greatly contributed with his works.[9] At the end of each of the first four books, Gregory calculates the age of the world up to the date reached in the narrative, and book four again takes up the whole chronology from Creation as given above, ending with the death of King Sigibert in the year 5774 AM (A.D. 575).[10] None of the books five to nine, which together cover a period of only 15 years, take up the chronological sequence, but the very last words of book ten are devoted to a presentation of partly the same chronological sections as outlined above. Here the chronological markers are Creation, the Flood, the Red Sea Crossing, the resurrection of Christ, and the death of Saint Martin. The calculation ends with the twenty-first year of Gregory's own pastoral office (A.D. 593 or 594).[11] It is worth noting here that book one speaks of the passion of Christ, while book ten refers to the resurrection of the Lord – a point that marks a difference not in chronology but in outlook, to which we will return at a later point.

Despite this careful reckoning, Gregory did not offer any authorial comments on how to understand these numbers, so his calculations leave plenty of room for interpretation. The widely divergent modern readings are mainly the result of four aspects of Gregory's narrative in the *Histories*. The first is that Gregory – without directly telling his readers – seems to subscribe to a tradition that posited six world ages of 1000 years each, with the year 6000 AM as the date for Christ's Second Coming. This, according to Gregory's calculations, lay still about 200 years in the future, though he himself never made this explicit.[12] Second, there are two prominent, but apparently antithetical, statements in the *Histories'* prologue. On the one hand, Gregory states that he intends to calculate the sum of the years since Creation "on behalf of those who despair about/of the coming end of the world",[13] but on the other

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7 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 1.4, 1.7, 1.10, 1.13, 1.16, 1.23, ed. Krusch and Levison, 7, 9, 11, 14, 15, 19. For a detailed comparison see Breukelaar, *Historiography and Episcopal Authority in Sixth-Century Gaul*, 302–303.

8 See n. 7, cf. Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 4.51, ed. Krusch and Levison, 189–190. Hieronymus counts 5229 years up to Christ's ministry, Eusebius 5228 and sets Christ's birth in the year 5198, see Breukelaar, *Historiography and Episcopal Authority in Sixth-Century Gaul*, 302–303.

9 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 1.48, ed. Krusch and Levison, 34. Cf. Wood, "The Individuality of Gregory of Tours," 35–39.

10 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 4.51, ed. Krusch and Levison, 189–190.

11 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.31, ed. Krusch and Levison, 537.

12 However, his time sections cannot be understood as "Ages" – there are seven in book 1 and 4, and five in book 10.

13 *Illud etiam placuit propter eos, qui adpropinquantem finem mundi disperant*, *Hist*. 1.prologue, 3. This open translation has been chosen on purpose to account for different possible interpretations,

hand he asserts (with Mk. 13:32) that no one can know the hour when the end will come. In addition, there is Gregory's clear announcement that the Antichrist would have to come before the end.[14] Finally, the frequency of portents and prodigies reported in Gregory's *Histories* has often been used to assess the bishop's attitude towards the approaching end of the world. In this context, the accounts of false prophets and a false Christ in the last two books also need to be borne in mind.[15]

Walter Goffart concluded that, whereas Gregory's position on when the world would end seems ambiguous, the bishop of Tours nevertheless dismissed apocalyptic movements – the false prophets and false Christ – as rustic excitations, "vulgarizing" them so they could be dismissed as "local nuisance[s]", and that he aimed to "set the reader's mind at rest".[16] In a similar manner, Richard Landes read Gregory as having tried to reassure his contemporaries with his calculations that there was still time until the end of days.[17] As mentioned above, this interpretation is based on the assumption that Gregory adhered to the idea of the Six Ages and that he expected his readers to make this connection themselves, as he never explicitly counted the years "still left". While the Eusebian version, which dated Christ's birth to around 5200 AM, in the East failed to replace the calculations by Hippolytus of Rome and Julius Africanus, according to which the incarnation took place in 5500 AM, it was soon well-established in the West.[18] Gregory probably was acquainted with the tradition, as all of the chronological sources he mentions used some form of this model, and he consciously chose to follow the Eusebian version.[19] From Landes' point of view, there is little reason for setting out a chronology in the absence of apocalyptic concerns – be it to confirm the nearness of the Last Judgment, or to alleviate fears of its imminence.[20] However, there are other possible motives for

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see further down, p. 483. The common translation is along the lines of Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, 67: "For the sake of those who are losing hope as they see the end of the world coming nearer and nearer." Similarly also Buchner's translation in: Gregory of Tours, *Zehn Bücher Geschichten*, vol. 1, trans. Buchner, 7.

14 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 1.prologue, ed. Krusch and Levison, 4–5.

15 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 9.6, 10.25, ed. Krusch and Levison, 417–420, 517–519.

16 Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 187.

17 Landes, "Lest the Millenium Be Fulfilled," 166–168; similarly Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik*, 97.

18 Meier, "Eschatologie und Kommunikation im 6. Jahrhundert," 47–55; Magdalino, "The End of Time in Byzantium," 120. For the development of the idea of the Six Ages from the letter of Barnabas and its adaptions to Eusebius/Jerome, see Kötting, "Endzeitprognosen zwischen Lactantius und Augustinus," 126–130; von den Brincken, *Studien zur lateinischen Weltchronistik*, 49–66, 92; Landes, "Lest the Millennium Be Fulfilled," 141–156.

19 See n. 7. Gregory's contemporary Marius of Avenches uses very similar numbers; see Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower*, 65, n. 153. Sulpicius Severus, whose *Vita Martini* Gregory knew and used, still adhered to the Hippolytus/Africanus tradition and saw the end as close, see Meier, "Eschatologie und Kommunikation im 6. Jahrhundert," 51, and in general Vaesen, "Sulpice Sévère et la fin des temps."

20 Landes, "Lest the Millenium Be Fulfilled," passim.

counting the years since Creation. Gertrud Bodmann explains Gregory's efforts to situate his own time in a wider Christian framework without reference to apocalyptic concerns by pointing out the orientational function of biblical events and figures for a Christian history, even one focusing on Gaul.[21] Identifying the correct Easter date was another valid motivation for chronological calculations, as were efforts to simply measure time.[22] Bernhard Kötting stresses the long tradition of chronological efforts in antiquity; the idea of a declining world and of one's own time as *senectus mundi* was a well-established pagan topos before it was included in Christian thought.[23] When we read expressions like *declinante tempore saeculi vetustate* in the bishops' letter to Radegund cited by Gregory (n. 5), we should keep this long tradition in mind. We should also take seriously the concern to situate one's own time in the sequence of the history of the world or of Christianity, without understanding it inevitably as a countdown. Nevertheless, as Gregory himself connects his chronological enterprise to the end of the world in the prologue, the case might seem obvious. However, whether his object in the *Histories* was to reassure his contemporaries is less clear.

Based on Gregory's chronology as outlined above, but without referring to the concept of the Six Ages, Peter Brown takes a broader look at the work of the bishop and comes to the opposite conclusion. To him, Gregory was not aiming to comfort anyone, but on the contrary wanted to remind his readers of the End Times to which, in Gregory's opinion, they paid insufficient attention.[24] Brown translates the sentence in which Gregory gives his reason for his calculation (quoted above) quite differently: people did not despair with regard to the coming end *because* it was coming closer, but they despaired *of* the coming end, that is, they despaired of its closeness, gave up hope and did not expect the end any longer.[25] The calculations were meant to show that God's patience had lasted a long time already, but above all it is the bishop's accounts of numerous prodigies and the often sombre tone in which he describes his time that lead Brown to this conclusion. Gaul had already fallen into the "shadow of the 'time of sorrows'".[26]

This highly divergent assessment of Gregory's eschatological perspective points to the striking divide between a Eusebian chronology (with 6000 AM still 200 years away) and the gloomy narrative that the author presents us with in one and the same breath in book ten. This contrast has led some scholars to believe that the author underwent a change of mind in the course of writing his historiographical

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21 Bodmann, *Jahreszahlen und Weltalter*, 168–180.

22 Palmer, "The Ordering of Time," 609, 614.

23 Kötting, "Endzeitprognosen zwischen Lactantius und Augustinus," 125.

24 Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 155.

25 Cf. n. 13; Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 155–157, and Brown, "Amnesty, Penance, and the Afterlife from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages," 51; Giselle de Nie also emphasises the inherent ambiguity in that sentence: Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower*, 58.

26 Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 154.

work. Giselle de Nie, like Brown, focuses Gregory's use of *prodigia*, such as the extraordinary natural phenomena reported in the *Histories*, and suggested that the bishop's perspective grew "increasingly grim" over time.[27] Adriaan Breukelaar also detects transformations in the bishop's thinking, but in the opposite direction. According to him, Gregory's own worries were comforted by his chronological calculations, added at the very end of the writing process.[28] It becomes clear that the much-debated different theories about the composition of the *Histories*, the chronological distance between events and writing, and about the stages of revision, play a major role in interpreting Gregory's attitude.[29] Martin Heinzelmann, who has attributed a high conceptual coherence to the work, considers Gregory's position as thoroughly ambiguous.[30] He detects a stronger presence of the Last Judgment as a prevalent theme in the last two books, but does not attribute this shift in emphasis to a change of heart, quite the opposite. Eschatology, or the eschatological church and its connection to the "mixed" church of the worldly *ecclesia*, are, in Heinzelmann's view, the major subjects of the *Histories* as a whole. He convincingly demonstrates a link between book one, in which biblical history provides the background for the constitution of the *ecclesia Dei* through Christ and his saints and where the chronology is outlined, and book ten, with its eschatological tone, the mentions of signs of the coming Judgment, and final chronological calculation.[31] In Heinzelmann's reading, the higher density of signs relating to a coming end is an intentional development in the narrative, not a development in the mind of the author over time – a crucial distinction.

Before concluding this section, it is necessary to look at the frequently mentioned *signa et prodigia* in the *Histories* and their connection to the Last Days. It has been noted that Gregory saw the coming of the Antichrist as a necessary precondition for the End Times, but was of the opinion that this had not yet occured.[32] However, it is possible to identify a reference to a closely related tradition, the second coming of Nero as the Antichrist or his herald, in Gregory's account of King Chilperic.[33] Gregory presents his least-favorite Merovingian king as harbouring heretical tendencies and as an enemy of the churches and bishops. In the vicious

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27 Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower*, 56, 67; Nie, "Spiritual Reality, Imagination and Earthly Events in the 'Histories'," 78–81.

28 Breukelaar, *Historiography and Episcopal Authority in Sixth-Century Gaul*, 171–174, 304.

29 Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 187 n. 324, denies any form of development in Gregory's perspective.

30 See Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours*, 71.

31 Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours*, 70–71, 114–116, 141–150; Meier, "Eschatologie und Kommunikation im 6. Jahrhundert," 65–66, also argues for the ambiguity of Gregory's position not being the result of any development in his thinking.

32 Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, 71, 75.

33 A tradition of which he was certainly aware, as Sulpicius Severus extensively discusses the subject, see Vaesen, "Sulpice Sévère et la fin des temps," 58–67, 70; Wieser, "Die Weltchronik des Sulpicius Severus," 677–679.

obituary Gregory bestows on him, Chilperic is called the "Nero and Herod of our times".[34] It seems possible that Gregory expected his readers to catch this reference to the End Times, yet it appears that he rather used this connotation to characterise Chilperic as negatively as possible. Chilperic's portrayal and the circumstances of his reign are not congruent enough with Gregory's own expectations of the Antichrist to proclaim the arrival of the Last Days, not least because the king had died before fulfilling any of the prophesied events.[35] Times were bad, but the "real Antichrist" had not yet come and entered Jerusalem. However, the Antichrist was not the only sign of the apocalypse.

It was widely acknowledged, in Christian as in pagan times,[36] that the end of the world would be heralded by extraordinary events, such as natural disasters, wars, pestilence and celestial phenomena. However, earthly events interpreted as divine signs could just as well merely denote divine wrath without necessarily indicating the imminence of the end.[37] In this reading of signs, which is prevalent in the Old Testament but occurs in all kinds of different cultures, earthly events are interpreted as part of a cycle of retribution in which human misbehaviour is answered by divine punishment.[38] Gregory's *Histories*, and even more his hagiographical works, are full of such retributive cycles, be it in the form of extraordinary events in the natural world or punitive miracles performed by the saints working God's will. Indeed, several scholars have pointed to the fact that at least some of the *prodigia* in the *Histories* should be seen in this light. Celestial signs or unusual natural events were often interpreted by Gregory to be a reaction to the sins of the people, or to point to coming disasters like diseases or the death of kings.[39] However, the last books of the *Histories* contain more prodigies that the author does not, or cannot, decipher, and which might therefore be interpreted as eschatological pointers.[40] The introduction to the tenth book is a well-known passage often cited in this con-

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34 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 6.46, ed. Krusch and Levison, 319. He is also often associated with Jews, e. g. Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 6.5., ed. Krusch and Levison, 268–272. Whether Gregory had always thought so poorly of Chilperic is discussed in Halsall, "Nero and Herod?"

35 See Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 1. prologue, ed. Krusch and Levison, 4–5. According to Thomas Kitchen, the characteristics of Nero attributed to Chilperic are without apocalyptic urgency; see Kitchen, "Apocalyptic Perceptions of the Roman Empire in the Fifth Century A.D.," 658.

36 Kötting, "Endzeitprognosen zwischen Lactantius und Augustinus," 133–134.

37 Kötting, "Endzeitprognosen zwischen Lactantius und Augustinus," 133–134; Trompf, *Early Christian Historiography*, for ex. 14–15, 63–78.

38 Trompf, *Early Christian Historiography*, 3–12.

39 Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower*, 40–45; Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 188–189. See for example Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 2.6, 4.9, 4.31, 6.6, ed. Krusch and Levison, 47, 141, 163–166, 272–273.

40 Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower*, 50–56, Nie, "Spiritual Reality, Imagination and Earthly Events in the 'Histories'," 80–81.

text.[41] Gregory describes how in 590, Rome was devastated by a horrible flood and an outbreak of the plague "starting at God's sanctuary" (Ezek. 9:3) and killing pope Pelagius. His designated successor, later known as Gregory the Great, ordered rogations and addressed the people in a sermon that the bishop of Tours reports word for word.[42] The future pope admonished his flock to change their ways, to show remorse and pray before it was too late. Influenced by the positions known from Gregory the Great's own writings,[43] many scholars have interpreted this to refer to the closeness of the Last Judgment. However, neither the wording of the sermon by Gregory the Great, nor its contextualisation, which we definitely owe to Gregory of Tours, directly refer to the Last Judgment or the end of days. The sermon itself points to the imminence of judgment insofar as the sudden death brought by the plague did not give the sinner time to repent in this world.[44] We will come back to this idea in the third section below. David Patterson even interpreted the passage in book ten to refer to pagan worship and its resulting divine punishment, with God's anger finally being placated by the peoples' prayer and contrition.[45] Whereas it is unlikely that there were indeed residual pagan traditions in Gaul strong enough to merit such a lengthy episode,[46] the section does have a similar structure to another passage in book two, in which God also punishes the sins of the people with disease and his divine wrath is finally appeased by the institution of rogations.[47]

But while this episode itself remains ambiguous, the wider context of book ten makes it clear that an association with the Last Days is warranted, if not intended outright. The *Histories*' final two books show an increase in references that characterise the contemporary time as bleak indeed. These books' narratives are interspersed with prodigies that are repeatedly and explicitly connected to the Last Days, although Gregory still avoids saying that the latter had actually dawned. The first of these comments relates to a lengthy passage concerning a false prophet who demanded to be venerated like an apostle and another impostor who had gathered

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41 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.1, ed. Krusch and Levison, 477–482; Meier, "Eschatologie und Kommunikation im 6. Jahrhundert," 57–59; Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours*, 72; Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower*, 52.

42 A very similar version of this sermon, differing only concering the churches mentioned for the procession, can be found in the letters of Gregory the Great, *Epistola* 13.2, ed. Hartmann, 365–367. Its authenticity as part of the Histories has been challenged by Chadwick, "Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great," but later scholars mostly agree that the bishop of Tours himself actually included the sermon by the pope, e.g. Hack, *Gregor der Große*, 28–32, and Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours*, 206, n. 83.

43 Meier, "Eschatologie und Kommunikation im 6. Jahrhundert," 59–60.

44 *Percussus quisque ante rapitur, quam ad lamenta paenitentiae convertatur. Pensate ergo, qualis ad conspectum districti iudicis pervenit, cui non vacat flere quod fecit.* Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.1, ed. Krusch and Levison, 479.

45 Patterson, "Disaster, Dragons and Episcopal Authority in Gregory of Tours."

46 Compare Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul*, 206.

47 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 2.34, ed. Krusch and Levison, 81–84.

a large following. It was of people like these, Gregory stated, that the Gospel had warned: in the Last Times, such tempters would rise as false prophets and Christs, and might even deceive the elect (Mt. 24:24).[48] He again likens his contemporary period to the End Times in what one could call an eschatologically-themed block in book ten, chapters 23–25. A section about celestial signs concerning the correct date of Easter, and earthquakes, floods and disease in Gaul is followed by a long chapter on an earthquake which destroyed the city of Antiochia.[49] The narrative construction intentionally reminds the reader of the destruction of Sodom. In the next chapter, dealing with the plague in Gaul, Gregory explicitly takes up the words of the Gospel about the first signs heralding the Second Coming – "and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in diverse places" (Mt. 24:7) – in order to connect the fate of Gaul to that of the wider world. Gregory goes on to talk about a man whom the devil incited to pose as a false Christ, but after describing the latter's fall adds that one should rather have called him an Antichrist.[50] Once again, Gregory does not state that the Last Times had arrived, but the apocalyptic associations are obvious. Book ten also contains the lengthy dialogue in which Gregory aims to convince a doubting priest of the resurrection of the flesh, which will be discussed in detail in the second part of this article.[51]

Despite the fact that the chronology closing the *Histories* leaves a period of c. 200 years until the apocalyptic date of 6000 AM, the emphasis on eschatological themes in book ten is undeniable. Although Gregory never explicitly announces that the last days had indeed begun, the reader is left with a feeling of urgency, of "indefinite imminence", as James Palmer put it.[52] The higher density in the narrative of events associated with the Last Times is not indicative of Gregory changing his mind, but is intended as a reminder that the Judgment will indeed come. Further, while using the Lord's passion as a temporal marker in book one draws a line to the church's past with the suffering of the martyrs, the choice to refer to Christ's resurrection instead in the last book intentionally points to the future of the Church, of Christianity as a whole: the Last Judgment.[53]

In view of this evidence and the widely diverging interpretations of Gregory's attitude it has produced, I would suggest that we should take the ambiguity exhibited in the *Histories* and the author's own assertion that 'no one could know the hour' more seriously.

But why would Gregory, as a bishop and author, be willing to leave his flock and his readers with this ambiguity? In order to answer this question, we need to

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48 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 9.6, ed. Krusch and Levison, 417–420.
49 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.23–25, ed. Krusch and Levison, 514–519.
50 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.25, ed. Krusch and Levison, 517–519.
51 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 496–500.
52 Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, 75.
53 This fits in with Brown's reading, and aligns with Heinzelmann's general interpretation of the *Histories*, see Heinzelmann, *Gregor von Tours*, 5–6.

look beyond his eschatological allusions regarding the "when" by including the is-sue of "what": his ideas about the afterlife and the Last Judgment itself. By doing so, we move from questions of a general apocalypse to questions of individual es-chatology, exploring the Last Things from a more personal perspective. Gregory's position on the former might be thoroughly – and intentionally – ambiguous, but, as we shall see, his entirely unambiguous concern with the latter is reflected largely in his ideas regarding the cult of saints.

2 Relics and Resurrection

> Indeed, the cheeks were red, while the rest of his body shone as white as a lily, so that one would have said that he was already prepared for the glory of the future resurrection.[54]

This is Gregory's description of the dead body of his own great-grandfather, bishop Gregory of Langres. We find similar descriptions of dead saints' bodies incorrupt even years after their death throughout the Middle Ages. Many scholars have argued for a strong connection between the belief in the cult of saints and eschatological con-cepts,[55] and it is clear that, in Gregory's text as cited here, the undecayed saintly body prefigures the deceased's resurrection body. It has therefore been suggested by schol-ars such as Arnold Angenendt that the *corpus incorruptum*[56] as a perfectly preserved body was considered relevant to the later resurrection of the flesh and might conse-quently have inhibited the division of the saintly body into smaller corporeal relics to be distributed to different locations.[57] Some evidence does indeed seem to point in this direction. In patristic tradition, the resurrection body was mostly considered to be remade of the actual body a person had possessed on earth.[58] This has been linked to the controversy with Gnosticism, which probably led to an increased emphasis on

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54 *Haec enim apparebat rubea, reliquum vero corpus tamquam candens lilium refulgebat, ut aesti-mares, eum iam tunc ad futurae resurrectionis gloriam praeparatum.* Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum*, 7.3, ed. Krusch, 238; translation: Gregory of Tours *Life of the Fathers* trans. by Van Dam, 45. Compare Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum*, 7.4, ed. Krusch, 240.
55 Uytfanghe, "Essor du culte des saints," passim; Kitchen, "Gregory of Tours, Hagiography, and the Cult of the Saints," esp. 390, 393, 407, 423–424.
56 Frequently used synonyms are "*inlaesum*" or "*integrum*". See for example Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum*, 12.3, ed. Krusch, 115; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 62, ed. Krusch, 80; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, 34, 100, ed. Krusch, 319, 362.
57 This argument is developed in Angenendt, "Corpus incorruptum," esp. 322, 333–334; 341; and Angenendt, "Reliquienverehrung bei Gregor von Tours und Beda Venerabilis," 39–40; see also Swinarski, "Zu zwei gegensätzlichen Vorstellungen im mittelalterlichen Reliquienkult," 61.
58 On issues of material continuity and personal identity, including of the flesh, see Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*. She does not cover the early Middle Ages, but exten-sively treats patristic ideas.

the earthly body as the material basis for the resurrection body.[59] If the saints' bodies were seen as already prepared for the resurrection, it seems conceivable that this might have resulted in reluctance among contemporaries to pick apart the saints' remains. On the other hand, the opposite practice is attested throughout the Middle Ages, as well. We find evidence for the division of saintly bodies and the adoration of partial corporeal relics as if they represented the saint in his or her entirety.[60]

It is in light of this ambivalence that I want to start by examining the saints' cult in the works of Gregory of Tours from an eschatological perspective. Did Gregory share the ideas of the saintly *corpus incorruptum* and its significance to the resurrection body, and were they linked to a prohibition of dividing corporeal relics? We shall first explore Gregory's views on the division of saintly bodies into separate relics. If we follow Arnold Angenendt's argument, it might appear obvious that the bishop opposed the splitting up of bodily relics. When Mummolus, a retainer of the pretender Gundovald, tried to obtain a piece of the finger of Saint Sergius for his master, Gregory concludes this episode with the words: "What had happened can hardly have pleased the martyr [...]." Mummolus took off with a piece of the relic, but "not with the approval of the martyr, as the remainder of the story has made clear."[61] This has been taken as proof that Gregory of Tours opposed the practice in general, which, if we are to believe pope Gregory the Great, was the position taken by the Western church as a whole.[62] While extensive studies have shown that pope Gregory I spoke against the practice and indeed did not divide and distribute partial bodily relics himself,[63] the works of the bishop of Tours have not been subjected to such detailed scrutiny. This might be due to the scarce evidence. There are, indeed, very few passages referring with certainty to bodily relics, mostly because Gregory does not distinguish linguistically between corporeal and contact relics.[64] The high

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59 Angenendt, "Corpus incorruptum," 338–339; Salisbury, *The Blood of the Martyrs*, 23–24; Bynum sees the Gnostics as not enough of an explanation and points to the martyrs instead, see further down 13 and n. 84.

60 Swinarski, "Zu zwei gegensätzlichen Vorstellungen im mittelalterlichen Reliquienkult," 58–61; Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 3–4, 78–80. This has been termed "Realpräsenz" by Dinzelbacher, "Die 'Realpräsenz' der Heiligen in ihren Reliquiaren".

61 *Credo, non erat acceptum martyri, ut haec ille contigerit [...] sed non, ut credo, cum gratia martyris, sicut in sequenti declaratum est.* Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 7.31, ed. Krusch and Levison, 351. Gundovald's enterprise failed, resulting in his death, and Mummolus, who had turned traitor, also suffered a violent death.

62 Robert Wiśniewski has pointed out that we need not regard this as the position of the West as a whole, and neither should we believe that the custom of dividing relics was generally unchallenged in the East in all regions and at all times, see Wiśniewski, "Eastern, Western and Local Habits in the Early Cult of Relics," esp. at 287–288. For more detail, cf. the ninth chapter of his monography, Wiśniewski, *The Beginnings of the Cult of Relics*.

63 McCulloh, "The Cult of Relics in the Letters and 'Dialogues' of Pope Gregory the Great," esp. 181; Leyser, "The Temptations of Cult," 306.

64 He mostly uses *reliquia* and *pignus* interchangeably, e. g. Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 13, 18, ed. Krusch, 47–49; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, 83, ed. Krusch, 352;

demand for relics, partly caused by their being considered increasingly necessary in churches, was believed to have led to the emergence of substitute relics (*Ersatzreliquien*) in the form of contact, or, as they are often called, "secondary" relics.[65] But to speak of "substitutes" is misleading. Gregory does not distinguish between types of relics regarding efficacy – even a piece of cloth in which the Holy Cross had once been wrapped healed twelve possessed and three blind people, as well as two paralytics. Gregory was not concerned whether relics stemmed from saintly bodies or were created through contact with the living saint or his grave, but with their authenticity. When an initially sceptical Gregory had finally been convinced of the origin story of the aforementioned cloth, its authenticity was further confirmed by the miracles it accomplished.[66] Distinctions between different types of relics are of modern origin and need to be applied with caution.[67]

The evidence against dividing corporeal relics is not as clear-cut as it seems, if we take into account the context of the Mummolus episode mentioned above:[68] Gundovald wanted the relic in question not for veneration, but to increase his chances in combat, and Mummolus attacked it brutally, hacking at the bone with his knife until it broke into pieces. The relic, or rather, the saint, was not shown the proper respect, and this is how Gregory's comments should be understood.[69] Moreover, we do find a story in Gregory's works that tells of the successful division of a corporeal relic.[70] While the episode emphasises that the request for a piece of the body of John the Baptist was considered highly unusual, a woman who devotedly spent several years in prayer and tears at his grave was finally deemed worthy of being granted the saint's thumb. The partial relic was understood as a gift from the saint and from God, honouring the woman's merit and zeal – a miracle in itself. On the other hand, we find instances where the division of a *contact* relic is opposed by the saint. When a certain Nunninus chopped off a piece of the tombstone of Saint Germanus of Auxerre with his sword, he was struck immobile by the saint's wrath.

Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 2.6, ed. Krusch and Levison, 47; see also Weidemann, "Reliquie und Eulogie," esp. 369. According to Weidemann, "Reliquie und Eulogie," 371–372, no instances of bodily relics being divided can be found in Gregory of Tours works, but this is not entirely true, as the following examples show.

65 Gregory himself had a stock of relics available, which he distributed among churches in his diocese. When he found out that a church which, according to tradition, should hold relics of St. Stephen actually lacked these, he sent his deacon to fetch a relic of this saint from his own collection. Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 33, ed. Krusch, 58. About relics in the altar as a rule in Merovingian Gaul, see for example Heinzelmann, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*, 22, 27–28.

66 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 5, ed. Krusch, 42.

67 See Smith, "Relics," esp. 42–45, 59–60.

68 As does Swinarski, "Zu zwei gegensätzlichen Vorstellungen im mittelalterlichen Reliquienkult," 63–64.

69 Compare the concept of *reverentia* as illustrated by Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 119–121.

70 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 13, ed. Krusch, 47.

However, after he apologised and promised to keep the relic in a church and to celebrate his festival, he was allowed to leave.[71] As in the the story of Mummolus, Nunninus' was a crude and brutal attempt to obtain a relic. He was only let go because he promised the saint a church and proper veneration. It is worth noting that the relic of Saint Sergius that Mummolus treated so badly must have been divided sometime before – it was only a finger – but had nevertheless worked plenty of miracles while it had been kept in the church that its owner had provided for it.[72] The specific circumstances of each case need to be considered: in some instances, the apparent opposition against dividing the bodies of saints might be better explained with efforts to limit the private possession of relics.[73] In this respect, it is interesting to note how strongly Gregory emphasises that the distribution of relics in his diocese was his episcopal duty.[74] Furthermore, a large part of the post-mortem miracles that Gregory relates happen in an ecclesiastical context, involving a church, or at least clerics. It appears that Gregory's preferred way of contact with saints and their relics was through the mediation of the church, which could set this contact in a liturgical context and thus offer the proper *reverentia* to the saint and his remains.

The evidence regarding the partitioning of corporeal relics in Gregory of Tours must therefore remain inconclusive – there is neither a forthright interdiction, nor is the resurrection mentioned anywhere in these contexts as a reason for keeping saintly bodies intact. But there are further problems with simply linking the concept of *corpus incorruptum* and bodily resurrection to a prohibition to divide corporeal relics. In the Carolingian era, the bodies of martyrs were distributed geographically either in their entirety or divided into smaller relics which was partly made possible by a change in the popes' stance on how to handle the remains of the Roman saints.[75] However, the idea of the *corpus incorruptum* still had not been discarded.[76] The *Libri Carolini* even went so far as to explain that relics were to be preferred to images because they would take part in the glory of the resurrection, while images would not.[77] It seems that for the Carolingians, at least, the scattering of corporeal relics did not inhibit the saints' bodily resurrection.

In fact, when we think of scattered bones, we have to think about the martyrs. It was customary for the Roman persecutioners to burn and scatter the remains of

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71 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, 40, ed. Krusch, 322–323.

72 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 7.31, ed. Krusch and Levison, 351.

73 Swinarski, "Zu zwei gegensätzlichen Vorstellungen im mittelalterlichen Reliquienkult," 67; Clark, "Victricius of Rouen and Fourth-Century Debate," 172.

74 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.31, ed. Krusch and Levison, 534–535, cf. n. 64.

75 See for example Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 30. One example comes from Einhard, *Translatio et miracola ss. Marcellini et Petri*, 2. 1–2, ed. Waitz, at 245–246.

76 As Angenendt, "Corpus incorruptum," 323, 335, himself admits.

77 *Libri Carolini*, 3.24, ed. Freeman, 449; Chazelle, "Matter, Spirit, and Image in the 'Libri Carolini'," 168; Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 37.

the dead in order to inhibit their veneration.[78] Furthermore, a letter of the congregation of Lyon and Vienne to congregations in Asia and Phrygia recorded by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* states clearly that this was done in order to destroy their hope in the resurrection.[79] Gregory relates their passion in a slightly different way: in his version, after their death the martyrs of Lyon appeared to believers in a vision with their bodies "intact and unwounded" (*integri ac inlaesi*) to assure them that they had not died, just as Christ had promised. They also encouraged the faithful to bury their ashes, which worked many miracles afterwards.[80]

It has frequently been pointed out that the very existence of the early Christian martyrs and their trials had necessitated the elaboration and development of eschatological thought.[81] The martyrs' mutilated, burned, broken and scattered bodies were the first relics venerated by Christians.[82] However, they posed the theological problem of how such a "body", or rather the remaining bones and ashes, related to the resurrection of the flesh. The passage in Eusebius certainly shows that concern about this was at least considered a possible issue.[83] It was not only a matter of justice that the martyrs, who had died for their faith in imitation of Christ, would be rewarded and allowed to enjoy the heavenly glories. It was also necessary that it was the very body that had suffered that would overcome its pain, fragmentation and scattering.[84] Caroline Bynum has shown that the early Christian theologians developed their concepts of the resurrection of the flesh already with the martyrs in mind.[85]

While these authors differed on how much the body would change during the process of resurrection, most of them shared the idea that the resurrected material stemmed from the body occupied by a person on earth. In this respect, resurrection was always imagined as entailing a "reassemblage of bits".[86] Clearly, the dispersion of the martyrs' bodies would not inhibit their future resurrection, and this belief de-

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78 Wortley, "The Origins of Christian Veneration of Body-Parts," 12; see for ex. the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, 16–18, ed. Musurillo, 16–17, and the words of Ignatius of Antioch as given in Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.37, ed. Schwartz, 276–279. For a non-hagiographical source, see Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 22.11.3–10, ed. and trans by Rolfe, 310, 315, 331.
79 Eusebius, 5.1, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 426–427.
80 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 48, ed. Krusch, 71–72.
81 Cf. Uytfanghe, "Essor du culte des saints," 94–97; Kleine, "'Res sacra' oder 'sacrilegium'?," 92; Salisbury, *The Blood of the Martyrs*, 22.
82 Wortley, "The Origins of Christian Veneration of Body-Parts," 12; cf. *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, 18, ed. Musurillo, 17.
83 The *Martyrdom of Fructuosus* also seem to reflect concern in this respect, ed. Musurillo, 184–185.
84 Salisbury, *The Blood of the Martyrs*, 26; Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 44–50.
85 Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 43–44.
86 These theologians included Irenaeus, Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Jerome and Augustine. See Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 34–38, 89–91, 95–103. See also Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 30–31, 35–36, 102, 143–145, with the relevant passages.

veloped in parallel with eschatological principles.[87] While this was the most common theological position, some uncertainty seems to have existed among believers regarding the necessity for the body to be complete and undisturbed. However, it was precisely in such circumstances that the influence of the saints was considered beneficial: a burial *ad sanctos*, next to saints or their relics, was believed to secure an uninhibited resurrection.[88] Augustine did not consider a burial *ad sanctos* to make a difference, but he used the scattered bodies of the martyrs as an example to reassure believers that, although it was pious and right to bury the deceased, an intact body or a grave were in no way necessary for the future resurrection of the flesh.[89]

With this in mind, it is instructive to look at a passage in Gregory of Tours' *Histories* that so far has not received the attention it merits: the dialogue on the resurrection of the body found in book ten, the book with the strongest allusions to the End Times.[90] Despite Gregory's reputation among modern historians as a rather superficial theological thinker,[91] his *Histories* include several theological disputes, all in the form of dialogue: two with Arians, one with a Jew, and one with one of his own priests on the resurrection, which is of interest to us here.[92] Gregory must have felt this to be an important and problematic issue in order to include such a lengthy dialogue on it. This fact, together with the placing of the dialogue in the *Histories*' last book with its eschatological tone, resonates strongly with the above-mentioned interpretation of Peter Brown that Gregory saw his contemporaries despairing *of* the coming end. If even the most fundamental doctrine, the resurrection of the body, was doubted, the end was uncertain, indeed. In the dialogue, Gregory's interlocutor starts with a very basic question that might also have bothered the laity: how could there be a resurrection of the body if God said "for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return" (Gen. 3:19)? God did not say that man, after becoming dust, should rise again.[93] To counter that argument, Gregory makes use of a whole range of well-known biblical passages. First, he explains that the souls live on after leaving the body and hope for the coming resurrection.[94] He then cites the vision of the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek. 37:4), describing how dry bones would be covered with skin and joined with sinews and veins, which had long been understood to refer to individu-

87 Kleine, "Schätze des Heils, Gefäße der Auferstehung," 167.

88 Duval, *Inhumation 'ad sanctos' dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident*, esp. 43–47.

89 Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, 6 (8), ed. Zycha, 633–634.

90 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 496–500.

91 Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, 143. Heinzelmann qualifies that, *Gregor von Tours*, 136–141.

92 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 5.43, 6.5, 6.40, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 249–252, 268–272, 310–313, 496–500.

93 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 496.

94 The activity of the soul after death was strongly debated in the East, and possibly presented the background of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*, as well, see Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great*, esp. 93–106.

als instead of being a metaphor for the people of Israel.[95] With a view to the saints' cult, it is important to note that Gregory refers to the story of the coming to life of a body that touched Elisha's dead limbs (2 Kings 4:34), which suggested that the bodies of the righteous were beneficial for others in regard to the resurrection (see above and p. 502). Gregory also cites Paul's ambiguous comparison of resurrection with a seed (1 Cor. 15), which could be interpreted more in terms of difference than continuity of matter: the stalk is not the same as the seed. However, in his dialogue, Gregory uses it only to express that something dead could come to life again, like a tree in winter, not to emphasise difference. These aspects make it very clear that Gregory stood in the tradition of the belief in a material continuity of the earthly body. To him, the body we use on earth was in fact the same body that would be woken for the resurrection. As explained above, while it might seem likely that the dismemberment and scattering of saintly bodies could pose a problem, patristic discussion did not link the saints' cult with the resurrection in this way, rather the opposite. And Gregory, too, reassures his interlocutor that the resurrection will take place despite the fact that bodies become dust. When the obstinate priest remains unconvinced, Gregory states unambiguously that it does not matter into how many parts a body had been divided, nor where these parts were located. "Even if a man were reduced to very fine dust and then scattered over the land and sea [...] it would still not be difficult for God to restore that dust to life."[96] The priest insists that this is hard to believe – what about bodies torn apart by wild beasts, or immersed in water and eaten by fishes and digested and so forth? At this point, the martyrs inevitably come to mind again. Gregory uses a quotation from the Apocalypse of John that the sea shall give up the dead (Rev. 20:13) to make things even more explicit:

> It is clear from all this that although a fish may have swallowed part of a body, or a bird torn sections of it away, or a wild animal devoured it, it will still be joined together again and restored by our Lord for the resurrection. He who created man as yet unborn from nothing at all will not find it difficult to restore any lost portions. He will restore our physical attributes in their entirety and just as they were before [...].[97]

In short, whatever happens to the body at or after death does not endanger its resurrection. It is striking how much the bishop of Tours relies here on arguments that

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95 Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 54.

96 *[...] Quamlibet in pulvere redigatur homo et aquis ac terrae [...] dispergatur, non sit difficile Deo haec ad vitam resuscitari.* Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 497.

97 *Unde manifestum est, quia, quidquid humani corporis piscis absorbuit, alis rapuit, bestia degluttivit, a Domino coniunctum in resurrectionem reparandum erit, quia non erit ei difficile perdita reparare*, *qui ex nihilo non nata creavit; sed ita haec in integritate solida, sicut prius fuerat, reparabit [...]* Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 497. I modified the imprecise translation by Thorpe (*"replace"), which he probably chose for reasons of variation, but the next sentence and the context make clear that nothing, wherever it is, is truly "lost" to God, and that the old bits are restored, not new ones made. Compare Buchner's choice: "wiederzugeben": Gregory of Tours, *Zehn Bücher Geschichten*, trans. Buchner, 353.

had been used for hundreds of years already in this same debate. The image of the pieces of bodies in the bellies of beasts, birds and fishes can be found already in Athenagoras, Tertullian and Augustine.[98] The idea that God, who had created everything from nothing, would always be able to reassemble every part and to restore a body to its former state can be found in Minucius Felix and Jerome, as well as in Augustine.[99] Given this well-established line of authorities arguing for the bodily resurrection even of utterly scattered or decomposed bodies, it is hard to see why Gregory should oppose the division of relics for any reasons connected to his understanding of the resurrection of the body.

However, Gregory's dialogue with his priest opens up a whole range of other possible connections between the cult of saints and ideas about the afterlife and the Last Days, which resonate with concepts found in his hagiographical corpus. As noted above, the fate of the martyrs was a key question in the early development of eschatological theology, and justice and God's grace made it essential that their way into heaven was uninhibited and immediate.[100] This meant that there had to be some form of preliminary judgment directly upon death. By Gregory's time, this idea had been discussed for several centuries already; while Lactantius denied that any judgment took place before the Last Days, the concept permeated the works of Tertullian, and Augustine admitted it in principle, as did Gregory the Great.[101] This logical consequence of the martyrs' immediate access to heaven is also expressed in Gregory of Tours.

> And like heaven keeps, as we believe, those who have died in sanctity, from whose tombs often that *virtus* proceeds, so that by them the blind are made seeing, the lame walk, and lepers are cleaned and other cures are granted to the petitioning sick – just so we believe also that the sinners will be held in this infernal prison until the Judgment.[102]

Let us focus on the saints first. That they already enjoyed God's presence immediately after death constitutes the very basis of their cult. Until the resurrection, their souls were in heaven, and they were granted by God the power to work miracles on

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98 Esp. Augustine, *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, 6 (8), ed. Zycha, 633–634; Augustine, *Enchiridion*, 23 (88), ed. Hout, 96–97. Compare also Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 32, 38, 41; see also Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 23, 144.

99 Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 34, 43, 103–105; Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 35, 143–144.

100 Straw, "Settling Scores," 24–28. Salisbury, *The Blood of the Martyrs*, 26–28; Uytfanghe, "Essor du culte des saints," 104.

101 Cf. Le Goff, *Die Geburt des Fegefeuers*, 65–67, 80, 87–99, 113–119; Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 36–37, 68, 137, 213.

102 [...] *sicut illos, qui defuncti sunt sancti, caelum, ut credimus, retinet – de quorum sepulchris saepius virtus illa procedit, ut de his caeci inluminentur, clodi gressum recipiant, lyprosi mundentur et alia sanitatum beneficia infirmis petentibus tribuantur – ita credimus et peccatoris in illo infernali carcere usque ad iudicium retineri.* Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 498; (my translation).

earth.[103] Meanwhile, their body stayed behind on earth until the Last Days, their relics being understood as a *pignus*, pledge.[104] This notion underlies a second concept already mentioned above that stayed constant through the Middle Ages, that of a relic of whatever size standing for the saint as a whole.[105] This was made most explicit in the *De laude sanctorum* by the early fifth-century bishop Victricius of Rouen.[106] The first to develop a "theology of relics",[107] he explained that the blood of the martyrs was "on fire with the reward of divinity", and every bit and piece of them shared in this link to the divine. Most importantly, he stated that "there was nothing in relics which is not complete", and that their distribution did not diminish their power in any way.[108] Displacement or loss was not a thing that martyrs, received in heaven, could feel. Instead, each piece of them was endowed with unity, could work miracles, and as such was already a "sign of eternity".[109] Though there are no explicit references to such ideas in the works of Gregory of Tours, we find many examples of stories informed by them. Gregory extends the idea of *pars pro toto* to include contact relics: the saints were entirely present even in the tiniest piece imbued with their *virtus*, and this piece was referred to by the name of the saint. His or her presence, and therefore the authenticity of the relics, was revealed through miracles.[110] Tellingly, Gregory of Tours describes the body of the martyr Ferreolus, whose head had been cut off, nevertheless as "intact" and "untouched" (*integer* and *inlaesus*), that is, as a *corpus incorruptum*.[111] If a martyr without his head attached could be considered whole, and a piece of a finger conveyed the whole power of a saint, and if scattered bones and dust were no obstacle to the resurrection of the body, then we have to rethink the connection between the cult of

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103 There are countless examples in the works of Gregory of Tours, e. g. *Liber in gloria confessorum*, 98, ed. Krusch, 361; *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 36, ed. Krusch, 61; *Liber de virtutibus sancti Martini*, 1.8, ed. Krusch, 143.
104 E. g. Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 30; Weidemann, "Reliquie und Eulogie," 369; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 13, ed. Krusch, 47; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 2.6, ed. Krusch and Levison, 47.
105 See above p. 489.
106 Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum*, ed. Demeulenaere. I follow the translation of Clark, "Victricius of Rouen."
107 Clark, "Victricius of Rouen," 367.
108 Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum*, 8.l.10, ed. Demeulenaere, 81; *in reliquiis nihil esse non plenum*: 9.l.30–31, 83–84; 10.l.14–19, 85. Transl. Clark, "Victricius of Rouen", 390.
109 Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum*, 11.l.45–50 and 12.l.35, ed. Demeulenaere, 88, 90. Transl. Clark, "Victricius of Rouen," 397.
110 Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Martini*, 2.36, ed. Krusch, 172; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 7.31, ed. Krusch and Levison, 351, Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 36, 77, ed. Krusch, 61, 89, and many more. The presence of saints in relics is regularly acknowledged by possessed people, e.g. Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Juliani*, 33, 35, ed. Krusch, 128–129.
111 Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Juliani*, 2, ed. Krusch, 115; this passage is also quoted by Angenendt, "Reliquienverehrung bei Gregor von Tours und Beda Venerabilis," 37, who, however, does not work out its full implications for his theory about a prohibition of dividing relics as a result of the concept of *corpus incorruptum*.

saints and eschatological belief. Clearly, Gregory did not perceive the concept of *corpus incorruptum* as discouraging the dividing up of saintly bodies into separate relics. Instead, he saw not only the complete *corpus incorruptum,* but each miracle-working relic in its "wholeness" as promise and reassurance of the future resurrection, a preview on earth of what was to come in the eternal realm. There might have been other reasons discouraging the partitioning of relics, such as a general respect for the dead, the lingering effects of antique customs and laws, and aesthetic ideas regarding a whole human body as being in perfect likeness to God. But the saint's body was a preview of salvation, not a religious taboo.[112]

However, it should be remembered that Victricius of Rouen's *De laude sanctorum* was responding to possibly widespread scepticism towards the cult of relics, even if, unfortunately, Vigilantius of Calagurris is the only such sceptic voice to have come down to us.[113] Generally, the debates concerning the resurrection of the flesh received a particular impetus whenever the integrity of the body of the dead was in question: first in context of the persecution, and then again with the increasing division and distribution of relics.[114] Other ideas about the afterlife were also subjected to a lively discussion in the sixth century. The activity of souls after death was an issue of debate, Origen's ideas about the afterlife (in the manner ascribed to him) were declared heretical at the Second Council of Constantinople, and even the saints' cult in Gaul was far from uncontested, as Gregory's own frequent mention of sceptics proves.[115] Whether or not we believe that even priests raised doubts concerning the resurrection of the flesh, Gregory's inclusion of a lengthy dialogue discussing this issue suggests that he was reacting to lingering scepticism regarding fundamental aspects of Christian doctrine in Merovingian Gaul.

The existence of martyrs and the development of the saints' cult and its practices caused questions, maybe even concern – but exactly these questions led to the development of a more detailed doctrine about the afterlife. The cult of saints itself might have served to address fears about the life of the soul and the fate of the body.[116] Its reassuring quality emerges clearly in Gregory's retelling of the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, a story that he included twice in his works. The

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112 Kleine, "Schätze des Heils, Gefäße der Auferstehung," 167, 182; Lafferty, "Relic Hunters in Late Antiquity," esp. 250–254; Kleine, "'Res sacra' oder 'sacrilegium'?," 108. For "preview", see above and Kitchen, "Gregory of Tours, Hagiography, and the Cult of Saints," 416 and Kleine, "Schätze des Heils, Gefäße der Auferstehung," 189; Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 161.

113 See Hunter, "Vigilantius of Calagurris and Victricius of Rouen," esp. 416–425.

114 Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 43–50, 93, 104; Kleine, "Schätze des Heils, Gefäße der Auferstehung," 188, 191.

115 On the debates on the soul and its afterlife, see e.g. Baun, "Last Things," 607–610. Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great*, passim; for Origen see Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 189–190; for scepticism in Gregory, see Wood, "Early Medieval Devotion."

116 Cf. Kleine, "Schätze des Heils, Gefäße der Auferstehung," 188–189; Uytfanghe, "Essor du culte des saints," 101–105.

spread of the so-called "heresy of the sadducees"[117] in the early fifth century, a feature only found in Gregory's version, leads to doubt about the resurrection of the flesh. The fate of the saints, however, who awake safe and sound nearly 200 years after they have been shut in a cave, restore the faith in the resurrection among the people and emperor Theodosius.

The cult of the saints reassured believers about the truth of the eschatological teachings and served as a constant reminder in this world of the Last Things to come in the next. The saintly souls were alive and already with God, as their miracles proved.[118] It would be their own earthly bodies that would rise, so that these bodies could join in the pleasures according to the merit they had won.[119] The miracles worked even by bits of fingers or shreds of cloth attested that the saints' scattered remains were still part of one whole, showing believers on earth that not even the smallest bit was lost to God.[120]

3 Last Things in the Here and Now

The fate and activity of the saints thus anticipated what would happen to soul and body in the afterlife. But we find a further connection between the saints' cult and ideas about the afterlife in Gregory's works that needs to be explored. Examining his thoughts about the period between death and resurrection offers interesting insights into early medieval concepts about the interim. To begin with, the bishop makes it very clear in the resurrection dialogue that everyone, even non-believers, will be resurrected in the body, so that the righteous and the sinners will pass to glory or be punished according to their deserts in the very flesh that they occupied in this world. Until then, the saints' souls are kept in heaven, but the sinners will be waiting *in illo infernali carcere* until the Last Judgment.[121] As already indicated above, this implies that some form of judgment follows immediately upon death, and it seems that for Gregory, there was no difference between this verdict and the Last Judgment other than that at the latter, the body would participate in the punishment. Interestingly, while many other churchmen and theologians concerned with the afterlife had differentiated between "the very good", "the very bad" and

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117 Gregory of Tours, *Passio sanctorum septem dormientium*, ed. Krusch, and Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 94, ed. Krusch, 100–102. The priest in the resurrection dialogue is also termed a Saducee, Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.31, ed. Krusch and Levison, 496.

118 General line of argumentation: Kleine, "Schätze des Heils, Gefäße der Auferstehung," 189; for ex. Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 30, ed. Krusch, 56; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, 46, 99, ed. Krusch, 326, 362.

119 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 498.

120 For Gregory, see n. 110; for other authors, see Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 106.

121 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 10.13, ed. Krusch and Levison, 497–498.

lesser sinners, Gregory did not make such distinctions.[122] He apparently did not en-visage any form of "purgatorial state", which had been considered a possibility for lesser sinners by earlier churchmen and was also proposed by some of Gregory's contemporaries.[123] While one could disagree regarding whether the *infernalis carcer* should be translated with "hell", there is no evidence here or elsewhere in Gregory's works that he imagined a phase in the afterlife in which some form of punishment experienced between death and the Last Days could result in a different outcome at the Last Judgment.[124] Indeed, when Gregory imagines his own future death and dis-closes his fear of the Judgment, he jumps directly from his demise to the day of the resurrection of the flesh.[125] This, again, leaves the reader with a feeling of "indefi-nite imminence" (see section one). With Gregory of Tours' own theology in mind, therefore, the future Gregory I's sermon to the people of Rome (included at the be-ginning of book ten of the *Histories*), in which he admonished his flock to pray and repent *now* (see p. 486) might lose its apocalyptic context, but without losing its ur-gency. How far the end of all times is still away becomes less significant if the judg-ment at death may well be final.

The absence of a purgatorial option in Gregory's works raises the question of what the bishop made of the prayer for the dead by the living, an old and widespread liturgical practice that was later firmly connected to ideas of purga-tory.[126] Gregory certainly knew the practice, and while he considered it beneficial in general, he did not attribute to it the significant function for the fate of the believer that, for example, Gregory the Great assigned to it in his *Dialogues*.[127] Petitions for the dead, be it in the form of prayer or mass, are mentioned several times in the works of the bishop of Tours, but do not play a decisive role. A woman's offering of wine from Gaza to be used in masses for her dead husband is deemed beneficial for his soul, but is of only marginal importance to the story.[128]

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122 For example Clement of Alexandria, Augustine, Caesarius of Arles, Gregory the Great – see Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 62, 105; Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church*, 138–141, 208–209, 214, Le Goff, *Die Geburt des Fegefeuers*, 75, 92, 96, 109, with references.

123 See n. 121; further Le Goff, *Die Geburt des Fegefeuers*, 25, 90–100, 113–119.

124 See also Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*, 75, 80; Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower*, 150–153, 158–161; Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, 110.

125 Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Martini*, 3.60, ed. Krusch, 197.

126 Le Goff, *Die Geburt des Fegefeuers*, 63–65; Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*, 8; Angenendt, "Theologie und Liturgie," 157–161.

127 See for example Gregory the Great, *Dialogorum libri quattuor*, 4.40, 4.55, PL, cols. 396–397, 416–421. See also Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great*, 76–79, 129–134, about the pope's concern with prayer for the dead.

128 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, 64, ed. Krusch, 335–336. The point of the story is that God exposed a fraud, with the husband revealing to his wife in a vision that the greedy sub-deacon always substituted the valuable offering with cheap wine.

In another story, a woman who secretly hoarded money "migrated to the under-world (*migrans inferno*) and was buried",[129] and her gold was thrown on top of her corpse. In the nights following her burial, screams were heard, so that the people complained to the bishop. When he opened the tomb and found the gold to have melted and filled the dead woman's mouth, he prayed for the punishment to stop, whereupon the screams ceased. While this case indeed shows the intercession by the living on behalf of the dead, the emphasis is, again, not on the woman's suffer-ing or its amelioration by prayers on her behalf. The further fate of the woman's soul or her salvation are not even mentioned, but Gregory argues that now that her wickedness had been revealed to everyone, the punishment of her body could stop. The story serves as a lesson to living Christians and is followed by a sermon-like passage on the dangers of greed. The final section of the *Liber in gloria martyrum* – which follows immediately after this story – concludes that it is "necessary for us to seek the patronage of the martyrs so that we might be worthy to be helped by their assistance. What we are not worthy to obtain by our own merits, we can receive by their intercessions."[130]

When Gregory considered the dubious state of the soul in the afterlife, he em-phasised the ability for intercession by God's friends, the saints, rather than any ef-forts of the living. It is in this light that we should understand his story of a prayer for a dead virgin that Saint Martin of Tours said whilst still alive. The prayer was effective because Martin had already shown through his miracles that he was recog-nised as a friend of God.[131] In Gregory's view, this was the only hope for reprieve in the afterlife: that the saints might intercede with God[132] and succeed in moving Him to grant an "amnesty"[133] even to sinners if the latter had sought the saints' patron-age while alive. This is also how Gregory imagined his own Last Judgment: "And when in accordance with the judge's decision I am to be condemned to the infernal flames, he [Martin of Tours] will protect me with the sacred shroud [...] and reprieve me from this punishment."[134]

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129 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 105, ed. Krusch, 110.

130 *Unde oportet nobis eorum patrocinia expetere, ut eorum mereamur suffragiis adiuvari, vel, quod nostris digni non sumus meritis obtenere, eorum possimus intercessionibus adipisci [...]*. Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 106, ed. Krusch, 111. Translation: Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*. The same subjects of greed and the help of the saints end the *Liber in gloria confessorum*, 110, ed. Krusch, 369–370.

131 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria confessorum*, 5, ed. Krusch, 301–302; cf. Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 164.

132 Saints as intercessors in general: Pietri, "Évolution du culte des saints aux premiers siècles chrétiens;" Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*, 60–63, 67–68.

133 Brown, "Amnesty, Penance, and the Afterlife from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages," 50.

134 *Cumque eo iudicante fuero flammis infernalibus deputatus, sacrosancto pallio [...] me contectum excuset a poena*: Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Martini*, 2.60, ed. Krusch, 180. Trans-lation from Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, 259.

Gregory's stress on the here and now is revealed even more clearly if we look at his accounts of the miracles of the saints.[135] In all of these, God works his power through the *virtus* he granted the saints,[136] and every miracle requires a decision: to punish or to reward. Throughout his works, be it the *Histories* or his hagiographical corpus, Gregory reminded his readers of one fact: divine judgment would not come to mankind only at the end of days. In fact, it could come at any time in this world, through God himself or through the agency of his saints. Punitive expressions of this power are sometimes referred to as *ultio divina*,[137] but in several instances, they are explicitly termed *iudicium*.[138] Obviously, God expressed his verdicts regarding human actions not only on Judgment Day. The numerous prodigies referred to above provide the *Histories* with their sinister tone for this very reason: they already imply a divine sentence, even without directly heralding the end of the world. Indeed, the Final Judgment can already be prefigured and visible in this life. While saintly bodies are described as white, shining, fragrant and perfect, indicating that they belong in heaven,[139] some sinners already receive an earthly punishment that leaves no doubt about their destination.[140] For example, in a story associated with Saint Julian of Brioude, Gregory describes how an obstinate sinner's corpse turned black, started to smoke and stink. According to Gregory, there could be no doubt where that man went who left earth "with such a judgment" (*tali iudicio*).[141]

So while the saints' bodies and relics served as a reassuring preview of the resurrection, the judgments already implicit in the miracles on earth similarly functioned as a foreshadowing of what was to come.[142] Although there was no purgatorial phase in the afterlife, punishment *in this life* could in some cases absolve from sins and alleviate punishment at the Last Judgment. According to Gregory, King Sigismund (d. 523/24), who instituted the permanent singing of psalms in St. Maurice-d'Agaune after he had killed his own son,[143] did not consider this enough to care for his soul in the afterlife. Instead, he "prayed that divine vengeance would punish him for his misdeeds in this world, so that he might be considered absolved

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135 Accordingly, Brown names his chapter on Gregory "The Other World in this World," Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 149–181.

136 See n. 103.

137 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 1.41, 2.4, 3.5, ed. Krusch and Levison, 28, 45, 101; Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 74, 102, ed. Krusch, 87, 105.

138 Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Juliani*, 10, 17, ed. Krusch, 119, 122; Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 2.4, 6.10, ed. Krusch and Levison, 45, 280.

139 See e.g. p. 488 and Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 6.29, ed. Krusch and Levison, 296.

140 Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 171.

141 Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Juliani*, 17, ed. Krusch, 122; transl. Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, 176; similar Gregory of Tours, *Historiae,* 5.36, ed. Krusch and Levison, 242.

142 Kitchen, "Gregory of Tours, Hagiography, and the Cult of Saints," 422–424; Brown, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 164.

143 The *laus perennis,* see Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 74, ed. Krusch, 87.

in judgment".[144] In Sigismund's case, the manner of his death apparently served as absolution.

The healing miracles that regularly occured where saintly remains resided, usually in ecclesiastical surroundings, are positive examples of the prefiguration of the Last Things in this life. In Gregory's works, believers and saints mostly met at cult sites under the aegis of the Church, where clerical personnel ensured the proper *reverentia*, supervised and recorded the miracles that took place, often at liturgically important moments.[145] In this way, the miracles linked the long-dead saints, already in heaven, with the members of the temporal *ecclesia*. Sins and disease were considered connected, so that a healing of the body was simultaneously a healing of the soul. This analogy is elaborated in images likening the act of healing to a "rebirth", in which blood is infused into dried limbs and straightens them (as in Ezekiel's vision). Alternatively, he used vocabulary implying a resurrection of the body when people touched the tomb (e. g. *renasci fecit, renatum fuisse*), by this choice of image recalling the passage about Elisha (2 Kgs. 4:34) mentioned above.[146] This typology is in line with Gregory's assessment of the help the blessed can offer.

> For we believe that just as they restrain all kinds of illnesses here, so they deflect the ruthless penalties of torments there and [...] that just as they restore to life the bodies of the dead here, so they extend their hand, dig up from the waters of the Acheron those buried in sin, and restore them to eternal life.[147]

This saintly help, in this life as in the next, was accessible in this world through the mediation of the Church, the *ecclesia* as preparation for the world to come. For the amnesty through the intercession of the saints was not unconditional: one had to prove oneself a friend of the saints in *this* life to be worthy their patronage.

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

With a verdict already waiting upon death, and no discernible purgatorial phase in which it might be diminished, judgment was always imminent. That the saints

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144 *[...] Deprecans, ut quaecumque deliquerat in hoc ei saeculo ultio divina retribueret, ut scilicet habeatur in iudicio absolutus [...]*, Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 74, ed. Krusch, 87.

145 Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, 90; e. g. Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Martini*, 2.14, 2.30, ed. Krusch, 163, 170.

146 Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Martini*, 1.40, 2.13, 2.43, ed. Krusch, 156, 163, 174. Cf. Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, 105–114; Moreira, *Heaven's Purge*, 66–68, Nie, *Views from a Many-Windowed Tower*, 201–204. The passage about Elisha's dead body might have been understood as proof from the Old Testament for the abilities of the saints or the righteous, compare the resurrection dialogue, p. 494.

147 *Confidimus enim, quod, sicut hic morborum genera resecant, illic saevas tormentorum poenas avertant, et, [...] sicut hic mortuorum cadavera ad vitam resuscitant, illic peccato sepultos, ex Acharonticis stagnis manu iniecta erutos, vitae aeternae restituant.* Gregory of Tours, *Liber de virtutibus sancti Martini*, 4. prologue, ed. Krusch, 199; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and Their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul,* Compare Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 106, ed. Krusch, 111.

would indeed have the power to intercede was already evident in the miracles they worked through their remains in the here and now, at their tombs or through their relics. God had arranged it so that these could be found all over Gaul.[148] This meant that no part was lost for the resurrection: God already knew where the fragments of the saints were to be found and to whom they belonged, because it was through his friends that God worked his miracles, saving or punishing. Thus, despite the possible comfort of two centuries still remaining until the year 6000 AM in Gregory's chronology, there was no doubt in his mind that judgment was never far away, and that his contemporaries would do well to prepare their souls. Instead of being only concerned with a general world-encompassing apocalypse, the End Times that would bring a Last Judgment for everyone, Gregory's focus lay rather on a "personal eschatology", a closer look at the Last Things of the individual afterlife of each member of the Christian faith. To Gregory, knowing when the end for all would come was not the main point. Instead, after promising a chronology and admitting its futility, he stated that Christ himself and the belief in him was *noster vero finis*.[149]

Through the saints, believers could already anticipate the principles of the Last Things: the afterlife of the soul, the future resurrection of the body, and the coming Judgment. In this form, the cult of the saints reminded believers of the imminence of the end. What did numbers matter, compared to the evidence that the saints were working God's judgment already in the current world?

On the basis of this analysis of Gregory's thoughts on the saints' cult and its eschatological associations, it seems safe to conclude that his ambiguity on *when* the end would come was intentional. No one could know the hour, but the end was certain, and everyone with eyes to see could recognise it as prefigured in the miracles in this world.

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Abbreviations

CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1866–.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Leipzig–Berlin: Hinrichs–Akademie Verlag, 1897–.
MGH Conc.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Concilia
MGH EE	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae (in Quart)
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores in Folio

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148 Gregory of Tours, *Liber in gloria martyrum*, 46, ed. Krusch, 69.
149 Gregory of Tours, *Historiae*, 1.prologue, ed. Krusch and Levison, 5.

MGH SS rer. Merov. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
PL   Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne,
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