

THE *DIALOGUES* OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT
IN THE LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE OF SEVENTH- AND
EIGHTH-CENTURY EUROPE

by

Ann Elizabeth Kuzdale

A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Toronto

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Dissertation Abstract

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The Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great in the Literary and Religious Culture of Seventh- and Eighth-Century Europe

Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), valued in the Middle Ages as an authority on scriptural exegesis, preaching and administration, was an important source for early medieval churchmen. Though not the unique expression of Gregory's thought, the Dialogues which contained short accounts of the lives of saints in Italy, including the Life of St. Benedict, as well as a discussion of the afterlife, saw a rapid dissemination after its appearance in 594. Requests for books, entries in library catalogues, and the survival of early manuscripts, attests to its popularity. By tracing the use and interpretation of the Dialogues among seventh- and eighth-century authors through an examination of textual citations this thesis analyzes the Dialogues as an aspect of Gregory's influence in the early Middle Ages.

The broad survey of authors from Spain, Ireland, England and Gaul offers points for comparison. It is clear that early medieval churchmen accepted the Dialogues as one of Gregory's major works, not an aberration in his corpus as some modern authors have suggested. Both theologians concerned with questions of the afterlife and hagiographers interested in models of sanctity used the Dialogues. The themes that attracted these authors include: Gregory's portrait of St. Benedict; the idea of purgatory not as a punishment, but as a doctrine of hope; visions of the

afterlife, both the delights of heaven and torments of hell, as a means of moving people to lead virtuous lives; and Gregory's ecclesiology based on a monastic spirituality.

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Preface

When I began the study of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great I did not realize I was being given a life's work. I was also unaware of the rewards a survey of this type would offer. The work of citation studies and close reading of the sources of authors who used Gregory has introduced me to the history, theology and hagiography of the early middle ages which will be a foundation for future work.

A few clarifications are needed. In general I have used terms such as "parallel," "citation," and "reference" interchangeably and not applied strict technical meanings to them. Appendices comparing passages of the Dialogues are arranged after the text according to chapter and then by author. These tables are intended as examples of the pattern of citation of the Dialogues various authors. They are not an exhaustive list of all citations of the Dialogues in seventh- and eighth-century works. Unless otherwise noted translations are my own. In places where I have quoted and translated a Latin passage in the text of the dissertation I include the Latin in a footnote. When paraphrasing or summarizing a passage from a primary source I give the citation alone. When quoting Latin editions I have kept the orthography of the editor without any changes to grammar. I also refer to the Dialogues throughout as a singular subject in the way the PL is considered singular.

Acknowledgment of all who, in one way or another, helped shape this dissertation is not possible here. I wish to express my gratitude for the support

the Centre for Medieval Studies has given me over the years. A grant from the University of Toronto Alumni Association and the Centre for Medieval Studies allowed me to examine manuscripts of the Dialogues in various European libraries. I am much indebted to the advice and inspiration of my former professors at Boston College, Samuel J. Miller and Alan J. Reinerman.

Professors Brian Merrilees and Timothy McGee have been understanding and generous employers during my time in Toronto, as well as concerned friends. I shall always appreciate the counsel and support that Professor J.N. Hillgarth has shown me since my earliest days in Toronto. The loyalty and kindness of colleagues and friends Pamela Eisenbaum, William Forsyth, Joseph Gaken and William Lundell and the encouragement of my brothers and sister, John, James and Kathryn, has sustained me in ways they probably don't realize. Many thanks to Stephen Bellantoni for his assistance in the final production of this work. Christopher Dickson lent unflagging energy and technical expertise which eased the last stages of editing. His comments on the text saved me from many errors. Finally, I dedicate this work to my parents, Edwin and Evelyn Kuzdale, to whom I owe an early interest in history and whose generosity, support and understanding have been constant.

Abbreviations

- CCSL Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina. Turnholt, 1953-
- CLA Codices Latini Antiquiores; a paleographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century. Ed. E.A. Lowe. 11 vols. Oxford, 1934-1966. Supplement. Ed. E.A. Lowe. Oxford, 1971.
- Dialogues Gregory the Great, Dialogorum libri quatuor de miraculis patrum italicorum. Ed. Adalbert de Vogüé. Trans. Paul Antin. SC 251, 260, 265. Paris, 1978-80.
- DOC Liber de ordine creaturarum. Ed. Trans. M.C. Díaz y Díaz. Liber de ordine creaturarum. Un anónimo irlandés del siglo VII. Santiago de Compostela, 1972.
- DVI (Ildephonsus) Ildephonsus of Toledo, De viris illustribus. Ed. Carmen Codoñer Merino. El <<De viris illustribus>> de Ildefonso de Toledo: estudio y edición crítica. Salamanca, 1972.
- DVI (Isidore) Isidore of Seville, De viris illustribus. Ed. Carmen Codoñer Merino. El <<De viris illustribus>> de Isidoro de Sevilla: estudio y edición crítica. Salamanca, 1964.
- DVSS Valerius of Bierzo, De vana saeculi sapientia. PL 87, 425-31.
- Epistulae Columbanus. Epistulae. Ed. G.S.M. Walker. Sancti Columbani Opera. Dublin, 1970.
- Grégoire le Grand Grégoire le Grand. Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Chantilly. 15-19 septembre 1982. Eds. Jacques Fontaine, Robert Gillet and Stan Pellistrandi. Paris, 1986.
- HE Bede, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum. Ed. Trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors. (Oxford, 1969).

- Irland und Europa Irland und Europa. Die Kirche im Frühmittelalter/Ireland and Europe. The Early Church. Eds. P. Ní Chatháina and M. Richter. Stuttgart/Klett-Cotta, 1984.
- MGH.AA Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi. Berlin, 1919-
- MGH.SRG Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum. Hannover and Leipzig, 1905.
- MGH.SRM Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum. Hannover, 1885-
- PL Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina. Ed. J.P. Migne. Paris, 1844-1864.
- Prog Julian of Toledo, Prognosticum futuri saeculi. Ed. J.N. Hillgarth. Sancti Iuliani Toletanae Sedis Episcopi Opera. CCSL 115. Turnholt, 1976.
- Registrum Gregory the Great, Registrum epistularum. Ed. Dag Norberg. CCSL 140, 140A. Turnholt, 1982.
- SC Sources chrétiennes. Paris, 1942-
- Sententiae (Isidore) Sententiarum libri tres. Ed. Ismael Roca Meliá. Los tres libros de las "Sentencias," de San Isidoro. Santos Padres Españoles. 2 vols. Madrid, 1971.
- Sententiae (Taio) Taio of Saragossa. Sententiarum libri quinque. PL 80, 731-990.
- Seventh Century The Seventh Century Change and Continuity/Le Septième siècle changements et continuités. Proceedings of a joint French and British Colloquium held at the Warburg Institute 8-9 July 1988. Ed. Jacques Fontaine and J.N. Hillgarth. London, 1992.
- VBar Visio Baronti monachi Longoretensis. Ed. W. Levison. MGH.SRM 5. Hannover, 1910.

- VBurg Jonas of Bobbio, Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius. Liber II. Ed. Bruno Krusch. MGH.SRG Hannover and Leipzig, 1905.
- VCC Adomnán, Vita Columbae. Ed. Trans. A.O. Anderson and M.O. Anderson. Adomnán's Life of Columba. Oxford, 1991.
- VCol Jonas of Bobbio, Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius. Liber I. Ed. Bruno Krusch. MGH.SRG Hannover and Leipzig, 1905.
- VCuthA Vita S. Cuthberti auctore anonymo. Ed. Trans. Bertram Colgrave. Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert, 59-139. 1940; rpt. Cambridge, 1985.
- VCuthB Bede, Vita S. Cuthberti (prosaica). Ed. Trans. Bertram Colgrave. Two Lives of St. Cuthbert. 142-307. 1940; rpt. Cambridge, 1985.
- VF Vita S. Fructuosi. Ed. Trans. M.C. Díaz y Díaz. La Vida de San Fructuoso de Braga. Braga, 1974.
- VFur Vita S. Fursei. Ed. W.W. Heist. Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae. Brussels, 1965.
- VG Vita Gregorii Papae Urbis Romae. Ed. Trans. Bertram Colgrave. The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great By an Anonymous Monk of Whitby. Lawrence, Kansas, 1968.
- VPE Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium. Ed. J.N. Garvin. Washington, 1949.
- VW Vita S. Wilfrithi. Ed. Trans. Bertram Colgrave. The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus. Cambridge, 1927.

INTRODUCTION

Some persons would infer from it, that the glory of that Pope, and of some other ancient fathers, is like rivers, which, being very small at their spring, grow very large at a great distance from it. Something might be said against this comparison; but it is certain, generally speaking, that the objects of memory are of a very different nature from the objects of sight. The latter lessens in proportion to their distance, whereas the former do commonly increase, according as we are remote from their time and place.

Pierre Bayle¹

The fame of Gregory the Great did not elude Pierre Bayle when he was composing his historical and critical dictionary, though his ironical statement is really only true in part. From the early middle ages there had been a consistent interest in Gregory the Great, his life and his works. This interest took many forms, yet it is possible to say that the middle ages had a different understanding of Gregory from that which has prevailed in modern times. The sharpest break in perceptions of Gregory and interest in his works came after the Reformation when the things that had defined Gregory for medieval people—monasticism and his western, Roman heritage—came under fire and into disgrace with certain Catholic and Protestant Reformers.² Throughout the

¹Pierre Bayle, The Dictionary Historical and Critical, 5 vols. 2nd ed. (London, 1736), 3, 227.

²Paul Meyvaert, "The Enigma of Gregory the Great's Dialogues: a Response to Francis Clark," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 39 (1988), 335-336. Meyvaert notes that it is in this period that Reformers like Robert Cooke (1550-1615) set out to prove the Dialogues were a forgery. At the same time Gregory was held in some esteem by the major reformers and by earlier humanist authors. See Lester K. Little, "Calvin's appreciation of Gregory the Great," Harvard Theological Review, 56 (1963), 145-57 and Germain Marc'Hadour,

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Gregory continued to be the subject of much interest.³ Dom Denys de Sainte Marthe,⁴ who wrote The History of St. Gregory the Great, which Bayle called a "continual panegyric,"⁵ mentions other early authors on Gregory: Pierre du Moulin⁶ and Maimbourg.⁷ Terrence Kardong and Kassius Hallinger suggest that the context for this interest in Gregory must be understood as a debate on Gregory's Benedictine connections which Cardinal Baronius questioned in his 1598 work, and which the Maurists tried to prove.⁸

Bibliographies and citations of Gregory from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries show that modern interest in Gregory remained high, in spite and perhaps because of the intense anti-religious sentiment following the French Revolution. The brief list of F. Homes Dudden⁹ and citations in

"Saint Grégoire le Grand et Saint Thomas More," in Grégoire le Grand, 621-636, at 623.

³Ulysse Chevalier, Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age. Bio-Bibliographie (Paris, 1905), pp. 1870-1874, cites C. Caetanus, De s. Gregorii Magni...monachatu benedictino (Salzburg, 1620).

⁴Denys de Sainte Marthe, The History of St. Gregory the Great (Rouen, 1697).

⁵Bayle, 224.

⁶Pierre du Moulin, La vie et religion de Grégoire I. Evesque de Rome, surnommé le Grand, (Sedan, 1650).

⁷Louis Maimbourg, Histoire du Pontificat de s. Grégoire le Grand, (Paris, 1686).

⁸Terrence Kardong, "A New Look at Gregory's Dialogues," American Benedictine Review, 36 (1985), 44-63 at 55, n.34. Kassius Hallinger, "Papst Gregor und der Hl. Benedikt," Studia Anselmiana, 42 (1957), 231-319.

⁹F. Homes Dudden, Gregory the Great. His Place in History and Thought, 2 vols. (London, 1905), 1, xiv-xv.

Paetow¹⁰ and Boyce¹¹ offer numerous references to nineteenth-century German, French, and English works on Gregory the Great. Closer to our own time, three full-length biographies of Gregory were written in English alone in the first quarter of this century.¹²

By the time Bayle's anti-clerical and anti-Roman view of Gregory appeared, a thriving legendary tradition had already developed around him. Popular medieval accounts and artistic representations focused on Gregory's intercessory power which released the Emperor Trajan from hell, the story of the Mass of St. Gregory and a story of how the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove was seen by Gregory's secretary sitting at Gregory's shoulder putting words into the pope's ear while he was writing.¹³ Associated with this is the claim that Gregorian Chant originated in Gregory's direct reception of the music from the Holy Spirit.¹⁴ Artistic representations of Gregory place him

¹⁰Louis J. Paetow, A Guide to the Study of Medieval History (1917; rpt NY, 1980), 156-158.

¹¹Gray Cowan Boyce, Literature of Medieval History 1930-1975. A Supplement to Louis John Paetow's A Guide to the Study of Medieval History, 5 vols. (New York, 1981), 1, 278-278.

¹²Besides Dudden, these include Henry H. Howorth, Saint Gregory the Great (London, 1912); and Terrence Benedict Snow, St. Gregory the Great His Work and His Spirit (London, 1924).

¹³Much of the legendary tradition surrounding Gregory derives from Paul the Deacon's eighth-century Life of Gregory. See S.Gregorii Magni Vita, in PL, 75, 42-60. Paul the Deacon's influence is examined by Walter Goffart, The Narrators of Barbarian History A.D. 550-800: Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon (Princeton, 1988), 329ff. Dante includes a reference to this story of Trajan in the Purgatorio, X and Paradiso, XX.

¹⁴John A. Emerson, "Gregorian Chant," Dictionary of the Middle Ages, 5, 661-664.

with Jerome and Augustine.¹⁵ He is usually portrayed in pontifical robes with a papal tiara, sometimes in a monk's tonsure. This image, sustained by the fact that he had been a monk before entering the service of Pope Pelagius II and becoming his successor in 590, was reinforced by his authorship of the Life of St. Benedict found in Book II of the Dialogues.¹⁶ Gregory's most cited work in the Middle Ages may have been the Moralia on Job,¹⁷ but it is really through the Dialogues that Gregory becomes identified with monasticism.¹⁸

The Dialogorum Gregorii Papae Libri Quatuor de Miraculis Patrum Italicorum, the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, was written in 593-594, though

¹⁵Claude J. Peifer, "Gregory I, The Great, Pope," Dictionary of the Middle Ages, 5, 668-669. Gregory was "popularly acclaimed 'the Great' and regarded as one of the four doctors of the Western Church since the eighth century."

¹⁶Whether Gregory was a monk, and especially whether he was a Benedictine has been the subject of some debate. Hallinger, op.cit., and J. Froger, "La Règle du Maître et les sources du monachisme bénédictine," Revue d'Ascétique et Mystique, 30 (1954), 285-88, deny that Gregory followed the Rule of Benedict. Hallinger notes that Gregory did not join the exiled Benedictine community from Monte Cassino reestablished at the Lateran in Rome after the destruction of that monastery by the Lombards. In contrast, Adalbert de Vogüé, <<Benoit de Nursia>> (Benedikt von Nursia), Theologische Realenzyklopädie, Vol 5 (Berlin, 1980), 538-549, insists that Gregory was a close follower of Benedict.

¹⁷The CLA lists approximately twice as many extant manuscripts of the Moralia before the ninth century as exist for either the Pastoral Care or the Dialogues.

¹⁸Adalbert de Vogüé, "Les vues de Grégoire le Grand sur la vie religieuse dans son commentaire des rois," Studia Monastica 20 (1979), 17-63. De Vogüé has pointed out that Gregory does not employ the terms monachus or monasterium frequently. They are completely absent from the Moralia and appear only as references to stories or examples in his Homilies. They are found consistently, however, in his letters and in the Dialogues.

publication of the work in Gregory's lifetime is uncertain.¹⁹ Books I-III concern the lives of the Italian Fathers with Book II devoted to the life of St. Benedict. Book IV is a discussion of the future life. The work has been a stumbling block for modern historians of Gregory. Pierre Bayle criticized Dom Denys for defending "the fabulous miracles related by that Pope in his dialogues..."²⁰ Adolf von Harnack, often seen as the harshest critic of Gregory's Dialogues, thought the work furthered the vulgarization of Catholicism in an age he considered already sunk in superstition and magic.²¹ More recently, J.M. Wallace-Hadrill referred to the Dialogues as "the joker in Gregory's pack."²² Yet, as current bibliographies have shown, the Dialogues continue to attract attention.²³

¹⁹Gregory the Great, Dialogorum libri quatuor de miraculis patrum italicorum, ed. A. de Vogüé, trans. P. Antin, Sources chrétiennes, Nos. 251, 260, 265, (Paris, 1978-1980). Paul Meyvaert, "The Enigma," 372-3. Meyvaert disagrees with Adalbert de Vogüé on whether the Dialogues was published in Gregory's lifetime. According to Meyvaert since the Dialogues lacked the dedicatory letter characteristic of his other works it was probably not circulated in his lifetime. The preface to the Moralia dedicates the work to Leander, Pastoral Care is dedicated to John of Ravenna, the Homilies on the Gospels to Secundinus of Taormina, the Homilies on Ezekiel to Marinianus of Ravenna, but no prefatory letter of dedication exists for the Dialogues.

²⁰Bayle, 226-227.

²¹Carole Straw, Gregory the Great. Perfection in Imperfection (Berkeley, 1988), 7.

²²See "Memoirs of Fellows and Corresponding Fellows," Speculum, 61 (1986), 769.

²³Robert Godding, Bibliografia di Gregorio Magno 1890/1989 (Rome, 1990). According to Godding, the greatest amount of work on the Dialogues has been in the area of critical editions and translations. Modern interest lies primarily in studies on Book II and St. Benedict; over fifty entries exist for translations of Book II alone and approximately ninety entries relating to some aspect of Benedict and his life, personality, spirituality, miracles and visions, and

The earliest fragments of the Dialogues date from the seventh century and have insular connections according to Lowe.²⁴ For the eighth and ninth centuries more fragments exist. These are primarily in Anglo-Saxon scripts from continental monastic houses, though Lowe has placed a few in England and Italy.²⁵ The earliest full-length manuscripts of the Dialogues date from the eighth century.²⁶ Many more full copies exist from the ninth century.²⁷ Meyvaert and others have interpreted this manuscript evidence as proof of an

Benedictine monastic life. Numerous citations occur for specific monasteries, especially Monte Casino.

²⁴CLA, vol. 9, 1356, Stuttgart. Landesbib. Theol. et Philos. Qu. 628 (Dialogues III.23-29); vol. 11, 1595, Wroclaw. Bib. Uniwersytecka. fragm.R.1 (Dialogues III.7); 1626, Barcelona. Bib Capit. S.N. (Dialogues IV.38), from a Mediterranean scriptorium, but corrections are made by an Anglo-Saxon reader; Supplement 1808, Trier. Statbib. Fragm. S.N. (Dialogues III.1) and 1830, Halle. Universitäts und Landesbibliothek Qu.Cod.93d (Dialogues IV.26-27, 29).

²⁵CLA, vol. 2, 218, London. Sloane 1044 (Dialogues IV.32-33); vol. 8, 1070, Bonn. Universitätsbibliothek S 366 (Dialogues III.30, 34, 35) and 1186, Düsseldorf. Landes und Staatsbib. B 213 (Dialogues III.1); vol. 9, 1262, Munich. CLM 6293 (Dialogues, excerpts) and 1406, Würzburg. Univ. Bibl. M.P. Th.F. 19 (Dialogues IV); vol. 10, 1588, Utrecht. Univ. Bibl. 1003 (Var 426) (Dialogues IV. 52, 53, 57, 58); Supplement, 1847, Münster am Westphalia, Universt. bibliothek (Dialogues III.1-5, 7).

²⁶CLA, vol. 3, no. 383, Monza. Bib. Capitolare a.2 (4) and no. 309, Milan Ambros. B 159 Sup.; vol. 4, no. 503, Verona. XLVI (44); vol. 6, no. 719 Autun. Bib. Municip. 20 (S 21); vol. 7, no. 922, St. Gall. Stiftsbibl. 213 and no. 924, St. Gall. Stiftsbibl. 214.

²⁷Catalogues from the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes and the Vatican cite the following manuscripts: Epinal. Bib. Mun. 14; Orléans. Bib. mun. 182 (159); Paris. Bib. Nat. Lat. 2266; Reims. Bib. mun. 415 (IX); Troyes. Bib. mun. 805; Rome. Bib. Vallicelliana. C.9, and Sessor. 40 (1258); Vatican. Palat. lat. 261 and Vat. lat. 5753, also Vat. lat. 7814 and Vat. lat. 13939. St. Gall. Bib. abbat. 552. Munich. Bib. Nat. Lat. 6293. Unfortunately the compilation of extant manuscripts of Gregory's works by Professor Claudio Leonardi and Dott. Lucia Pinelli has not yet been published. Bernhard Bishoff's work on post-800 manuscripts also remains unavailable.

early and wide circulation of the Dialogues.²⁸ Medieval library catalogues furnish further proof that the work was read and copied across Europe.²⁹

There has been no successful attempt to define a manuscript tradition of the Dialogues.³⁰ The first modern publications of the Dialogues appeared in sixteenth-century opera omnia collections of Gregory. In the middle ages, Book II, the Life of St. Benedict, came to be used independently of the other three Books of the Dialogues. Likewise in the modern period, Book II was often published separately from the other books of the Dialogues.³¹ Part of the

²⁸See the following review articles which discuss the manuscript circulation of the Dialogues: Robert Godding, "Les Dialogues ...de Grégoire le Grand à propos d'un livre récent," Analecta Bollandiana 106 (1988), 201-229; Paul Meyvaert, "The Enigma"; P. Verbraken, "Les Dialogues de Saint Grégoire le Grand sont-ils apocryphes? A propos d'un ouvrage récent," Revue Bénédictine, 98 no. 3-4 (1988), 272-277; and Adalbert de Vogüé, "Grégoire le Grand et ses <<Dialogues>> d'après deux ouvrages récents," Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 83 (1988), 281-348.

²⁹Gustav Becker, Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui (Bonn, 1885; rpt. Hildesheim and New York, 1973). Ninth-and tenth-century libraries show a strong interest in the Dialogues: St. Riquier, 831, Dialogues; Reichenau, ninth-century, Dialogues; St. Gall, ninth-century, Dialogues I; Bobbio, tenth-century, Dialogues III; Cremona, Ecc. s. Maria maior, 984, Dialogues I; Lorsch, tenth-century, Dialogues; Regensburg, 975-1000, Dialogues II; Weissenburg, pre-1043, Dialogues IV; Muri, pre-1055, Dialogues I-IV; Arras, eleventh-century, Dialogues; and Toul, pre-1084, Dialogues I. The ninth-century lists for Lorsch and Reichenau contain extensive collections of Gregory's works including his letters, homelies, the Moralia, Liber pastoralis, Cantica Canticorum, as well as secondary works on Gregory such as Paterius, the Vita Gregorii.

³⁰De Vogüé, Introduction, Dialogues, 1, 164. De Vogüé thinks collation of so many manuscripts is impossible since the texts of the Dialogues have been continually revised and corrected and families of manuscripts have now mixed their characteristics into a sort of "received text which could not be reconstructed."

³¹Flamand B. Haeften, Disquisitionum monasticarum, XII, Arras, 1644, begins his study of the Rule of St. Benedict with a Commentary on the Life of St. Benedict. Cassinien A. della Nuce, Chronica sacri monasterii Casinensis,

Maurist motivation in editing the Dialogues of Gregory was to complement the general monastic history of their order which was in progress.³² The Maurist edition of the Dialogues is based on the French manuscripts of the Dialogues.³³ Migne later based the Patrologia Latina edition of the Dialogues on this Benedictine work, but he included the Life of St. Benedict in a separate volume.³⁴

In 1924, Umberto Moricca, who saw the work as a source for Italian history, based a new edition of the Dialogues on Italian manuscripts.³⁵ De Vogüé has pointed out particular manuscript problems with Moricca's edition which compelled him to consider publishing another edition of the work.³⁶ The primary motivation behind de Vogüé's edition of the Dialogues for the Sources chrétiennes series was to explore the literary sources of the work, Gregory's models, and the Dialogues' relationship to older hagiographic

Paris, 1668, begins this study with an annotated Life of St. Benedict. After the publication of the Maurist edition of the Dialogues, A. Quirini's Vita latino-graeca S.P. Benedicti compiles lessons taken from Book II.

³²David Knowles, Great Historical Enterprises. Problems in Monastic History (London, 1963), 43-54.

³³De Vogüé, Introduction, Dialogues, 1, 164-165.

³⁴De Vogüé, Introduction, Dialogues, 1, 165 and Knowles, Great Historical Enterprises, 58. J.P. Migne, PL, Dialogues I, III, and IV are found in vol. 77, 127-432 and Dialogues II, the Life of St. Benedict, is in vol. 66, 125-204.

³⁵De Vogüé, Introduction, Dialogues, 1, 166-167.

³⁶De Vogüé, Introduction, Dialogues, 1, 167, notes problems with Moricca's apparatus, collations between the Verona and Milan manuscripts, and especially Moricca's attempt to approach the original orthography of the 6th century despite the 8th-century witnesses of the manuscripts.

collections.³⁷

Since the 1987 publication of The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues,³⁸ in which Francis Clark set out to prove that Gregory did not write the Dialogues, an outpouring of criticism has occurred in defense of Gregory's authorship and the book's rightful place alongside his other works.³⁹ Three recent works by Carole Straw, William D. McCready, and Robert A. Markus have shifted attention back to significant questions and attempt to formulate a precise understanding of Gregory's sources, ideas, their implications, and the relationship of the Dialogues to his other works.⁴⁰

Clark's book, however, offers a starting-point for a study on medieval perceptions of Gregory the Great and his influence in the early middle ages. Whereas many modern historians have emphasized Gregory's place in respect to earlier authors such as Augustine, Sulpicius Severus, and Paulinus of Nola, comparable examinations of Gregory and later western authors have been limited.⁴¹ Most have focused on specific issues, though these too are also

³⁷De Vogüé, Introduction, Dialogues, 1, 9-12. De Vogüé used a combination of French and Italian manuscripts for his edition.

³⁸Francis Clark, The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1987).

³⁹Robert Godding, "Les Dialogues ...De Grégoire le Grand;" Paul Meyvaert, "The Enigma"; P. Verbraken, "Les Dialogues de Saint Grégoire le Grand sont-ils apocryphes?;" and Adalbert de Vogüé, "Grégoire le Grand et ses <<Dialogues>>." These refutations of Francis Clark's extreme comments on Gregory spare me from having to enter this debate.

⁴⁰Straw, *op. cit.*; William D. McCready, Signs of Sanctity. Miracles in the the Thought of Gregory the Great, (Toronto, 1989); Robert A. Markus, The End of Ancient Christianity (Cambridge, 1990).

⁴¹M.P. Ciccarese, "Vita Martini 7: tra miracolo e visione dell'aldilà," Augustinianum, 24 (1984), 227-233; Pierre Courcelle, "Grégoire le Grand devant

helpful points of departure.⁴² Likewise, the works of Joan Petersen and

les conversions de Marius, Victorinus, Augustin et Paulin de Nole," Latomus, 36 (1977), 942-950; L. Cracco Ruggini, "Gregorio Magno, Agostino e i quattro vangeli," Augustinium, 25 (1985), 255-263; David H. Farmer, "St. Gregory and St. Augustine (bibliography)," in Benedict's Disciples, ed. D. Farmer, (Herefordshire, 1980), 41-51; G.J. Lavere, "The Influence of Saint Augustine on Gregory," Augustinian Studies, 12 (1981), 1-9; Robert Markus, "The Eclipse of a Neoplatonic Theme: Augustine and Gregory the Great on Visions and Prophecies," in Neoplatonism and Early Christian Thought: Essays in Honour of A.H. Armstrong, ed. H. J. Blumenthal (London, 1981), 204-211 and "The Sacred and the Secular: from Augustine to Gregory the Great," The Journal of Theological Studies 36 (1985), 84-96; Joan M. Petersen, "The Influence of Origen upon Gregory the Great's exegesis on the Song of Songs," in Studia Patristica, 18, v. 1, ed. E. Livingstone, (Kalamazoo 1985), 343-347; Adalbert de Vogüé, "Grégoire le Grand, lecteur de Grégoire de Tours?," Analecta Bollandiana, 94 (1976), 225-233.

⁴²P. Catry, "Présence de Grégoire le Grand chez Défensor de Ligugé et Julien de Vézelay," Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 43 (1976), 249-255; Patricia A. DeLeeuw, "Gregory the Great's Homilies on the Gospel in the early middle ages," Studi Medievali, 26 (1985), 855-869; Paul I. Fransen, "Description de la collection grégorienne de Florus de Lyon sur l'Apôtre," Revue Bénédictine, 98 (1988), 273-317; Ferruccio Gastaldelli, "Spiritualità e missione del vescovo in un sermone inedito di Goffredo di Auxerre su san Gregorio," Salesianum, 43 (1981), 119-138; Jean Gaudemet, "Patristique et pastorale: la contribution de Grégoire le Grand au 'Miroir de l'Evêque' dans le Decret de Gratian," in Etudes d'histoire du droit, 2 vols, ed. G. Le Bras, (Paris, 1965), 1, 129-139; B. Jacqueline, "Saint Grégoire le Grand et l'écclésiologie de saint Bernard de Clairvaux," Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale, 41 (1974), 200-204; Gerhart B. Ladner, "Gregory the Great and Gregory VII: a Comparison of their Concepts of Renewal," in Viator, 4 (1973), 1-26; Joseph A. Mazzeo, "Dante and the Pauline Modes of Vision," Harvard Theological Review, 50 (1957), 275-306; P.R. McKeon, "A note on Gregory I and the Pseudo-Isidore," Revue Bénédictine, 89 (1979), 305-308; Paul Meyvaert, "Bede's Text of the Libellus Responsum of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury," in England Before the Conquest; Studies in primary sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock, ed. P. Clemoes (Cambridge, 1971), 15-33 and "The Registrum of Gregory the Great and Bede," Revue Bénédictine, 80 (1970), 162-166; Mary L. O'Hara, "Truth in Spirit and Letter: Gregory the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and Maimonides on the Book of Job," in From Cloister to Classroom: monastic and scholastic approaches to truth, ed. E. Elder, (Kalamazoo, 1986), 47-79; Friedrich Prinz, "Papst Gregor der Grosse und Columban der Juengere," in Irland und Europa, 328-337; J.M. Sauget, "Saint

William McCready have dealt broadly with Gregory's literary antecedents and with hagiography as well as the relationship between eastern and western traditions of saints' cults and relics.⁴³ For the nature, content and sources of Gregory's works, especially his place among writers on western monasticism, Carole Straw gives a strong analysis of Gregory's spirituality, although she is not as concerned with historical context.⁴⁴ Francis Clark's work remains the only systematic analysis of early medieval authors who were interested in the Dialogues. His study, however, is effectively stifled by his thesis that Gregory was not its author.

By building on Clark's list of citations of the Dialogues, I propose to examine the work's influence on seventh- and early eighth-century theological and hagiographical works. I would argue that the specific application of citations of the Dialogues in these works is far from arbitrary and that the citations are best understood when placed in context. Gregory's importance to northern Europe was based on his personal connections to churchmen in Spain, England and Gaul, his authorship of the life of Benedict, and the

Grégoire le Grand et les reliques de saint Pierre dans la tradition arabe chrétienne," Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, 49 (1973), 301-309; Hubert Silvestre, "La Répartition des citations nominatives des pères dans l'oeuvre de Rupert de Deutz," in Sapientiae doctrina, eds. H. Bascour et al. (Lewven 1980), 271-298; Adalbert de Vogüé, "Emprunts à Fauste de Riez, saint Benoît et Grégoire le Grand dans la Vita Sancti Desiderii," Monastica, 3 (Misc. Cassinese XLVII, 1983), 9-15.

⁴³Joan M. Petersen, The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background (Toronto, 1984); McCready, op. cit.

⁴⁴Straw, op. cit.

eschatological nature of his writings. It was especially through Spanish interest in Gregory that northern Europe came to understand his works.

Pierre Courcelle offers the most thorough application of a systematic examination of references and citations in his works on the use and influence of Augustine's Confessions and Boethius' Consolation of Philosophy.⁴⁵ Others, however, have also pursued this type of literary study which Courcelle defined as "the study of citations rather than the study of the genre."⁴⁶ This method is grounded in the notion that manuscripts are the "material proof"⁴⁷ of the prestige of an author and that the number of references to a work implies a "very genuine admiration" by later writers.⁴⁸ These studies are based, as Bonner notes, on the "simple" but "tedious" method of comparison of parallel texts.

⁴⁵Pierre Courcelle, Les Confessions de saint Augustine dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et Postérité (Paris, 1963) and La Consolation de la Philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et postérité de Boèce (Paris, 1967).

⁴⁶Courcelle, Les Confessions, 11. See also Gerald Bonner, "St. Bede in the Tradition of Western Apocalyptic Commentary," Jarrow Lecture (1966); Manuel Díaz y Díaz, "La circulation des manuscrits dans le Péninsule Iberique du VIIIe au XIe siècle," Cahiers de civilisation Médiévale, 12 (1969), 219-241 and 383-392; Jacques Fontaine, "La diffusion carolingienne du De natura rerum d'Isidore de Séville d'après les manuscrits conservés en Italie," Studi Medievali, Ser. 3, 7 (1966), 108-127; J.N. Hillgarth, "L'Influence de la Cité de Dieu de saint Augustin au Haut Moyen Age," Sacris Erudiri, 28 (1985), 1-34; Louis Holtz, Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical (Paris, 1981); Marc Reydellet, "La diffusion des Origines d'Isidore de Séville au haut Moyen Age," Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 78 (1966), 383-437.

⁴⁷Reydellet, "La diffusion," 383.

⁴⁸Bonner, 11.

The consistent lack of citation of original authors in patristic and medieval works is jarring to the twentieth-century scholar. No systematic discussion on the nature of citation among early medieval authors seems to exist, though extensive work has been done on classical and patristic sources. The results of this work may be applied cautiously to these seventh-century authors. The free exploitation of literary predecessors was due in part to a feeling that these works were part of a common patrimony which expressed common Christian truths and became common property, particularly to those fighting heresy.⁴⁹ The seventh-century attitude toward authorities was that they must be used, since "otherwise the result was thought to be dangerous and superfluous,"⁵⁰ while from the classical tradition Seneca's dictum, Quidquid bene dictum est ab ullo meum est meant that a work addressed to the public no longer belonged to an individual author.⁵¹

This thesis does not intend to be comprehensive. It is offered as a contribution to the larger task of understanding the role of Gregory in early

⁴⁹F. Prat, "Imitation ou Plagiat? Emprunts littéraires des Pères de l'Eglise," Revue Apologetique, 38 (1924), 257-66, at 258.

⁵⁰J.N. Hillgarth, "Las Fuentes de San Julian de Toledo," Anales Toledanos, III (1971), 97-118, at 104.

⁵¹Garvin, Introduction, VPE, 5-6. Edward Synan has discussed the medieval practice of borrowing citations. He notes that "all texts were cited with some accuracy, but occasionally with the degree of freedom that was customary in the Middle Ages and which may have its roots in biblical exegesis. Since every line of the Bible is inspired by the holy one, every line illumines every other line; an extracted verse from one context can function with verses from any other context without loss of truth." Edward Synan, The Classics: Episcopal Malice and Papal Piety, Binghamton, NY, 1990, 386-7.

medieval thought. Its modus operandi is an analysis of the Dialogues in works written in contexts vastly different from its original late-sixth-century Roman perspective.

The use of the Dialogues can be understood loosely in terms of a chronological and geographic pattern. For the most part, the early medieval authors who used the Dialogues were not interested in the totality of the work. Certain books were consulted more than others. Books II and IV for example were used independently. Book II was frequently used in conjunction with the diffusion of the Rule of Benedict. The long commentaries in Book IV were also conducive to independent use.

In the first century after its composition, the Dialogues served principally as a source for hagiographers and for theological discussion of purgatory and the future life. Taio of Saragossa⁵² and Julian of Toledo⁵³ in Spain ignored the hagiography of the Dialogues in favor of the theological dimension. Valerius used Gregory's teaching more than his hagiography but was influenced by Gregory's portrait of evil. The Vitas Patrum Emeretensium,⁵⁴ the Lives of Fructuosus, Colum Cille, and Columbanus, used the Dialogues for its portrait of sanctity. Merovingian saints' lives form another unit for examination. One interesting aspect of the Dialogues' influence is in

⁵²Taio of Saragossa, Sententiarum libri quinque, PL, 80, 731-890.

⁵³Julian of Toledo, Prognosticum Futuri Saeculi, ed. J.N. Hillgarth, Sancti Iuliani Toletanae Sedis Episcopi Opera, in CCSL, 115, 11-126.

⁵⁴Vitas sanctorum patrum emeretensium, ed. trans. Joseph N. Garvin (Washington, D.C., 1946); ed. A. Maya Sánchez in CCSL, 116 (Turnholt, 1992).

the area of local or national cult-building. Gregory explicitly says he intends to show the power of holy men in Italy.⁵⁵ This motive was imitated in Merida, Galicia, Iona, Whitby, and Jarrow. Taio, Julian, the Life of Fursey, and Vision of Barontus focus on the eschatological perspective of the Dialogues, but Bede is the author who best combines the theological dimension of the Dialogues with the hagiographic. He also understood, more than any other author, the unity of Gregory's message in the Moralia, Commentaries and Dialogues.

In order to understand what later authors extracted from the Dialogues, it is essential to know what Gregory himself considered important. In Chapter One I shall attempt to establish the central themes of the Dialogues. A striking message that appears is that the best clergy are those who live like monks. In the second part of Chapter One I shall analyze Gregory's view of monasticism as a model for all christians. Subsequent chapters will examine the Spanish interest in the Dialogues, both as a source for miracle stories and as a source of information on the afterlife which reflects the concerns of a convert Church. Another chapter will focus on Irish and Anglo-Saxon works, with attention to Bede's understanding of Gregory. Lastly, the use of the Dialogues in Merovingian hagiography will be considered. By concentrating attention on the use to which Gregory's work was put in these seventh- and early-eighth-century authors, I hope to confirm a pattern of early and widespread use of the Dialogues and, in contrast to the modern era, to show that medieval

⁵⁵Dialogues I.Pref

churchmen valued the Dialogues as an expression of Gregory the Great's thought not inconsistent with themes found in his other works.

CHAPTER ONE

MAJOR THEMES IN THE *DIALOGUES*

Part I. The Nature of Sanctity, Hagiography, and Mentalité

Far from being an aberration in Gregory the Great's corpus and in spite of historians' prejudices over its hagiographic content, the Dialogues contains themes consistent with Gregory's other works. There has been some debate over the completion dates of Gregory's writings owing to confusion as to when individual works were preached, copied, and actually published.¹ In general, 594 is accepted as the date of the completion of the Dialogues which places it after the Moralia (585),² the Regula pastoralis (591), the Homilies on Ezekiel (591-2), and the Homilies on the Gospels (593). The Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles (Gregory's unrevised notes) and the Commentary on 1 Kings (preached) are both dated from 595-98.³

Modern historians have criticized the Dialogues as lacking originality and Gregory for merely synthesizing Augustine but a more accurate assessment results from recognition of the fact that the Dialogues is

¹Meyvaert, "The Enigma", 335-381; Jean Leclercq, "The Teaching of St. Gregory," in A History of Christian Spirituality, v. 2 The Spirituality of the Middle Ages, eds. L. Bouyer, J. Leclercq, F. Vandembroucke, and L. Cognet (New York, 1968), 6-7.

²Gregory lectured on the Book of Job in 585, but the work was not published until 595.

³The revised Commentary on 1 Kings appeared 599-604.

thematically consistent with Gregory's other writings.⁴ Gregory was usually at work on two or three texts simultaneously which explains in part how several fundamental ideas are woven into all his writings. Gregory employs no systematic process to build up a doctrine or dogma or to organize his theology or spirituality. Instead of a progressive development of ideas there is a static element to his writings.⁵ The preacher's tendency to repeat and elaborate the same idea is evident. There does not appear to be any medieval criticism of the Dialogues as less trustworthy than Gregory's other works. Bede thought that the Dialogues "naturally complemented Gregory's exegetical works—the relationship between them was one of veritas to exemplum—but did not insist on their popular nature."⁶ In emphasizing the moral life over miracles, and the idea of the holy man and his role as an intermediary between heaven and earth, Gregory's ideas were consistent with those of Athanasius, Augustine, Cassian, Hilary of Arles and Sulpicius Severus.⁷

⁴Pierre Battifol, St Gregory the Great, (London, 1929); M.L.W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900 (1931; rpt. Ithaca, 1976).

⁵Leclercq, Spirituality of the Middle Ages, 6. Leclercq notes, "His tendency is a synthesis of this idea, not a systematic building up of a body of doctrine: and it cannot be grasped by analysing in turn his biblical or other themes, the terms he uses, or the various classes of society he is addressing because, irrespective of his audience or his subject, his every sentence reveals the same experience, and under different aspects the doctrine is always the same. Even if one knew exactly the order in which his works were written it would not help because the same assumptions underlie them all; and his whole life is summed up in his teaching, even though the pontificate was the period when all his works were written."

⁶William McCready, Signs and Sanctity, 51.

⁷Straw, 70-1.

Jean Leclercq has understood the overriding question of Gregory the Great's writings to be "what are the various forms and the different states of life that the search for God has taken?"⁸ This theme permeates the Dialogues along with several other issues which are common to Gregory's other works. In this section I wish to analyze the following themes in Gregory's writing: the emphasis on holy life rather than miraculous power as the basis of sanctity; hagiography as a type of imitatio christi; Gregory's belief in the diminishing separation of the physical world from the spiritual found in the Dialogues. In parts two and three of this chapter I shall examine Gregory's view of the monastic life as a model for all Christians and his view of the church as inclusive. Part four examines the central place that repentance and visions held in Gregory's Dialogues.

A. Sanctity: Holy Life and Miraculous Power

The first few pages of the Dialogues make clear Gregory's view that inner virtue rather than miraculous power defines a holy person.⁹ This discussion is provoked by Peter's question why no miracle-working saints are alive today.¹⁰ Gregory's response is to stress purity of life over miraculous power as a more important indicator of sanctity.¹¹ For Gregory, miracles are

⁸Leclercq, Spirituality, 6-7.

⁹Straw, Perfection, 69 and McCready, Signs, 4.

¹⁰Dialogues I.prol.

¹¹Dialogues I.4

external signs of grace, dependent on the sanctity of the holy person, but they are not necessary proof that a person's life was holy. This view, that the true value of a holy life is in the virtue of one's works, not in the display of miracles, is reiterated throughout the Dialogues.¹² Saints Peter and Paul provide the best examples of how some holy men perform miracles and some do not since the New Testament attributes miracles to Peter, but not to Paul. Both saints, however, share in the merits of heaven.¹³ Gregory had already discussed this view of miracles and the holy life in the Homilies on the Gospels.¹⁴

The story of Libertinus serves to illustrate how a combination of factors produces a miracle. A distraught mother begs Libertinus to bring her child back to life. Libertinus reluctantly agrees to try to do this and places a relic, a sandal of his old teacher, Honoratus, on the child's chest. While he prays the child begins breathing again. Gregory notes that no one thing caused the miracle, rather, it was a combination of all three things: the prayers of the holy man Libertinus, the merits of Honoratus as symbolized in the relic, and the faith of the woman in requesting Libertinus attempt to resurrect her child.¹⁵

¹²Dialogues I.12

¹³Dialogues I.12.5. See also Dialogues I.4.9 and I.5.6. Miracles and virtues are to be valued equally. In other words, those who are virtuous are equal whether some happen to work miracles and some do not.

¹⁴De Vogüé, Dialogues, 2, 116-7, n.4.

¹⁵Dialogues I.4-7. The combination of faith and virtue to effect a miracle is clearly shown elsewhere in the Dialogues. At Benedict's command the monk Maurus walks on water to save a drowning boy. Benedict would not take credit for the miracle and attributed it to Maurus' obedience. The boy who

While Gregory bases miracle-working on a virtuous life, he reminds his readers that the true source of miraculous power is God. The central place of grace in working miracles must not be forgotten. Human beings see only the effect of God's grace in the miracle, not the operation of that grace.¹⁶

Peter asks whether some miracles are greater than others, the resurrection miracle being the most impressive. Gregory quickly points out that converting a sinner with prayers and preaching is a greater miracle than raising someone from the dead.¹⁷ In a unique parallel Gregory contrasts the bodily resurrection of Lazarus with the "resurrection of the spirit" of St. Paul.¹⁸ After the former was raised there is silence about his virtues, but after Paul's resurrection his innermost self was turned to a life of charity.¹⁹ On the superiority of the resurrection of the soul and invisible miracles Gregory follows Augustine. This theme also occurs in the Moralia, Homilies on the

was almost drowned reports that he saw abbot Benedict's cloak over his head as he was being drawn up from the water thus revealing Benedict's humility (Dialogues II.7.1-4).

In another episode, by invoking St. Peter's intercession the sacristan Ancontius heals a young girl who had faith in Ancontius' power. She had been told in a vision by St. Peter that Ancontius could free her from her illness (Dialogues III.25.1-3).

The virtue of patience which miracles exemplify is greater than the power of working miracles in itself (Dialogues I.2).

¹⁶Dialogues I.4.9, Opus ex dono est, non donum ex opere. "The deed depends on the gift, not the gift on the work." See also Dialogues III.17.5 and Dialogues III.37.

¹⁷Dialogues III.17.7

¹⁸De Vogüé, Dialogues, 2, 341, n. 7-8. De Vogüé has found no other authors who use this comparison of the resurrection of Lazarus and the conversion of Saul.

¹⁹Dialogues III.17.13

Gospels, and the Commentary on Kings.²⁰

In contrast to Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great emphasizes miracles performed in this life.²¹ Some miracles in the Dialogues do occur after death. Gregory acknowledges that martyrs are an example of those who had faith in the afterlife and who are now renowned through their miracles.²² There are only a few examples of relics found in the Dialogues. Honoratus' sandal is used to bring a child back to life;²³ Eutychius' cloak is used in a rural procession through some fields to help bring on rain during a period of drought;²⁴ and the holy man Martin's chain was used to reinforce a rope.²⁵ These holy men are intercessors who show that their concern for their followers continues after death.²⁶ In the context of post-mortem miracles, relics are explained as evidence of the hidden virtues and merits of the holy man.²⁷ Miracles which occur after death also support evidence for the continued life of the soul.²⁸

²⁰De Vogüé, Dialogues, 1, 341, n. 7-8. See Moralia, 27.33; Homilies on the Gospel, 4.3; 29.4 and the Exposition on 1 Kings, 5.34.

²¹Joan Petersen, The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background, Studies and Texts, 69 (Toronto, 1984). Petersen has discussed the nature of sanctity as seen by Gregory of Tours and Gregory the Great.

²²Dialogues IV.6

²³Dialogues I.2

²⁴Dialogues III.16

²⁵Dialogues III.16

²⁶To some extent these examples are models for the proper behavior of a bishop and indicate the concern he should have for his congregation.

²⁷Dialogues IV.6.2

²⁸Dialogues IV.7

Since miracles serve as an expression of inner virtue and give evidence for the sanctity of a person's life they attract attention. St. Benedict draws a following because of a miracle, but his reputation is based on his holy life. Miracles are also the final weapon to impress and convert. The barbarian king Totila was moved to some respect for Bishop Fulgentius by the miracles which showed the sanctity of the bishop's life.²⁹ The Syrian monk Isaac provides another example of a holy man whose spiritual life was the true basis for his popularity.³⁰ Similarly, the hermit Menas, by his disregard for possessions, stirs up his followers with a longing for eternal life.³¹

Holy people are thus on earth for the benefit of others. Their lives are examples to others and as such they have power in bringing others to God. Through the saints Christ multiplies a few seeds into an abundant harvest.³² This metaphor appears in the Moralia, 6,18. Similar imagery can be found in the Homilies on the Gospels, 26,12. Saints serve to motivate sinners to repentance.³³

²⁹Dialogues III.12.1-4. Totila had condemned Fulgentius to be mauled by a bear. Instead the bear became tame at the sight of the holy man. At the same time when a storm began the rain fell on everyone except the bishop. Gregory makes a point of playing up the cruelty of the barbarian ruler in order to remind people how much more difficult conversion is in these cases. Since the Goths did not convert on account of this miracle Gregory is at pains to minimize this fact.

³⁰Dialogues III.14.2. Isaac is offered property and money by the people of Spoleto eager to come under his guidance after his displays of ascetic power and exorcism of an evil spirit.

³¹Dialogues III.26.1-4

³²Dialogues III.37.8.

³³Dialogues III.37.22

Holy persons are also witnesses to the invisible world by their experiences of it through miracles. For Christians who are not as well grounded in their faith,³⁴ the miracles of holy people are intended to instill hope in the future life and to prove that God has not abandoned humankind.³⁵ Miraculous powers and humility attest the presence of the Holy Spirit;³⁶ this idea also occurs in the commentary on 1 Kings.³⁷

B. Hagiography and Imitatio Christi

Miracles performed by holy people when alive are intended to provide comfort to Christians and to offer a glimpse of the invisible world. The telling of miracle stories serves a similar purpose. In the opening passage of Book I Gregory reveals his support for the publicization of miracles. He explains that the benefits of a virtuous life are revealed in relating miracles of the saints.³⁸ Stories of the lives of the saints provide inspiration in two ways. The story offers men and women a point of comparison, a means to reflect on their own lives. Secondly, hearing about the virtues of the saints helps keep one humble.³⁹ The "persuasive force of miracles" as a witness to the presence of God and as a force to bring others to God is stressed here as it had been in the

³⁴Dialogues IV.1.5

³⁵Dialogues III.30.7

³⁶Dialogues I.1.6

³⁷De Vogüé, Dialogues, 2, 22-23, n.6.

³⁸Dialogues I.Prol.9

³⁹Dialogues I.Prol.9

Moralia, the Homilies on the Gospels, and the Homilies on Ezekiel.⁴⁰

The narration of miracle stories becomes an edifying process in itself and a form of imitatio. In telling what one has learned from others, one imitates Mark and Luke, who composed their Gospels, not as eyewitnesses, but on the word of others.⁴¹ In effect, Gregory not only suggests that the Gospel message, its morality and spirituality must be learned, but also that the action of the Gospel writers in recounting stories of holy lives must be imitated. The stories of the Dialogues thus serve as an accompaniment and sequel to Sacred Scripture.

Gregory takes these accounts of lives of the saints seriously and his work in the Dialogues is not merely a retelling of amusing stories. These accounts are meant to provide Christians with models that inspire and give hope and can be emulated.⁴² Gregory has expressed these views in earlier passages in the Moralia and the Homilies on Ezekiel.⁴³ The telling of miracle stories is connected to Gregory's emphasis on the need for spiritual guidance. Saints' lives are meant to be imitated. Gregory clearly defines the nature of Book II of the Dialogues, the life of St. Benedict, as a model for others, but he makes clear that the source of all power in working miracles is from Jesus

⁴⁰De Vogüé, Dialogues, 2, 17, n.9; Moralia 30.37 and 31.2; Homilies on the Gospels 30.10, 38.15 and 39.10; Homilies on Ezekiel II.7.3.

⁴¹Dialogues I.Prol.10

⁴²Dialogues III.7.10 See also Dialogues II.7.4

⁴³De Vogüé, Dialogues, 2, 285, n. 10. Moralia 2.1; Homilies on Ezekiel 11.7 and 15.20.

Christ; he alone is imitated in these actions.⁴⁴ Gregory explains furthermore that the deeds of Christ should provide the norms for christian conduct.⁴⁵

For Gregory, the nature of saints, the importance of publicizing their holy lives, and the concept of imitatio are closely linked. Saints are on earth to be imitated. "For sinners would never turn to repentance if there were no good

⁴⁴Dialogues II.1.6 At one point Peter enthusiastically suggests that all the episodes of Benedict's life related thus far had biblical precedents: water from the rock was reminiscent of Moses; the story of the iron blade referred to Eliseus (Elisha); Benedict encouraging Maurus to walk on water could be compared to the account of St. Peter; the obedience of the raven is seen in Elias; and Benedict's grief at the death of an enemy had a prototype in King David. Because of all these miraculous parallels in Benedict's life Peter concludes that Benedict must have been filled with the spirit of all these holy men. (See also Dialogues II.8.8-9.) Gregory corrects Peter by emphasizing that Benedict merely possessed the spirit of Christ.

⁴⁵Dialogues III.21. Gregory offers a number of examples of lives which imitate biblical prototypes: Libertinus, Bishop Fortunatus, and Nonnosus are compared to Eliseus (Dialogues I); Bishop Fortunatus is connected to the miracle of Lazarus (Dialogues I.10); when Benedict flees the monastery after some monks have tried to kill him, Gregory compares this to Paul's flight from Damascus. Paul left Damascus not because he was afraid but because his work was not accomplishing anything (Dialogues II.3); a holy man from Mt. Argentius disappears from the sight of those who witnessed him raise a man from the dead (Dialogues III.17.5); a young holy woman casts a demon out of a possessed man and the demon enters a pig (Dialogues III.21.3); when a sacristan becomes weak with fright at the vision of St. Peter, Gregory compares this with the prophet Daniel (Dialogues III.24); the holy man Menas can distinguish the gift of a sinner and casts it aside as unworthy as with the Old Testament story of Cain and Abel (Dialogues III.25); the story of the priest Sanctulus contains many references to events and miracles in Christ's life. Sanctulus offers his life for that of a deacon. In another place he feeds a multitude of people in imitation of Christ's feeding of the crowds. Sanctulus even heals the arm of the man who attempted to kill him much as Jesus healed the arm of the servant of the high priest which Peter cut off. Sanctulus' ransom of some prisoners held by the Lombards is a metaphor for Christ's ransom of humanity (Dialogues III.37).

examples that they could call to mind."⁴⁶ Gregory portrays the truly just and righteous as living lives which have biblical parallels. There is also a hierarchical aspect to imitatio. Biblical figures should be the model for holy people on earth. Gregory has illustrated this in the lives of his Italian saints who, in turn, become models for sinners. Another element to this dynamic is that imitatio blurs the distinction between biblical and contemporary sanctity and keeps the spirit of the saint alive as well as connected to those who went before. For those struggling to lead holy lives the idea that the saints are always present is a comfort and aid. Gregory notes that when Benedict's monks realize that he was always present in spirit they were less inclined to do wrong.⁴⁷

C. Gregory's Universe: the Physical World and the Afterlife

Gregory's homilies present a haunting image of famine and war, of lines of captives on their way into slavery, and defeated soldiers returning home mutilated. Krautheimer grasped the gloominess of the city of Rome in the late sixth century when he described its decayed institutions, its roads and aqueducts in disrepair, and the ancient sculptures grown over with moss and sinking into the ground.⁴⁸ When Benedict predicts that Rome will wither

⁴⁶Dialogues III.37.22. Quia numquam peccatores ad lamentum paenitentiae redirent, si nulla essent bonorum exempla quae eorum mentem traherent.

⁴⁷Dialogues II.12

⁴⁸Richard Krautheimer, Rome. Profile of a City, 312-1308, Princeton, 1980, 59-87 passim.

away, not from barbarian invasions but weakened from tempests and earthquakes he echoes Gregory's sentiments. "We see the walls of the city fallen down, homes overturned, churches destroyed by violent gales, with the ruin increasing we see its buildings crumbling from a long fatiguing old age."⁴⁹ This backdrop of war and urban decay provides a context for the tone of pessimism towards the world that is found in the Dialogues and the emphasis that Gregory places on the future life.

Gregory's world view is grounded in a Pauline Christian culture which believed that with the revelation of the New Testament, the world entered a new time, a period of great wonders. For Gregory, all actions are invested with significance; nothing is left to coincidence; the "reasonable" explanation for events is to trust in "the hidden judgments" of God. The Dialogues expresses most clearly Gregory's belief in this continuity between the present age and that of the New Testament; the age of martyrs and wonders has not ended.

Gregory's point of view on the imminent end of the world, and the "earthly exile" of our age is another example of how closely tied he is to the early Church. In the Dialogues Gregory articulates more clearly than anywhere else the coalescence of the spiritual and physical worlds.

Evidence for Gregory's views on the continuity of the present age with

⁴⁹Dialogues II.15.3. Qui in hac urbe dissoluta moenia, euersas domus, destructas ecclesias turbine cernimus, eiusque aedificia, longo senio lassata, quia ruinis crebrescentibus prosternantur uidemus.

the early Church, the providential direction of all action in the world, the coalescence of the physical and spiritual worlds, and the imminent end of the world can be found throughout the Dialogues. These views can be illustrated more fully by analyzing the personification of evil and the strong sense of the physical in the afterlife which offer further examples of the mingling between the temporal and spiritual worlds.

Several episodes in the Life of St. Benedict concern Benedict's battle with evil. Benedict wrestles in the fashion of the ancient desert fathers with the devil. In the Dialogues the devil moves from an invisible presence (snapping the string of a bell that is used to alert the saint to food deliveries), to a representative creature (a fluttering bird), and then to a full-fledged form (a black boy) who leads the monk Maurus outside the chapel.⁵⁰ It is only when Benedict strikes Maurus that the devil leaves him. After Benedict destroys some ancient pagan altars the devil confronts Benedict face-to-face. According to Benedict's description the devil had a dragon-like appearance with flames coming from his eyes and mouth.⁵¹ The only other instance of devil-sighting is by a Jew who witnesses a congregation of demons discussing their success

⁵⁰Gregory notes it is the invisible devil who is envious of Benedict's bread supply and breaks the bell that rings when food is being lowered to him (Dialogues II.1.5). It is the devil as a bird fluttering in Benedict's face who is removed by a sign of the cross only to leave Benedict with "impure thoughts" of a woman he had once seen (Dialogues II.2.1). The incident of Maurus and the boy is related at Dialogues II.4.3.

⁵¹Dialogues II.8.12

in tempting faithful Christians to sin.⁵²

Episodes describing the invisible devil's activity underscore Gregory's view that every event is laden with significance. Gregory ascribes the inability of some monks to move a rock to the devil who was sitting on it in order to prevent the monks from clearing some land.⁵³ When a wall under construction falls and kills a monk, it is an attempt by the devil to mock Benedict.⁵⁴ It is even the devil who unlaces the boots of a priest who has thoughtlessly invoked his name.⁵⁵

The devil can take on apparently harmless forms, a fluttering bird or an amiable travelling companion who tempts a holy layman to sin by breaking his fast.⁵⁶ Evil in the Dialogues is an active force independent of humans. Evil is something that acts on us. A fire begins when an old idol is left in the kitchen.⁵⁷ For Gregory the idol does not represent a powerless superstition. On the contrary, it holds terrible power.

The notion that evil is an independent power affects Gregory's concept of sin and the capacity of men and women to be responsible for their actions. Gregory believes in the ultimate goodness of human nature. The evil that human beings perform is due to their functioning as tools of Satan. Sin is

⁵²Dialogues III.7

⁵³Dialogues II.9

⁵⁴Dialogues II.11

⁵⁵Dialogues III.20

⁵⁶Dialogues II.13

⁵⁷Dialogues II.10

committed by the devil acting through a person; for example the envy of Benedict's nemesis, the priest Florentius, is inspired by the Devil.⁵⁸ Gregory does not admit the total corruption of human nature; Florentius is merely the Devil's agent.

In its insistence on the nature of evil as an active force, somewhat beyond our control, the Dialogues resembles Gregory's Moralia and the whole Joban story of the wager between the devil and God over humanity. Gregory's account of Abbot Spes illustrates God's ways to humankind. The abbot is blinded for forty years but Gregory describes this in terms of God's mercy; torment in this world spares him the torments of hell.⁵⁹ Like Job, Abbot Spes bore his blindness without speaking against the Lord.

At one point the devil appears to Benedict and vehemently objects to the saint's outrages against him. In a turnaround it is the devil who asks Benedict "why are you tormenting me?"⁶⁰ The saint, by his holiness, can actually torment evil or has some power over evil. Gregory describes a

⁵⁸Dialogues II.8. Florentius attempts to poison Benedict but when that failed he began to attack Benedict's monks.

⁵⁹Dialogues IV.11.2. Gregory's view is that all things come from God, we do not effect our own salvation and suffering. The abbot was able to bear these torments because God's grace allowed him to. If we do not have this grace our impatience at punishment only makes us greater sinners. Gregory speaks in terms of God's ways to his "elect." "For this reason he never allowed the old man to be destitute of interior illumination while he afflicted him with external darkness." Unde uenerabilem senem, dum exterioribus tenebris premeret, interna numquam luce destituit. Qui cum flagello fatigaretur corporis, habebat per Sancti Spiritus custodiam consolationem cordis.

⁶⁰Dialogues II.8.12. "Maledicte, non Benedicte, quid mecum habes, quid me persequeris?"

reciprocity in the relations between the devil and humans. This perspective is illustrated when Benedict strikes the monk Maurus. "It was as if the ancient Enemy himself had been struck by the blow."⁶¹ The battle between good and evil is on the level of a physical battle. To triumph, human beings have to be aware of the day-to-day temptations that lead them away from a good life. Giving into temptation becomes a victory for the devil.⁶²

While evil is an independent power, it has its limitations. Sanctulus notes that the only evil the Lombards can do to him is "what God allows."⁶³ The power of evil extends only to this world; it is limited temporally and spatially. Even if at times it appears that evil will triumph in this world, Gregory is adamant that it will be punished in hell.⁶⁴

Gregory's strong sense of the physical in the afterlife underscores an

⁶¹Dialogues II.4.3. Sicque antiquus hostis dominari non ausus est in eius cogitatione, ac si ipse percussus fuisset ex uerbere.

⁶²Dialogues III.7.5. Bishop Andrew's friendly pat on the back to his housekeeper is a little victory for the devil which may lead eventually to a greater triumph. By keeping the image of the housekeeper in his mind the devil hoped to lure him to sinful thoughts. The devil's intent is revealed in the midnight gathering witnessed by the Jew. "The ancient enemy of humanity urged his demon to complete what he had begun so that he would win for himself the best prize of all in the ruin of this great man." Tunc malignus spiritus atque humani generis antiquus inimicus exhortatus hunc blande est, ut perficeret quod coepisset, quatenus ruinae illius singularem inter ceteros palmam teneret.

⁶³Dialogues III.21.4. In another place Gregory notes "without God's permission the evil spirit has no power against humankind." Quod absque concessione omnipotentis Dei nullam malignus spiritus contra hominem potestatem habeat.

⁶⁴Dialogues IV.30.5. Gregory quotes Matt. 25,41, "Go into that eternal fire which has been prepared for the devil and his angels." Ite in ignem aeternum, qui praeparatus est diabolo et angelis eius.

attitude in which the spiritual and temporal worlds mingle. After many examples in Book IV Peter observes this coalescence: "Why, in these final days, are so many things made clear which were previously hidden? It seems that the world to come is revealed to us by these revelations and signs."⁶⁵ For Gregory and the Christian tradition from which he comes, miracles are signs which confirm that the end of the world is imminent and that our world is merging with the beginning of eternal life.⁶⁶

Part II. Monasticism and the Christian Life

A. Background to the Monastic Preacher: Augustine and Cassian

In an elegant and precise examination of late antiquity from 400 to 600, Robert Markus sees as paramount a shift in the Christian understanding of what was involved in following the Lord.⁶⁷ He sees tension in the early church between those who saw the spirit of Christianity only in the practices of the desert, in a rigorous asceticism which, after Theodosius, could only be achieved by an elite corps of monks, and those who insisted on a more inclusive Christianity in which the ascetic ideal could be lived out not only by the secular clergy, but also by the laity.⁶⁸ In this regard Markus cites changes

⁶⁵Dialogues IV.43.1. Quid hoc, quaeso te, est quod in his extremis temporibus tam multa de animabus clarescunt, quae ante latuerunt, ita ut apertis reuelationibus atque ostensionibus uenturum saeculum inferre se nobis atque aperire uideatur?

⁶⁶Dialogues IV.43

⁶⁷Markus, The End of Ancient Christianity, xii-xiii.

⁶⁸Ibid., 157-179.

in the later writings of Augustine and Cassian, and even in the tradition of Lérins. The movement toward an inclusive church came about when the ascetic ideals of the monastery were transferred first to the secular clergy and then to the laity. For Augustine and, to a lesser extent, for Cassian, this occurred as they proceeded to refine their views on the relationship between the flesh and the spirit and when they came to an understanding of the Pauline notion of grace that subsumed the human role in salvation.

Augustine's reinterpretation of Paul and Genesis, and the articulation in De bono coniugali and De sancta virginitate of the question, 'what constituted a true Christian,' caused him to move away from the view that true "perfection" could be attained on earth without God's grace and he began to emphasize the creation of the perfect community rather than the perfect individual.⁶⁹ In fact, Augustine's shift toward the monastery as the site of brotherhood and unity rather than a quest for personal holiness was similar to the later Cassian⁷⁰ who moved away from the view of the communal life as the active and therefore inferior life, and the solitary life as the contemplative and therefore good life. Both Augustine and Cassian abandoned the notion that one could progress from the active life to the contemplative.⁷¹ Thus, when the view of individual perfection as the hermit's life was abandoned, so

⁶⁹Ibid., 52 and 158. If the church on earth is a mixed body of wheat and tares, which will only be purified in the last judgment, emphasis must be placed on creating a perfect community rather than on individual perfection.

⁷⁰Ibid., 184. Cassian in Collationes. XVIII, XIX.

⁷¹Ibid., Augustine, 50; Cassian, 188.

was the idea that eremitic monasticism was more prestigious than cenobitic.⁷²

While Augustine downplayed the idea of a model, Cassian adapted the monastic ideal to a larger circle, specifically to the secular clergy.⁷³ If contemplation is understood as spiritual knowledge and study along with an understanding of Scripture, then both priests and bishops could pursue it.⁷⁴ Cassian himself hints that some monks will become bishops by virtue of their training in the monastic life.⁷⁵ While he does not equate monastic dignity with pastoral calling, Cassian does admit that monastic bishops can exemplify the virtues of Christian life as well as teach the truths of scripture.⁷⁶

The later Cassian saw monastic life as a cycle of askesis preparatory to understanding Scripture.⁷⁷ The ultimate aim was to teach others. The discipline of the monastic life equipped the monk to be a preacher but preaching had to proceed from experience or else it was worthless.⁷⁸ For Augustine and Cassian after 400, the monastery was no longer a select group within a tepid apostate church.⁷⁹ There was still a hierarchy in place between the clergy and the laity, but the possibility for clerics to pursue contemplation

⁷²Ibid., 175. "The desert is not the ideal to be aimed at," according to Augustine; no human group could be a model since they always comprised "the holy, the worldly, the wicked, the depraved 'inextricably intertwined.'"

⁷³Ibid., 188.

⁷⁴Ibid., 188.

⁷⁵Ibid., 191.

⁷⁶Ibid., 192.

⁷⁷Ibid., 188.

⁷⁸Ibid., 188.

⁷⁹Ibid., 167.

and for monks to become preachers (and bishops) minimized the differences between these two groups. It is in Gaul, Markus notes, that the monastic community was changing to serve as a model for the Christian community at large.⁸⁰

B. The Monastic Preacher

Gregory defines the christian life by monastic virtues which he advocates for all Christians, clerical and lay. Monasticism is the way to ultimate union with God. As such it must be defined in the broadest possible way to include all Christians. This explains the recurrent theme of imitatio found in the Dialogues. The lives Gregory presents in this work are more than a patriotic attempt to show that there are holy people in Italy. These lives are intended to inspire the living and to give hope for salvation. They are meant to be imitated.⁸¹

Associated with imitatio is the notion of a spiritual guide. Gregory means the stories of the Dialogues to serve as an accompaniment to

⁸⁰Ibid., 197. "The image of the monastic community was becoming adapted to serving as a model for the Christian community in the world, while the ascetic ideal it proposed to its members was becoming adapted to serve as the model for bishops and clergymen."

⁸¹Dialogues I.Prol.10 and I.9.7. In this respect Gregory says he is not doing anything differently than Mark or Luke in the New Testament. Just as those who hear the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles are meant to learn and imitate them, so too, those who read Gregory's stories are meant to imitate the lives he describes.

Scripture.⁸² This collection of stories can act as a guide. Similarly, living people act as spiritual guides. Individuals need spiritual guides to direct them. The abbot has a pivotal role in the lives of his monks. While Gregory does not reiterate the details of the Rule of Benedict in the Dialogues regarding the specific duties of the monastic hierarchy it is clear that the abbot supervises the development of his monks.⁸³ Likewise, monks themselves become spiritual guides to other Christians through their preaching.

An abbot has a great responsibility and duty to his monks, but he also has a responsibility to himself. Twice Benedict abandoned monasteries because he found he could no longer effect change in the monks. At his first monastery the monks resisted his direction and then threatened his life.⁸⁴ Gregory explains that had he stayed, Benedict would have risked his own sanctity by wearying of the recalcitrant monks and at the same time not helping them. The role of the abbot is that of a teacher, but he must not neglect his own need for contemplation and further advance in virtue by becoming too distracted with other matters.⁸⁵

Gregory agrees with Augustine, Cassian and the eastern fathers in this respect. Ideally a monastery should be a place where conflict is kept at a

⁸²Dialogues I.Prol.

⁸³Dialogues III.23.1. There are some examples which show that Gregory knows the formal duties of a cellarer and that he has a clear idea of the abbot's position as central.

⁸⁴Dialogues II.3.4

⁸⁵Dialogues II.3.5

minimum, a place where the environment should be conducive to contemplation. It is possible for one to live in community and at the same time keep his own spirituality intact. Benedict kept close watch over his life and actions and was able to keep his mind from straying to the secular world by his continual soul-searching.⁸⁶ Monasticism therefore is not just a life of physical askesis. Gregory sees a connection between this way of life and contemplation as well as a way of knowing ourselves.⁸⁷

1. Importance of preaching

Terence Kardong notes that Gregory is concerned with the differences between monastic and clerical spirituality in the Commentary on the Book of Kings, a work written after the Dialogues. Gregory considers preaching to be a greater vocation than the contemplative life and he expects monks to act as spiritual guides for other Christians.⁸⁸

Several examples in the Dialogues confirm Gregory's preference for the preacher over the contemplative. Moreover, Gregory places contemplation in the service of preaching. The best preachers are those who have lived a contemplative life. Continual soul-searching together with meditation on the

⁸⁶Dialogues II.3.7

⁸⁷Dialogues II.3.9

⁸⁸Terrence Kardong, "A New Look at Gregory's Dialogues," American Benedictine Review, 36 (1985), 44-63. This ties into Carole Straw's definition of "perfection in imperfection." One leaves the world for the contemplative life and then leaves the contemplative life to return to the world and give back what one has acquired, to inspire others.

Gospels is the foundation for the monk's role as a spiritual guide who can inspire others to devote themselves to God. Evidence for this attitude is found in the portraits of Honoratus and Equitius, the contrast between Euty chius and Florentius, the account of abbot Spes, Gregory's commentary on Paul and Lazarus, and the inclusion of an exegesis on the Book of Ecclesiastes, a work also known as "the Preacher."

In Book I, both Honoratus and Equitius are singled out because neither had a "spiritual guide." It was only through the grace of the holy spirit that their worthiness to teach was confirmed. Some people may not need spiritual guides, but this is not the norm. The biblical archetypes, Moses and John the Baptist, are holy men who did not need human guidance. Honoratus and Equitius themselves have a right to run monasteries because they are endowed with a high degree of sanctity by God.

Gregory presents an interesting portrait of Equitius as an itinerant preacher describing his poor clothing, poor horse, sheepskin for a saddle and two leather pouches in which he carried the books of Scripture hanging down from his shoulders.⁸⁹ Equitius personifies the contemplative who returns to the active life, leaving the monastery to preach. While he was still an abbot in charge of monasteries, Equitius travelled from village to village to preach in churches and in private houses. Since Equitius was censured by the Pope and clergy in Rome for preaching without proper authorization it is interesting that

⁸⁹Dialogues I.4.10

Gregory understands this story from the monastic point of view rather than the clerical. When asked by whose authority he preached Equitius described a vision empowering him to do so.⁹⁰ Though he is threatened, proceedings against Equitius are never brought because the Pope is warned in a vision not to prosecute him.

The contrast between preaching and contemplation is also tied to the dichotomy between the active and contemplative lives. Eutychius and Florentius exemplify the active and contemplative life respectively. Both are monks but Eutychius is described as "preaching to convert" and concerned with leading souls to God while Florentius leads a simple life dedicated to prayer.⁹¹

The most poignant example of the monastic preacher is abbot Spes who had been blind for forty years though not bereft of interior illumination.⁹² After forty years his sight was restored and on the same day the Lord told him in a vision that his death was near and that he should spend his last days preaching the word of life that he had experienced to his brothers in

⁹⁰Dialogues I.4.8. "One night a young man of radiant beauty appeared to me in a vision and placed a lancet on my tongue and said 'Behold, I have put my words in your mouth. Go forth and preach.' Since that day I could not be silent about God even if I so wished." Sed nocte quadam speciosus mihi per visionem iuuenis adstitit, atque in lingua mea medicinale ferramentum, id est flebotomum, posuit, dicens: "Ecce posui uerba mea in ore tuo. Egredere ad praedicandum." Atque ex illo die, etiam cum uoluer, de Deo tacere non possum.

⁹¹Dialogues III.16

⁹²Dialogues IV.11

neighboring monasteries.⁹³ After he returned to his own monastery he died surrounded by all his fellow-monks.

2. The background to Gregory's inclusive church

The closing of the gap between monastic and clerical life has been noted in Carole Straw's exposition of Gregory the Great in terms of "perfection in imperfection;" one lives an ascetic life only to give it up and return to the world in the service of others. For both Cassian and Gregory the monastic askesis was preparatory to understanding Scripture and the final goal which is teaching others.⁹⁴ In other words, the monastic life served as a training ground for the monastic preacher.⁹⁵

Ascetical and hagiographical literature undoubtedly played a role in bringing about some of these changes. The monastic literary tradition made available to a greater number of people the teachings of acknowledged masters.⁹⁶ In the early sixth century the notion of an ascetic clergy is also articulated by Julianus Pomerius, a North African writing in Gaul. In his work

⁹³Dialogues IV.11.3.

⁹⁴Philip Rousseau, "The Spiritual Authority of the 'Monk-Bishop' Eastern Elements in Some Western Hagiography of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries," Journal of Theological Studies, N.S. 22 (1971), 380-419. According to Rousseau the recognition that labor and activity were no impediment to the development of the inner life appeared in fourth- and fifth-century Egyptian monasticism.

⁹⁵Straw, 71. The saint is a spiritual and moral exemplar. All saints "preach" either by word or example and like the prelate, rector missionary, saints desire salvation for others."

⁹⁶Rousseau, 403-4.

De vita contemplativa, a handbook for the life and training of a bishop, the pursuit of contemplation was reinterpreted as trying to be a good pastor and the monastery becomes a "community which articulate[s] the values which animated, in a diffuse and inchoate form, the wider lay world."⁹⁷ The monastery thus inspired and guided some of the wealth and energies of Christian lay people.⁹⁸

Gregory the Great's works, the Regula pastoralis, Homiliae in Hiezechihelam prophetam, and Moralia in Job, emphasize the union between the active life commonly associated with the secular clergy and the contemplative life associated with monasticism.⁹⁹ Gregory did not restrict contemplation to a select spiritual circle. He preached on this topic in public sermons at the Lateran, not merely in private conferences with monks. Even married people could receive "the grace of contemplation."¹⁰⁰ Although bishops and priests have a special role in salvation—Gregory refers to them as "the gates through which a Christian comes to know 'true life,'"—it is

⁹⁷Markus, The End of Ancient Christianity, 191-193.

⁹⁸Markus, 195. Markus sees the establishment at Lérins as stressing the role of reading, teaching and the Bible in the monastic life. "Reading and teaching integrated the monastic with the clerical ideal. What was expected from the priest or bishop engaged in the secular ministry in late fifth-century Gaul was not very different from what was expected of monks: those who are to carry out the ministry must be trained in 'the word of God.'"

⁹⁹Cuthbert Butler, Western Mysticism. The teaching of Augustine, Gregory and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life (1922; rpt. London, 1967).

¹⁰⁰Butler, 186-187, refers to Gregory's Homilies on Ezekial II.5.19, 20 and also cites the Homilies on the Gospels, IX.5.

incumbent on all Christians to participate in God.¹⁰¹

The pattern that emerges in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great is consistent with the "mixed life" found in Gregory's other works. In his account of the Italian Fathers, Gregory portrays no one class in the Church hierarchy as better than another: not all secular clergy are bad, nor are all monks good. The distinction among holy men and women in the Dialogues is not in their title or occupation, but in how they live. The feature that connects a saintly bishop to a saintly monk is how closely each lives a monastic life. In this respect Gregory differs from Augustine, who abandoned the notion of monasticism as a model for the Church. Gregory is more like Cassian in this respect who continued to see the monastic life as a model, though not an exclusive one.

If the Liber Pontificalis were the only record of Gregory's pontificate he would be dismissed as an unimportant figure.¹⁰² The terse account of Gregory in this work corroborates the view that Gregory's papacy was not well-thought of in Rome, particularly just after his death. The early-seventh-century papacy has been characterized as a contest between a pro- and anti-Gregorian faction. Gregory had reorganized papal administration by extending the function of the diaconate, the body from which bishops, including the bishop of Rome, were selected.¹⁰³ He recruited monks and incorporated

¹⁰¹Straw, 183.

¹⁰²Liber Pontificalis, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1884-92), 1, 312-14.

¹⁰³Jeffrey Richards, Consul of God: the Life and Times of Gregory the Great (London, 1980) and Judith Herrin, The Formation of Christendom (Princeton 1987), 176.

monastic features in the training of deacons and, in effect, spread a monastic style of life among the secular clergy. This mirrored his own determination to continue to live as an ascetic bishop.¹⁰⁴ These changes brought Gregory into conflict with the older traditions of separation between secular clergy and monks in Rome.¹⁰⁵

Richards discusses the tension between monastic and clerical parties created by Gregory's attempt to replace clerics with monks in his administration. Gregory's "programme" carried on by some of Gregory's successors involved:

the advancement of monasticism and the creation of a familial administration on the monastic model; a commitment to support the English mission; a policy of close cooperation with the imperial authorities in the preservation of the province; and commitment to the new form of learning epitomized by the Dialogues and the Homilies, simple, straightforward and accessible to ordinary people, a clean break with the old high culture of an intellectual and theological elite.¹⁰⁶

The Dialogues is a pro-monastic document but only in the sense that monasticism has more to do with a way of life than with monks as a class of people. Gregory includes favorable portraits of bishops and lay people because they act like monks. Likewise, monks are portrayed unfavorably when they act in an un-monastic fashion.

¹⁰⁴Herrin, 176.

¹⁰⁵Jeffrey Richards, The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476-752, (London, 1979), 170.

¹⁰⁶Richards, Consul, 81.

Gregory certainly saw problems with the secular clergy; these are illustrated by the tensions in the Dialogues between clergy and monks.

C. Secular Clergy in Conflict with Monasticism

Gregory's criticisms of the secular clergy in the Dialogues concern their preoccupation with worldly matters, their ambition, jealousy, and their lax attitude toward chastity.

1. Ambition and preoccupation with worldly matters

The secular clergy who have no inclination for a monastic life are portrayed in the Dialogues as officious, overcome by the details and technicalities of office, and burdened by the letter of the law. The secular clergy of Rome who goad an unnamed Pope into having the monk Equitius censured for preaching without the proper credentials, typify this attitude.¹⁰⁷ Yet Gregory does not condemn this pope when Peter wonders how he could be mistaken about Equitius. Gregory explains that this shouldn't be so surprising. "The burden of cares lays waste the mind of the superior. When the mind is distracted by many things it is less concerned with details and the one who is occupied by so many things is much more easily deceived by one

¹⁰⁷Dialogues I.4.11-12. The Pope is deceived about the virtues of Equitius because he is susceptible to the flattery of these clerics. It is interesting that Gregory, as an administrator himself, should relate this story. He certainly doesn't imply that just anyone can preach. Like Augustine and Cassian, Gregory believes that those with the true right to preach are monks.

thing."¹⁰⁸ Gregory's sympathy derives from his understanding that perfection is not possible on earth.¹⁰⁹

Gregory includes other stories of clergy distracted by higher offices: priests are caught up in the practical world;¹¹⁰ ambition overtakes clergy who are not monastic in temperament;¹¹¹ the lack of discipline and obedience

¹⁰⁸Dialogues I.4.19. Multum vero est quod uniuscuiusque praesulis mentem curarum densitas devastat. Cumque animus dividitur ad multa, fit minor ad singula, tantoque ei in una qualibet re subripitur, quanto latius in multis occupatur. Gregory notes that even biblical heroes failed to see clearly all the time. David was a prophet yet he was misled about Jonathan's son and had him killed.

¹⁰⁹Dialogues I.4.3. In another account of Equitius, the clergy's preoccupation with worldly cares prevents Bishop Castorius from seeing that the magician Basil is a false monk. The bishop cannot discern Basil's true nature, because discernment of spirits belongs to those who have practiced asceticism and been given the grace to see beyond the surface in this way.

¹¹⁰Dialogues I.9.3-5. The priest Constantius hoards money in the hope of buying a bishopric. When his bishop, Boniface, gives the money away to beggars in an act of charity, Constantius scolds him and ridicules generosity. The bishop is practicing a virtuous life, but the priest is hoping to attain high office and this concern distracts him, as appears in his lack of obedience and insubordination to his superior. In another place Constantius questions the Bishop's command to prepare bottles for wine when there were no grapes to be pressed. After a few days the bottles were found to be filled with wine thanks to Boniface's prayers.

Dialogues II.16.1-2. When Benedict heals a cleric from Bishop Constantius' household he tells the man to abstain from meat and never to advance in holy orders, that is, to live like a monk. Pride gets the better of this man when he sees younger men passing onto more prestigious honors so he offers himself up for ordination whereupon he is tormented by an evil spirit until he dies. Even by practicing the outward signs of monastic life, abstinence and humility, the man had not conquered his passions.

¹¹¹Dialogues III.5.3-4. The holy Bishop Sabinus has an archdeacon described as an "ambitious man" who attempts to poison the bishop in order to take over the episcopal see. When the bishop recognizes the poisoned cup and drinks from it anyway the archdeacon dies as if the poison were transferred to him. In this case not only did the archdeacon's ambition corrupt him and lead him to his death, but it caused him to corrupt the servant at the table whom he

makes clerics insubordinate. Bishop Sabinus was subject to the insubordination of a deacon who refused to carry out the bishop's orders which he saw as stupid and illogical.¹¹²

The priest Severus is another cleric preoccupied with worldly matters. In this account Severus is late getting to the last rites of a sick man because he is watering his vineyard and the sick man dies.¹¹³ Severus was more concerned with an earthly garden and was not tending to the living vineyard in his care, the sick man. Still, Gregory allows that through his prayers and tears the priest was able to restore the man to life.

Rousseau noted that Pachomius was against advancement in office because it risked fostering pride which, while certainly devastating to an individual, was even more detrimental because of its potential to divide a community or the Church at large.¹¹⁴ Gregory sees an even more dangerous effect. A concern with worldly administrative details and a constant preoccupation with practical and rational things ultimately distances one from

bribed to hand Sabinus the cup.

¹¹²Dialogues III.10.2-4. When the Po River flooded the Bishop wanted the deacon to command the river to recede. Not only was the deacon a man with no monastic discipline or obedience to his superior, he was a man with no faith. Sabinus dictates a letter to his notary commanding the river to recede. The notary obeys Sabinus and throws the letter into the river, at which point the flooding stops. Gregory contrasts the obedience of the "irrational element," the river, to the disobedience of the deacon. This account not only shows the holy man's miraculous powers, but shows him as an intercessor, as fulfilling his duties as a bishop in caring for his community.

¹¹³Dialogues I.12.1-4

¹¹⁴Rousseau, 399.

faith. Gregory poignantly remarks on the skepticism of the clergy and nobility of Rome who doubt the sanctity of Count Theophanius in spite of Gregory's sermons and witnesses.¹¹⁵ Ambitious clergy lack a truly disciplined obedience which requires a suspension of reason, they cannot trust in faith, and they argue with their superiors. Even in day-to-day habits they lack discipline. Stephen, a priest, thoughtlessly says to his servant, "Come you devil take off my boots," at which point the boots begin to unlace themselves.¹¹⁶

2. Jealousy

Jealousy towards monks, especially of those who have attained some reputation for their sanctity, is another trait among the secular clergy.¹¹⁷ The story of Benedict and Florentius moves beyond the mere illustration of the personal trials Benedict had to bear. Gregory is chastising priests for wanting to be praised in the same way as monks, and yet not being willing to practice the same virtues.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵Dialogues IV.28. That Gregory includes a layman indicates the extension of the monastic life to the laity. It is possible that the clergy and laity couldn't accept Theophanius' sanctity because he wasn't a monk.

¹¹⁶Dialogues III.20.1. Veni, diabole, discalcia me.

¹¹⁷Dialogues II.8.1-8. The priest Florentius is motivated by envy of Benedict and seeks to undermine his work, first by trying to kill Benedict, then to ruin the souls of his disciples by sending seven prostitutes into the garden of the monastery. Benedict realizes he is putting his monks at risk and he leaves with a few brothers; Florentius eventually dies in an accident.

¹¹⁸Dialogues III.14. Isaac of Syria, a hermit who appears in Spoleto, has to endure a proud sacristan in that Church who is jealous of the attention attracted by Isaac's three-day vigil.

3. Chastity

Several episodes in the Dialogues urge chastity upon the clergy and the laity. The story of Bishop Andrew and his chastisement by a Jew is directed to the secular clergy.¹¹⁹ Chastity is necessary to the performance of miracles. One of the African bishops whose tongue is cut out by the Vandals, but who is still miraculously able to speak, loses this power when he breaks his chaste life.¹²⁰

Gregory's purpose in these stories is not to condemn the secular clergy as a class, but his preference for a monastic way of life is clearly drawn. This analysis will be corroborated by examining monks who do not behave in a proper monastic fashion and clerics and monks who do. The paramount reason for Gregory's emphasis on the monastic life is that it is the best way to humility, contemplation, and the understanding of Scripture that are needed by a good preacher. It will thus be necessary to show how Gregory incorporates the laity into this view of the monastic life.

¹¹⁹Dialogues III.7.1

¹²⁰Dialogues III.32.3. "Rightly so, for the one who had neglected to preserve continence of the flesh should not have words of power without a tongue of flesh." Quorum illic unus in luxuriam lapsus mox privatus est dono miraculi, recto videlicet omnipotentis Dei iudicio, ut qui carnis continentiam servare neglexerat, sine lingua carnea non haberet verba virtutis.

D. Monks and Monastic Virtues

The Dialogues encompasses theological and exegetical themes also found in other works of Gregory. The concern of the Dialogues is to make people look towards the future life and to offer a model for living that will allow salvation for the largest number of people. These ideas emerge from the work taken as a whole. After presenting three books on the lives of monks, clerics, and lay persons, the Dialogues culminates in Book IV which gives accounts of visions of paradise, purgatory and damnation, and the success or failure of certain lives. Beneath the surface of what some historians have understood to be amusing or simplistic stories the Dialogues offers a blueprint for living a christian life, defined by Gregory as one that pursues and reinforces monastic virtues. He illustrates this in his portraits of holy men and women who have attained monastic sanctity, whether or not they are technically monks or nuns. This theme is supported by contrasting stories of monks, clergy, and laity who do not practice a virtuous life. Gregory's belief is that the christian life is possible for everyone.

Gregory's view that miracles need not be the sole criteria for sanctity, as well as his belief in the cleansing fires of purgatory that allow yet one more way for people to have a hope of salvation, corroborate his inclusive outlook. More importantly, it is possible for Gregory, as it is for Augustine, to allow everyone the potential for sanctity because no true perfection can be attained on earth. There is enough evidence in the Dialogues to conclude that in spite

of his stress on the pursuit of monastic virtues for sanctity, Gregory does not believe that complete perfection is possible in this life. The opening passages of the Dialogues reveal Gregory's longing to return to the monastery, a place where he was once able to rise above the confines of the flesh to contemplation.¹²¹ Likewise the metaphor of himself as a little boat tossed about on the seas also describes his sense of loss at having left the monastery and certainly shows his idealization of the monastery as a place where monks could spend their days freed from worldly concerns turning their minds over to meditation. In contrast to his present position as pope, the monastery was a "safe harbor" from which he had sailed too far.¹²² But these are idealizations of the monastic life which contradict other depictions in the Dialogues of life in a monastery.

Many episodes in the Dialogues show conflict and disruption in monastic houses and are far from portraying monks as living cloistered lives. Monks are really quite active in the world and in their relations with each other.¹²³ Numerous stories show the interaction of monks and the secular

¹²¹Dialogues I. prol.3

¹²²Dialogues I. prol.5

¹²³Tension, anger, competition, rivalry, and vindictiveness are clearly part of life in some monastic communities. Libertinus is violently struck on the face by his abbot (Dialogues I.2.8-12) who is later worried that Libertinus' friends will put him into disrepute. Nonnosus also fears his abbot's anger (Dialogues I.7.1). The rivalry between the monks of Euty chius and Florentius becomes very bitter and leads Florentius to utter a deadly curse (Dialogues III.15). Benedict's life is threatened twice by monks under his care who are resentful of the discipline he tries to impose on them (Dialogues II.3).

clergy, or of monks and the laity. One must thus be mindful of the difference between an ideal and working reality just as Gregory himself seems to separate individual monasteries from monasticism as a way of life.

Gregory repeatedly stressed certain monastic virtues in the Dialogues: simplicity, poverty, abstinence, compunction of heart, a humble soul.¹²⁴ A monk is described as a "conscientious guardian of poverty" and according to the holy man Isaac "a monk who seeks possessions here on earth is no monk."¹²⁵ Isaac himself possesses these virtues: abstinence, contempt for things of the world, the spirit of prophecy and constant prayer.¹²⁶ Abbot Stephen's life is characterized by poverty, charity, patience in adversity, avoidance of worldly society, and a desire to spend all his time in prayer. When his grain supply was destroyed he was not as concerned with the lost grain as he was for the spiritual harm done to the men responsible for the deed.¹²⁷ Other examples of monks displaying good monastic behavior through acts of charity include Abbot Suranus and Benedict. Abbot Suranus gave away all the monastery's possessions and stores of food to those fleeing the Lombards and he especially liked to help escaped prisoners.¹²⁸ During a famine Benedict gave away the last of the monastery's oil to a cleric much to

¹²⁴Dialogues III.33.1

¹²⁵Dialogues III.14.5. Monachus, qui in terra possessionem quaerit, monachus non est.

¹²⁶Dialogues III.14.10

¹²⁷Dialogues IV.20.1-3. Stephen is also an example of someone who is considered to be a holy man although he has not performed a miracle.

¹²⁸Dialogues IV.23.1-2

the dismay of his community.¹²⁹ In several accounts of paradise in Book IV Gregory shows how important almsgiving is for eternal glory; this is illustrated by the gold bricks that are used to build the houses in paradise. The builders of these houses are those who were normally the beneficiaries of almsgiving, children and old people.¹³⁰

1. Monks displaying monastic virtue

Gregory depicts true monks in the Dialogues as holy men united to God, this is the core of the monastic life, and it is accomplished by meditation on scripture and on divine revelations.¹³¹ A disciplined, formal, monastic life allows one the opportunity to practice and advance in virtue, and helps cultivate a desire for heaven. The lives of Honoratus, Libertinus, Constantius, and Equitius in Book I emphasize this. Practicing abstinence from meat, for instance, helped Honoratus gain mastery over the flesh and reinforced his control over smaller habits, ultimately helping him cultivate a deeper love for the future life.¹³²

The deathbed visions of monks in the Dialogues underscore what constitutes a monastic life.¹³³ Merulus, a monk in one of Gregory's

¹²⁹Dialogues II.29.1-2

¹³⁰Dialogues IV.37.15-16

¹³¹Dialogues II.16.7

¹³²Dialogues I.1

¹³³Dialogues IV.49.1. Gregory notes these visions are given to allay fear of death by those who have lived a good life.

monasteries, frequently gave way to tears, was absorbed by almsgiving, and, except during sleep or meals, never ceased saying the psalms. He had a vision at death of a crown of white flowers descending from heaven onto his head. Fourteen years later when his tomb was opened the fragrance of flowers was present.¹³⁴ John, another monk in Gregory's monastery, was endowed with insight, humility, goodness, and gravity. He also had a vision foretelling his imminent death.¹³⁵ Anthony, a monk in Gregory's monastery, spent his days in tears, looking forward to the joys of heaven, fervently meditating on Scripture. He sought wisdom not in words, but in tears of compunction. Gregory describes how this monk was able to reach celestial heights through contemplation. Anthony was told in a vision to be prepared to go on a journey because the Lord commanded it. When he said he didn't have the money for his trip he was told not to worry. "If you are referring to your sins they are forgiven."¹³⁶ Another holy monk recognized the prophets Jonas, Ezekiel and Daniel at his deathbed.¹³⁷ Gerontus, a monk in Gregory's monastery, had a vision during a severe illness of men in white coming to enroll members of

¹³⁴Dialogues IV.49.4-5

¹³⁵Dialogues IV.49.6-7

¹³⁶Dialogues IV.49.2-3. This is one of two instances in the Dialogues where taking money along at death comes up. The other involved the monk Justus who has three gold coins with him that he confesses on his deathbed he had been saving in the monastery (Dialogues IV.57.8-17). The term Gregory uses is "sumptus," "expense" or "cost." Could these stories indicate a superstitious belief in putting money in a grave or on the dead person so they can pay their way in the afterlife? Compare the Greek belief that one had to pay Charon the boatman in hell.

¹³⁷Dialogues IV.35

Gregory's monastery in a holy militia.¹³⁸ At Abbot Stephen's deathbed angels were seen wandering in and out of the room. Gregory explains that these visions are meant as a comfort so that the just will not have a fear of death. At times the merits of a soul are not shown at the time of death, but only afterwards.¹³⁹

2. Monks not acting as monks

The thread running through these stories is that the best way of life for a Christian is one that pursues the monastic virtues of humility, charity, almsgiving, chastity, hospitality and prayer. Gregory does not make monks the sole proprietors of these virtues or of their benefits and he does not reject the notion of a model for the Christian life. The Dialogues contains a cross-section of stories in which Gregory speaks of good and bad monks, priests, bishops, and lay people. Gregory's critique of the secular clergy focussed on their ambition, their jealousy towards monks, and their lax attitude toward chastity which prevented them from living a truly christian life and from being open to the grace which allows for faith. Gregory is no less concerned with monks who do not live properly. While there are fewer negative accounts of monks, Gregory is consistent and adamant that the true christian life is one that is monastic in character and that even monks can fail at it. Gregory does not

¹³⁸Dialogues IV.27.4-5

¹³⁹Dialogues IV.20.4

automatically associate monks with holy men; actions, not titles, define a holy man or woman.

a. Transgressions

Episodes in the Dialogues which contain breaches against the monastic life by monks concern miscellaneous transgressions,¹⁴⁰ sins of pride,¹⁴¹ anger,¹⁴² and faithlessness.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰Monks baking bread forget to stamp the sign of the cross on the loaves (Dialogues I.11); the monk Maurus rejoices at the death of the priest Florentius, Benedict's nemesis (Dialogues II.8.7).

¹⁴¹A young monk holding a lamp while Benedict has his meal thinks evil thoughts about Benedict's sanctity and questions in his mind why he has to act as his servant. Though he doesn't speak these thoughts Benedict knows them and chastises him. Later on the monk describes himself as having given "into the spirit of pride when he spoke under his breath against the man of God" (Dialogues II.20.1-2).

Euty chius' monks envy the monastery of Florentius because their abbot was becoming famous for the miracle of having tamed a bear whereas they had no miracles of their own to boast about. The rivalry caused Euty chius' monks to kill Florentius' bear which in turn prompted Florentius to invoke a deadly curse on them. All the monks die of leprosy and Florentius spends the rest of his life in tears. (Dialogues III.13.1-18).

Benedict criticizes the ostentatious display of piety by the hermit Martin who has fastened an iron chain around his leg. "If you are a servant of God you should not be held by a chain of iron but by the chain of Christ." Martin accepts Benedict's criticism and discontinues the use of the chain. Here Gregory stresses the inner sanctity of one's life as being more important than the outward display of piety; his preference for the cenobitic life over the eremitic also appears (Dialogues III.16.9).

The abbot Eleutherius boasts that it was only after a young boy was taken from the company of nuns that he was freed by exorcism from an evil spirit because the devil recognized the monks as the real servants of God and "he no longer dared to approach the boy." No sooner had he made this statement than the boy was again afflicted by the evil spirit. Only when the community prayed together were they able to free him. (Dialogues III.33.1-6).

¹⁴²Op.cit. n.3 Libertinus, Nonnosus and angry abbots.

b. Incontinence

Surprisingly, there are no serious sins of the flesh committed by monks in the Dialogues. Lapses in judgment concerning women occur as do breaches of house rules on associating with women, but true sexual transgressions are only committed by the laity.¹⁴⁴ Gregory is not anti-feminist in the Dialogues, in that he does not see women as inherently evil, but he does subscribe to the common monastic view that monks may put themselves in danger of temptation if they are in frequent contact with women. Young monks in particular are susceptible to sexual sins.¹⁴⁵ While the sinfulness of

¹⁴³During a famine the monks at Benedict's monastery are downcast because there are only five loaves of bread left. Benedict rebukes them for their lack of faith in God. The next day 200 measures of flour arrive (Dialogues II.21.1-2). During another famine a subdeacon came to Benedict to beg for oil. Benedict commands the cellarer of the monastery to give the man all the oil that remained as a means of storing up riches in heaven. The cellarer does not carry out Benedict's command because the community would be left with nothing. When Benedict finds out he gives the rest of the oil to the subdeacon and chastises the cellarer for his pride and lack of faith. After a communal prayer the oil jars in the monastery are found to be overflowing (Dialogues II.29.1-2).

¹⁴⁴Benedict's monks go against monastic practice by taking a meal at the home of a devout woman, they then lie about this to Benedict (Dialogues II.12.1-2); another monk who acts as a priest for a convent of nuns is given a small gift by these nuns which he tries unsuccessfully to hide from Benedict (Dialogues II.19). Yet even in these examples the point Gregory stresses is Benedict's power of discernment and the feeling he gave his monks that he was always with them.

¹⁴⁵It is only after the wicked priest Florentius sends seven prostitutes (nudas septem puellas) into the courtyard of the monastery that Benedict decides to leave that community. While he knew that he himself could withstand whatever temptations or evil Florentius put in his way he could not jeopardize the younger monks who hadn't yet attained this level of resolve (Dialogues II.8.4)

incontinence is not stressed very much in the Dialogues neither is continence exalted as a paramount virtue for everyone. Gregory seems to expect that younger monks, priests, and lay people will have difficulty with chastity, yet he stresses chastity for the monastic and episcopal hierarchy. Gregory relates stories of Benedict and Equitius overcoming desires of the flesh in rather extreme ways that are ultimately dependent on grace.¹⁴⁶ He interprets Equitius' virtue as a grace from God which has allowed him to become a director of monasteries of both men and women. Yet even Equitius realized this was not a power all monks had. He admonished his monks later on to be distrustful of themselves and not try to do what they were not given the power to do.¹⁴⁷

Gregory insists that it is only after one is free from the temptations of the flesh that one is able to teach others. Abbots, whose primary role is to be the spiritual leaders of their communities, must be chaste. The freedom from temptations of the flesh is a sign of maturity and until a person can trust himself he cannot be trusted with other souls.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶Benedict conquered his passions by rolling in thorn bushes which left him in great pain and very bloody (Dialogues II.2). Equitius prayed that God would take away the temptations of the flesh that afflicted him. One night in a dream he saw himself being made a eunuch with an angel attending. After this he no longer experienced these desires (Dialogues I.4.1-2).

¹⁴⁷Dialogues I.4.2

¹⁴⁸Dialogues II.2.3-4. Gregory notes that Moses demanded that levites be over 25 years of age and more than 50 years old before they could be keepers of the sacred vessels because it is after age 50 that the passion of the body cools down. "Vnde et per Moysen praecipitur, ut levitae a viginti quinque annis et supra ministrare debeant, ab anno vero quinquagesimo custodes

c. Sins against the community

By far the most numerous accounts of lapses in monastic life in the Dialogues are of sins against the community or the monastic life. These transgressions fall into two categories: monks who wish to leave the monastery and monks who try to deceive the community of brothers. In two stories dragons symbolize the hostile, outside world, ready to devour a monk who attempts to leave.¹⁴⁹ An unfortunate young monk, who loved his parents more than the monastery, left without the abbot's permission and died on his return home. In death he was still troubled because his body would not remain buried. It was only after his parents begged Benedict to forgive the boy that the body remained buried in the ground.¹⁵⁰

Peter notes the irregularity of Benedict abandoning his office as abbot. Gregory's response is a mixture of practical advice on running a monastery

vasorum fiant." "Liquet, Petre, quod in iuventute carnis temptatio ferveat, ab anno autem quinquagesimo calor corporis frigescat."

¹⁴⁹Dialogues II.24.1-2. A weak-minded monk intent on leaving the monastery finally persuaded Benedict to let him go. On his way out of the monastery a dragon blocked his path. When he cried for help the other monks came to get him. "Hurry, hurry, because the dragon wants to devour me." He then promised to stay in the monastery. Gregory explains that Benedict's prayers enabled him to see the invisible dragon that had been leading him astray.

Theodore, a monk forced into a monastery against his will refused to act or dress like a monk. On his sick bed, coming in and out of hallucinations, he shouted that a dragon had his head in its mouth. It was only by the intervention of prayers and tears of the other monks that he was freed from this vision. Afterward Theodore turned his heart to God and began to live a monastic life (Dialogues IV.40.1-5).

¹⁵⁰Dialogues II.24.1-2

and spiritual discussion on contemplation. An abbot was obliged to bear evil men patiently as long as there were some devout members of the community who would still benefit from his presence. It is only when no faithful remain, when the situation is hopeless, that one could move on. Benedict left his community for legitimate reasons. Citing biblical precedent (Paul's departure from Damascus), Gregory claims Benedict left not out of fear, but because he knew he was powerless to accomplish anything.¹⁵¹

The cruelest deaths await those who attempt to deceive their brothers. A monk at Ton Galathon duped his brothers into thinking he was a man of great sanctity. Although he fasted with them he would later eat secretly. On his deathbed when the community expected to hear a wise exhortation from him, he instead confessed his deception and his failure to keep the fast. He also described how at that moment he was able to see himself handed over to be devoured by a dragon that was already coiling around him. The man died before he could utter any words of repentance which would have brought about his forgiveness.¹⁵²

One of the most moving episodes in the Dialogues and one that illustrates Gregory's harsh attitude toward sins against the community concerns the monk Justus. On his deathbed this monk confessed to hiding three gold coins in the monastery. Gregory could not forgive this sin against

¹⁵¹Dialogues II.3.10

¹⁵²Dialogues IV.40.10-12

the strict observance of the common life that no individual was to own anything privately. Gregory forbade any of the monks from visiting the dying man or speaking any words of comfort to him. The man's brother was the only one allowed to be with him and inform him that the other monks wouldn't have anything to do with him. Justus died a bitter, lonely death. Gregory also commanded Justus' body be buried on a manure pile with a ceremony where the three gold pieces he had harbored were thrown into the pit while the brothers called out "Let this money be with you in hell."

Gregory explains his unyielding attitude in this episode in two ways. First this bitter experience would help bring about a sincere contrition in the sinful monk at the time of death and hence bring about the forgiveness of his sin. Secondly, this strong condemnation of avarice was to stand as a lesson to the remaining monks to deter them from this vice.

Gregory remarked later that this severe condemnation frightened the other brethren into confessing the smallest articles they kept, even those allowed in the Rule. Eventually Gregory came to think he was too harsh on this man and relieved his purgatorial suffering with Masses for thirty days to help gain his release. Finally Justus appeared to his brother to say he had now been admitted to communion.¹⁵³

¹⁵³Dialogues IV.57.1-15

Part III. The Inclusive Church

A. Responsibilities of Secular Clergy

Favorable representations of the secular clergy in the Dialogues involve examples where clerics perform their clerical duties properly as well as those who practice virtues specifically associated with monasticism. If Benedict, in Book II, is the model for the monk, then Paulinus of Nola, in Book III, is the model for the bishop and clergy.

Ransom of prisoners and intercession on behalf of communities, whether with barbarian leaders or with the natural elements are common duties of a bishop.¹⁵⁴ Care for a community even continues after death.¹⁵⁵ Bishops must act as examples to the congregation and remain strong in their faith in face of persecution. The North African Catholic bishops risk torture but never waver in their stand against the Arians. In Italy the Lombard Arians are resisted in a similar manner. The Catholic clergy refuse to share their church buildings or to oblige the Arian bishops in any way.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴Bishop Frigidianus reroutes a river about to overflow its banks (Dialogues III.9.1-3); Floodwaters of another river recede when Bishop Sabinus commands it to stop by throwing a letter into the water (Dialogues III.10.1-4); Bishop Marcellinus of Ancona commands a fire to stop consuming a town (Dialogues I.6.1-2).

Paulinus of Nola takes the place of a widow's son who has been imprisoned by the Vandals (Dialogues III.1). The priest Sanctulus has numerous dealings with Lombard Arians and offers himself up in place of a condemned Christian prisoner (Dialogues III.37.10-17).

¹⁵⁵A thief attempting to steal a sheep from the clergy becomes immobile when he passes the grave of a virtuous priest (Dialogues III.22.2).

¹⁵⁶The bishop of Spoleto refused to allow the Arian Lombards the use of the Catholic church, but the Arians threatened to take the church over by

B. Clergy and Monastic Virtues

1. Clerics as monks

Certain virtues associated with monasticism are evident in the lives of some of Gregory's bishops namely, chastity,¹⁵⁷ hospitality,¹⁵⁸ prayer.¹⁵⁹

More frequently Gregory focuses on the holy life of the clergy, especially those who have undertaken monastic ways in the clerical state.¹⁶⁰ Two popes

force. The sacristan of the church extinguishes all the lights in the church but the next day the Arian bishop is struck blind by light when he leads his followers into the church (Dialogues III.29.1-4). Vandal kings try to win over the Catholic bishops by gifts. When they don't succeed the bishops are tortured. Even after this they continue to speak out against Arianism fearing that by keeping quiet the people will think they have consented to the Arian faith (Dialogues III.32.1).

¹⁵⁷After a Jew overhears demons bragging about their temptation of Bishop Andrew he gets rid of his female housekeeper (Dialogues III.7) Elsewhere a priest of Norcia is blessed because he behaved like a monk where women are concerned and refused to maintain relations with his wife (Dialogues IV.12.1-5).

¹⁵⁸Bishop Carbonius entertains some soldiers (Dialogues III.11.1-6); the Bishop of Rieti on his deathbed is more concerned about hospitality shown to his doctors than he is by his own failing health (Dialogues IV.13.2).

¹⁵⁹Bishop Cassius of Narni gives way to bitter weeping during celebration of the Mass and receives a vision of one of his priests (Dialogues IV.58); Bishop Agatho of Palermo was shipwrecked and his boatman was lost; when he offers Mass the boatman's strength at sea was restored (Dialogues IV.59.1-6); Severus, a priest, waters his vineyard instead of tending to a sick man who dies; by lamenting his neglect and praying, the man is returned to life (Dialogues I.12.1-5).

¹⁶⁰Constantius, a sacristan at St. Stephen's Church, "renounced the things of this world completely and directed his soul to heaven." He is also "known far and wide" for his sanctity and spent many years in monastic dress. When a farmer (rusticus) berates him for not having a noble (grandem) appearance Constantius' response is to embrace the man for seeing him as he really is. For Gregory this is one more instance of Constantius' humility (Dialogues I.5.1).

A priest in Valeria leads a monastic life with his clergy, "intent on good works and the praises of God." The clergy in this church recite the psalms all night long (Dialogues III.22.2).

appear in this context as holy men.¹⁶¹

2. Clergy in contact with monks

It is clear that Gregory encourages the association of monks and clerics.

While some clerics may not actually live as monks, many accounts note a cleric's interest in the monastic life.¹⁶² The friendly relations between

Bishop Floridus is described as a man devoted to truth and his priest Amantius is a man known for his simplicity and like the Apostles had the power of healing and restoring the sick (Dialogues III.35.1-6).

Bishop Datius of Milan exorcises a haunted house in Corinth. Gregory's description of Datius entering the house and preparing himself to struggle with the devil seems to be a reference to Antony fighting with demons in the desert (Dialogues IV.4.1).

Paschasius, a deacon of the Apostolic See, is defined by his great sanctity and is devoted to almsgiving, the care of the poor and contempt of self. At death when a possessed person touched the dalmatic placed on his coffin the person was cured. Yet even with a virtuous life Gregory says that Paschasius was not let into heaven until his sin of obstinacy was purged because he refused to obey the unanimous decision of the bishops and accept Pope Symmachus (Dialogues IV.42.1-5).

In a vision of heaven a foreign priest is seen confidently crossing over the bridge to paradise because he had lived "a life of sincerity" (Dialogues IV.37.12).

¹⁶¹A horse refuses to seat its owner, a woman, after Pope John (523-526) had ridden it (Dialogues III.2.1-3).

Pope Felix III appeared to Gregory's Aunt Tarasilla in a dream to show her a vision of heaven telling her "Come, I will take you into this house of light" (Dialogues IV.17).

¹⁶²The Bishop of Canossa is held in high esteem by Benedict by virtue of his saintly life. He also makes regular visits to Benedict's monastery. It is interesting that the subject of the visit to Benedict is Totila's invasion of Rome, obviously a fear shared by both abbot and bishop (Dialogues II.15.3).

A deacon who is "eager to commend himself to his prayers" comes to visit Florentius (Dialogues III.15.11).

Gregory himself kept many contacts with clerics especially those who were monks before they became bishops. Bishop Maximian of Syracuse was a former "abbot" (pater) of Gregory's monastery" who, together with his monks,

monastic and clerical communities in a given area is also dependent on the personal closeness of individual monks and clerics.¹⁶³

3. Clerics who enter the monastery

Anastasius left his position as a notary of the Church at Rome. "Desiring to devote all his time to God alone, he gave up his public position in order to live the monastic life at the monastery of Suppentonia."¹⁶⁴

4. Bishops as monks: Paulinus, Boniface and Fortunatus

Gregory presents detailed lives of three bishops who pursue monastic virtues, Paulinus of Nola, Boniface of Ferentino, and Fortunatus of Todi.

Paulinus of Nola embodies the virtues of both a bishop and a monk.¹⁶⁵ One of the main themes in his life as Gregory presents it, is the ransom of prisoners and needy people. Paulinus distributes the furnishings of the episcopal residence to free prisoners. Most of this story concerns Paulinus

came to visit him in Constantinople (Dialogues III.36.1). Bishop Redemptus of Ferentino was another friend of Gregory's when he was still in the monastery (Dialogues III.38.1) The priest Sanctulus came every year to spend time with Gregory (Dialogues III.37.1). Julian visits Gregory in the monastery "to discuss the interests of his soul" (Dialogues IV.31).

¹⁶³It is noteworthy that it is a monk from Noricia who comes to Rome to tell Gregory that the priest Sanctulus has died; this suggests the closeness of the monastic and clerical communities. Bishop Felix of Ostia makes the journey to comfort the monk Mellitus who is dying (Dialogues IV.27.6).

¹⁶⁴Dialogues I.8.1

¹⁶⁵Dialogues III.1.1-10

putting himself in the place of a woman's son as a hostage.¹⁶⁶

Bishop Boniface is "a man of venerable life" and Gregory writes his story around the virtues which embodied his life of poverty, faith, humility, charity, and hospitality.¹⁶⁷ The bishop thanks God for further impoverishing his Church by destroying most of his vineyard, his sole source of income.¹⁶⁸ The bishop's faith is demonstrated by a miracle in which a little bit of juice squeezed from the wine-press becomes enough to fill all the needs of the poor in his care. The Bishop pours a little wine into all the jars. Two days later the jars are filled to the brim. In his humility he commands that the miracle not be reported fearing he would become worthless in God's eyes if the miracle brought him honor from men.¹⁶⁹ The bishop wanted no public recognition or flattery.

Boniface's act of charity in which he gave twelve gold pieces to "several poor people" is combined with the notion of communal property of the monastery. Boniface saw Constantius' money as part of the household. Boniface also practices hospitality by giving two Goths travelling to Ravenna a cask of wine which never goes dry.

¹⁶⁶It is interesting that the woman misinterprets Paulinus' offer to take the place of her son in slavery. She thinks Paulinus is mocking her, that his words are not words of compassion because they come from a bishop, a man of high authority. Is Gregory implying that most bishops are haughty? It is significant that this woman has obviously never run across a bishop who was humble.

¹⁶⁷Dialogues I.9.1

¹⁶⁸Dialogues I.9.2

¹⁶⁹Dialogues I.9.5

Gregory does not present a chronological survey of Boniface's life, but he does note that in his childhood there were foreshadowings of his sanctity. Boniface was constantly giving away clothing and food. Once he made his mother desperate because he gave away a year's supply of grain. After praying, the grain is restored to him. Boniface possessed the virtue of almsgiving from a young age. The entire account of bishop Boniface reads like that of the life of a monk and Gregory refers to him as increasing in stature before the Lord.¹⁷⁰ By giving away his clothing Boniface "clothed himself in merits before the eyes of God."¹⁷¹

Bishop Fortunatus of Todi was a man of great piety possessing power over evil spirits such that he would expel legions of demons and overcome many more by continuous prayer even when they assaulted him personally. Two episodes illustrate his effectiveness as an exorcist. He frees a possessed woman when a secular priest and magicians fail. A layman, however, is deceived into disobeying Fortunatus' warning against an evil spirit which masquerades as a traveller in need of hospitality. When the man opens his house to the spirit the demon takes possession of the man's son and he dies.¹⁷²

Bishop Fortunatus is both a good bishop and a good monk, hence a holy man. When Goths steal two young boys Fortunatus offers to ransom

¹⁷⁰Dialogues I.9.16.

¹⁷¹Dialogues I.9.17. Ut se ante Dei oculos illius mercede uestiret.

¹⁷²Dialogues I.10.1

them, but the Goths refuse. It is only when one of the Goths falls off his horse after passing the Church of St. Peter the Apostle that the Goths bring the boys back. The man who fell off the horse also asks the bishop to pray for him. The bishop's deacon sprinkles him with holy water and heals the Goth who is then able to leave.

In imitation of the raising of Lazarus, Fortunatus raises Marcellinus, a layman friend, on Easter Sunday, at the request of Marcellinus' two sisters. The sisters recognize Fortunatus' holiness because he follows in the footsteps of the Apostles, cleansing lepers and giving sight to the blind. They request that he resurrect their dead brother. Fortunatus prays and calls Marcellinus who then rises from the dead.¹⁷³

Gregory also mentions miracles that occur at the tomb of Fortunatus. "Often at his tomb he continues to expel demons and heal the sick just as he did when he was alive if the request is sought out of faith."¹⁷⁴ Intercessory power continues after death.

C. Laity

1. Common transgressions

Gregory is consistent in advocating the monastic life to the laity. The

¹⁷³Dialogues I.10.17-18

¹⁷⁴Dialogues I.10.19. *Daemoniacos quippe absoluere, aegros curare, quotiens ex fide petitur, ut uiuens consueuerat, hoc indesinenter facere et apud mortua ossa sua perseuerat.*

most favorable portraits of men and women in the Dialogues are of those who live or take up a monastic way of life. A few episodes describe infractions or lesser sins that are punished immediately.¹⁷⁵

The worst punishments are passed on to those who have lived dissolute or wanton lives. No one particular fault is the cause, specific sins are not described.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵Dialogues I.10. A woman is possessed by an evil spirit after she has sex and then goes to church the next day. The woman feared embarrassment more than God. In church she is taken over by an evil spirit and her misguided family compounds the misery by taking her to magicians before they take her to be cured by Bishop Fortunatus.

Gregory also describes rustics who are skeptical of holy men because of their physical appearance (Dialogues I.5.4-6, II.1.8; cf I.4.11) and nobility who cannot accept count Theophanos as a holy man (Dialogues IV.28).

¹⁷⁶Dialogues IV.27. Cumquodeus was a lawyer "involved in secular affairs, craving for earthly gain."

Dialogues IV.37. A soldier has a vision of the layman Stephen who is unable to cross a bridge in paradise, "still struggling even in the afterlife," to live both kinds of lives.

Dialogues IV.40. Chrysaorus, a rich layman, who was lustful and avaricious, has visions of demons at his deathbed.

Dialogues IV.54. Valentine, described as a "defender of the Church at Milan" was extremely dissolute, given over to frivolity and vice. He is buried in a Church, but at night the sacristans have a vision of spirits dragging his body away.

Dialogues IV.34. A city official in Valeria gets drunk "after the long fast" and seduces a young girl he had sponsored for baptism. At Easter services he fears something will happen to him, but nothing does. Seven days later he dies and tongues of fire are seen coming from his tomb.

Dialogues IV.36. Eumorphius has a deathbed vision of a ship coming to take him and the adjutant Stephen to Sicily. He tries to warn Stephen, but by the time a servant is sent Stephen has already died. Previously, in Dialogues IV.31.3, Gregory has noted that Sicily is the site of volcanoes and great pits, an earthly reminder of what hell will be like. Thus, Eumorphius and Stephen are going to hell.

2. Laymen in contact with monks

Gregory does not aim to show that only a certain class of society, those with formal religious status, will be saved. He praises the laity who live a proper Christian life; these people can expect to find themselves in paradise alongside monks and clergy. Just as there is evidence in the Dialogues of much contact between monks and secular clergy there are numerous cases of laity who may be living in the secular world but who still have contact with monks.¹⁷⁷

3. Laymen as monks

The laity who are the most highly praised in the Dialogues are those who have succeeded in practicing the Christian life as laity or who have renounced the world altogether. Two rich brothers Speciosus and Gregory who were trained in secular learning enter a monastery to submit themselves to Benedict's rule. In a perfect imitatio christi (give up all you have and follow me) they distribute all their "wealth to the poor as a ransom for their souls."

¹⁷⁷Dialogues II.17. A nobleman friend of Benedict's embraces the monastic life and enjoys Benedict's friendship.

Dialogues II.18. Exhilaratus, a "fellow-Roman," sends Benedict two flasks of wine. Exhilaratus later became a monk.

Dialogues II.13. Another devout layman on his way to see Benedict "breaks his fast."

Dialogues I.9.8. Fortunatus, a nobleman of the city of Ferentino, invites Bishop Boniface to dinner after Mass at the martyr shrine of St. Proclus. Gregory describes this as a "kind offer," benedictionem dandam.

Note the purgatorial aspect to this statement.¹⁷⁸ Servulus, a holy man suffering from many years of paralysis, lives at home, but like a monk. He receives alms, buys sacred books even though he doesn't know how to read them, and even though he suffers, he still prays and sings psalms. He dies with "strangers and guests" standing around him singing the psalms for the dying and he himself hears heavenly singing. This is a picture of a perfect monastic death.¹⁷⁹

Two other cases from Book IV support this understanding of the Dialogues as advocating a monastic way of life for everyone. Almsgiving is a particularly effective way to gain Heaven. Deusdedit, a "saintly shoe-maker" used to give left-over shoes to the Church of St. Peter to be given to the poor. In paradise, construction of Deusdedit's house occurs only on a Saturday to reflect the almsgiving he did on that day.¹⁸⁰

More interesting is the account of Stephen, a "man of high rank," who has a vision of the torments of Hell. He is sent back to earth because the "infernal judge" had meant to call Stephen the blacksmith. Even though he has seen the punishments of Hell he still lives what Gregory describes as an ambiguous life. He is zealous in almsgiving, but still prone to sins of the flesh. Stephen's life is typical of the conflict lay people have—they struggle to do good, but are unable to become perfectly monastic by being celibate. After he

¹⁷⁸Dialogues IV.9

¹⁷⁹Dialogues IV.15

¹⁸⁰Dialogues IV.38

dies a soldier has a vision of the afterlife and sees Stephen dangling off the side of a bridge being pulled both by devils and angels who want him. The soldier was called back to earth so he didn't find out which side won. Gregory explains Stephen's problem: "the evils of the flesh battled the work of almsgiving."¹⁸¹ The conflict between lust and charity was still going on in the afterlife. Stephen did not perfectly correct his life even after his vision of hell and after he died "still had to undergo a struggle of life and death."¹⁸²

Part IV. Visions of the Future Life and Repentance

The journey to the world of the dead is a motif in classical and early Christian literature which had a long tradition by the time Gregory drew on it in the Dialogues. Virgil's Aeneid, Macrobius' Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, the Passion of Perpetua and Felicity, the Vision of St. Paul, the Dream of St. Jerome, as well as Augustine's discussion of the afterlife in the last three books of the City of God, have all been considered sources of inspiration for the out-of-body experiences of the heroes of Gregory's Dialogues and his portrait of the afterlife. But Gregory is no imitator of Virgil and the Dialogues

¹⁸¹Dialogues IV.37.13. Qua in re de eiusdem Stephani uita datur intellegi quia in eo mala carnis cum elemosinarum operatione certabant.

¹⁸²Dialogues IV.37.14. Constat tamen quia isdem Stephanus, postquam, sicut superius narraui, et inferi loca uidit et ad corpus rediit, perfecte uitam minime correxit, qui post multos annos de corpore adhuc ad certamen uitae et mortis exiit.

is not an epic.¹⁸³

The dialogue between Gregory and Peter in Book IV, is, in effect, a theological and philosophical discourse on the nature of the soul, its purification after death by purgatorial fire, and the effect of corporeal fire on incorporeal substances. The theological discussion is framed by accounts of witnesses who have experienced a journey into the afterlife and have returned to the world to report what they saw. Although Gregory's treatment of the afterlife is not poetic, neither is it strictly theological. Except for Book II, the whole of the Dialogues consists of a series of short stories or sketches in the context of a dialogue. The accounts of men and women whose lives have been touched by contact with the world beyond the grave is the point where Gregory-the-story-teller and Gregory-the-moralist meet.¹⁸⁴ In some of these cases the experience is cathartic, moving the person to action. In others the report of the experience is intended to move others. "Gregory's aim does not consist in retracing the voyage which his Christian heroes undertook in the afterlife; his purpose remains that of a moralist who wishes to instil the horror of infernal punishments or of the hagiographer who desires to exalt the power of contemplation among the saints."¹⁸⁵ Ultimately, the nature of the Dialogues is more pedagogical than theological.

¹⁸³Claude Dagens, Saint Grégoire le Grand. Culture et expérience chrétiennes. Paris, 1977, 403.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., 404.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., 404.

As he did in the Moralia, in the Dialogues Gregory wants to make Christians attentive to the afterlife; to show that knowledge of the invisible world is possible, "that death is not absolute, but the access to another world."¹⁸⁶ Moreover, throughout the Dialogues, though mostly in Book IV, he specifically states that the examples he gives are intended to move, to teach and to reassure. The purpose of visions of hell is to give people a glimpse of their future punishment. In some cases it is for the person's own benefit, but in other cases these visions are intended for the benefit of those hearing the account."¹⁸⁷ Gregory recounts the vision of the Spanish monk Peter. As he is about to be pitched into the fire of hell an angel stops the proceedings and says, "Leave this place and consider carefully how you ought to live from now on."¹⁸⁸ Gregory reports that from then on his life, one of fasting, vigil, and prayer, was a witness to this vision of hell. The rich man Crisaorius, who had led an unholy life, saw hideous demons at his bedside and begged to be given more time so he could warn his sons. The vision, however, was "not for his own benefit but for ours to warn us that God is extremely patient in waiting for us. For what did it profit Crisaorius to see the foul spirits before his death

¹⁸⁶Ibid., 408.

¹⁸⁷Dialogues IV.40.1. Sciendum quoque est quia nonnumquam animae adhuc in suis corporibus positae poenale aliquid de spiritalibus uident, quod tamen quibusdam ad aedificationem suam, quibusdam uero contingere ad aedificationem audientium solet.

¹⁸⁸Dialogues IV.37.4. Egredere, et qualiter tibi post haec uiuendum sit cautissime adtende.

and to ask for a reprieve since he did not receive what he asked for?"¹⁸⁹

Gregory also writes about the monk at the monastery of Ton Galathon who saw a dragon curling around him. "What he saw was only of use for those hearing, he himself had been handed over and did not escape."¹⁹⁰

Gregory even admits that sometimes these visions fail. "We might say, then, that a vision of hell and its torments is helpful for some, but for others it is the cause of even graver condemnation. Some are forewarned by these visions and turn from evil. Others, on the contrary, unwilling to avoid hell even after seeing and considering its torments, become all the more blameworthy."¹⁹¹ Human pride and hardness of heart are at the root of this recalcitrance.

Assurances of a heavenly reward by celestial visitors are intended to comfort. "Sometimes God strengthens timid souls with revelations so that at death they will be less fearful."¹⁹² The monk Anthony is assured of heaven in

¹⁸⁹Dialogues IV.40.9. De quo nimirum constat quia pro nobis ista, non pro se uiderat, ut eius uisio nobis proficiat, quos adhuc diuina patientia longanimiter expectat. Nam illi tetros spiritus ante mortem uidisse et indutias petisse quid profuit, qui easdem indutias quas petiit non accepit?

¹⁹⁰Dialogues IV.40.10-12. Quod nimirum constat quia ad solam utilitatem audientium uiderit, qui eum hostem cui traditus fuerat et innotuit et non euasit.

¹⁹¹Dialogues IV.37.14, trans. Odo John Zimmermann, in Dialogues, Fathers of the Church, 39 (New York, 1959), 241. Qua de re collegitur quia ipsa quoque inferni supplicia cum demonstrantur, aliis hoc ad adiutorium, aliis uero ad testimonium fiat, ut isti uideant mala quae caueant, illi uero eo amplius puniantur, quo inferni supplicia nec uisa et cognita uitare uoluerunt.

¹⁹²Dialogues IV.49.1. Nonnumquam uero omnipotens Deus trepidantium mentes quibusdam prius reuelationibus roborat, ut in morte minime pertimescant.

a vision,¹⁹³ Merulus has a vision of a garland of flowers descending on his head fortelling the fragrance that will be associated with his grave and his heavenly destiny.¹⁹⁴ There are few visions of heaven itself in the Dialogues. More often the souls of holy men and women are accompanied to heaven by escorts of angels or other saints, a celestial choir is heard in the midst of a fragrant air.¹⁹⁵ The implication is that the soul is being taken to heaven and that the person has achieved everlasting life, but the heavenly kingdom itself is not described in detail. The longest account of heaven describes beautiful meadows, white-robed inhabitants, and houses made of gold bricks.¹⁹⁶ Ordinarily, Gregory keeps his description of heaven in abstract terms: visions of celestial light or luminous white bodies, heavenly singing, and fragrant odors.¹⁹⁷ Heaven is only glimpsed across a gulf from purgatory.¹⁹⁸ Carozzi has noted that Gregory doesn't use a single term for paradise.¹⁹⁹

The Dialogues contains far more references to demons, the devil, and glimpses of hell than it does of angels or heaven. Several episodes of the

¹⁹³Dialogues IV.49.2

¹⁹⁴Dialogues IV.49.4

¹⁹⁵The word used to describe a soul's flight is migrauit. The sense of this is that the soul is journeying to heaven and has possibly not yet reached its final state of perfection.

¹⁹⁶Dialogues IV.37 and IV.38.

¹⁹⁷Dialogues IV.18.3. Musa's description of Mary is not very detailed; Dialogues IV.37.8, the soldier refers to "noble men in white;" Dialogues I.12 Severus refers to a "young man with wings."

¹⁹⁸Dialogues IV.37.5-16, a soldier's vision of the bridge in purgatory.

¹⁹⁹Claude Carozzi, "La Géographie de l'au-delà et sa signification pendant le haut Moyen Age," Settimane di Studio, 29 (Spoleto, 1983), 2, 421-485, at 426.

Dialogues offer vivid pictures of the ghastliness of the devil and his demons. When Severus recounts being led through hell he says, "the guides who led me away were dreadful creatures. From their mouths and nostrils they breathed an unbearable fire."²⁰⁰ Benedict's life was a long struggle against the devil. After he had succeeded in converting the countryside the devil appeared to the saint. This time he came, not "in a dream or under a disguise, but met him face to face. According to the saint's own description, the Devil had an appearance utterly revolting to human eyes and appeared to be enveloped in fire. He seemed to rage against Benedict with flames darting from his eyes and mouth."²⁰¹

Rather than simply hold heaven up as an ideal and portray its rewards, Gregory instead holds out Purgatory as a hope and comfort to human beings who cannot perfect themselves in this life. Gregory emphasizes the possibility of purging one's sins even after the hour of death. This accounts for the focus on the devil and demons in the Dialogues, a reminder that these are omnipresent and waiting at every turn to ensnare us. The Dialogues is not a work addressed to saints but to human beings who are struggling with sin and

²⁰⁰Dialogues I.12.2. Teatri ualde erant homines qui me ducebant, ex quorum ore ac naribus ignis exiebat, quem tolerare non poteram.

²⁰¹Dialogues II.8.12. Vt enim discipulis suis uenerabilis pater dicebat, corporalibus eius oculis isdem antiquus hostis teterrimus et succensus apparebat, qui in eum ore oculisque flammantibus saeuire uidebatur. See also Dialogues III.17, the story of a Jew witnessing the devils in his presence, a demonic court is depicted but there is not much detail as to what they looked like.

straddling the despair that there is nothing after death or, that if there is, they are too sinful to attain it.

CHAPTER TWO

A GREGORIAN CENTURY: SEVENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

Part I. Gregory and his Spanish Contemporaries

"Spain during the first half of the VIIth century was a solid Gregorian fief."¹ Historians have observed the failure on the part of the Roman clergy or intelligentsia to produce any theological works of note that use Gregory the Great, either before or after his death in 604, as a starting point.² In contrast to the silence of seventh-century Italy on the subject of Gregory is the inspiration his works gave to authors in more distant lands.

Gregory's works were known to early seventh-century Irish and Gallic authors. Columbanus corresponded with Gregory and was acquainted with

¹René Wasselynck, "Les Compilations des <<Moralia in Job>> du VIIe au XIIe siècle," Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, 29 (1962), 5-32. "L'Espagne, pendant la première moitié du VIIe siècle était un solide fief grégorien," 11.

²Walter Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter (Stuttgart, 1988). Jeffrey Richards, Consul of God: the Life and Times of Gregory the Great (London, 1980); Roger Collins, Early Medieval Spain, Unity in Diversity, 400-1000 (London, 1983). Pierre Riché, Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century, trans. J.J. Contreni, (Columbia, South Carolina, 1978), 176. Riché thinks that Gregory was "unable to change the educational condition of the Italian clergy. His culture was a model for his own entourage, but Italian clerics did not immediately profit from it. This explains why the clergy was not particularly distinguished in the realm of sacred learning after the Pope's death. Throughout the entire seventh century, they could barely defend Catholic dogma and were unable to produce any great theological or exegetical work." The work of Paterius is the exception to this observation.

some of Gregory's texts. Augustine of Canterbury carried works of Gregory to England at the time of his mission in 595. Letters concerning the mission reveal that more copies of works were sent from Rome to England; those mentioned include liturgical manuals and missals. Gregory's Pastoral Care and the Dialogues would appear in England after the middle of the century³ while citations of the Dialogues are in evidence in Gaul in the first third of the century.⁴

It is noteworthy that Gregory's extensive Gallic correspondence offers no evidence of a hunger for Gregory's works such as one finds among the Spanish bishops. Correspondence between Gregory and various Provençal bishops remained businesslike and perfunctory with scarcely any element of personal interest though Gregory does reveal a consistent desire to make the bishops active instruments in the reform of simony in the Gallic Church. Gregory's influence in Gallic lands would develop along different lines, primarily through Irish and Anglo-Saxon monasteries in northern Gaul.

Spanish interest in Gregory surpassed that of other places and Spanish churchmen of the seventh century played a fundamental role in establishing Gregory the Great as an authority on doctrinal and mystical matters. How the Dialogues of Gregory was understood and affected the authors of early

³J.A.D. Ogilvy, Books Known to Anglo-Latin Writers from Aldhelm to Alcuin (670-804) (Cambridge, MA, 1936).

⁴The Dialogues of Gregory appear in the works of Jonas of Bobbio and a number of seventh-century vitae of monks, nuns, and bishops written in Gallic scriptoria, many of them with Insular connections.

medieval Spain as disparate in spirit and subject matter as Isidore of Seville and Valerius of Bierzo is the subject of this chapter. Two factors must be considered in the discussion of Gregory's Dialogues in Spain. First, that Spanish literary culture was developed through the personal connections of its authors, and second, that the reception of the Dialogues in Spain was dependent on the earlier influence of Gregory's Moralia.

The episcopal underpinnings of Spanish literary life gave it a predisposition to the type of work, the goals, and the methodology, found in the thought and teaching of Gregory the Great. In pre-conversion Spain, conciliar legislation, particularly the Councils of Braga, 561 and 572, the works of Apringius of Beja, Martin of Braga, and John of Biclaram reveal an interest in theological matters pertaining to the soul and in apocalypticism, as well as apologetic works intended to defend Catholicism against Arian attacks. The Spanish maintained a consistent interest in exegesis and apocalypticism throughout the seventh century.⁵ A strong reformist element also pervades this material.⁶

⁵M.L.W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe A.D. 500-900, (1931; rpt. Ithaca, 1976), 117. Riché, Education and Culture, 276, notes the apologetical works of Masona of Merida, Licinianus of Carthage, Severus of Malaga, and Leander. He also cites Bishop Apringius of Beja's exegesis on the Apocalypse. In the eighth century Beatus of Liebana is closer to this work than Julian of Toledo was in the seventh.

⁶Jacques Fontaine, "La figure d'Isidore de Séville à l'époque carolingienne" in L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne Wisigothique, Colloque international du C.N.R.S. tenu à la Fondation Singer-Polignac (Paris 14-16 Mai 1990), eds. J. Fontaine and C. Pellistrandi (Madrid, 1992), 201-2. Fontaine has compared the Council of Toledo in 589 with Charlemagne's Admonitio Generalis of 789. In

These intellectual themes, already in place in the late sixth and early seventh centuries, were reinforced by Gregory's own exegetical method, especially through his Moralia.⁷ In Gregory's view, based on Cassiodorus, the goal of monastic reading and study was contemplation; spiritual awareness of Jesus Christ could be reached through the study of Sacred Scripture, especially the book of the Apocalypse.⁸ A pragmatic element to Gregory's theology, which he derived from St. Paul, was that one must pass from the active to the contemplative life and then back to the active life.⁹ This pragmatism was manifested in his belief in the improvement of the moral character of the Church by inculcating monastic virtues in the clergy. His writings teach pastors to become more virtuous and preach penance by example. Most pervasive and influential was Gregory's eschatological perspective which, Dagens has pointed out, was never absent from his thought.¹⁰ A pastor's duty was to convert, to make his listeners desire heaven, to practice detachment,

both cases the emphasis was on renovatio, renewal, not innovation in the ecclesiastical legislation. In both cases the councils attempted to further political and religious unification and based their ideals on a tradition that went back to the christian empire of the fourth century.

⁷Dagens, Culture et expérience; René Wasselynck, "L'influence de l'exégèse de S. Grégoire le Grand sur les commentaires bibliques médiévaux (VII^e-XII^e s.)" Recherches théologie ancienne et médiévale, 32 (1965), 157-240.

⁸Jacques Fontaine, Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique, 3 vols. (Paris, 1959-83), 2, 845ff. See also his comments on Gregory the Great in "Fuentes y Tradiciones paleocristianas en el Método espiritual de Beato," in Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana, 1 (Madrid, 1978), 77-105.

⁹Carole Straw, Perfection in Imperfection, passim.

¹⁰Claude Dagens, "La fin des temps et l'Église selon Grégoire le Grand," Recherches de science religieuse, 58 (1970), 273-288.

and to wait in hope for the last days.¹¹

A. Literary Culture of Seventh-Century Spain

The Spanish legacy of conciliar legislation from numerous church councils before and after 589, testifies to a prolific intellectual effort on the part of seventh-century Spanish theologians. This has led many literary historians to the view that the Spanish church outshone all other western churches in the seventh century.¹² The reason for this view of Spain is based on the extant writings of three generations of Spanish churchmen, bishops from the influential sees of Seville, Toledo, and Saragossa. These men were not only connected to each other by family ties but also through a network of master-student relationships. Leander of Seville (d.600) was the brother and teacher of his successor Isidore of Seville (d.636). Braulio of Saragossa (d.651), who succeeded his brother John as bishop of Saragossa, was a student of Isidore;¹³ Taio of Saragossa (d.683) was a student and successor of Braulio; Eugenius II of Toledo (d.657) was the nephew of Braulio and also corresponded with Taio; Ildephonsus of Toledo (d.667) was a nephew and student of Eugenius; Julian of Toledo (d. 690) was a student of Eugenius and the author of an elegy on

¹¹Dagens, "La fin," 276.

¹²Franz Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 2 vols. (Munich, 1975), 1, 68. See also Laistner, Thought and Letters, 121 and P. Séjourné, Saint Isidore de Séville: son rôle dans l'histoire du droit canonique (Paris, 1929).

¹³Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, 2, 865.

Ildephonsus. In this period the genre of the De viris illustribus, modeled on works by Jerome and Gennadius of Marseilles, become a way for students to commemorate their teachers.¹⁴ These familial and ecclesiastical connections are striking features of the seventh-century Spanish literary circles, though literary culture is not limited to them. Other bishops such as Quiricus and Idalius of Barcelona participated in this culture through a network of correspondence. Pierre Riché has noted that what Gregory the Great hoped for in Italy came true in Spain, the formation of an elite secular clergy.¹⁵

Not only did a "well-informed episcopacy" exist in Spain, the monastic establishment also considered learning important.¹⁶ Both monastic and episcopal education emphasized study of Scripture and patristic authors.¹⁷

¹⁴Isidore of Seville, De viris illustribus, ed. C. Codoñer Merino, El <<De viris illustribus>> de Isidoro de Sevilla: estudio y edición crítica (Salamanca, 1964); Braulio, Praenotatio, PL 81, 15-17 which added Isidore to this list; Ildephonsus of Toledo, De viris illustribus, ed. C. Codoñer Merino, El <<De viris illustribus>> de Ildefonso de Toledo: estudio y edición crítica (Salamanca, 1972); Julian of Toledo, Vita S. Hildephonsi, PL 96, 43-44; Felix of Toledo, Vita Iuliani, PL 96, 445-54.

¹⁵Riché, Education and Culture, 176. See also his remarks on the "elitism" of Spanish culture, "L'Enseignement et la culture des laïcs dans l'Occident pré-Carolingien," Settimane di Studio, 19 (Spoleto, 1972), 231-53 and C.M. Aherne, "Late Visigothic Bishops, their Schools and the Transmission of Culture," Traditio, 22 (1966), 435-44.

¹⁶Herrin, Formation, 233. Martin of Braga taught Greek, Fructuosus stressed spiritual studies in his Rule, and Valerius of Bierzo attempted to teach the peasantry. Herrin also notes the number of scriptoria established for copying manuscripts as further evidence of the Spanish interest in education.

¹⁷Jacques Fontaine, "Fins et moyens de l'enseignement ecclésiastique dans l'Espagne wisigothique," Settimane di Studio, 19 (Spoleto, 1972), 145-202.

Isidore's Rule required an abbot to explain books and texts to his monks.¹⁸

Students were also attracted by the stature, moral values, or personal prestige of learned holy men in monasteries. The personal element in forming a disciple in these ecclesiastical or intellectual circles cannot be overlooked.¹⁹

Friendships and familial connections among Spanish writers contributed to the transmission of literary culture and to the cohesiveness of christian thought in Spain. Passing reference must be made to royal interest or pretension to learning. Hermenegild and Reccared were influenced by Leander; Sisebut by Isidore; Chindaswinth by Eugene of Toledo; Taio's journey to Rome in search of works by Gregory was supposedly financed by King and Council.²⁰ The writings of these authors reflect a variety of concerns as well as the author's involvement in the spiritual life and politics of the Spanish Church. These Spanish bishops not only maintained close relations with each other but also with the Visigothic court.²¹ Their sophistication and urbanity stands in

¹⁸M.C. Díaz y Díaz, De Isidoro al siglo XI: ocho estudios sobre la vida literaria peninsular (Barcelona, 1979), 29.

¹⁹Díaz y Díaz, De Isidoro, 27-29. "Fructuosus submits himself to the discipline of Conantius of Palencia, together with other youths, in the same manner Julian studied under Eugenius, and Valerius of Bierzo presents us with more youths who came to him in search of instruction attracted by his figure, prestige, and learning. This type of formation explains, in large part, the continuity of many traits and of certain ideas which were passed on thanks to this system of contact and personal teaching."

²⁰Ibid., 29.

²¹The settlement of religious questions reflected in Leander's homily to the Third Council of Toledo in 589 reflected relations between the Church and the state. The Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 set out Isidore's ideal of cooperation between the King and the episcopacy. See Herrin, Formation, 238-9. To a great extent these councils reflect the close personal relations that grew

contrast to such Irish figures as Columbanus and Fursey.²²

Continuity and change characterize any period of history. Isidore of Seville writing at the beginning of the century stands in marked contrast to Valerius of Bierzo at its end. While Isidore is a passionate supporter of the faith, his work has none of the emotional pathos of Valerius' accounts of his personal tribulations. Yet Valerius, the monk-hermit, is Isidore's heir.

Edmund Bishop recognized a division of "old schools and new schools of thought" in seventh-century Spain.²³ He described Isidore and Braulio as representatives of the old school which was more classically-based, while Taio began the "new school." Other literary historians, have noted the changing interests of seventh-century Spanish authors. Díaz y Díaz describes a "cultural unfolding" which occurred through the influence of Isidore's writings.²⁴ Fontaine has described Taio and Ildephonsus as part of an intermediary generation between Isidore and Valerius.²⁵ There is a striking emphasis on continuity with the past among Spanish authors.²⁶

These shifts or unfoldings appear to include a movement away from the

up between various kings and bishops.

²²J.N. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 62 (1963), 167-95, at 170. See also M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Aspectos de la cultura literaria en la España...", Anales Toledanos, 3 (1971), 33-58.

²³Edmund Bishop, Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church, (1918; rpt. Oxford, 1962), 175.

²⁴Díaz y Díaz, De Isidoro, 51 and 54.

²⁵Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, 2, 866.

²⁶Roger Collins, Early Medieval Spain, Unity in Diversity, 400-1000 (London, 1983), 71.

moralizing perspective of the early part of the century to the more mystical perspective at its end. The Anonymous author of the Life of Fructuosus provides a metaphor for the change and continuity in seventh-century Spain. In the introduction to his work he offers Isidore as a model for the "active life of eloquence and knowledge" and Fructuosus as the model for the "contemplative and mystical life."²⁷

To understand the place of the Dialogues of Gregory in Spanish works, it will first be necessary to examine contemporary views of Gregory in Spain and then to analyze Isidore's role in the dissemination of Gregory's theology. In contrast to Gaul, Gregory's works had an early and intimate introduction to Spain. Leander and his brother Isidore provide the key to understanding the popularity of Gregory's writings and his reputation among later seventh-century Spanish theologians.

²⁷The author repeats and elaborates Braulio's earlier portrait of Isidore: "...praespicae claritatis egregias divina pietas duas inluminavit lucernas, Isidorum reverentissimum scilicet virum Spalensem episcopum atque beatissimum Fructuosum ab infantia immaculatum et iustum. Ille autem oris nitore clarens, insignis industriae, sophistae artis indeptus praemicans dogmata reciprocauit Romanorum; hic uero in sacratissimo religionis proposito spiritus sancti flamma succensus ita in cunctis spiritalibus exercitiis omnibusque operibus sanctis perfectus emicuit ut ad patrem se facile quoaequaret meritis Thebaeorum. Ille actiuae uitae industrie uniuersam extrinsecus erudiuit Spaniam; hic autem contemplatiuae uitae peritia uibranti fulgore micans intima cordium inluminauit arcana. Ille egregio rutilans eloquio in libris claruit aedificationis, hic autem culmine uirtutum coruscans exemplum reliquit sanctae religionis et innocuo gressu secutus est uestigia praeuentis domini nostri et saluatoris." VF 1.5-17. La Vida de San Fructuoso de Braga, ed. M.C. Diaz y Diaz (Braga, 1974). See also Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, 866.

B. Rome and Spain

The wars of reconquest of Justinian I had alienated Spain from the political center of the Roman empire. In the fifth and sixth centuries Spanish ecclesiastical ties were traditionally to North Africa whose churchmen provided models and authorities to the Spanish for their ascetic and theological writings. African monks who fled from Justinian's "theological tyranny" established monastic institutions in Baetica, Lusitania and Merida in the 550's and 560's.²⁸ The infusion of African refugees contributed to the intellectual climate in the Spanish Church. Catholic bishops of sixth-century Spain who were widely read in early patristic sources left a legacy of strong opposition to Arianism.²⁹

Before Gregory, communication between Rome and Spain took place through the Byzantine province of Cartagena on the eastern shore of the Spanish coast. The Spanish church was not in regular communication with Rome, yet, through his writings, letters, and his life, Gregory achieved the status of a learned authority in his lifetime and his reputation grew among

²⁸Collins, Early Medieval Spain, 59-60 and 81, discusses Spanish interest in Fulgentius, notably "the polemical tracts of African writers writing against the Vandal Arians." "The library in Seville contained many African tracts and Spanish Council legislation reflects African influence." J. Fontaine, "King Sisebut's Vita Desiderii, and the Political Function of Visigothic Hagiography," in Visigothic Spain: new approaches, ed. E. James (Oxford, 1980), 93-102, at 102, discusses the cult of Cyprian in Spain and the religious cultural and artistic influences from Africa. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," 167-95, at 170, also notes how Spain succeeded Africa as the guardian of the tradition of christian letters.

²⁹Herrin, Formation, 232.

Spanish authors during the seventh century. In using Gregory's work, the Spanish church, whose intellectual ties had been to North Africa, became linked for a time more closely to Rome.³⁰

The importance of such a close and favored connection to the papacy should not be ignored. The Lateran palace in the sixth and seventh centuries was the greatest source of manuscripts for the entire Catholic world.³¹ This relationship with Rome, however, must be kept in perspective. Even Gregory the Great was not well-informed on the political situation in Spain. His portrait of Hermenegild in the Dialogues is based on travellers' accounts, not on any regular dispatches between Rome and Spain.³² The papacy's ignorance of, as well as hostility towards, Spanish ecclesiastical politics is revealed later in the

³⁰Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, 2, 818, comments on Isidore's sense of continuity between "the heritage of imperial Rome" and Toledo. Herrin notes that Isidore believed Rome had special rights which commanded the respect of all Christians, but this did not mean that the rights of the Spanish Church should be curtailed. It is also significant that regular communication between Spain and Rome did not survive Gregory's death in 604, Herrin, Formation, 232, 236. See also, J. Orlandis in Il Primato del Vescovo di Roma nel Primo Millennio. Ricerche e Testimonianze. Atti del Symposium Sotrico-Teologico, Roma 9-13 Ottobre 1989, ed. M. Maccarrone (Vatican City, 1991).

³¹Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, 2, 843, discusses the library in Seville furnished largely with gifts of books from Rome. See also Pierre Courcelle, Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources, trans. H.E. Wedeck (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 393, 399, "The popes had their manuscripts copied, gave away their duplicates and sometimes the originals;" and Henri-I. Marrou, "Autour de la bibliothèque du pape Agapit," Mélanges Ecole Française Rome, 48 (1931), 124-169.

³²Dialogues III.31.1-5. Gregory offers Hermenegild as a martyr, a portrait that Spanish authors seem to ignore until Valerius of Bierzo.

century during the conflict between Julian of Toledo and Pope Benedict II.³³ There is a tendency for insularity and regionalism in Spanish cultural life. Isidore never travelled far from Seville, nor did he send his works outside Spain.³⁴ Herrin links Spanish mistrust of the papacy to renewed good relations between Rome and Byzantium during the episcopate of Julian of Toledo.³⁵

By the end of the seventh century all of Gregory's major works were available to Spanish authors. A few of them had already reached Spain before Gregory's death in 604.³⁶ A century and a half later Gregory's reputation and his role in the intellectual life of Spain had been mythologized. The Chronicle of 754 describes Gregory's appearance in a dream to Taio of Saragossa who had made a journey to Rome in 649 to bring back copies of Gregory's works to Spain. Since the Lateran librarians had been unhelpful in locating the books Taio wanted, Gregory himself appeared and directed Taio to the correct location.³⁷

³³F.X. Murphy, "Julian of Toledo and the Condemnation of Monothelism in Spain," Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J., (Gembloux, 1951), 1, 361-373 and J.N. Hillgarth, Introduction, Sancti Iuliani Toletanae Sedis Episcopi Opera, CCSL, 115 (Tournholt, 1976), ix-x. See also E.A. Thompson, Goths in Spain (Oxford, 1969), 241 and 272.

³⁴Herrin, Formation, 243. "Information about the councils held in Merovingian Francia, events in Rome, or new theology in the East under Patriarch Sergios does not seem to have penetrated the isolated world of Visigothic Spain."

³⁵Herrin, Formation, 245.

³⁶These include the Pastoral Care and the Moralia.

³⁷Crónica Mozarabe de 754, ed. trans. J.E. López Pereira, Textos Medievales, 58 (Saragossa, 1980), 38-44.

C. Early Witnesses to Gregory the Great in Spain

Wasselynck's description of Spain as a "Gregorian fief" in no way diminishes the esteem in which Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome were held in the hearts and minds of seventh-century Spanish authors. The contents of Isidore's library, probably the best research library in early seventh-century Spain, included a variety of works of the fathers whom Isidore consulted; Gregory was not the sole source from whom Spanish writers looked for materials.³⁸ Yet the Spanish authors of the seventh century invest no other contemporary writer apart from Gregory the Great with an authority and force of opinion equivalent to Ambrose, Jerome, or Augustine.³⁹

1. Leander and Gregory

Gregory's contact with Spain began in Constantinople through his friendship with Leander of Seville whom he met there in 583. Gregory was Pope Pelagius' apocrisarius in Constantinople (579-586) when he met Leander.

³⁸Brunhölzl, 1, 81. See also Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville*, 2, 738, who notes that the decoration in the library of Seville contained quotations of Leander and Gregory on its bookcases.

³⁹E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W.R. Trask (London, 1953), 259. Curtius describes the formation of a canon among ecclesiastical writers. In the Eastern Church Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom are the three "oecumenical great doctors," Athanasius was added by the West. From the 8th century the four great Latin doctors are Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine and Gregory the Great. "The definition of a Father of the Church includes not only orthodoxy, saintliness, and recognition by the church but also the attribute of *antiquitas*." See also J.N. Hillgarth, "Las Fuentes," 103-104, who discusses the use of the title "egregius doctor" in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Whether Leander was in Constantinople trying to obtain imperial assistance for Hermenegild, newly converted to Catholicism and in revolt against his father, Leovigild, the Arian Visigothic king of Spain, or whether he was there as an exile after Hermenegild's death, the meeting and resultant friendship between the two men lasted throughout their lives.⁴⁰ It was during this period that Leander encouraged Gregory to preach on the Book of Job, which Gregory did in 585 to a congregation of his monks who were with him in Constantinople.⁴¹ In the dedicatory preface to the Moralia Gregory referred to Leander's help in the preparation of the commentary. Unfortunately the extant correspondence between Gregory and Leander amounts to only three letters

⁴⁰Leander travelled to Byzantium around 580 "apparently to persuade the Eastern Roman government to give active help to Hermenegild and possibly acted as a diplomat between Hermenegild and Emperor Tiberius II." See Herrin, Formation, 157-58; Thompson, The Goths, 21; and R. Collins, Early Medieval Spain, 48; F. Goerres, "Leander Bischof von Sevilla und Metropolit der Kirchenprovinz Betica," Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie, 29 (1886), 36-80.

⁴¹Collins, Early Medieval Spain, 51, suggests that in the 580's the Arians mounted a "serious intellectual offensive." This may have had active royal support and have been followed by a number of defections by Catholic bishops. He notes that Severus of Malaga and Leander wrote polemical anti-Arian treatises in the course of this decade. In this context it is not difficult to understand why Leander suggested Gregory write particularly on Job. The only commentaries on Job at the time would have been those of Origen, Didymus the Blind, Apollinaris, a fourth-century commentary by the Arian Julian, and a commentary by Julian of Eclanum. See William Horbury, "Old Testament Interpretation in the Writings of The Church Fathers," in Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, ed. M.J. Mulder (Maastricht-Philadelphia, 1988), 727-787, 784.

Gregory would have been in great sympathy with Leander's anti-Arianism since he himself had to negotiate with Lombard Arian invaders in Italy.

though there were probably others that have been lost.

The letters of Gregory to Leander reveal a deep affection between two men who shared similar aspirations. Gregory's words are those reserved for a kindred spirit:

I had wanted to devote all my attention to your letters but the labor of my pastoral care so wears me down that it makes me want to weep more than say anything. This your reverence also understands attentively in the text of my letters when I speak carelessly to him whom I love so much.

Besides, if you have time to indulge yourself away from ecclesiastical business, you already know how it is with me. Although absent in body, I see you always present with me, because I carry the image of your face pressed deep within my heart.

Gregory to Leander, 591⁴²

By what great desire I long to see you, you read in the tables of your own heart, since you love me exceedingly. But I cannot see you because we are separated by a great expanse of lands...

I am oppressed by the great troubles in this church, the very brevity of my letter makes this known to your charity, when I speak so little to one whom I love better than all else.

Gregory to Leander, 595⁴³

⁴²Registrum I, 41. Respondere epistulis uestris tota intentione uoluissem, nisi pastoralis curae ita me labor atteret, ut mihi magis flere libeat quam aliquid dicere. Quod uestra quoque reuerentia in ipso litterarum mearum textu uigilanter intellegit, quando ei neglegenter loquor, quem uehementer diligo.

Praeterea si uobis indulgeri tempora ab ecclesiastica occupatione cognoscitis, quid sit iam scitis, quamuis etiam absentem corpore, praesentem mihi te semper intueor, quia uultus tui imaginem intra cordis uiscera impressam porto.

⁴³Registrum V, 53. Quanto ardore uidere te sitiam, quia ualde me diligis, in tui tabulis cordis legis. Sed quia longo terrarum spatio disiunctum te uidere nequeo...

In hac uero ecclesia quantis causarum tumultibus premor, ipsa caritati tuae

I give you the pallium to be used only at Mass. In giving this to you I ought to advise you on how to live, but I suppress speech, because you surpass my words in your character.

I am weighed down by such heavy business and weakness as witnessed by this short letter in which even to you, whom I love so much, I say so little.

Gregory to Leander, 599 ⁴⁴

Every letter to Leander contains a reference to the oppression of church business that takes him away from what he considered to be his true goal of ascetic perfection in a contemplative life. The tone of the letters suggests that Leander was understood to empathize with Gregory's situation. The preface to the Moralia, which Gregory dedicated to Leander, notes the common concerns of the two friends from their time together in Constantinople.⁴⁵ In the Dialogues Gregory portrays Leander as instrumental in the conversion of Hermenegild and as someone "joined to me for a long time in friendship."⁴⁶

Though most of Leander's writings have been lost, Isidore provides

epistulae meae breuitas innotescit, quando ei parum loquor, quem maius omnibus diligo.

⁴⁴Registrum IX, 228. Praeterea ex benedictione beati Petri apostolorum principis pallium uobis transmisimus ad sola missarum sollempnia utendum. Quo transmisso ualde debui qualiter uobis uiuendum esset admonere, sed locutionem supprimo, quia uerba moribus anteitis.

Ego autem quanta occupatione deprimor et debilitate breuis testatur epistula, in qua et ei, quem multum diligo, parum loquor.

⁴⁵Gregory, Moralia, I, Epistola ad Leandrum, 1. In the opening passages of the Moralia Gregory employs the metaphor of himself as a little boat tossed upon a sea of cares, an image that recurs in two of Gregory's letters to Leander. The passage stresses Gregory's longing for the company of his brother monks and the solitude of contemplation. The contrasting states of tranquility in prayer and the turmoil of secular business also occurs in the Dialogues I, prol.5.

⁴⁶Dialogues III.31.1. Dudum mihi in amicitia familiariter iuncto.

information on him.⁴⁷ Similarities between the lives of Leander and Gregory are easily discerned. Both men were essentially from the same social class; Leander from a Hispano-Roman senatorial background, and Gregory from the old Roman aristocracy. They were highly educated men, learned in doctrine, committed to the Roman Catholic faith, and conscious of Arian threats to it. Both Leander in Spain and Gregory in his mission to England and in his work in Italy had a personal understanding of their episcopal duties in bringing souls to Christ through conversion and pastoral care and both preferred ascetic life to the high positions of episcopal authority they held. Their complaints echo the same concern: that their clerical careers left them little time for the true ascetic life they preferred.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Leander's rule for nuns and his homily entitled the Triumph of the Church comprise his extant writings. For the Rule of Leander, see San Leandro, San Isidoro, San Fructuoso, Reglas monasticas de la España visigoda, Los tres libros de las <<Sentencias>>, ed. trans J. Campos Ruiz and I. Roca Melia, Santos Padres Españoles, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1971), 2, 21-76, and for the homily, Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos, ed. J. Vives, 1, Textos, (Barcelona-Madrid, 1963), 33-38. To judge from Isidore the following works of Leander are now lost: Adversus haereticorum dogmata, Adversus instituta Arianorum, many letters to Pope Gregory, one concerning baptism, another on the fear of death, as well as letters to fellow bishops in Spain. See Isidore, De viris illustribus c. 28.

⁴⁸While no letters from Leander to Gregory remain, one passage in his Rule for nuns written to his sister Florentina, shows him in harmony with Gregory's attitude.

"When the mind is turned from God to human affairs, it recedes from the immovable and permanent form of truth." His certe rebus humanis implicatus animus a Deo avertitur et ab illa immobili ac permanenti veritatis forma recedit, Leander, Regula Sancti Leandri, Introduction, p. 25.

c.25, p.66 "And so I advise you with all my heart to remain in the monastery." Ut enim in monasterio permanneas, sollicite admoneo.

c.26, p.67 "Flee from the private life, I beg you. Nor should you wish to

The personal connection between the two men must not be underestimated. Their friendship allowed Gregory's ideas a chance to gain respect in Spain and for the Spanish church, at least for a short time, to become more closely connected to Rome. On a practical level this relationship meant that Gregory's writings were made available more quickly to the Visigothic kingdom.⁴⁹ Leander, for instance, asked Gregory's opinion on the Spanish custom of triple immersion in baptism.⁵⁰ At the time Leander may have merely been asking his learned friend Gregory for some advice and the request should be seen as such, rather than as a formal request from a bishop to a Pope. Nevertheless, Leander set a precedent, perhaps consciously, for the use of Gregory as an authority. Gregory's letter appears in the canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 concerning the uniformity of church practice. This letter also made an impact on Ildephonsus in his treatise on baptism.⁵¹

imitate those virgins who live in cells in the cities, who are chained to many cares..." Fuge, quaeso, privatam vitam. Nec velis imitare eas virgines quae in urbibus per cellulis [sic] demorantur, quas multimoda cura constringit.

⁴⁹Collins, Early Medieval Spain, 60.

⁵⁰Registrum I,41. Gregory's advice was similar to that given to Augustine in Canterbury—the importance of unity of doctrine over local practice. He advised Leander that the triple immersion was acceptable for it illustrated the trinity, and single immersion was also acceptable for it illustrated the unity of christianity. Since triple immersion was used by the Arian church, however, Gregory suggested it would be more prudent to dissociate the Church from it and use single.

⁵¹See IV Toledo, 6, De baptismi autem sacramento in Concilios visigóticos e hispano-ramanos, ed. J. Vives, 1 (Madrid, 1963) and Ildephonsus, De cognitione baptismi, PL 96, 111-172.

2. Other contemporary witnesses: Reccared, Claudius and Licinianus

Gregory the Great's other Spanish correspondence is limited to his letters to the convert King Reccared and the Duke Claudius. One letter to Gregory also survives from Licinianus, the bishop of the Byzantine city of Cartagena.⁵² Throughout his pontificate, Gregory, like his predecessors, directed his energy eastward to Constantinople, whether to seek military protection for imperial Italy or to stem heretical controversies or merely to mollify the emperor on some issue. He himself faced such immediate conflict with the Lombards in Rome that much of his attention was centered on Italy itself.

Gregory's few letters to Spain focus on right action and the proper way of life of their recipients. In his letter to Claudius, a nobleman connected to Reccared's court, Gregory praises Claudius's life and good works which he knew of no doubt through Leander.⁵³

Gregory's letter to Reccared commends his action in the conversion of the Goths. Reccared accomplished a deed highly valued by Gregory by

⁵²Registrum I, 41; V, 53; IX, 228 for Leander; Reccared, IX, 229; Claudius IX, 230 and PL 77, 620-22 for Licinianus' letter to Gregory.

⁵³He doesn't say so specifically, but Claudius may have been involved with the conversion of the Goths. "I declare that I loved very much one whom I did not know and in the depth of my heart I seized you by the hand of love. Nor did I love one whose goodness I had not learned." *Cuius profecto aurae suavitate respersus, multum, fateor, quem nesciebam dilexi atque intra sinum cordis amoris manu te rapui. Nec iam eum nesciens diligebam, cuius bona cognoueram.* Registrum IX, 230.

converting from Arianism and bringing the Gothic nation to Catholicism. For Gregory Reccared carried out a priestly function which would be recognized at the final judgment.⁵⁴ Though Gregory praised the king's role in the conversion of Spain he emphasized that it was God's action through Reccared that affected the conversion. Reccared's responsibility then was to remain humble and chaste while in charge of the Gothic nation.⁵⁵

In the letter to Gregory Licinianus extolled the Pastoral Care as a work applicable not only to pastors, but to everyone as a "rule of life."⁵⁶ Like Isidore, he saw Gregory's effort in the Pastoral Care to be directly in the tradition of Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory of Nazianzus. One by one he outlined how Gregory was in agreement with them.⁵⁷ He refined this observation by adding that Gregory was not only in line with patristic thought but the Fathers of the Church are to Gregory what the prophets were to the

⁵⁴Registrum IX, 229. "While I am lazy, and useless and inactive in my lethargic leisure kings labor to gather souls for the gain of the heavenly country." Quod piger ego et inutilis tunc inerti otio torpeo, quando in animarum congregationibus pro lucro caelestis patriae reges elaborant. This letter is echoed in the Whitby Life of Gregory c. 6.

⁵⁵Registrum IX, 229.

⁵⁶Licinianus, PL 77, 620. Illic cuncta quae ad vitae aeternae participium pertinent comprehendis; et non solum pastoribus regulam vivendi describis, sed etiam his qui regiminis officium nullum habent, vivendi regulam tribuis.

⁵⁷Licinianus, PL 77, 620. "The ancient holy fathers, doctors, and defenders of the church, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzenus witness the excellence of your doctrine." Attestantur huic eximiae doctrinae tuae sancti antiqui Patres, doctores, defensoresque Ecclesiae, Hilarius, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Gregorius Nazianzenus.

apostles.⁵⁸ Licinianus recognized Gregory's desire to flee from the responsibility of the papal office, "out of fear of the weight of the priesthood," but he does not recognize Gregory's heartfelt desire to continue a contemplative life.⁵⁹ Instead, Gregory is identified and praised as a teacher, a learned man whose works Licinianus is anxious to have, particularly the commentary on the Book of Job which he heard about through a conversation with Leander.⁶⁰

Licinianus' letter also reveals a specific practical reason for the interest Gregory's Moralia held at the time. Gregory's work would supersede Hilary of Poitiers' fourth-century commentary on the book of Job, which had never been completed. Licinianus betrays the different concerns of the fourth and sixth centuries when he writes of his failure to comprehend Hilary's desire to translate Origen's "nursery tales" about the stars.⁶¹ Still, Licinianus' interest in

⁵⁸Licinianus, PL 77, 620, "These (Hilary, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianus) all give testimony to you as the prophets did to the apostles." *Hi omnes testimonium tibi praebent, sicut apostolis praebuerunt prophetae.*

⁵⁹Licinianus, PL 77, 621. *Attestatur Gregorius sanctus, cujus stylum sequeris, cujus exemplo delitescere cupiebas, ut pondus sacerdotii declinares.*

⁶⁰Licinianus, PL 77, 622. *Ante paucos annos Leander episcopus Spalensis remeans de urbe regia, vidit nos praeteriens, qui dixit nobis habere homilias a vestra beatitudine editas de libro sancti Job.*

At the end of his letter Licinianus thanks Gregory for teaching the church. *Incolumem coronam vestram ad erudiendam Ecclesiam suam sancta Trinitas Deus conservare dignetur, sicut optamus, beatissime Pater.*

⁶¹Licinianus, PL 77, 621. *Habemus sane libellos sex sancti Hilarii episcopi Pictaviensis, quos de Graeco Origenis in Latinum vertit; sed non omnia secundum ordinem libri sancti Job exposuit. Et satis miror hominem doctissimum et sanctum, ut de stellis naenias Origenis transferret; mihi, sanctissime Pater, nullo pacto suaderi potest ut credam astra coeli Spiritus rationales, quae neque cum angelis neque cum hominibus facta esse Scriptura*

Gregory the Great is intellectual and theological. "We belong to you, we are delighted to read your writings. For me it is a desirable and glorious thing, as your Gregory [of Nazianzen] said, to learn even to extreme old age."⁶²

D. Isidore and Gregory

1. Isidore's role in the transmission of Gregory's thought

Isidore succeeded his brother as bishop of Seville in 600. From Leander's words to their sister Florentina, Leander appears to have been both parent and tutor to Isidore.⁶³ Undoubtedly, Isidore's knowledge of Gregory came from Leander and he included Gregory in his work, De viris illustribus, where only one other pope is mentioned.⁶⁴ Isidore's passage on Gregory in the De viris

sancta declarat.

⁶²Licinianus, PL 77, 622. Tui enim sumus, tua legere delectamur. Optabile namque est mihi [Deest forte et] praeclarum, sicut tuus Gregorius ait, usque ad ultimam discere senectutem.

⁶³The age difference between them was approximately 20 years. Leander of Seville, Regula sancti Leandri, page 75. Postremo, karissimam te germanam quaeso, ut mei orando memineris; nec iunioris fratris Isidori obliuiscaris, quem quia sub Dei tuitione et tribus germanis superstibus parentes reliquerunt communes, laeti et de eius nihil formidantes infantia ad Dominum commearunt. Quem cum ego, ut uere filium habeam, nec temporale aliquid eius karitati praeponam atque in eius pronus dilectionem recumbem, tantum eum carius dilige, tantumque lesam exora pro illum quantum nosti eum a parentibus tenerius fuisse dilectum."

⁶⁴Berschlin, Biographie, 2, 182ff, Isidore's De viris illustribus followed the work of Jerome and Gennadius of Marseilles as a collection of short biographies of christian writers. In his work Isidore set out the "Spanish contribution to christian literature" and included Leander and Licinianus, but not himself. Pope Siricius is cited in DVI c. 3. Isidore notes a letter from the pope to Bishop Eumerius of Tarragona concerning the baptism of heretics and letters to other bishops condemning heresy.

illustribus refers explicitly to his friendship with Leander. In mentioning Leander's encouraging Gregory to deliver the homilies on the Moralia he gave his brother a role in their production, and called attention to the importance of the work by linking it to Leander.⁶⁵

"Happy and exceedingly happy is the one who can know the full extent of all his learning...."⁶⁶ In an exuberant outburst Isidore concludes his passage on Gregory, perhaps touched a little by a scholar's envy of those who have been able to read Gregory's other works, for he notes that some of Gregory's writings were not yet available to him.⁶⁷ Isidore's description of Gregory reflects Gregory's own teaching on the connection between humility and contemplative wisdom. Isidore's opening lines first describe Gregory's humility, his fear of God, and his "compunction."⁶⁸ According to Isidore, by the power of the Holy Spirit Gregory attained wisdom, illumination, and learning. While Gregory is defined by sanctity and illumination Leander is

⁶⁵Isidore, DVI c. 27. Idem etiam, efflagitante Leandro episcopo, librum beati Iob mystico ac morali sensu disseruit, totamque eius prophetiae historiam in triginta quinque uoluminibus largo eloquentiae fonte explicuit.

⁶⁶Isidore, DVI c. 27. Felix tamen et nimium felix, qui omnium studiorum eius potuit cognoscere dicta. These phrases recall Virgil on Epicurus, Georg. II, 490 and Boethius on Orpheus in the Consolation of Philosophy, III.12,1. Isidore also uses them to describe Augustine.

⁶⁷Isidore, DVI c. 27. Fertur tamen idem excellentissimus uir et alios libros morales scripsisse, totumque textum quattuor euangeliorum sermocinando in populis exposuisse, incognitum scilicet nobis opus.

⁶⁸J.N. Hillgarth, "The Position of Isidorian Studies: a Critical Review of the Literature 1936-1975," Studi Medievali, 24 (1983), 872, following P. Delehaye, notes that the term compunction means more than contrition. It is a heartfelt understanding of oneself as sinful and one's inability to overcome sin.

erudite and pragmatic.⁶⁹

Isidore must be considered a pivotal figure in establishing Gregory as an authority on doctrine. His influential position as bishop of Seville and his connections to the monarchy gave him an important role in fashioning Catholicism in Spain.⁷⁰ In the literary culture of seventh-century Spain Isidore's influence is pervasive. His sources are those of classical antiquity, biblical, and patristic authors. The quantity and scope of his work is unrivaled by his successors.⁷¹

Isidore's work encompassed pedagogy, commentary on liberal arts, reference works, the histories, and theological tracts. By their style, tone, genre, and subject matter they became models for later Spanish authors.⁷² Modern

⁶⁹Isidore, DVI c.28, describes Leander, "by profession a monk, made bishop of Seville 'ex monacho.'" *Professione monachus et ex monacho Hispaliensis ecclesiae provinciae Baeticae constitutus episcopus*. Leander is the monk who leaves the security of the cloister to re-enter the active life. He is an agent in the defense of catholicism against Arianism and in the conversion of Spain.

⁷⁰Jacques Fontaine, "La figure d'Isidore de Séville à l'époque carolingienne" in L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne Wisigothique, (Paris, 1992), 195-211. Isidore was referred to as "doctor" at the Council of Toledo 688. His fame increased under the Carolingians. For information on the cult of Saint Isidore, recognized from the eighth century, see Baudouin de Gaiffier, Etudes critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconographie, (Brussels, 1967), 124.

⁷¹Brunhölzl, 1, 75. "Isidore was known in his own time as the greatest scholar of the Latin world and this reputation increased in the following centuries."

⁷²For a chronological listing of Isidore's works see José A. de Aldama, "Indicaciones sobre la cronología de las obras de S. Isidoro" in Miscellanea Isidoriana. Homenaje a S. Isidoro de Sevilla en el XIII Centenario de su Muerte 636-4 de Abril 1936, (Rome, 1936). A revision of this list can be found in M.C. Díaz y Díaz, Introducción in San Isidoro de Sevilla. Etimologías, ed. J. Oroz Reta and M.A. Marcos Casquero, (Madrid, 1982).

historians have focused on the practical ends of Isidore's work, both in terms of what he wrote and the manner in which he wrote. He actively promoted a program of intellectual renewal for clergy and monks, and for laymen destined for public life.⁷³ Such works as the Differentiae, Synonyma, Sententiae, and De ortu et obitu patrum, arose from this interest in the formation of an educated clergy.⁷⁴ The practical emphasis of his works corroborates Herrin's observation on their "regional" nature and Isidore's lack of interest in sending his works abroad.⁷⁵

Beryl Smalley notes the importance placed on an educated clergy by authors like Gregory and Isidore and the reasons for an educational format

⁷³See Díaz y Díaz, Introducción, Etimologías, 116-118. Díaz y Díaz describes Isidore's desire to contribute to a more complete formation of the clergy and sees a link between Isidore's realization of a public educational mission and the practical mission of the church. Jacques Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, also notes Isidore's response to contemporary needs in his writings.

⁷⁴Díaz y Díaz, Introducción, Etimologías, 131-3, has noted that the Proemia, De ortu et obitu patrum, and Allegoriae represent an introduction to biblical studies and a type of "global edition of Isidorian studies." These works "permitted an easy access to the fundamental problems of the bible." See also Etimologías, Intro, 116-118; likewise, De differentiis verborum and De differentiis rerum concerned linguistic and grammatical problems and introduced lexical problems which were to be studied in more depth. He also notes that Isidore's Sententiae came to be used later on as a résumé of all theological learning. Fontaine, cited by Hillgarth, Position, (1983), 834, called Isidore's Synonyma a "general introduction, a manual to christian spirituality, perhaps intended for the pupils of the episcopal school of Seville and probably among Isidore's first works, a prelude to the Sententiae." Berschin, Biographie, 2, 184, has called the De ortu et obitu patrum a useful "beginner-reader," an "introduction to the bible which became a best-seller and an efficient guide-book."

⁷⁵Herrin, Formation, 247.

based on the trivium.⁷⁶ Fontaine's landmark work has analyzed Isidore in terms of his sources, especially Augustine and Cassiodorus. Isidore's renewal program came to be based on a desire to adapt pagan learning to Christianity. In the Etymologies, books 1-8, Isidore followed Leander's model which stressed a basic knowledge of the classics.⁷⁷ Isidore's major contribution, according to Fontaine, was "to make grammatical analysis a universal method." This method would destroy the method of allegorical exegesis and thus the barrier between sacred and profane studies.⁷⁸

In this period as earlier, the liberal arts continued to be a preparation for biblical study. Isidore's works have been described as dictionaries, manuals, and summaries. Modern scholars have often seen them as lacking in originality, as mere extracts or compilations of previous work. Isidore's stress on brevity and conciseness was passed on to later Spanish authors, particularly to Taio and Ildephonsus. The style of compendia and summary suited the pragmatic need to convey as much useful information as possible to clerics, monks, and administrators. This style also suited another important need as pedagogy aimed at moral improvement.

⁷⁶Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1941), 13. "A student needs history, language, grammar to understand the literal sense, dialectic to distinguish true doctrine from false, arithmetic for number symbolism, natural history for symbolism of beasts and birds; rhetoric, the crown of higher education, is necessary not only for his own studies, but to enable him to teach and preach."

⁷⁷Herrin, Formation, 234.

⁷⁸Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, 2, 869-70.

Augustine, in his De doctrina christiana, recommended summaries and brevity in writing to enable students "to embark on the higher wisdom as soon as possible."⁷⁹ Thus Isidore's educational program which was intent on improving the moral character of the clergy had both practical and spiritual ends. Though Isidore was not excessively concerned with eschatological questions, he had an understanding of history and the end of time based on Augustine's Six Ages of the World.⁸⁰ According to this scheme all history is revealed destiny and the world is in the final Age which began with the birth of Christ. This age demanded a new moral standard and all societies would be judged by whether they lived in accordance with faith. Ultimately, Isidore's concern with the improvement of the moral character of Christians was the creation of a new society in Spain.⁸¹ Christian rulers had to play an active role in shaping the new christian society, in particular, they had a responsibility to counsel their subjects by example.

Isidore's legacy to later seventh-century authors can be defined as a desire to provide accessibility to earlier learning and a methodology based on grammatical analysis; a legacy whose over-all focus was the moral development of society. Although Augustine and Jerome were significant

⁷⁹Smalley, 16-17.

⁸⁰J.N. Hillgarth, "Eschatological and Political Concepts in the Seventh Century," in The Seventh Century, 212-235 and Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, 2, 817, writes that "Isidore did not put himself in the apocalyptic perspective of Gregory the Great."

⁸¹J.N. Hillgarth, "Modes of Evangelization of Western Europe in the Seventh Century," Irland und die Christenheit, 311-331, at 326-7.

sources for Isidore, Gregory the Great ranked high among the authors who influenced him. While Isidore's historical works, the Chronica and Historiae, the De haeresibus, the De fide catholica contra Iudaeos, and the Regula monachorum, make no direct reference to Gregory at all, elsewhere Isidore uses Gregory extensively.⁸²

Isidore knew at least five of Gregory's works, the Moralia, Pastoral Care, Homilies on Ezekiel, Homilies on the Gospels and some letters. Whether he knew or had access to the Dialogues will be discussed below. This work was not the unique expression of Gregory's thought to reach Spain, nor was it the first work that attracted Spanish interest to Gregory. For the most part, the Dialogues gained readership in Spain on the coattails of the Moralia, which had an early introduction in the literary and ecclesiastical circles surrounding Leander.⁸³ Isidore's Sententiae, a work concerning the nature of Catholic dogma, the Trinity, and the nature of angels, uses the Moralia and Pastoral Care more frequently than it does the work of any other author. The

⁸²De ecclesiasticis officiis, ed. C.M. Lawson, CCSL, 113 (Turnholt, 1989); De natura rerum, ed. trans. J. Fontaine, Isidore de Séville, Traité de la nature, suivi de l'Épître en vers du roi Sisebut à Isidore, (Bordeaux, 1960); De ortu et obitu patrum, ed. trans. C. Chaparro Gómez (Paris, 1985); Liber Sententiarum, PL 83, 537-738.

⁸³Meyvaert, "The Enigma," 349-51. Gregory preached on the Book of Job in 585 to a congregation of his own Roman monks residing with him in Constantinople. Leander participated in the preparation of these homelies. It was not until 591, however, that Gregory completed the rewriting and editing of the Moralia into a commentary in book form. Yet the great size of the work, 35 books in 6 codices, written in uncial and covering over 1,000 folios prevented easy or rapid copying.

Sententiae has been considered Isidore's preeminent work on theology and has been described as a compact version of the Moralia.⁸⁴ The centrality of the Moralia for Isidore cemented Spanish interest in Gregory.

Between 591 and 595 Leander received parts I-II and V-VI of the Moralia, and by 600 Isidore had an almost complete copy.⁸⁵ The Pastoral Care also preceded the Dialogues to Spain, having been sent by Gregory in 595.⁸⁶ Isidore was also drawing on Gregory's Homilies on Ezekiel by 600 and the Homilies on the Gospels by 615.⁸⁷

In his examination of the Synonyma Fontaine concluded that its main sources were the Old Testament and Gregory the Great's Moralia. The Sententiae likewise illustrates Isidore's movement away from a "moralizing" perspective based on classical influences to a more mystical perspective connected to the influence of Gregory the Great.⁸⁸

⁸⁴Díaz y Díaz, Introducción, Etimologías, 115.

⁸⁵L. Serrano, "La obra 'Morales de San Gregorio' en la literatura hispanogoda," Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos, 24 (1911), 489. José A. de Aldama and others have analyzed the use of the Moralia by Spanish authors. Aldama, Miscellanea Isidoriana, (Rome, 1936), 57-89. René Wasselynck, L'Influence des Moralia in Job de S. Grégoire le Grand sur la théologie morale entre le VIIe et le XIIe siècle. Thèse de Doctorat en Théologie Présentée sous le patronage de Monsieur le Chanoine Delhayé devant la Faculté de Théologie de Lille, 3 vols, (1956).

⁸⁶Aldama confirms this, "Cronologia," 72.

⁸⁷Using Aldama's dating for these works, references to Gregory's Homilies on Ezekiel first appear in De ortu et obitu patrum, In libros V. et N. Testamenti Prooemia, (c.598-615) and references to his Homilies on the Gospels appear in the De natura rerum and the Sententiae (c.612-615).

⁸⁸Fontaine, "La vocation monastique selon St Isidore de Séville." In Théologie de la vie monastique. Études sur la tradition patristique, ed. G. le Maître, (Aubier, 1961), 353-369.

2. Isidore and the Dialogues

Considering the extensive citation of the Dialogues by seventh-century Spanish authors it is surprising that so few manuscripts or even fragmentary evidence survives. There is only one extant fragment from a seventh-eighth-century manuscript of the Dialogues, a pre-Caroline manuscript with Spanish connections.⁸⁹ In spite of the lack of physical evidence for Gregory's works indirect sources point to Gregory's influence on the intellectual life of early medieval Spain. The Eighth Council of Toledo in 646 deputized Taio of Saragossa to bring back Gregory's writings which were lacking in Spain. It is only after Taio's return from Rome, that one begins to find excerpts from the entire Gregorian corpus in works by seventh-century Spanish authors.⁹⁰

Whether Isidore knew the Dialogues is still a matter of debate. If he did, it would prove a very early transmission of the work. Several authors have suggested parallels between Isidore's Sententiae, De ortu et obitu patrum and Etymologies.⁹¹ Theologians and historians have pointed out that it is not surprising to find similar passages, ideas and phrases used back and forth,

⁸⁹CLA XI, 1626: Barcelona. Bib. Capitulare. S.N. The fragment comes from Dialogues Book IV.38. Lowe describes this fragment as "produced in southern France or a Mediterranean center and corrected by an Anglo-Saxon reader in the 8th-century." Likewise of the 36 references to the Moralia in the CLA there is only one fragment from the 8th-century which has "Spanish connections." This is Chartres. Bib. mun. 40 (2), Moralia, lib. xxvii-xxxiii, CLA VI, 745.

⁹⁰José Vives, Concilios visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos (Barcelona-Madrid, 1963), 18. José Madoz, "Tajón de Zaragoza y su viaje a Rome," in Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J., 2 vols. (Gembloux, 1951), 1, 345-61.

⁹¹See Appendix "Isidore"

elaborated or abridged, throughout Gregory's works. One must therefore bear in mind that a citation appearing in one place may have occurred in an earlier work. The possible use of the Dialogues by Isidore in his Sententiae, in the examples proposed by Arévalo, in his edition of the work reproduced in PL, and by Chapparo Gómez and Godding fall into this category. The citations in question reflect Gregory's ideas, but are not true parallels for the Dialogues.⁹²

Arévalo suggested parallels between Sententiae III.6.1; III.6.3; and III.6.6 which has ideas in common with Dialogues IV.49 and IV.50.1-6 on dreams and visions. There are, however, no strong links in the language used by Isidore and Gregory. They share only a few words in these passages. Likewise, Godding's suggestion of a parallel between Sententiae I.3.2 and Dialogues II.16.3-4 concerning the "secret or hidden justice of God" and human inability to "penetrate" God's incomprehensibility cannot sustain the claim of derivation from the Dialogues. The common Dei secreta iudicia and penetrant appear

⁹²See Moralia 10.6.7, and 22; 12.17.2; 13.36.3; 14.31.21; 16.28.2; 28.4.39. They also occur in Gregory's Expositio in Canticum Canticorum 27.536.

Sententiae III.6.1 and Dialogues IV.48. Sententiae III.6.1 uses no direct words or phrases from the Dialogues passage. "Grassantur" is used in both the Moralia 10.16.22 and 16.52.10 as well as in the Pastoral Care 3.21.10. The expression "gehennae supplicia" of the Sententiae appears in various configurations in the Moralia 5.1.9; 9.65.55; 9.66.71; 15.26.25. It is also found in the Homilies on Ezekiel 1.6 and 1.9; and in Gregory's letters Epist. 2.40.34. Gregory uses the word "formidolosus" in Homilies on Ezekiel 1.7 and in the letters Epist. 9.148.

Sententiae III.6.3 uses two words which appear in the Dialogues IV.49.3-4. While the sense of the two passages is close there is little that can support the view for a direct citation from the Dialogues. The words "nocturnis" and "soporem" are used in Moralia. 5.24.1; 5.31.74; 23.20.83.

Sententiae III.6.6 and Dialogues IV.48.

throughout passages of the Moralia and Gregory's commentary on the Canticum of Canticles.⁹³ Chaparro Gómez sees reason to compare De ortu et obitu patrum 68.2 with Dialogues I.12.5 where the words apostolatus and omnibus laborans occur. This configuration of words, however, like the examples of Arévalo and Godding, is not unique to the Dialogues.

It is de Vogüé's contribution to this discussion which must be considered. Two citations from the Etymologies which are not loose interpretations containing only a few words and the sense of the passage in common, may possibly derive from the Dialogues. Both the words, the word order, and the ideas in Etymologies VII.11.4 and Etymologies XX.14.5 are similar to passages in Gregory's Dialogues III.26.7 and 9 and Dialogues II.6.1, respectively. Etymologies VII.11.4 concerns hidden martyrdom, a subject Gregory discusses in Dialogues III.26.7 and 9. Although Isidore appears to have borrowed his entire passage directly from the Dialogues, the passage contains parallels to Gregory's Homilies on the Gospels.⁹⁴ Still, de Vogüé has shown a substantial parallel exists between Etymologies VII.11.4 and Dialogues III.26.7.

It is really Etymologies XX.14.5 which is most surely linked to Gregory's work. De Vogüé's argument for a connection between Etymologies XX.14.5 and Dialogues II.6.1 hinges on the inclusion of the word "falcastrum" in Isidore's

⁹³See Moralia 10.6.7 and 22; 12.17.2; 13.36.3; 14.31.21; 16.28.2; and 28.4.39; and Expositio in Canticum Canticorum 27.536.

⁹⁴Homilies on the Gospels 3.4; 11.3; 35.7

Etymologies. In the Dialogues this word is found in a passage in book II and refers to a tool for cutting bushes. De Vogüé has singled out the Dialogues as the only probable source for the word.⁹⁵ Kinnierey pointed out this example in her work on the Latin vocabulary in the Dialogues.⁹⁶ With this evidence de Vogüé effectively undermines the argument of Francis Clark and reinforces support for Gregory's authorship of the Dialogues as well as an early transmission of the work in Spain. Isidore's use of the Dialogues furthermore supports an earlier date for the Vitas Patrum Emeritensium.⁹⁷

It is difficult to say precisely what Gregory's own views of the Spanish Church were. His attachment to Leander was personal, he dedicated the Moralia to Leander, and Leander appears in the Dialogues as instrumental in the conversion of Hermenegild. While Gregory's sole letter to Reccared praises his action in converting the Goths to Catholicism, and Reccared appears in the Dialogues in a favorable way, Reccared's father, Leovigild, does not. In addition, Gregory's account of the conversion of Hermenegild and Reccared is idealized. The Dialogues, coupled with the rather general exhortations Gregory gave in his letter to Reccared, suggest that Gregory was not in close communication with the Spanish Church. According to the Dialogues he heard

⁹⁵De Vogüé, "Grégoire le Grand."

⁹⁶Ann Julia Kinnierey, Late Latin Vocabulary of the Dialogues (Washington, D.C., 1935), 9.

⁹⁷Clark, 144-156. Clark describes a long-standing debate on the dating of this work, including the late 7th-century date proposed by Díaz y Díaz. Clark himself would place the work in the ninth century.

of Reccared's conversion from Spanish travellers whom he met in Rome almost five years after the event, not from an official Spanish delegation, not even from Leander himself. This does not negate Gregory's interest in Spain, rather, it strengthens the view that Gregory's interest in Spain must be seen as the personal interest of the pope, not the official interest of the papacy. Likewise, Spanish interest was in Gregory, not in the papacy per se.

Several witnesses, Leander, Isidore, Licinianus, Claudius, and Reccared, link Gregory to Spain in a direct and personal manner. Their view of him comes either from personal knowledge of him and his life, in the case of Leander, or indirect experience of him through correspondence and through reading the Pastoral Care and Moralia which were the earliest of his works to arrive in Spain. Leander shared Gregory's views on the contemplative life, and the letters from him emphasize this. The view of Gregory in Isidore and Licinianus is one of admiration for his learning. Gregory is invested with the status of a theological authority, but his mystical or ascetical importance is always present from the start of his association with Spain.

The early portrait of Gregory was naturally tied to the works that were then known to the Spanish i.e. the Moralia, the Pastoral Care, and the Homilies on the Gospels. Gregory's writings helped clarify for the Spanish authors problems that concerned them such as the integration of Arian Christians, particularly the clergy, into the Church, as well as questions concerning current heresies. Early seventh-century Spanish authors were concerned with

the practical work of refashioning the Church in their country after this and of the confrontations with Arian kings. One has only to note the centrality of Gregorian texts in a number of seventh-century Spanish works to see his influence. All of Gregory's major writings were used by Spanish authors, his Moralia in Job, Pastoral Care, Homilies on Ezekiel, Homilies on the Gospels, Dialogues, and Letters. The following section will examine views of Gregory the Great by second generation Spanish authors. Through a study of textual citations, it will include indirect examples of Spanish interest in Gregory and the Dialogues.

Part II. Later Spanish Interest in Gregory

Gregory's reputation in Spain is tied to the use Isidore made of the Moralia. Perhaps the most important figure who promoted Gregory, after Isidore, is Taio of Saragossa.⁹⁸ Taio says he was inspired with a taste for Gregory's other works after reading the Moralia and he resolved to assemble a collection of the most significant Gregorian sentences.⁹⁹ This section will examine the continued interest among Spanish authors in Gregory the Great in the second half of the seventh century when interest shifted from the Moralia to the Dialogues.

The use of the Dialogues in the Vitas Patrum Emeritensium and in various works by Taio of Saragossa, Julian of Toledo, and Valerius of Bierzo suggests a growing interest in eschatology particularly in questions on the nature of the afterlife. Braulio responds in great detail to Taio's request for his view on whether all the human blood that one has produced in one's lifetime will be fully restored after the resurrection. But Braulio also says that he himself does not feel compelled to debate such questions and is content to let

⁹⁸Though Braulio of Saragossa was fundamental for promoting Isidore's reputation as the preserver of antiquity, he is far less imbued with Gregory than Isidore. There are only a few scanty references to Gregory's Moralia and Homilies on the Gospels in Braulio's Letters. This is not to say that Braulio did not value Gregory. In a letter to Taio he sought some of the new works which Taio brought back from Italy (Braulio, PL 80, 690). See Madoz, "Tajón de Zaragoza," I, 345-61; José Madoz in Gregorianum 20 (1939), 407-22; and M.C. Díaz y Díaz De Isidoro al siglo XI, 48.

⁹⁹Taio, PL 80, 724.

mysteries remain unanswered.¹⁰⁰ Eschatological problems did not greatly concern Isidore, Braulio and Eugenius; this makes the demarcation between the early and the later part of the century all the more apparent. That a work such as the Dialogues could be the sole cause of a dramatic shift in theological concerns is doubtful. Isidore, in the last part of his Sententiae, discussed death and although he did not share Gregory's pessimistic world-view he helped promote it when he reminded his readers that their true home was not in the Roman empire but in the heavens.¹⁰¹ Likewise, the Fourth Council of Toledo had restated the canonical status of the Book of the Apocalypse and ordered its reading between Easter and Pentecost.¹⁰² It has been suggested that events outside Spain such as the fall of Jerusalem to the Arabs in 638 led many to believe in the end of the Empire and coming of the anti-Christ.¹⁰³ The need to explain the last things occupied Julian in the Prognosticum. The Dialogues as a literary work may not have directly caused a shift in attitude, but it provided a detailed theological discussion of this subject together with vivid descriptions and testimonies of near-death experiences which attracted these authors and thus influenced eschatological and apocalyptic writing in the seventh century.

¹⁰⁰Braulio, PL 80, 649.

¹⁰¹Isidore, Sententiae I, 29 and 30 on the punishments of the wicked and glory of the saints and III.62 on death.

¹⁰²Hillgarth, "Eschatological Concepts," 225.

¹⁰³Michel Rouche, "Grégoire le Grand face à la situation économique de son temps," Grégoire le Grand, 47-8.

The Dialogues appears in both theological and hagiographical compilations of this period. Rather than treat these works in a strictly chronological way it is more logical to discuss the Dialogues according to genre. Taio of Saragossa and Julian of Toledo employ the work in theological treatises and Spanish hagiographers also drew on it. That the Dialogues could provide material for such disparate works as the Prognosticum and the Life of Fructuosus is evidence of its universal appeal. It also suggests that in Spain the Dialogues was not yet cast into a particular genre.

A. Taio of Saragossa

If Isidore may have had knowledge of Gregory's Dialogues as de Vogüé suggests, no clear evidence, however, indicates widespread knowledge or interest in the work among Spanish episcopal authors before Taio's journey to Rome in 646.

Taio was a student of Braulio and succeeded him in the episcopal see of Saragossa in 651. Taio's birthdate has been placed around 600, but very little is known of his tenure as bishop.¹⁰⁴ In 646 he travelled to Rome. Taio only says he went to Rome in search of volumes of Gregory that were lacking in Spain.¹⁰⁵ Whether he was commissioned by King Chindaswinth or the

¹⁰⁴Madoz, "Tajón de Zaragoza," 345.

¹⁰⁵Eugenius, PL 80, 725. Igitur cum Romae positus ejusdem, quae in Hispaniis deerant, volumina sedulus investigator perquirerem inventaque propria manu transcriberem.

Seventh Council of Toledo, as some scholars have argued, is irrelevant.¹⁰⁶

What texts Taio brought back is more important.

Madoz contends that the entire Gregorian corpus, including the Dialogues, was known in Spain before Taio's journey, if one accepts the early date of the VPE.¹⁰⁷ The dating of the VPE is in question, not just by Francis Clark, but by other literary historians.¹⁰⁸ The Homilies on Ezekiel were the only work of Gregory "not precisely known or used in Spain." Madoz sees Taio as making "special use" of the Homilies on Ezekiel in the Sententiae.¹⁰⁹ Other scholars have pointed out that Taio could have brought back the last part of the Moralia or a revision of it as well as such later works as the Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles. Whether Taio brought back the Dialogues on this trip is a matter of conjecture.¹¹⁰

In Rome Taio heard so much about the pope that he was able "to

¹⁰⁶Chindaswinth had passed strict measures to prevent individuals from conspiring with foreign powers and the bishops at the Seventh Council of Toledo confirmed these measures. They agreed that the clergy had engaged in conspiracies and rebellions in the past. Legislation from the Seventh Council forbade any cleric of any rank from travelling to a foreign country "for any purpose whatever..." Such a man would be "instantly deprived of his rank and made a penitent forever and would be given Holy Communion only at the end of his life." See Thompson, The Goths in Spain, 193. With such legislation in place Taio's journey to Rome had to be sanctioned either by the bishops or the king or both. Considering the incarceration of Fructuosus in 656, Thompson notes that Chindaswinth's legislation was vigorously enforced.

¹⁰⁷Madoz, "Tajón de Zaragoza," 357.

¹⁰⁸Scholars have seen the VPE as originating in the 630's but Clark would have the work placed in the ninth century (Clark, 152). Díaz y Díaz would keep the work firmly in the seventh century, though later than the 630's.

¹⁰⁹Madoz, "Tajón de Zaragoza," 357.

¹¹⁰Meyvaert, "The Enigma," 363; Godding, "Les Dialogues," 208-210.

conjure an image of Gregory in his mind," even if he himself had never met Gregory in the flesh.¹¹¹ Isidore's warm description of Gregory in the the DVI seems restrained in comparison to Taio's enthusiastic words of praise for the pope. In his letter to Eugenius, Taio offers a portrait of Gregory for the seventh-century audience.

For he was lastly, by the grace of Christ, virtuous in all his behaviour, serene in spirit and face, kind of heart, pure of conscience, discrete in manner of life, thriving in virginity, abundant in charity, excelling in piety, outstanding in patience, incomparable in modesty, singular in abstinence, a practitioner of hospitality, a succourer of pilgrims, bestower of alms, the best dispenser of all ecclesiastical things, devoted to his friends, comforter of the oppressed, consoler of the troubled, keen of intelligence, bestower of advice, brilliant in words, fluent in eloquence, eloquent by his prudence, the first in wisdom, manifold in doctrine, interpreter of Scripture in many ways, passionate investigator of divine mysteries, a magnificent defender of the catholic faith, strong spokesman against heretics, stalwart in his authority against the proud, subject to the humble by his willing devotion. For he was adorned with the four virtues of the soul, that is, prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice,¹¹² so that he was deemed not a man but an angel among men. For who in our time has been deigned fluent in eloquence, first in prudence, profound in wisdom,

¹¹¹Taio, PL 80, 725. Vidimus, vidimus Gregorium nostrum Romae positum, non visibus corporis, sed obtutibus mentis. Vidimus enim, non solum in suis notariis, sed etiam in familiaribus, qui ministerio corporali eidem fidele exhibuerunt famulatus obsequium, eorumque relatione de virtutibus ejus plura cognoscens, brevissime pauca retexam. Madoz, "Tajón de Zaragoza," 350-1, notes that Taio's words, "conjured in the mind," were confused by later readers, notably, the Anonymous of Toledo, who took it literally to mean that Gregory appeared in a vision to Taio. The legend of Gregory the Great and Taio is elaborated in the Chronicle of 754. See L. Serrano, "Una legenda del Cronicón Pacense," Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos 20 (1909), 401-11.

¹¹²Taio, Sententiae III.20, PL 80, 874-75, comments on the four virtues, Prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice.

so as to be compared by such praises to Saint Gregory?
Not even, as I see it, the best of the eloquent and excellent
Greek and Roman philosophers, that is, Socrates, Plato,
Cicero, Varro, if they had been present in our time, would
draw forth comparable words of praise.¹¹³

These last lines of Taio's portrait of the pontiff would be echoed in
Ildephonsus' chapter on Gregory in his DVI.¹¹⁴ Taio is so captivated by him,
and imbued with his work that he adopts Gregory's phraseology. For example,
Gregory was fond of maritime imagery as a metaphor for his personal strife in
leading the church after solitary life in the monastery. Taio writes, "I set forth
like a solitary sailor about to navigate an immense sea, I have crossed spaces

¹¹³Taio, PL 80, 725. Fuit denique gratia Christi omni morum probitate
compositus, animo vultuque serenus, corde benignus, conscientia purus,
moribus discretus, virginitate nitens, charitate refertus, pietate praecipuus,
patientia insignis, modestia incomparabilis, abstinentia singularis, hospitalitatis
sectator, peregrinorum suspector, eleemosynarum largitor, ecclesiasticarum
rerum optimus dispensator, amicis devinctus, oppressorum sublevator,
tribulantium consolator, acris ingenii, consilio providus, sermonibus nitidus,
eloquentia facundus, prudentia disertus, sapientia praeditus, doctrina
multimodus, scripturarum divinarum multimodus interpretator, abditorum
mysteriorum acerrimus investigator, fidei catholicae magnificus defensor,
contra haereticos fortis assertor, superbis auctoritate erectus, atque humilibus
prompta devotione subjectus. Quatuor namque virtutibus animi, prudentia
scilicet, temperantia, fortitudine atque justitia ita exstitit praeornatus, ut non
homo, sed angelus inter homines putaretur. Quis namque nostri temporis
eloquentia facundus, prudentia praeditus, sapientia profundus, sanctum
condignis esserat laudibus Gregorium? Nec ipsi, ut censeo, Graecae
Romanaeque facundiae philosophorum praecipui, Socrates scilicet, vel Plato,
Cicero atque Varro, si nostris temporibus adfuissent, condigna verba
prompsissent.

¹¹⁴Ildephonsus, DVI apendice. "No one will ever be equal to him, not only
those of the present age but also those in the future. Non modo illi
praesentium temporum, sed nec in praeteritis quidem par fuerit unquam.
Garvin, Introduction, VPE 37, has commented on the "Visigothic vogue for
synonymous style," where words and phrases of similar meaning are joined
together and ideas are repeated in a series of phrases and synonyms.

of this most broad sea with the greatest difficulties, at length I have come upon that desired rest on the shore where Christ rules."¹¹⁵ Yet, Taio's most obvious appropriation is found in his letter to Eugenius where he fashions himself the Ultimus servus servorum Dei Caesaraugustanus episcopus, the "lowest servant of the servants of God, bishop of Saragossa." This, of course, is a direct reference to Gregory who called himself "Servus servorum dei."¹¹⁶ Isidore's emphasis on brevity and abridgment influenced Taio of Saragossa. Isidore may have had a deeper understanding of Augustine and Gregory and was able to epitomize them in a creative way, but Taio read both Isidore and Gregory and was a zealous adherent to the former's methodology and the latter's spirituality.

1. Liber quinque sententiarum

The Liber quinque sententiarum was completed in 650 during the siege of Saragossa.¹¹⁷ In a letter to Eugenius Taio explained his method of abstraction and stressed the importance of brevity. His reason for writing the

¹¹⁵Taio, PL 80, 727. Quasi immensum pelagus solitarius nauta navigaturus aggredior cum maximis difficultatibus latissimi aequoris hujus spatia transmeavi, tandemque ad optatum littoris requiem Christo gubernante perveni.

¹¹⁶Taio, PL 80, 723. Sanctissimo ac venerabili domino meo Eugenio Toletanae urbis episcopus, Taius ultimus servus servorum Dei Caesaraugustanus episcopus.

¹¹⁷Taio, PL 80, 727-730. Taio dedicated the Liber quinque sententiarum to Bishop Quiricus of Barcelona. The first section of this letter is taken up with a long description of Froja's siege of the city of Saragossa and the dangers in the countryside until Recceswinth's victory.

Sententiae was to make Gregory known to those who didn't know him or have access to his works.¹¹⁸ More importantly, Taio directed his work to those who might not have the necessary expertise to read Gregory. Since Gregory's works were rather long and "might cool the desire of even the most ardent soul" Taio intended the Sententiae as a reference work that simplified a reader's search.¹¹⁹

The five books of Taio's Sententiae are ordered closely along the lines of Isidore's Sententiae. Taio used many of Isidore's chapter headings and categories and elaborated on some of these. Isidore's work consisted of three books, Taio's work contained five. Book I was concerned with God and the Law; Book II, Christ, grace, and sanctity; Book III, virtues; Book IV, sins and vices; and Book V, purgatory and the end of time. Taio mixes up some of Isidore's categories or elaborates on others. For example a good portion of Isidore's Book II appears in Taio's Book IV, while many examples from Isidore's Books I and III appear in Taio's Book V. Where Taio has relied on Gregory's Moralia rather than the Pastoral Care he is much closer to Isidore's

¹¹⁸Taio, PL 80, 724. In ipso locutionis exordio quibusdam parabolis anteferrem, ejusque magnitudinem sapientiae, quo perspicuo lumine sanctam illustravit ecclesiam, aliquatenus non scientibus, sed nescientibus propalarem.

¹¹⁹Taio, PL 80, 726. Sed quoniam in eadem prolixitate voluminum, dum testimonium, uniuscujusque requiritur, explanatio pene totius operis jus erat in ambiguo, non minima perscrutatio, atque animi ardentis saepe frigebat intentio, malui semel maximum proferre laborem, quam semper suspectam tolerare difficultatem.

...ne multiplici lectione fatigatus, non cito reperiat quod voluerit, ad ista quae decerpsi recurrens, repente quod desiderabat liberae satisfactionis discretionem reperiet.

work.

Taio uses Gregory's Pastoral Care as a way to expand certain subjects that Isidore did not cover, especially in Book II of his Sententiae when he discussed ranks of pastors, clerics, and subjects for preaching.¹²⁰ In Book III, he employed the Pastoral Care in order to expand and explain the categories of virtues. To a lesser extent he used the Pastoral Care in Book IV to elaborate types of sin. In Book IV more so than in Book III, Taio used classifications that are parallel to those of Isidore.

2. The Sententiae of Taio and the Dialogues

Of the six passages Taio quotes from Gregory's Dialogues three have parallels in Isidore's Sententiae. In these passages Taio appears to have used Isidore's old categories "De praedestinatione," "De compunctione cordis," and "De tentamentis somniorum" in order to cite the text of the Dialogues verbatim on a particular subject. In effect, the Dialogues becomes a work from which Taio culls the information he needs to augment his Sententiae. The Dialogues is not being incorporated into Taio's Sententiae as a text in its own right. Taio does not make a point of integrating the fullness of Gregory's thought from the Dialogues. His exclusion of the monastic and hagiographic elements in the Dialogues testifies to this. He sees the Dialogues as useful for what it has to

¹²⁰Hillgarth, "Modes of Evangelization in the West," 325, "Taio of Saragossa reproduced Gregory's view that preachers, not miracle workers, were the main intermediaries between God and man."

say on the afterlife. According to Wasselynck, Taio accomplished a doctrinal systematization of the Moralia which remained easy for theologians to consult.¹²¹ Is it possible that the Dialogues is being used in the same way authors would use the Moralia, as a book of morals? In Madoz's discussion of what books of the Moralia might possibly have been missing in Spain he cites the letter of Licinian who wanted to obtain other "libros morales" of Gregory. It seems that Taio understood Gregory's Dialogues not as the source of a monastic rule or hagiographic vignettes, but as a source of explanation on eschatological matters and concomitant with this, moral theology.

The three sections of the Dialogues which Taio quotes that have no parallels to Isidore's Sententiae are also sections that concern eschatology and the punishments of hell.¹²² Isidore talks of sin, and degrees of sin and punishment, but he shows none of the concern for detail that one finds in Taio. Whereas Isidore's Sententiae contains two sections on christology, books I.14 De Christo, and I.26, De resurrectione, Taio subdivides these sections in his Sententiae relating to Christ: II.1 De incarnatione Christi vel ejus Nativitate; II.2 De praedicatione Christi; II.5 De passione et morte Jesu; II.6 De simpla morte Christi et dupla nostra; II.7 De resurrectione Christi. In contrast to Taio,

¹²¹Wasselynck, "Les compilations," 9, describes the Sententiae as a florilegia, a "doctrinal book" with a "rational order."

¹²²Taio, Sententiae III.2, De dispensatione divina = Dialogues III.14.12-4; Sententiae V.20, De inferno superiore atque inferiore = Dialogues IV.44.1-3; Sententiae V.21, De igne purgatorio quod post mortem peccata laxari credantur = Dialogues IV.14.1-5.

citations from the Moralia by Isidore in his Sententiae appear to be much more integrated, and are not verbatim copying.¹²³

Taio wanted to elaborate Isidore's work and his elaboration extends to some subjects that did not concern Isidore; Taio is more concerned with questions of predestination.¹²⁴ Though he and Isidore have parallel categories, Taio's interest in these matters is different.¹²⁵ He has more of a need to have the details spelled out, the categories further split and specified. L. Robles has also noticed that "Taio makes less effort to summarize his sources than did Isidore and he depends more on Gregory the Great."¹²⁶

Taio's work elaborates that of Isidore. He offers more citations of Gregory than had been known before, particularly citations from the Pastoral Care and the Dialogues. In some ways Taio's Sententiae is a paradoxical combination of elaboration and condensation. Taio's interest in the tangible or

¹²³Pierre Cazier's forthcoming edition of Isidore's Sententiae should facilitate this work.

¹²⁴Taio, Sententiae III.15 De electis inter tumultus reproborum bene viventibus; III.16 De pressuris electorum; III.17 De electorum miraculis; III.18 De reproborum miraculis; III.51 De corruptione vitae praesentis; III.52 De salute corporis; IV.2 De divinis judiciis. Most of books IV and V are taken up with this question.

¹²⁵Taio, Sententiae V.26 De antichristi temporibus = Isidore, Sententiae I.25 and I.26 de resurrectionis mortuorum; Taio, Sententiae V.23 De flagellis divinis electis vel reprobis illatis = Isidore, Sententiae III.1 De flagellis divinis; Taio, Sententiae V.30 De tremendo aeterni Regis iudicio = Isidore, Sententiae I.27; Taio, Sententiae V.31 De poenitentia reproborum sine fructu = Isidore, Sententiae I.29; Taio, Sententiae V.32 De damnatione diaboli vel daemonum = Isidore, Sententiae I.28 De gehenna.

¹²⁶Hillgarth, "Position," (1983), 885, n.138, from L. Robles, "Tajón de Zaragoza, continuador de Isidoro" in Saitabi 21 (1971), 19-25.

literal occurrences that will follow the Resurrection distinguishes him from Isidore, but his earlier correspondence with Braulio suggests he had a long-standing interest in this theme. The nature of the question he posed to Braulio is similar to that in Dialogues Book IV--what happens after death.

Is Taio in any way writing against the lack of a literal emphasis in Gregory's methodology? Gregory in the Dialogues goes so far as to admit the reality of hell and the fire and the torture, and Taio certainly elaborates the question "what happens after death?" with detailed analysis. Yet all this comes about through a diminution of the literal interpretation of the text and elevation of the spiritual and tropological analysis in Gregory's writings. Taio's work is a move away from rational theology to an emphasis on the non-rational, supernatural aspect of the world. The Sententiae of Taio points to an interest in the coalescence of the present age with the non-physical world, though he doesn't go as far with this idea as Valerius will. The notion that signs of this future age are becoming clearer is Pauline and Augustinian.

Taio's interest in eschatological topics is not gratuitous. Braulio admits these mysteries do not interest him. But for Taio these mysteries are closely tied to, perhaps the natural outgrowth of, a desire to define for his readers what constitutes the moral life. His intention in composing the Sententiae, as stated in the dedicatory letter to Quiricus, was a desire to help readers navigate through the literature of Augustine and Gregory on the subject of the

moral life.¹²⁷ Taio's work is more of an anthology than an original work. But, more than this, he hoped his work would provide the reader with the knowledge of what distinguishes the chosen from the reprobate and what things his readers should strive to accomplish.¹²⁸

It is from this context that Taio's admiration for Gregory arises and it is ultimately the model of Gregory as exegete, not so much in the sense of the learned scholar as the mystic, one who is able to penetrate the mysteries of the Bible and enlighten the Church, that he passes on to later authors.¹²⁹ The Moralia is still the most important work for Taio, but he believed all of Gregory's works should be investigated because all were stamped with his wisdom.

3. The influence of Taio

While Taio's work was never widely known some passages appear in ninth-century Carolingian canons.¹³⁰ It does not appear to have attracted Julian or Valerius, but by the eighth century the story of Taio's journey to Rome and his finding the lost Gregorian codices is mythologized in the

¹²⁷Taio, PL 80, 729.

¹²⁸Taio, PL 80, 729.

¹²⁹Taio, PL 80, 725-6.

¹³⁰Hillgarth, "St. Julian of Toledo in the Middle Ages," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 21 (London, 1958), 17. Wasselynck, "Les Compilations," 9-10. Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Influences spirituelles et culturelles du monde wisigothique: Saint-Germain d'Auxerre dans la seconde moitié du IX siècle," in L'Europe Héritière de l'Europe Wisigothique, 243, refers to the Council of Aix (816-817).

Spanish Chronicle of 754. According to the Chronicle, Taio's prestige increased among the Roman clerics because of the vision he had and Gregory's place in the afterlife assured the reader of Gregory's sanctified status. More interesting perhaps are his words which allow us a glimpse of how the eighth-century chronicler saw Gregory. When Taio asked if Augustine, whose books like those of St. Gregory, he had always loved to read since the cradle, "was present in that multitude of saints, that most distinguished and, in everyone's opinion, most gracious Gregory replied, 'Augustine whom you seek, occupies a more elevated position than ours.'"¹³¹ In the intellectual and spiritual world of the Chronicler then, Gregory occupied an intermediary position between mere mortals and Augustine. A mortal like Taio could talk to Gregory, but could not expect to receive Augustine directly.

B. Julian of Toledo

Gregory's works occupy a significant place in another theological tract, the Prognosticum futuri saeculi of Julian of Toledo. Whereas Taio modelled his work on the Sententiae of Isidore, elaborating certain sections on the nature of purgatory, dreams, humility, and compunctio cordis with the help of the works of Gregory and virtually producing an anthology of the Moralia, Julian's

¹³¹Crónica Mozarabe de 754, 44. Tunc interrogatus si tandem in illa sancta multitudine adesset sapiens Augustinus, eo quod ita libros eius sicut et ipsius sancti Gregorii semper ab ipsis cunabulis amaret legere satis peravidus, hoc solummodo respondisse fertur vir ille clarissimus et omnium expectatione gratissimus: Augustinum quem queris, altior a nobis eum continet locus.

work is a well-focused systematic treatment of eschatology. The range of sources used by Julian in the Prognosticum is much broader than Taio's single focus on Gregory and indicates his superior erudition as well as the resources at his disposal in the Toledan library.¹³² As Metropolitan of Toledo and Primate of Spain, Julian was also part of secular and ecclesiastical politics and he had more opportunity for contact with royalty than Isidore or Taio. He was involved in the deposition of a king and a conflict with the papacy.¹³³ It was under Julian that Toledo gained preeminence over the Church in Spain.

The Prognosticum underlines an element of pastoral care in Julian's tenure as bishop that is often overlooked. Julian's aim in this work is not to instill fear of death and judgment but to explain the fear of death and encourage hope of heaven.¹³⁴ Julian wishes to move his readers to a contemplation of death in order to prompt them to consider how they must live in this life. Following the tradition of Isidore, like Taio, Julian intends the

¹³²Julian had been a student of Eugenius of Toledo.

¹³³Murphy, "St. Julian of Toledo" and Thompson, Goths in Spain.

¹³⁴Prog. praef. 70-79. "In the two preceding books, the first is concerned with the death of the body, as is indicated by the titles, and the soul of the reader, completely terrified by fear of death, will take courage in hope of celestial joys; and thus after the burial or reception of this body, what and how great is the fruit of the eternal happiness for godly souls is expressed in the description of the following books." Ut his duobus praecedentibus libellis primus liber conderetur de huius corporis morte, qui titulorum simili distinctione conformatus praecederet, et legentis animum immoderato mortis metu perterritum, spe coelestium erigeret gaudiorum; sicque post depositionem uel receptionem corporis huius, quis et quantus sit sanctis animabus aeternae beatitudinis fructus, sequentium librorum habetur renotatione expressus.

work as a "manual for clerics" and it is written with a conscious desire for brevity. In his prefatory letter to Idalius Julian says he has gathered this short volume together "so that the number of books may not be a burden to the soul seeking answers to such questions, but that this brief collection may satisfy the reader's thirst."¹³⁵

Julian wrote the Prognosticum after a conversation he had on Good Friday in 688 with Bishop Idalius of Barcelona, to whom the work is dedicated. It comprises three books: death, the souls of the dead before the Last Judgment, and the resurrection of the body at the Last Judgment. Julian's work does not depend on Taio's and although Isidore influences the spirit of the Prognosticum, Julian employs only a few passages from Isidore's Etymologiae, Sententiae, and Differentiae. Citations of other authors such as Origen, Cyprian, Cassian, John Chrysostom, Julianus Pomerius, and Jerome, are interspersed throughout the work, as are Spanish authors such as Ildephonsus and Eugenius. Julian employed Gregory's Dialogues more frequently than any of Gregory's other works although several citations of the Homilies on the Gospels and Homilies on Ezekiel as well as the Moralia also appear. Gregory's Dialogues may contribute significantly to the Prognosticum, but it is Augustine's works, the City of God and the Enchiridion, which dominate it.

Julian has been praised for his intelligent use of source material. Though

¹³⁵Prog, praef. 63-65. Ut iam in perquisitione talium quaestionum, numerositas librorum quaerenti animae laboriosa non esset, sed multiplicem lectoris sitim haec collecta breuitas satiare.

this work gathers the opinions of earlier Fathers the final organization and assemblage constitutes a new work.¹³⁶ Unlike Taio who summarized Gregory's works, in the Prognosticum Julian created a thematic study.

Book IV of the Dialogues contains information and exempla concerning the soul and the afterlife. These themes permeate all the books of the Dialogues, but Gregory's longest theological explanations are found in the fourth book. Julian cites only from Book IV of the Dialogues and his citations focus only on Gregory's theological discourse, not on the exempla or anecdotal material that Gregory employs to underscore these ideas. He excerpted entire passages of the Dialogues, not single sentences, and used passages that were exegetical in nature or at least supported by biblical citations.¹³⁷ Moreover, Julian employs the Dialogues only as a source of information on the nature of the soul despite the fact that the Dialogues also contained discursive material on the idea of purgatorial fire and the nature of the body after death. Julian employs Augustine, not Gregory to discuss the fear of death and the consolation God provides a holy man on his deathbed.¹³⁸ Gregory's descriptions of holy men whose souls are escorted to heaven, of rooms crowded with an invisible throng or saints or angels do not interest Julian.

¹³⁶Hillgarth, "Las Fuentes," 98.

¹³⁷Dialogues IV.24.2 = Prog. I.vii.10; Dialogues IV.25.1 = Prog. I.vii.15; Dialogues IV.26.1 = Prog. II.viii; Dialogues IV.26.3-4 = Prog. II.xxxv; Dialogues IV.29 = Prog. II.xiii; Dialogues IV.30.1-3 = Prog. II.xvii; Dialogues IV.45.2 = Prog. II.xviii; Dialogues IV.46.7-9 = Prog. II.xxv; Dialogues IV.48 = Prog. I.vii.23; Dialogues IV.52.1-2 = Prog. I.xx

¹³⁸cf.Prog. I.x-xiii

Another feature of Julian's scholarship is how sparing he is in his use of sources. He does not belabor a point by piling on citation after citation. Brevity was characteristic of Spanish scholarship. More importantly, Julian recognized that Gregory used Augustine's work for some of the views he presents in the Dialogues.²⁴¹³⁹ Gregory's discussion of purgatorial fire derives from the City of God. Julian seems to recognize what is and isn't new in the Dialogues and exhibits a tendency to quote the original rather than an intermediary source. Since Augustine had discussed the need to help souls by prayers and petitions Julian does not repeat Gregory's views on this. Julian was not the last author of the seventh century to use the Dialogues, but his is the most intelligent and systematic use of the work.

Both Taio and Julian tend not to see the integrity of the Dialogues, but it is worth noting that they did not value it simply as a work of hagiography. To some extent this might be due to the reputation Gregory earned in Spain with the Moralia. The thirty years separating Taio and Julian shows a shift in interest from Isidore's Sententiae, which included only a short chapter on death, to Taio's developing interest in the afterlife, and finally to Julian's complete treatment of the topic.

¹³⁹Gregory discusses the question of whether it benefits a soul if the body is buried in church in Dialogues IV.52. Julian, however, uses Augustine's De cura pro mortuis gerenda as the basis for the last three chapters of Book I which concern burial in churches and prayers offered for the dead.

C. Toledo and Merida

Two mid-seventh-century authors who confirm the view of Spain as a "Gregorian fief" and the influence of the Dialogues come from Merida and Toledo: Paul, thought to be a deacon of Merida and credited with writing the *Vitas Patrum Emeritensium*,¹⁴⁰ and Ildephonsus, a former monk of Agali and later bishop of Toledo (657-667). Both authors offer high praise of Gregory and are influenced by his works.

It is difficult to measure exactly Gregory's effect on Ildephonsus until new editions of his works appear.¹⁴¹ One reference from Gregory's Moralia occurs in De cognitione baptismi;¹⁴² he is cited once in the Liber de itinere deserti.¹⁴³ In the treatise on baptism, Augustine's De doctrina christiana, De fide et Symbolo, Enchiridion, and Commentary on John are the most frequently used sources.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰op. cit. The name Paul appears in some manuscripts as the author of this work though no dates are given for him and his name does not exist in Visigothic manuscripts.

¹⁴¹Codoñer Merino's edition of the DVI is the most recent contribution to the study of Ildephonsus, op. cit.; De virginitate beatae mariae, ed. V. Blanco García (Madrid, 1937); other works are available only in PL: De cognitione baptismi, PL 96, 111-172; Liber de itinere deserti, PL 96, 171-192.

¹⁴²De cognitione baptismi c.27 = Moralia I.15

¹⁴³De itinere deserti c. 35, "De significantia cedri," the words are taken from Homilies on the Gospels 20.

¹⁴⁴Out of 142 chapters there are 30 citations of Augustine compared to ten citations of Isidore. An interesting pattern of citation occurs in this work. Ildephonsus excerpts passages from his sources to supply the opening and closing passages of his chapters. He never refers to Augustine or Isidore by name in his text although he does mention biblical authors explicitly. It is interesting that Ildephonsus also refers to Gregory by name in the only citation of him in this work.

The presence of Gregory, however, dominates Ildephonsus' De viris illustribus. This work follows the tradition of earlier DVI compilations by Isidore, Jerome, and Gennadius. No conclusive date has been accepted for this work beyond that given for Ildephonsus' episcopate, 657-667.¹⁴⁵

Ildephonsus' DVI while conforming on one level to the features of this genre, including his references to predecessors in this field and his desire to complete the series of christian authors in Spain, ultimately constructs a different type of literary biography. The DVI, however, becomes more hagiographical than literary. Fontaine suggests the reason for this is due to the influence of the Dialogues and the VPE.¹⁴⁶ Ildephonsus, unlike Isidore, places more emphasis on the spiritual life of his subjects than on their worldly accomplishments.

Together with Taio's Sententiae the VPE contains the first truly

¹⁴⁵Codoñer Merino suggests that Ildephonsus' chapter on Gregory is a later insertion and excludes it from the main order of the work. Díaz y Díaz seems to support Codoñer Merino's interpretation in Isidoro en la Edad Media Hispana, 162, n.62, "Me mueve a ello la aplicación a Gregorio Magno del título de praesul, que no podría provenir de Ildefonso (ISID.uir. 40/Vitas Emer., praef.1; aunque así se encuentra en Pseudo-Ildefonso, en el célebre capítulo 1 que es, quizá, adición tardía), así como ciertas expresiones dentro de los juicios literarios, una de las cuales hace pensar instantáneamente en Redempto (Index, n.136)." François Dolbeau, "Une Refonte Wisigothique du De viris illustribus d'Isidore," in De Tertullien aux Mozarabes, 2, 41, n.2, however, has countered Codoñer Merino, "Le passage relatif à Grégoire est considéré par l'éditrice comme interpolé. Étant donné qu'il est attesté dans tous les témoins connus, je ne vois aucune raison sérieuse de le retirer du texte d'Ildefonse." Jacques Fontaine, "El De viris illustribus de San Ildefonso de Toledo: Tradición y Originalidad," Anales Toledanos III, Toledo, 1970 (1971), 59-60, has shown this chapter on Gregory to be part of the integrity of Ildephonsus' work.

¹⁴⁶Fontaine, "El De viris," 76.

extensive citations and use of the Dialogues in Spain; both of these works appeared by 650. It is easier to place the date of the Sententiae between 646-650. The date of the VPE is not as easy to discern as that of the Sententiae. The history of the debate over the dating of the VPE has been discussed by Garvin.¹⁴⁷ More recently Francis Clark has suggested that the work belonged to the ninth century.¹⁴⁸ Hillgarth¹⁴⁹ and Fontaine¹⁵⁰ place the work at about 640, while Díaz y Díaz claims the work is later than 650.¹⁵¹ Maya

¹⁴⁷Garvin, Introduction, VPE, 5-6. Mabillon placed the work at 633-638; Gams thought it was written between 632-640; de Gaiffier, De Smedt, Manser would place it in the first half of the seventh century. Others, Lembke and Mrs. Humphrey Ward, consider it a late seventh-century work. Menéndez Pelayo placed it in the eighth century. Chevalier, Motinier, and Hurter follow J. Rodríguez de Castro, who thought the author died in 672.

¹⁴⁸Clark, 133.

¹⁴⁹Hillgarth, "Historiography," 305.

¹⁵⁰Jacques Fontaine, "Conversion et culture chez les Wisigoths de l'Espagne," Settimane di Studio, 14, (Spoleto, 1967), 87-147, at 118. Par leur éloignement des faits (environ demi-siècle) aussi bien que par leurs caractères locaux, semi-populaires, proches des sources orales les plus contestables, les Vitas Patrum Emeritensium du diacre Mérida occupent une place bien à part des précédentes oeuvres." Also J. Fontaine, "Al margen de las "Vidas de los Padres de Merida": Nuevas metas y Metodos en la Investigacion Hagiografica," Stylos, 1 (1992), 9-24, at 21. "Aunque poco se sabe de la cristiandad de Mérida en el siglo VII fuera de nuestras Vidas, no sería carente de interés plantear primero el problem de la coyuntura hispana y emeritense, hacia este año 640 en que suele fijarse la composición de la obra."

¹⁵¹M.C. Díaz y Díaz is inconsistent in dating the VPE. In "Isidoro en la Edad Media Hispana" in De Isidoro al Siglo XI, (Barcelona, 1976), 162, he writes that the VPE was composed in Merida around 660. "También en Merida, cuando hacia 660 son compuestas las Vidas sanctorum patrum Emeretensium, es conocido ya Isidoro..." While in another article he says it was written around 650. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Passionnaires, legendiers, et compilations hagiographiques dans le haut Moyen Age espagnol," in Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés IVe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), 49-59, at 54, "Il faut placer sous un autre angle les Vies des Pères de Mérida. Rédigés vers 650..."

Sánchez, editor of the latest edition of the VPE, follows an early dating of the work.¹⁵² A date much earlier than 640 would be difficult to sustain, since the last bishop mentioned in the work, Renovatus, died in Merida in the 630's.

It is clear that the VPE was written independently of Taio's Sententiae. In its use of the Dialogues there is no dependence on Taio's extracts and furthermore, no shared passages between the two exist. The VPE uses all four books of the Dialogues while Taio's work ignores Book II and cites only one passage from Book I. The nature of citation in the VPE and Sententiae is also different. Taio extracts whole paragraphs from the Dialogues while the VPE very selectively chooses its quotations or "borrows language" from the Dialogues rather than quotations per se. That the author of the VPE is so steeped in the "spirit" of the Dialogues suggests that Gregory's work must have been known in certain ecclesiastical circles for some time rather than having made a sudden appearance on the Spanish literary stage.¹⁵³

Díaz y Díaz has argued for a dependence of the VPE on Ildephonsus' DVI. He says the VPE applies the title praesul to Gregory the Great which is a title one encounters in the prologue of Ildephonsus' DVI. This also explains Díaz y Díaz' preference for a later rather than earlier date for the VPE. Fontaine has noted that Ildephonsus depends on the VPE in the DVI rather

¹⁵²Sánchez, Introducción, VPE, lv, "The work must be written after the death of Bishop Renovatus in 638."

¹⁵³Braulio's Vita Aemiliani, does not contain citations from the Dialogues.

than the other way around.¹⁵⁴ What seems more important is the blending of the hagiographic and literary genres in both works. The author of the VPE describes his intention in the prologue to do for Merida what Gregory's Dialogues did for the fathers of Italy and show that holy men and miracles can be found in the present age. Certain of the distinctively hagiographic aspects of the Dialogues, however, are missing in the VPE: there is no overwhelming number of miracles, nor visions of hell or heaven, nor do demons populate the text of the VPE. There is no attempt to include as many Meridan holy men as possible: the VPE discusses the lives of six holy men. The VPE's focus on a few lives seems closer to the model of the DVI. Isidore's work is composed of relatively short entries for twenty-seven figures in the form of christian literary biographies.

One of the parallels between the VPE and the Dialogues is conversion. Roger Collins offers a picture of Merida of the sixth century as an old Roman city, sophisticated, wealthy, aware of its heritage and its architecture as well as its patroness, Saint Eulalia, who connects the city to the glory of the early christian martyrs.¹⁵⁵ Merida's faded glory can be contrasted to another Roman city, Toledo, constituted urbs regia in 580 by Leovigild. The elevation of Toledo has been compared to the Byzantine practice of relocating

¹⁵⁴Fontaine, "El De viris," 75.

¹⁵⁵Eulalia died in 303 under Diocletian.

power.¹⁵⁶ Leovigild's action is akin to that of an emperor. After the conversion of Spain, Leovigild's son, Reccared, kept political power in Toledo. Even before official sanction during Julian's tenure as bishop, Toledo had become the principal seat of religious authority in Spain.¹⁵⁷

The VPE implicitly reminds the reader that Toledo's prestige is relatively new, due to an Arian king, and that it was Merida, not Toledo, that was responsible for the original and for the new conversion of Spain. The harsh portrait of Leovigild, Reccared's father, suggests that the Meridan author did not have to curry favor with the monarchy. Not surprisingly, a number of episodes culled from the Dialogues concern the theme of conversion.

1. Attitudes toward Gregory and the use of the Dialogues in the Vitas Patrum Emeritensium

Berschlin describes the author of the VPE as part of the first Spanish generation to have read the Dialogues and sees this as a reason for the author's enthusiasm over them.¹⁵⁸ Certainly the opening paragraph of the VPE singles out Gregory even if citations from the Life of Desiderius occur

¹⁵⁶See Marc Reydellet, La Royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville, (Rome, 1981).

¹⁵⁷The Twelfth Council of Toledo officially made Toledo preeminent.

¹⁵⁸Berschlin, Biographie, 2, 194 "Der Autor der Vitas patrum Emeretensium gehört noch zur ersten spanischen Lesergeneration der Dialogi und ist entsprechend enthusiastisch gestimmt."

more frequently throughout the work.¹⁵⁹ This acknowledgement of Gregory was an attempt to associate the work with him. A few words from this passage extolling Gregory may be taken from Isidore's passage in the DVI.¹⁶⁰

Gregory's Dialogues strongly influenced the VPE in theme and construction.¹⁶¹ Among Spanish works that use Gregory only the VPE comes close in style and format to the Dialogues. The divisions within the Dialogues and VPE, are, in general, similar. Books I and II of the Dialogues for the most part concern monks as exemplars; books III and IV mostly deal with bishops. The heart of the Dialogues, books II and III, concern Benedict, a monk, and Paulinus of Nola, a bishop. Similarly, the first three parts of the VPE concern monks while the last five concern bishops.¹⁶² Garvin has divided the VPE into five opuscula, the first reporting the vision of a heavenly banquet by a young boy, Augustus, while the second and third refer to a monk of the monastery of Cauliana in Merida and the African abbot Nactus. The fourth part concerns the Greek bishops Paul and Fidelis. Opusculum 5, the longest

¹⁵⁹VPE praef. 1, 1-6. Virorum orthodoxorum maximeque catholicorum prossus uera esse nullus ambigeat [sic] miracula quae sanctissimus egregiusque uates Romanae presul urbis Gregorius, inflammatus paracliti carismate Spiritus Dialogorum in libris ueridico edidit prenotationis stilo; qua olim scilicet omnipotens Deus seruulis per [sic] suis sibi bene placitis propter honorem nominis sui patrare dignatus est.

¹⁶⁰cf. Isidore, DVI c.27 There only seems to be a tenuous connection to the wording in Isidore and less so for the DVI of Ildefonsus.

¹⁶¹Berschin, 2, 194. "Gregors Dialogi haben ihn in Thematik, Aufbau und Tendenz stark beeinflusst."

¹⁶²Berschin, Biographie, 2, 192 "Die erste Hälfte des Werks bilden Geschichten von heiligen Mönchen aus Mérida, die zweite eine Bischofsgeschichte der Stadt von der Mitte des VI. Jahrhunderts bis um 610."

section, concerns the life of Bishop Masona, with an addendum of two short references to the lives of bishops Innocentius and Renovatus. The VPE is significantly shorter than the Dialogues though and, like the Dialogues, it is based on an oral tradition.¹⁶³

In many ways the VPE is a précis of the Dialogues, and the opening lines describe the wonders occurring in Merida and the author's intention of combating disbelief in Gregory's stories. The "marvellous deeds" which have parallels with the Dialogues are not miracles in a strictly defined sense rather, they are the broader "marvellous deeds" of faith and conversion. Technically there are only a few miracles in the VPE: Fidelis' virtue prevents deaths from occurring when the roof of the episcopal residence collapses;¹⁶⁴ Masona tames a wild horse;¹⁶⁵ Bishop Paul cures a senator's wife;¹⁶⁶ Witteric's sword cannot be drawn from its scabbard;¹⁶⁷ Masona predicts an evil archdeacon's death.¹⁶⁸

Visions account for far more of the "marvellous deeds" happening in Merida. These include: Augustus' vision of a heavenly banquet which he is invited to attend;¹⁶⁹ the vision of Veranianus who sees the dead boy

¹⁶³Garvin, Introduction, VPE, 26.

¹⁶⁴VPE IV.vi

¹⁶⁵VPE V.vi.111-129

¹⁶⁶VPE IV.ii

¹⁶⁷VPE V.x.43-63

¹⁶⁸VPE V.xiii.61

¹⁶⁹VPE I.45-50. Augustus describes the beauty of the setting for the banquet, the whiteness, the entrance with the saints "adorned with gold and precious stones and crowned with gleaming crowns"; a handsome man comes in and

Augustus calling the name Quintilian;¹⁷⁰ the repentant gluttonous monk has death-bed visions of saints standing around;¹⁷¹ Fidelis while still alive is seen singing psalms at night with the saints;¹⁷² there is a midnight vision of Fidelis as part of a procession of saints entering the city of Caspiana sixteen miles from Merida, through locked gates;¹⁷³ Fidelis is seen with the saints processing to martyr churches in Merida;¹⁷⁴ there is a long account of a vision of saints and demons discussing Fidelis' death;¹⁷⁵ a widow's vision of saints Cyprian and Lawrence, who, jealous of the attention Eulalia has been receiving, help her get her debt to Fidelis cancelled after she prays to them for intercession;¹⁷⁶ a vision of crowds of saints and choirs of angels who precede Fidelis to heaven;¹⁷⁷ Masona has a vision of St. Eulalia in the form of a dove

promises Augustus he will never abandon him. Augustus partakes of the banquet and then the man shows Augustus the garden. After this he witnesses a judgment scene where some men are brought before a tribunal and condemned as wicked servants who must be removed from the sight of the Lord. Is it possible that this story of Augustus' vision of the heavenly banquet is in contradistinction to the story in the Dialogues of the Jew witnessing a meeting of demons reporting to their master? The elements to this story are similar. The outsider in both stories is discovered though in the case of the Jew who signs himself with the cross to protect himself, he flees before he can be tormented or asked to participate. Gregory might show a vision of hell, but the author of the VPE will show a vision of heaven.

¹⁷⁰VPE I.114-122

¹⁷¹VPE II.89-95

¹⁷²VPE IV.vii

¹⁷³VPE IV.vii.5-7

¹⁷⁴VPE IV.viii

¹⁷⁵VPE IV.ix

¹⁷⁶VPE IV.x

¹⁷⁷VPE IV.x.27-35. This death-bed scene is similar to that of Benedict in Dialogues IV.37. It is also reminiscent of Isidore of Seville who has himself carried into church. See Redemptus' account of Isidore's death in PL 82, 68-70.

telling him to go back to Merida.¹⁷⁸

Collins is quite correct when he notes that the "spirit of Gregory the Great informs the work as a whole," although he doesn't elaborate or define exactly what he means by "spirit."¹⁷⁹ It is more difficult to agree with his view that "only a few stories in the VPE are derived from the Dialogues," and that the author makes little use of Gregory as a model.¹⁸⁰

2. The Dialogues as a hagiographic source for the Vitas Patrum Emeritensium

The nature of citation in the VPE, as in all hagiography, is sporadic and combines extracts from other writers. The author of the VPE cites only the Bible and other hagiographical works, both vitae and passion narratives, and also monastic histories. Among the hagiography he employs the Dialogues is an important source for the VPE, second only to the Vita Desiderii.¹⁸¹ As the author employed only hagiographic material he obviously considered the Dialogues to be part of this genre. There is no evidence of any of Gregory's other works being used in the VPE.

Fontaine notes that at first reading the VPE appears to be a mediocre re-

Similar elements can be found in the death of Masona.

¹⁷⁸VPE V.viii.1-9

¹⁷⁹Collins, "Merida and Toledo: 550-585," 193.

¹⁸⁰Collins, "Merida and Toledo," 193.

¹⁸¹Other sources of the VPE include the Passio Iuliani, the Vita Eugenii, and Vita Martini.

make of earlier hagiography.¹⁸² The author's care in citing the Dialogues indicates that he possessed a complete copy of it. Citations are found from all its books and many are verbatim. The author of the VPE seems to use it as a storehouse of examples from which to borrow, but these examples are not chosen randomly. Veranianus' vision of the dead boy Augustus is based on the vision of Marcellus in the Dialogues.¹⁸³ The author of the VPE is not overly zealous in naming witnesses to his stories, but in this case he seems to be directing the story to the skeptic mentioned earlier. Two of Gregory's episodes concerning women are used in the VPE to create the story of a woman who tries to see a holy man.¹⁸⁴ An example of a complex use of the Dialogues is

¹⁸²Jacques Fontaine, "Al margen," 24, "ante la singularidad de una obra que, a primera lectura, pudo aparecer como un remake mediocre de muchas obras anteriores."

¹⁸³Dialogues I.10.18 and VPE I.117-122. The story of Marcellus' return from the dead is told as proof of Bishop Fortunatus' miracles and the fact that it was through Fortunatus' presence that Marcellus was sent back after death. Gregory seems to be illustrating the power of prayer, not raising from the dead. In the VPE Augustus' death is witnessed by the author and others although the boy wasn't buried immediately. The VPE story seems to be about corroboration of evidence; in this case the focus is on the actual miracle of the vision of Augustus by Veranianus, not on the notion of prayer in effecting miracles.

¹⁸⁴Dialogues III.16.5 and VPE III.iii; Dialogues II.33.4 and VPE III.vii The author of the VPE had access to many references to women in the hagiographic literature he employed, as well as many references to women in the Dialogues. The stories he selected, however, concern women who were trying to deceive holy men. In Dialogues III.16.5 a woman climbed a mountain and tried to glimpse a holy man who refused to look at women. On her way down the mountain she fell and was killed. Dialogues II.33.4 is the story of Scholastica's visit to Benedict where she tries to prolong the visit with her brother by praying for a storm. He chides her and hopes God will spare her for what she has done. The VPE conflates these stories in the life of Nactus into a long episode involving a widow who wanted to set eyes on the holy

found in the story of Bishop Paul's intense prayer before going through with the operation on the senator's wife.¹⁸⁵ The story in the VPE II.ii of the gluttonous monk is really an elaboration of a story in Gregory's work.¹⁸⁶

In some cases only a few words from the Dialogues are used in the VPE

man so badly that she enlisted the help of a deacon. When she eventually saw Nactus, he felt her gaze so strongly that he writhed in agony on the ground and ominously told the deacon that he hoped the Lord would forgive him. The VPE story is longer and more complex and in a way more ironical than either episode from the Dialogues. In the Dialogues the woman acts alone and is punished for her action of climbing the mountain. Gregory's story in itself is not anti-feminist and his words here and elsewhere in the Dialogues emphasize that women are not inherently sinful. The onus of sinfulness is in the man who is weak and whose contact with women may cause sin. In the VPE the woman is not alone in her actions, she tempts a deacon into helping her accomplish the deed of wanting to see the holy man. Is this an ironic twist to the story? The holy man fears looking at women or coming into contact with them because they may lead him into temptation and this story confirms that indeed they do so.

Even though both stories quote the same words, the VPE comes across as anti-feminist. There is the sense that it is not necessarily what women do but the fact that they exist that causes men to sin. There is also the sense here that the woman's sin in this story didn't matter as much as the deacon's sin in betraying Nactus to the woman. Nactus admonishes the deacon, not the woman.

The line from Dialogues II.33.4 is taken from the Benedict's admonition to his sister, but the tone in which it occurs in the Dialogues is different from the tone in which it is used in the VPE. The story of Benedict's meeting with his sister is light, almost funny, but the same words in the VPE are portentous, awesome and loaded with the implication of damnation for the deacon's sinfulness.

¹⁸⁵Dialogues I.8.4 and VPE IV.xi. On first glance these are difficult passages to compare and reconcile since the context is quite different in both. In the Dialogues a monk wishes to be taken along with the monk Anastasius when he dies. In the VPE a rich man begs Bishop Paul to operate on his sick wife. Both wishes are granted in their respective stories. The author of the VPE has selected two passages which relate a description of tearful begging and intense prayer before a great miracle occurs.

¹⁸⁶Dialogues IV.40.10

because their setting is similar.¹⁸⁷ Elsewhere it seems as if certain phrases caught the author's attention, but that their significance did not.¹⁸⁸ A phrase used negatively by Gregory is applied in the VPE in a positive sense.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷In Dialogues III.14.16 and VPE II.x the very short phrase "quae usitato nomine" is common to both work. In the Dialogues the phrase occurs in a story about the holy man Isaac's ability to prophesy. He has his monks put down their gardening tools and cook dinner for some workmen who had tried to steal. The thieves were cleared of guilt and then rewarded. In the VPE abbot Renovatus attempted to convert the gluttonous monk first by harsh measures then by mild ones. Could there be a connecting point to these stories in the treatment of sinners by their respective abbots? Neither Isaac nor Renovatus came down hard on the sinners and in the end their reformation came about. In both stories food appears, Isaac has a meal prepared for the thieves, while Renovatus allows a monk to indulge himself to the point of sickness. Does the author of the VPE use the Dialogues here simply because of the garden setting for both stories?

See also Dialogues II.1.3;IV.11.1 and VPE II.ii. The VPE uses the same words as the Dialogues to describe the location of the monastery near Merida.

¹⁸⁸Dialogues I.10.12 and VPE I.xix "he was far different from those we see today." Both the VPE and Dialogues use this expression in response to a question. Both offer explanations for what the line means. The Dialogues integrates the line more carefully in the rest of the passage and Gregory's intention is to say that there are men whose virtue is as evident as in the great miracles of old days.

See also Dialogues I.9.5 and VPE IV.vii.35-38. In both cases the lines are spoken by holy men who do not want their miraculous power manifested. The Dialogues elaborates the reason for the secrecy of miracles as well as the biblical typology. The VPE only warns that it would be dangerous for the boy to reveal that he saw Fidelis processing with the saints. The VPE has excerpted the phrase but not dwelled on the significance of the secrecy. In the following passage there is another story of Fidelis' virtue.

¹⁸⁹Dialogues III.3.1 and VPE V.iii.59-60. This line occurs in a story about Paulinus and his desire to hand himself over as a slave to the African Vandals. The line describes a haughty barbarian, the Vandal king's son-in-law. In the VPE the line occurs in the first few pages of the life of Masona where his virtues are being described. The passage describes his humility and the fact that he was never puffed up with pride. This line is applied with a negative intention to the barbarian in the Dialogues and with a positive sense to Masona in the VPE. Both are trying to contrast a humble "monastic" way of life with secular display. Both Paulinus and Masona don't fall for "display" while

The opening paragraph and epilogue of the VPE are an exhortation to orthodoxy and belief in the miraculous events in contemporary Merida.¹⁹⁰ In this context, where both the Dialogues and VPE show concern for skepticism, a clue is offered to one of the major differences between the author of the VPE and Gregory when the VPE substitutes the word "merit" for "humility." The VPE is concerned with demonstrating the merits of its bishops while the Dialogues emphasizes humility as the key to attaining heaven.¹⁹¹ In Gregory's work, the holy man Constantius has been insulted by a "rustic" who doesn't think Constantius is worthy of his fame because of his poor appearance. Constantius approves the rustic's disdain and the episode confirms Constantius' humility. In the VPE this phrase occurs as part of a description of the acts of bishop Fidelis. A liturgical procession has just left the

the secular clergy in VPE and the barbarian prince do. In this way both the VPE and Dialogues stress a similar view of the monastic life.

Note that the author of the VPE drew on the the life of Paulinus, the good bishop in the Dialogues, for his portrait of his bishop Masona.

¹⁹⁰VPE, praef. 2.6-13. Ne quolibet ab hoc dubietatis quispiam aestuet animo quod priscis iam temporibus gesta esse videantur ac fortassis fidem plenam minime accomodet et praefatum sanctissimum virum electionis, sacrarium Spiritus sancti, aliqua vanis ac nebulosis verbis fuscasse opinetur, dum luce clarius evangelicae auctoritatis voce cunctis manifestetur Dominum semper operasse et hactenus operari.

VPE, praef. 3.14-19. Quamobrem ut omnium legentium vel audientium fides maiori credulitatis robore firmetur, ea hodiernis temporibus in Emeretensi urbe fuisse narramus quae non relatu aliorum agnovimus neque finctis fabulis didicimus sed quae ipsi eos referentes auribus nostris audivimus, quos e corporibus mirabiliter egressos ad aetherea regna pervenisse non dubitamus.

¹⁹¹Dialogues I.5.6. Cuius apud se humilitatis fuit.
VPE IV.vi.14. Cuius meriti iste vir fuerit qui ita apud Deum.

bishop's residence when the roof caves in. The phrase describes the merit of the man who was able to protect the congregation from death. The Dialogues' passage is a commentary on how a monk should behave and the type of attitude he should take. This sentence is the crux of the passage in both stories, but Gregory emphasizes humility while the VPE emphasizes merit. Gregory's story is symbolic. The rustic who doubted Constantius' value symbolizes the skeptics who failed to see true humility behind an unwashed exterior. This is as much an admonition to skeptics as it is a laudatory evaluation of Constantius. Is it possible that the author of the VPE used this as a passage concerning skepticism, that he saw the symbolism of this passage?

3. Citation of the Dialogues in Part V of the Vitas Patrum

Emeritensium

a. Portrait of Masona

Of the approximately thirty-five citations from the Dialogues which Garvin and Maya Sánchez have noted, about a third are used in Opusculum V of the VPE, which describes the struggle of Bishop Masona with Leovigild. Collins proposes that Masona was probably senior metropolitan at the Toledo council in 589 because his is the first signature to appear in its Acts.¹⁹² Leander of Seville is the third signatory. Of the fourteen citations relating to Masona approximately eight are concerned with Masona's confrontation with

¹⁹²Roger Collins, Early Medieval Spain, 91.

Leovigild and have an anti-Arian or pro-conversion focus. The VPE again uses the Dialogues in a clever, not random way. One of the most striking features here is the application of Gregory's description of Hermenegild to describe Masona.¹⁹³ Masona's virtues are equated with those of the best bishops in the Dialogues. Gregory's portrait of Paulinus of Nola which opens Book III attracted the author of the VPE since he used several episodes from it both for Fidelis and Masona.¹⁹⁴ The VPE conflates two episodes from the Dialogues to construct the story of Masona and the horse.¹⁹⁵ Masona is also equated with Gregory when he seeks his "secret place for sadness."¹⁹⁶ His deathbed scene is an imitation of Benedict's.¹⁹⁷ The bulk of the discussion on Masona in chapter

¹⁹³Dialogues III.31.2-4 and VPE V.iv.13-18, "he could never give up the true faith." Numquam se veram fidem relinquere quam semel agnouisset.

Similarly, Dialogues III.32.1 and VPE V.iv.26. The VPE conflates the Dialogues' stories of Hermenegild and the African martyrs. Again, words used in the Dialogues to describe Hermenegild are now used to describe Masona.

¹⁹⁴Dialogues III.1.2 and VPE V.vii.3-8. In this story of Paulinus and the widow, the poor woman asks him to ransom her son, but he says he has nothing to give up but himself. He changes places with the son. In the VPE this phrase is used to discuss Masona's virtuousness and generosity in almsgiving. In this story he asks a servant to give a beggar-woman the church's last three coins. The servant obeys but then follows the woman and asks for one of the coins back. The VPE actually conflates two stories from the Dialogues. The first one is about Paulinus, a direct reference, but another story from Dialogues I.9.10-13 seems to be employed here as well, the story of Constantius the ungenerous deacon whose money Bishop Boniface has given to the poor. The VPE's servant, Sagatus, like the deacon Constantius in the Dialogues, is skeptical. The VPE follows the Dialogues in noting that secular clergy are preoccupied with mundane affairs. The VPE even states this directly: "May the Lord forgive you brother because you doubted and despaired of the mercy of the Lord and in addition sinned against the poor."

¹⁹⁵Dialogues I.10.9; III.2.2 and VPE V.vi.121-123.

¹⁹⁶Dialogues Prol. I.4 and VPE V.xiii.9

¹⁹⁷Dialogues II.37.2 and VPE V.xiii.79-80

five concerns his political exploits, including his role as defender of the faith. It almost seems an afterthought when the author fills in information on his generosity. It is interesting that the VPE tries to connect Masona's spirituality to both Gregory and Benedict. Given the patterns that exist elsewhere in the VPE, one could conclude that its author intended a direct parallel to the death of Benedict.

b. Hermenegild suppressed

In another episode there is a shift in emphasis when the VPE takes over Gregory's text on the conversion of Reccared. The Dialogues' passage expresses the martyrdom of Hermenegild in terms of "right acting" while the VPE uses this text to make a doctrinal statement.¹⁹⁸ The most obvious point of comparison is that the VPE intentionally overlooks the role of Hermenegild.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸Dialogues III.31.7 and VPE V.ix.10-17. This passage occurs in a story about the conversion of Hermenegild in the Dialogues. At the end of Leovigild's life he recommends that Reccared convert to Catholicism. The Dialogues specifically mentions the conversion example of Hermenegild. The subsequent passage in the Dialogues continues the theme of the usefulness of martyrdom as an inspiration to conversion.

In the VPE the passage occurs in the context of Masona's return to Merida and Leovigild's death, described as "very cruel." The discussion is about the transference of political power and Reccared is described next in terms of his proper line in succession and then in terms described by Gregory. The passage following this one is a statement of Roman Catholic theology on the Trinity. It is certainly anti-Arian and the suppression of Arianism is also described.

¹⁹⁹Hillgarth, "The Position," (1983), 881, notes the official suppression of the story of Hermenegild beginning with Isidore and "consummated in the Vitas

In the Dialogues, an entire chapter praises Hermenegild as a martyr. The VPE, on the other hand, even though it follows the words of the Dialogues verbatim, carefully avoids quoting Gregory's reference to Hermenegild as Reccared's brother. The words fratrem martyrem from the Dialogues are replaced with Christum dominum in the VPE. Likewise, the portrayal of Leovigild in these stories is quite different. Gregory's Leovigild is somewhat more sympathetic. He is described as regretful of the murder of Hermenegild, yet tied to the aristocracy and himself unable to convert, and he charges his other son, Reccared, to follow the example of the martyred brother. The VPE, however, lambasts Leovigild at every opportunity. Not only does Leovigild's heretical religious belief come under fire, but the ruination of the country is made out to be due to him. The VPE contrasts Reccared's qualifications to rule and his proven ability with that of his father.

The Dialogues ends its chapter on Hermenegild with an exhortation to martyrdom, imitatio Christi, centered on Hermenegild's sacrifice which would inspire others to convert. Right action is emphasized. The VPE changes the emphasis of this event and instead of proper action it ends with an emphatic and clear exhortation to right doctrine. The passage rejoices in the eventual rooting out of all Arian heresy, remaining true to the original concerns with skepticism and orthodoxy expressed by the author in the preface.

c. Conversion

The author of the VPE conflates three stories from the Dialogues into one about the conversion of Spain. These stories from the Dialogues concern Reccared and Hermenegild; the portrait of Leovigild; and the story of Benedict and the pagan temple.²⁰⁰ In the Dialogues Benedict is equated with Anthony fighting demons; this scene includes a physical description of the devil. The renewed contests that Gregory describes are of Benedict literally battling the devil himself and not just his representatives. The VPE has taken this phrase out of its desert fathers' context and applied it symbolically. One must also note that the VPE is equating Arianism with paganism, with conversion as the equivalent of Benedict cutting down the pagan temple.

This equation of paganism to Arianism is emphasized again in other passages relating to conversion.²⁰¹ The subtle and sophisticated ability of the author of the VPE is evident in two sections that equate Arians with the pagans of the Dialogues. The phrases that the author of the VPE used are drawn from two rather unlikely sections. The first is a single phrase from the

²⁰⁰Dialogues II.8.13 and VPE V.ix.32-33. Dialogues "new contests of the ancient enemy await the servant of God." This passage is part of the life of Benedict where Benedict has cut down a tree. The Dialogues describes the devil and mentions his outburst against Benedict. In the VPE this passage ends the discussion on Visigothic conversion, it comes after the passage concerning Reccared and orthodox Roman Catholic theology. The passage links one episode to the next though it is very specific about how the next battles are to be fought.

²⁰¹Dialogues III.7.6 and VPE V.x.51-56. See also Dialogues IV.11.4 and VPE V.xii.26-27.

episode in Gregory's work concerning the Jew who witnessed a midnight meeting of demons. "Advancing toward him (the Jew) and glancing at him carefully, they were surprised when they saw him signed with the mystery of the cross."²⁰² The VPE uses this expression to describe the failed assassination attempt on Masona. "Glancing at him carefully with their eyes" the assassins wondered why Witteric did not make a move to kill Masona.²⁰³ In the Dialogues it is the devils who are looking at the Jew carefully. In the VPE, Witteric has tried to draw his sword but cannot get it out of its sheath while his evil accomplices look on. In both the VPE and Dialogues the words subtiliter intuentes are used to describe evil spirits or evil men looking at the subjects of the story. In both stories the subjects are anti-heroes, namely the Jew, a non-Christian, and the assassin Witteric, an Arian Goth. Both stories end with these characters' conversions to Catholicism. The basic outlines of the stories correspond with one another and the author of the VPE has made a close reading of the text in order to work out a skilfull connection between the conversion stories.

The author of the VPE uses another unusual image from Gregory, a passage describing joy and thanksgiving, to describe the conversion of

²⁰²Dialogues III.7.6. Quem maligni spiritus pergentes et subtiliter intuentes, crucis mysterio signatum uiderunt mirantesque... .

²⁰³VPE V.10.52. Ceperunt auctores huius prauis consilii tacite admirari cur Witericus quod fuerat pollicitus minime adimpleret, eumque subtiliter oculis intuentes magis magisque ortabatur.

Spain.²⁰⁴ In the Dialogues these lines occur in a story about the blind abbot Spes whose sight is restored after forty years, and who, in his last days, becomes a preacher. In the VPE the words describe a Mass of thanksgiving celebrated after Reccared's victories over the Arians. Conversion again appears to be the link between the two. In the Dialogues abbot Spes leaves the monastery to visit other brothers to "enlighten their hearts" and to tell them about the "life-giving principles" he had learned.²⁰⁵ The author of the VPE has understood the blind abbot as a metaphor for Arian Spain.

d. Vitas Patrum Emeritensium and other sources

Although the subject of this section is the use of the Dialogues by the VPE, by way of comparison one should mention the use of other sources in this work. The VPE pays tribute to Isidore's emphasis on brevity and clear language.²⁰⁶ There is a consistent use of citations from the Life of Desiderius concerning wicked rulers which the VPE applies to Leovigild or the enemies of the Meridan heroes.²⁰⁷ This is a contrast to the descriptions of Masona noted earlier which are culled from the best bishops of the Dialogues, Boniface,

²⁰⁴Dialogues IV.11.4 and V.xii.26-27

²⁰⁵Dialogues IV.11.3. ...ut monasteriis circumquaque constructis uerbum uitae praedicaret admonuit, quatenus, corporis recepto lumine, uisitatis in circuitu fratribus cordis lumen aperiret. Qui statim iussis obtemperans, fratrum coenobia circuiuit, mandata uitae, quae agendo didicerat, praedicauit.

²⁰⁶VPE IV. vii, 3-4. Et alia multa narrantur que scribere propter prolixitatem sui, ne fastidium legentibus prebeant, desiuimus.

²⁰⁷VPE V.iv.1-3; V.v.3-7, 12-19, and 23-29.

Paulinus and Gregory himself. The VPE intentionally applies the Dialogue's words of praise of Hermenegild to Masona. Although Gregory offers a few vivid descriptions of demons, the author of the VPE does not follow him exactly but uses his words to describe the devil himself.²⁰⁸

While the VPE is modelled after the Dialogues, it is also formed by some particularly Isidorian elements. A rhetorical feature from the Synonyma occurs frequently in the VPE, especially, though not exclusively, in Book V. The author of this section is fond of passages with synonyms.²⁰⁹ Masona is not merely virtuous he is "resplendent in all virtues, abounding in special gifts."²¹⁰ Leovigild brought his people "bitter instead of sweet things, harsh instead of mild, and deadly poison instead of healing ointment."²¹¹ Bishop Neposis is not merely evil he is "a profane man, a servant of the devil, an

²⁰⁸VPE IV.ix.7

²⁰⁹Berschin, Biographie, 2, 195-6, refers to the author's synonymic style. "He loved as all Spanish figures of the seventh century the word plays (eg. mira subtilitate, incisionem subtilissimam). He used the two-fold synonym expression so often that one can speak of a synonymic style (mira subtilitate incisionem subtilissimam subtili..., cunctis potentibus potentior). Díaz y Díaz also recognizes that the author of the VPE knew the Synonyma and used it as a source, "Isidoro al Siglo Edad Media Hispana," 162.

²¹⁰VPE V.I.1-6. Huic prefato almo uiro ad supernam patriam transmigranti prouidentia diuinae pietatis subrogatur non impar omnium uirtutum uir orthodoxus cui nomen erat Masona; scilicet beatus beato, sanctus sancto, pius pio, bonus benigno, atque cunctis carismatibus refulgens rutilanti inmensis uirtutibus sacerdotali ordine Masona successit Fideli.

cf. VPE V.ii.1-10 and VPE V.iii.58-73.

²¹¹VPE V.v.1-7. Crudelissimus tyrannus...uas ire fomesque uitiorum ac frutex damnationis, cuius obsedebat pectus truculentior hostis et captium in sua dicione tenebat callidissimus serpens, amara pro dulcias pro lenibus aspera obtulit ciuibus, pro salute medicamenta mortifera.

angel of Satan, a forerunner of the Anti-Christ..."²¹² Sunna, Masona's rival is "a harsh-featured man, with a protruding brow, savage eyes, a hateful look, horrifying movements etc."²¹³ In contrast to his enemies, "the honorable Claudius of Merida" is "from noble stock, the son of Roman parents etc."²¹⁴ Even the tranquility of the city of Merida is subject to a similar collection of adjectives.²¹⁵

e. Conclusion: conversion and eschatology

The most important parallels between the VPE and the Dialogues are found in the themes of the future life, visions of the afterlife, and conversion. In the VPE this latter theme is played out in the story of the defeat of

²¹²VPE V.vi.29. ...homo namque profanus servus sane diaboli angelus satanae praenuntius antichristi...

²¹³VPE V.v.12-19. Hominem funestum et uultu teterrimum, cuius erat frons turbida, truces oculi, aspectu odiuiliis, motus orrendus. Eratque mente sinister, moribus prabus, lingua mendax uerbis obscenus, forinsecus turgidus intrinsecus uacuuus, extrorsus elatus introrsus inanis, foris inflatus interius cunctis uirtutibus euacuatus, utrubique deformis, de bonis indignus, de pessimis opulentus, de delictis obnoxius, et perpetua ad morte nimis ultroneus.

²¹⁴VPE V.x.32-36. Claudius nobili genere ortus Romanis fuit parentibus progenitus. Existebat prossus fide catholicus et religionis uinculis fortiter astrictus, in preliis strenuus, in timore Dei ualde promptissimus, in bellica studia eruditus, in causis bellicis nicilominus exercitatus.

²¹⁵VPE V.ii.21-29. Omnibus inerat gaudium, cunctis aderat pax, nulli aberat felicitas, in omnium corda florebat perfecta karitas, in omnium sensus pollebat tranquilla iucunditas, ita nimirum ut, deuicto antiquissimo hoste ac superato ueternoso dracone, nemo merore consternatus, nemo angustia adflictus, nemo quolibet terrore percussus uel quolibet zelo aut inuidia tactus callidi anguis uirulentis stimulis quateretur, sed perfectur karitate repleti cuncti, Deo adnitente pii patris gratia iucundantes, inperterriti, sine metu uel formidine omnium, in Dei laudibus persistebant constanter.

Arianism to which the author gives epic proportions.²¹⁶

The depiction of Fidelis surrounded by throngs of saints as well as physical descriptions of heaven and hell reveal the influence of the Dialogues.²¹⁷ The author of the VPE presents the blackness of hell and the physical presence of evil in line with Gregory's attitude as well as with much christian literature of the late antique period.²¹⁸ All evil stems from the devil; individuals are not condemned as having any power to do evil in and of

²¹⁶The understanding of the future life is important to the author of the VPE: VPE I. Augustus' vision is an avowal of the eternal life with numbers of angels and throngs of saints.

VPE V.xiii. A deacon does not grieve but rejoices at the prospect of Masona's death as a reminder of transitory life on earth.

VPE V.xv. Persons buried near the altar of St. Eulalia have the power to heal those in need.

²¹⁷Descriptions of heaven, however, are more numerous: VPE I, Augustus' vision of eternal life as a banquet describes sweet smelling flowers and brightly colored gems.

VPE II. The gluttonous monk who repented and is on the point of death is given a preview of his reward and reassures his fellow monks that Peter and Paul and St. Lawrence are waiting for him.

VPE V. i. Description of Fidelis' place in heaven as among the stars.

VPE V. xii. Catholics who died in Narbonne during the attempted invasion of Spain are among the martyrs in heaven and their souls are more precious than gold and jewels.

VPE V. xiv. When Bishop Renovatus died he joined the choirs of angels and the court of the kingdom of heaven.

²¹⁸Descriptions of hell include: VPE I, "wicked servants" are sent screaming to their punishment after they have been condemned by the judge in Augustus' vision.

VPE II. The gluttonous monk who refuses to mend his ways would find himself in the depths of hell.

VPE V.ix. Leovigild becomes stricken with a harsh illness and cruel death and faces the burning tar pits of hell.

themselves.²¹⁹

The Dialogues, however, is suffused with a stress on the future life which is not found in the VPE despite the vivid accounts in visions of the delights of heaven and the terrors of hell. The element of pessimism which permeates the Dialogues, its apocalyptic point of view, finds no expression in the VPE. The tone of the VPE is not one of pending doom, as one finds in the

²¹⁹The author of the VPE does not speak of this taking over by evil as "possession" per se, but it is apparent that all evil deeds are rooted in the devil and evil can have a physical presence.

VPE IV.vi. Fidelis' power against the devil is described as merit obtained from God.

VPE IV. ix. The physical description of evil is always black. When the saints wish to have Fidelis with them in heaven they call for a signal to be given to take him and then wild black "Ethiopians" appear.

VPE V. ii. The aura of peace in Merida is entirely connected to the defeat of the devil.

VPE V.vi.1. The devil is the authority for those who sin, and who are in the power of the devil. Sunna loses the debate with Masona, but he still doesn't convert because the "ancient enemy" with God's permission hardened the stony heart just as he had Pharaoh's.

VPE V.viii. It was the devil who uttered and growled the noxious sentence of exile on Masona.

VPE V.vi. Even though Masona tamed a wild horse, King Leovigild remained unmoved. The author of the VPE explained that Leovigild's heart was so black no sun could change it.

VPE V.vi. Bishop Nepopis, made successor to Masona by Leovigild, is called "a profane man, a slave of the devil, an angel of Satan, a forerunner of Antichrist..."

VPE V.viii.27-28. Leovigild feigns compassion, and was always a "wicked pretender and deceitful dissembler." *Erat semper in omnibus rebus simulator pessimus et dissimulator fallacissimus.*

• VPE V.ix. The devil waged war against good men through the person of "his ministers."

VPE V. x. Sunna is urged on by the devil and persuades others to sin.

VPE V. xii.1-3. It was the devil who fomented an uprising against the Catholic faith in the city of Narbonne.

Dialogues, but rather an air of confidence, a church about to conquer.

How much is the VPE like the Dialogues and how well does the VPE understand Gregory's work? Episode by episode, the author of the VPE has understood some of the major themes of the Dialogues. What emerges from the VPE, however, is an exaltation of Merida's role in the conversion of Spain, not that Merida has just as many wonder-workers as Italy. Anti-Arian elements also permeate the work: the presence of the early christian martyr Eulalia whose intervention is sought at critical moments in the text²²⁰ and the long account of Masona's role in the struggle against Arianism more than hint at the author's main concerns. Hillgarth describes the VPE as becoming the "official version" of the conversion of Spain.²²¹

The VPE emphasizes the power of the martyr Eulalia above the sanctity of the monks and bishops of Merida. Their effectiveness depends on her intercession. This perspective differs from the Dialogues. The nature of sanctity that Gregory espouses is dependent on God's grace plus a life given over to cultivating monastic virtues, especially humility. This is an ideal for all society, not just monks. The author of the VPE holds martyrdom in high

²²⁰Bishop Paul prays to St. Eulalia before the operation on the wife of the senator; Masona prays to her before his debate with Sunna; Masona asks her to punish the evil deacon.

²²¹J.N. Hillgarth, "The Position of Isidorian Studies," 880. "The evidence of coins shows that religious motives were at least "affichés" by both the Arian king, Leovigild and his son Hermenegild. Isidore can hardly be acquitted of assisting at the birth of the official version (or rather the official suppression) of history, which is consummated in the VPE."

esteem, the only other saints mentioned in the work besides Eulalia being Peter, Paul, Lawrence, and Cyprian, all martyrs. Yet he doesn't put bishops on their level. Gregory adheres to an older view of monasticism as martyrdom accessible in an age when persecution has stopped.²²² There is no real stress on the importance of monastic training for the bishops of the VPE, in one case a bishop's procession is described in royal terms.²²³

One question that remains to be discussed is why the author of the VPE was so concerned about events that happened more than fifty years earlier? If he was really interested in comparing miraculous events in Merida with miraculous events in Italy he could have written about figures more contemporary than Paul, Fidelis, and Masona. Instead, only two small sections are reserved for the seventh-century bishops of Merida, Innocentius and Renovatus. The focus is concentrated on the period of Meridan history that the author saw as significant. As suggested, this interest in Merida's role in the conversion of Spain may well have been founded in the ongoing rivalry between Merida and Toledo and the author's interest in showing his own city as the significant force in the conversion of Spain. The VPE was written for the glory of the church of Merida. Its author surely attempts to provide a local version of Gregory's Dialogues and to confirm the truth of the Pope's stories, visions and the future life.

²²²Dialogues III.26.7-8

²²³VPE V.iii.52-56

The focus of the VPE is anti-Arian to the last. The work uses the genre of hagiography to discuss visions of the afterlife, the nature of evil, the dynamic between good and evil in the world. There are only a few accounts which deal with miracle-working. The author has understood one of the chief messages in the Dialogues, that power is not in the miracle but in virtue. It is not so much caught up in the way one can attain virtue. Gregory wants to reinforce virtuous behavior through his examples of virtue which itself is expressed in miracle-working. But he notes the contrast between Peter and Paul: the latter performed no miracles. The VPE does not try to create superhuman heroes that match Anthony or Martin. We do not see the heroes of the VPE advance in virtue because they already possess it. In striking contrast to the Dialogues only three stories of the VPE concern monks. Stories of good and bad clerics indicate the work is intended for an urban and clerical audience.

D. Life of Fructuosus and the Dialogues

1. Monasticism in Spain

Monasteries and the episcopate maintained close relations in early medieval Spain. Many bishops, such as Martin of Dumio, Leander and Isidore of Seville, Vincent of Huesca, John of Biclaram, Eutropius of Valencia, and Renovatus of Merida were products of monastic schools.²²⁴ Consequently the

²²⁴Riché, Education and Culture, 285.

literary culture of early seventh-century Spain was not sharply divided along episcopal or monastic lines.²²⁵

Regional distinctions in the Spanish church are worth mentioning. Galicia, in north-west Spain, was not structured by the same jurisdictional principles as earlier Roman settlements in the south. Urban bishoprics developed slowly in the north while a number of bishops in Galicia based their authority in a monastery rather than a city.²²⁶ Collins has noted the influx of ascetics from Africa to the north of Spain in the 550's and 560's who established monasteries in the Egyptian manner of ascetics gathered around a spiritual guide.²²⁷ This system did not emphasize communal life as much as it did the formation of the individual ascetic strengthened by his experiences and his abbot.²²⁸ These distinctions between northern and southern monasteries can be observed in the preference for passion literature in the south and the northern taste for hagiographical works that stress the desert fathers and a more rigorous asceticism.²²⁹

Early Spanish monasticism has been characterized by its practical rather than theoretical orientation, i.e. a concern for questions of "monastic discipline,

²²⁵Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," 191.

²²⁶Collins, Early Medieval Spain, 83.

²²⁷Ibid., 83. See also Riché, Education and Culture, 357. "Creation of monasteries in the north later became refugees for Visigothic clerics and monks fleeing Arab invasions in 711."

²²⁸Collins, Early Medieval Spain, 82.

²²⁹Hillgarth, "Popular Religion", 37-9.

ascetic practices and the organization of liturgical life or manual work."²³⁰ In such works as the homilies of Eutropius of Valencia, the anonymous De monachis perfectis, and the rule of Isidore, key themes recur: the renunciation of worldly goods, the anchorite ideal, and the notion of a monastic life as a model for the faithful.²³¹ These ideas derive from the Vitae Patrum or "sayings of the Desert Fathers." Part of this work was translated in Spain from Greek by Paschasius, a monk and student of Martin at Dumio.²³² Fructuosus of Braga (c.600-665), an anchorite, monk, and bishop was an important figure in the development of monasticism in Spain. He was trained by Conan of Palencia (610-640) and lived an eremitic life until 640 when he founded his first monastery, Compludo, near Bierzo; eight others followed. Various sources attest to his role in Spanish ecclesiastical affairs, including his efforts in obtaining pardons for persons exiled during political unrest under Chindaswinth. They also record his unsuccessful attempt to leave Spain on pilgrimage to the east. The Tenth Council of Toledo made him bishop of Dumio, an honor he did not willingly accept.²³³

Fructuosus was celebrated in his own time as an ascetic. His small body

²³⁰M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "La vie monastique d'après les écrivains wisigothiques (VII^e siècle)," 371.

²³¹Collins, Early Medieval Spain, 83. Collins notes "communal life in the monastic formation came increasingly to be emphasized and more rigorous episcopal control of the monasteries was exercised in the west than in the east.

²³²Herrin, Formation, 233.

²³³A. Linage Conde, "Fructueux de Braga," in Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique, 19, (Paris, 1975), 208-231.

of writings, including a Rule for monks, centered on the renunciation of private property as the foundation of monastic life, and the importance of monks as examples to the world.²³⁴ His rule was concerned with problems of discipline, not theoretical concepts of monasticism.²³⁵

2. The Life of Fructuosus: Its dating and authorship

The Life of Fructuosus is a work of local hagiography composed near Braga which exalts the life of the monk-bishop Fructuosus.²³⁶ The work is generally thought to have been written a generation later than the VPE, about 670-80.²³⁷ Older historians have considered Valerius of Bierzo to be the author. Modern scholars, however, have noted the hands of two authors at work in the Life of Fructuosus. Because of the close linguistic connection between the two works, one of the authors of the Life of Fructuosus may also be the author of the VPE.²³⁸ Manuscripts of the Life offer no clue to the author's identity, though its diffusion was due to Valerius' desire to promote Fructuosan monasticism and his inclusion of the work in his hagiographical

²³⁴Regula monastica communis. Fructuosus, Regula Sancti Fructuosi, ed. Julio Campos Ruiz, La Regla de monjes de San Fructuoso de Braga, Santos Padres Españoles, II, (Madrid, 1971), 129-211.

²³⁵Díaz y Díaz, "La vie monastique," 377-8.

²³⁶The Vita Sancti Fructuosi, ed. Frances Nock (Washington, D.C., 1946) and M.C. Díaz y Díaz,, La Vida de San Fructuoso de Braga (Braga, 1974). See Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain." 306.

²³⁷Berschin, 2, 195.

²³⁸M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "A Propósito de la <<Vita Fructuosi>>," in Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos, 8 (Santiago de Compostela, 1953), 155-178.

compilation.²³⁹ Díaz y Díaz has pointed out fundamental differences between the Life of Fructuosus and other compositions by Valerius which strengthen the argument against a Valerian authorship. The Life of Fructuosus lacks Valerius' descriptive visions and vivid portraits of demons or other enemies of the hero. While Valerius also weaves biblical citations into the text of his narratives, almost no direct citation of the bible can be found in the Life of Fructuosus.²⁴⁰ Díaz y Díaz also points out that no extant manuscript cites Valerius as the author. Valerius' devotion to Fructuosus was well-known and he wouldn't have missed the occasion to remind people of this if he had written the Life of Fructuosus.²⁴¹ The work is structured around a narrative account of the founding of Fructuosus' nine monasteries.

3. Sources of the Life of Fructuosus

Maya Sánchez uncovered a number of sources of the VPE from passions of Spanish saints and other continental hagiographical sources. The VPE makes use only of hagiographic sources. The Life of Fructuosus, a much smaller work by comparison, used far fewer sources of a more limited nature, primarily the works of Sulpicius Severus on St. Martin and Gregory's Dialogues.²⁴² This has significant implications for the author's intention in the Life of Fructuosus.

²³⁹Díaz y Díaz, "Passionnaires," 54.

²⁴⁰Díaz y Díaz, Introducción, VF 17 and 31.

²⁴¹Díaz y Díaz, Introducción, VF 17.

²⁴²A number of citations also appear from the VPE, the passions of Julianus, Felix, and Eugenia.

The opening paragraph of the Life of Fructuosus is a paean to Isidore's erudition and Fructuosus' ascetic perfection, but it is the Theban desert, not Roman learning which the author values most.²⁴³ Fructuosus is associated with the "excellent examples of the East which lit the western shores." What we have here is less an opposition between Isidorian theology and Fructuosian spirituality than it is an attempt to prove that Fructuosus is an equal of the Egyptian fathers, with a rightful place beside (or above) Martin and Benedict.²⁴⁴ Isidore may have been famous for the eloquence in his edifying books, but Fructuosus left an example of holiness and followed the footsteps of the Lord.²⁴⁵

The Life of Fructuosus is a comparatively short work. Berschin points

²⁴³VF 1.1-14. Postquam antiquas mundi tenebras supernae ueritatis noua inradiavit claritas, et a sede Romana prima sanctae ecclesiae cathedra fidei catholicae dogmatum fulgurans rutilaret immensitas atque ex Egypto orientale prouincia excellentissima sacrae religionis praemicarent exempla et huius occiduae plagae exigue perluceret extremitas, praespiciuae claritatis egregias diuina pietas duas inluminauit lucernas, Isidorum reuerentissimum scilicet uirum Spalensem episcopum atque beatissimum Fructuosum ab infantia immaculatum et iustum. Ille autem oris nitore clarens, insignis industriae, sophistae artis indeptus praemicans dogmata reciprocauit Romanorum; hic uero in sacratissimo religionis proposito spiritus sancti flamma succensus ita in cunctis spiritalibus exercitiis omnibusque operibus sanctis perfectus emicuit ut ad patrum se facile quoequaret meritis Thebaeorum. Ille actiuae uitae industrie uniuersam extrinsecus erudiuit Spaniam, hic autem contemplatiuae uitae peritia uibranti fulgore micans intima cordium inluminauit arcana.

²⁴⁴Berschin, 2, 199. Berschin has pointed to the story of a horse laden with books in Fructuosus' retinue, a scene he calls unimaginable in the lives of Benedict or Martin, but one which recalls eastern monastic fathers.

²⁴⁵VF 1.14-15. Ille egregio rutilans eloquio in libris claruit aedificationis; hic autem culmine uirtutum coruscans exemplum reliquit sanctae religionis et innocuo gressu secutus est uestigia praeuentis domini nostri et saluatoris.

out that its grand title, Vita vel memoratio mirabiliorum quae Deus pro boni obsequii famulatum sanctissimi Fructuosi episcopi ad corroborandam fidem credentium statuit ad salutem, is misleading. One expects to find the work composed of miracle upon miracle when in fact it contains a very small number of stories.²⁴⁶ The miracles one finds in the Life of Fructuosus are concerned with demonstrating the power of the holy man, they include nature miracles and revenge miracles.²⁴⁷ A few episodes recall Fructuosus' omniscience in the manner of an eastern holy man: as a child he was inspired by God to build a monastery;²⁴⁸ when his books were submerged in water Fructuosus knew they would be undamaged;²⁴⁹ he knew a rainstorm would end in two hours;²⁵⁰ and on his deathbed he told his fellow-monks that his death was foretold to him long ago.²⁵¹

a. Martin and the Life of Fructuosus

Díaz y Díaz has noted that the author's use of earlier hagiographic models is not haphazard. He has the clear intention of placing Fructuosus in competition with Martin and Benedict.²⁵² As a paradigm of sanctity the Vita

²⁴⁶Berschlin, 2, 195.

²⁴⁷VF 9, VF 10, VF 12, VF 14.

²⁴⁸VF 2

²⁴⁹VF 12

²⁵⁰VF 13

²⁵¹VF 20

²⁵²Díaz y Díaz, La Vida de San Fructuoso, 22-3. Riché, Education and Culture, 357. Riché has noted that "the author of the Vita Fructuosi saw the contrast between Isidore of Seville and Fructuosus. Isidore represented

Martini and Dialogues of Sulpicius provided thematic inspiration to the author of the Life of Fructuosus. Both Martin and Fructuosus meditate at a young age on building monasteries and on the benefits of the ascetic life; both have visions of fire which come from heaven; and the prestige of both ascetics attracts attention not only locally, but from afar.²⁵³

Díaz y Díaz has also contrasted the imitative procedure of the author in adapting the Life of Martin to a story where Fructuosus rescues a little goat from some hunters' dogs. For Martin, an authoritative command (sermonis imperium) stops the dogs. After this the rescued animal, in the Life of Martin a hare, has no more role. In the Life of Fructuosus, the story of the rescued goat is the beginning of the episode. Martin appears as imperator dei while Fructuosus is a "friend of God and his creatures."²⁵⁴

One should note that this story conflates episodes from the Life of Martin and the Dialogues Book III. The first half is derived from the Life of Martin, but the continuation is based on the story of a bear tamed by the holy man Eutychius in the Dialogues.²⁵⁵ In both stories jealousy of the holy man inspires evil men to kill the animals.

humanist culture, Fructuosus represented ascetic culture." Hillgarth, "Popular Religion," 40-41. Hillgarth sees the author as contrasting very unfavorably Isidore to Fructuosus. He also notes the difference in tone of Fructuosus' letter to Recceswinth which threatened God's judgment on the king and his bishops, like an Old Testament prophet, in contrast to Isidore's more deferential correspondence with royalty.

²⁵³Díaz y Díaz, Introducción, VF, 24-5.

²⁵⁴VF 7. See also Berschin, 2, 200.

²⁵⁵Dialogues III.15

The idea of Fructuosus as a friend of God and his creatures is supported by a comparison between Fructuosus and Benedict. The Life of Fructuosus adopts some expressions from a passage in Dialogues II.2.1. where a little black bird flutters in Benedict's face. After he made the sign of the cross the bird flew away. This is a prelude to a great temptation of the flesh Benedict next experiences. In the Life of Fructuosus Fructuosus is praying, hidden deep in the woods away from crowds of admirers, when some small black birds fly to him and betray his secret place to the people. The birds had been tamed and knew Fructuosus, just as he tamed the goat in the later episode.

b. Benedict and the Life of Fructuosus

A document preserved in cathedral of Astorga listed gifts King Chindaswinth bestowed on the monastery of Compludo in 646. Among the liturgical ornaments and books was a listing for Gregory's Dialogues. The date of this list is no longer considered correct and the document is not genuinely from Chindaswinth's court, but the need to associate Gregory and Fructuosus is interesting.²⁵⁶ The author of the Life of Fructuosus uses all four books of the Dialogues, but only Books II and III are cited extensively. While using Book II, the author of the Life of Fructuosus has chosen not to emphasize Benedict's miracles. Instead, he has employed phrases that describe Benedict's virtue or phrases associated with some aspect of his way of life. Dialogues

²⁵⁶Linage Conde, 210.

II.1.8 and Life of Fructuosus 5.2 refer to Benedict and Fructuosus living in the woods and being mistaken for animals because they are wearing animal skins. The Dialogues leaves the type of skin unspecified, the Life of Fructuosus refers to it as a goat skin. Benedict is seen by shepherds who then recognize his holiness. Fructuosus is mistaken by hunters and is almost killed by an arrow, until he lifts his arm in prayer and God intervenes.²⁵⁷

Elsewhere the Life of Fructuosus employs the story of some monks asking Benedict to lead their monastery. In the Life of Fructuosus monks from one of Fructuosus' old monasteries return to bring him back as their abbot.²⁵⁸ When Benedict has trouble with monks who try to poison him he leaves this monastery, returning to the "wilderness he loved." Likewise, Fructuosus built the monastery of Compludo after he had "returned to a place of solitude."²⁵⁹

The author of the Life of Fructuosus portrays a rivalry between Benedict and Fructuosus in monastery building. Both build monasteries on rocky mountain tops.²⁶⁰ With Christ's help Benedict constructed twelve monasteries. This is mentioned by Gregory after a long discussion with Peter on the propriety of an abbot leaving an errant congregation. Fructuosus established a monastery on the island off Cadiz after the devil tried to frighten him into leaving. The implication for both is clear. After facing great danger,

²⁵⁷This same passage, Dialogues II.1.8, is used in the story of Fructuosus and the rustic who beats him, VF 11.19.20.

²⁵⁸Dialogues II.3.2 = VF 6.5-6.

²⁵⁹Dialogues II.3.5 = VF 3

²⁶⁰Dialogues II.5.3 = VF 19.2

Fructuosus and Benedict persevere and with God's help establish monasteries which endure.²⁶¹

These citations support the view that the author of the Life of Fructuosus saw Benedict's importance as an ascetic holy man not as a miracle-worker. More than anything Fructuosus is a monastery-builder. He built monasteries from Galicia to the shores of Baetica and this corresponds to some of the themes of Spanish monasticism mentioned above. The Life of Fructuosus attempts to put forth an ideal of eremitic monasticism coupled with the notion of the monastic life as a model for all Christians. Isidore's fame is based on his books, but Fructuosus actively follows the footsteps of the Lord, as the author tells us.²⁶² This implies that unlike Isidore, Fructuosus has added more saints to heaven both by his exemplary life and by promoting the monastic life in his foundations.

One final connection between the Life of Fructuosus and St. Benedict should be noted. The events surrounding Fructuosus' death are reported as follows: he fell into a fever which lasted for six days, to those with him he revealed the day he would die, he was then brought into the church where he ordained one of his servants as abbot of the monastery of Turonium; he then received penance and remained prostrate at the altar; just before he expired he lifted his hands in prayer and handed his spirit to the Lord.

²⁶¹Dialogues II.3.4 = VF 7.24.

²⁶²VF 1.14-15

The death imitates the death of Benedict just as do the accounts of Masona's death in the VPE and to a lesser extent Redemptus' report of Isidore's death.²⁶³ Considering the numerous accounts in Dialogues Book IV of death-bed scenes typically involving a community singing psalms around a dying holy man while saints peer through the door waiting to take the soul to heaven, it is clear that the authors of the VPE and Life of Fructuosus saw Benedict's life and death as a special model they wished to have associated with their holy men.

4. General observations on the Life of Fructuosus and the Dialogues

The works of Gregory the Great and Sulpicius Severus inspired the Life of Fructuosus. Like the VPE, the Life lacks the melancholy world-weariness that permeates the Dialogues, but demons and devils are present everywhere as active forces against a virtuous life. They are not portrayed with the lurid depictions found in Valerius. In the Life of Fructuosus evil is as omnipresent as it is in the lives of the desert fathers.

One glaring difference between the Life of Fructuosus and the Dialogues is the lack of visions or stories illustrating connections between this world and the future life. The Life of Fructuosus is not concerned with the question "what happens in the next world?" and is not touched by Gregory's accounts of

²⁶³Dialogues II.37 for Benedict; VPE V.xiii for Masona; and Redemptus, PL 82, 68-70 for Isidore.

contemporary men and women and their near death experiences. In this regard, it also differs from the VPE which includes visions. Clearly, the author of the Life of Fructuosus was very much centred on fashioning a picture of Fructuosus for his cult and he used the Dialogues in a more conservative way for its information on Benedict.

Fructuosus' quest for the solitary life employs another Gregorian theme, the desire to escape the active life, not out of laziness, but because it is a distraction to the soul's salvation. With every monastery that he founds there is a reason for Fructuosus to leave: the rumor of his holiness spreads and the crowds who arrive cause him distraction.²⁶⁴ Monastery building in effect becomes a form of pastoral care for Fructuosus and as the great monastery builder he follows Gregory's desire to bring souls to heaven.²⁶⁵

E. Valerius of Bierzo

Where the author of the Life of Fructuosus presented a sharp contrast between the christian intellectual life of Isidore, and the monastic life, exemplified by Fructuosus, Valerius of Bierzo (d. ca. 700) walks a path in between the two. Valerius was instrumental in the diffusion of Fructuosan

²⁶⁴See VF 4, 6, 8, 9, and 11.

²⁶⁵VF 8. He founded many monasteries in which he dedicated the souls of many monks to the Lord through a good way of life and holy discipline. *Monasteria plurima fundavit, in quibus multas animas monachorum per bonam conversationem et sanctam disciplinam domino dedicavit.* See also VF 14 and 19.

monasticism in Spain, both in his role as abbot of Fructuosus' second monastery, Rufian, and through his inclusion of the Life of Fructuosus in his hagiographic compilations.²⁶⁶ In his works Valerius extended the Fructuosan emphasis on example to all the faithful. "The examples of virtues of the saints permit us to avoid errors which could lead us to eternal ruin, and at the same time in following their steps, to arrive at joyfulness of life in God."²⁶⁷

Elsewhere he writes, "The correction of life is the business of all the faithful."²⁶⁸ Earlier hagiographic works were directed at an ecclesiastical audience. Valerius advocated an asceticism which did not retire from the world. He himself preferred the solitude necessary for meditation and writing, but this did not exclude his participation in ecclesiastical affairs.²⁶⁹

Valerius was not removed from the tradition of Spanish erudition begun

²⁶⁶M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Passionnaires, légendiers, et compilations hagiographiques dans le haut Moyen Age espagnol" in Hagiographie, Cultures et Sociétés IVe-XIIe siècles (Paris, 1981), 49-59, at 54. See also M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Sobre la compilación hagiográfica de Valerio de Bierzo," Hispanica Sacra, 4 (1951), 3-25. The hagiographic compilations appeared after Valerius' death. Braulio's Vita Aemiliani found popularity by inclusion in this compilation.

The work known as the autobiography of Valerius or the Narrationes comprises three parts: the Ordo querimoniae, Replicatio, and Residuum as well as three poems or Epitameron, all edited in Valerio of Bierzo, an Ascetic of the Late Visigothic Period, ed. trans. C.M. Aherne (Washington, D.C., 1949). Other works cited here include De vana saeculi sapientia, PL 87, 425-31; De Bonello Monacho, PL 87, 433-35; and De coelesti revelatione, PL 87, 435-36.

²⁶⁷Díaz y Díaz, "Passionnaires," 55.

²⁶⁸Epitameron p. 161, Pro aedificatione morum, atque correctione animarum.

²⁶⁹In the Narrationes Valerius describes his conflicts with priests and bishops, Flainus and Justus, Ricimir and the Bishop of Astorga, Isidore.

by Leander and Isidore. He partakes of this tradition when he says his desire is to "improve morals," "to correct souls" and "to open the path of the religious life to ignorant brethren."²⁷⁰ He betrays a scholarly training when he says he skimmed "many books for extracts of texts where one could take the living waters of the doctrine of salvation."²⁷¹ These sentiments echo the intentions of Isidore, Taio and Julian, who wrote expressly to make sacred scripture and church teaching accessible to readers with little patience, skill or opportunity for reading numerous authors of the past. Valerius' works are riddled with references to the Fathers.²⁷² His extensive compilation of earlier hagiography makes it apparent that he had access to a good library; he himself mentions the fact that he owned books and had students.²⁷³ He also employed Greek for a few of his titles, just as Isidore did in the Etymologies and Julian in the Prognosticum; he was also skilled in acrostics which he included in the Epitameron of the Narrationes.

While embracing the ideals of Fructuosus, Valerius closely followed the Spanish intellectual tradition which emphasized training and moral responsibility. Valerius, however, incorporated personal experience into his writings in a way that is completely lacking in the works of Isidore and Taio.

²⁷⁰Epitameron p. 161, Religiosae vitae ignaris fratribus pondere desiderans tramite.[sic]

²⁷¹Díaz y Díaz, "Passionnaires," 55.

²⁷²Epitameron p. 161, Donec praesentis libri dogmatum patrum consumarem instinctu.

²⁷³Replicatio 2-8; Residuum 2 and Epitameron p. 161

His tripartite work, the Ordo querimoniae, Replicatio, and Residuum, is a portrayal of his life as a continual struggle with the devil. It is a history of his travels and a chronicle of the abuse he endured at the hands of various enemies especially bishops and priests, whose motives he ascribed to the devil.

The present editions of Valerius' works do not offer critical appraisals of his sources which would allow for a more complete analysis of Valerius' use of Gregory. In the absence of critical editions only a few citations of Gregory can be found to illustrate Valerius' dependence on him although strong parallels to Gregory are seen in Valerius' choice of subject and the tone of his work. These, however, are less quantifiable than direct citation.

Valerius' Narrationes predates Abelard's Historia Calamitatum by four centuries; the psychological dimension that is contained in this account has no parallel in his own age. The prominent emphasis on the devil in the Narrationes distances Valerius further from Isidore, Taio, and Julian of Toledo, but Collins suggests that a lost work of Ildephonsus, the Liber Prosopopoeia imbecillitatis propriae or Personification of my own Inadequacy, may have been Valerius' inspiration.²⁷⁴ The Narrationes was composed for abbot Donadeus and to be used for spiritual teaching. Valerius' intention, repeated throughout the work,²⁷⁵ is to show how the Devil operates, not merely to list

²⁷⁴Roger Collins, "The 'Autobiographical' Works of Valerius of Bierzo: their Structure and Purpose," in Los Visigodos: Historia y Civilización, ed. A. González Blanco (Murcia, 1986), 425-442 at 432.

²⁷⁵Ordo 8 and 10; Replicatio 1 and 3; and Epitameron, p. 161.

grievances against him, but to inspire Christians to understand the fight as an "unending struggle," to have hope of eternal life and not give into "the numbing indecision of despair."²⁷⁶ Where the devil is a constant presence in the VPE and Life of Fructuosus, a smouldering force that erupts periodically, in Valerius' work the devil is not passive but omnipresent so that continual and urgent vigilance is required.

Valerius offers many examples of the Devil's activity together with lurid descriptions of him.²⁷⁷ Whereas Taio and Julian could speak in forceful yet dispassionate terms on the nature of purgatorial fire, Valerius brings to life the torments awaiting the damned. His work, De vana saeculi sapientia has been described as a "homiletic treatise devoted to the theme of judgment" contrasting "the rewards of celestial bliss or infernal damnation."²⁷⁸ He includes passages from the Dialogues concerning the notion of private and public martyrdom,²⁷⁹ including the only seventh-century reference to Hermenegild as a martyr, a view derived from the Dialogues but not found among any other Spanish churchmen.²⁸⁰ Another passage comparing the torments of hell to the volcanoes of Sicily seems to have been inspired by

²⁷⁶Ordo, 10.10, ut non prolixitas fastidiosi agonis gigneat desperationis torporiosam ambiguitatem, sed timore Domini et ejus judicium atque spes vitae aeternae strenuiter eum corroboret usque in finem.

²⁷⁷Ordo, 7 and 8; Replicatio, 5. Díaz y Díaz, De Isidoro al siglo, 47, refers to Valerius' "obsession" with devils.

²⁷⁸Collins, "The 'Autobiographical,'" 438.

²⁷⁹DVSS = Dial. III.26

²⁸⁰DVSS = Dial. III.31

Gregory's description in Book IV.²⁸¹

Two works of Valerius which are part of the Compilación valeriana, first assembled around 675, recount contrasting visions of life after death: De Bonello Monacho and De coelesti revelatione.²⁸² In the De Bonello the monk Bonellus is taken on two journeys to the afterlife, the first, a very short account of the beautiful houses of gold and precious stones he will occupy if he continues in his ascetic life, the second, a long description of the torments of hell.²⁸³ In hell Bonellus is led through three levels, finally encountering face-to-face the fierce-looking Devil whose head appears to be that of a bird, an iron crow, as well as three demons who present new sinners to the devil as if they are bearing trophies. Bonellus witnesses the torments suffered in the fires of hell and sees a pit containing even crueller punishments.

Valerius juxtaposes Bonellus' vision of hell with Baldarus' vision of heaven in De coelesti revelatione. While Bonellus descends three levels to hell, Baldarus' soul ascends above the stars with the help of doves (over the head of the one of the doves is a cross). In Heaven he encounters the majesty of the Lord, a vision of inestimable majesty, but he is made to return to his body until his time has come. Before he leaves Baldarus witnesses a sunrise and all at once he sees the entire world—nature, humanity, stones, rivers, churches—a

²⁸¹DVSS = Dial. IV.36.12

²⁸²Valerius, De Bonello Monacho, PL 87, 433-435; De coelesti revelatione, PL 87, 435-436.

²⁸³PL 87, 434. The angel tells him, "Si perseveraveris usque in finem, in hac te habitatione suscipiam."

contemplative vision with close parallels to that of Benedict.²⁸⁴

The writings of Valerius demonstrate a strong influence of Gregory as well as connections to Irish authors. In his autobiographical collection Valerius portrays himself as having the power of discernment, the ability to recognize evil, a power associated with ascetic perfection and found throughout the Life of Benedict. Valerius' accounts of the afterlife offer other similarities to Gregory. The different pits assigned for different torments in the De Bonello, follows a discussion from Dialogues IV.²⁸⁵ The houses of gold and gems, and the saintly man in white in heaven are also images that occur in the Dialogues.²⁸⁶

Valerius follows Gregory in his understanding of the purpose of these visions. These accounts give the subjects a preview of the afterlife, the delights of heaven or the torments of hell, in order to instill in them a desire for heavenly things so that they will return to earth to live a good life. The vision is a confirmation of future judgment and an assurance of the promises of the Bible, but there is also the understanding that these visions are intended to help others.

Gregory was held in high esteem by authors throughout seventh-

²⁸⁴Dialogues IV.37

²⁸⁵Dialogues IV.45.1-2. "There is one type of fire in hell but it does not torture sinners in the same way. Each feels pain according to his guilt." *Vnus quidem est gehennae ignis, sed non uno modo omnes cruciat peccatores. Uniuscuiusque etenim quantum exigit culpa, tantum illic sentietur poena.*

²⁸⁶Dialogues, IV.41.5-6. This is based on Paul in 1 Cor.3, 11.12-15.

century Spain. It is clear that his reputation in the earlier part of the century was promoted through a circle of educated clerics in Seville, Toledo and Saragossa. The genres and norms of discourse established by these authors allow one to see a connection between Taio of Saragossa, Julian of Toledo and Isidore. The Sententiae of Taio and the Prognosticum of Julian are essentially concerned with the same things Isidore was concerned with, that is, the nature of moral life. This question continues to be the concern of authors in the latter half of the century, although its expression changes.

The Life of Fructuosus was not as untouched by Isidorian scholarship as it may seem. Despite its subject and complete focus on the monastic life and the author's open antipathy to Isidore, the Life of Fructuosus reflects a conservative emphasis in its techniques of borrowing citations which links it to earlier scholarship. In the Life the author is only interested in what Gregory has to say about Benedict's virtue. The use of the Dialogues reflects the author's intention of promoting a Fructuosan spirituality and cult.

Valerius of Bierzo, likewise, displays the breadth of his intellectual formation. His work, like that of earlier authors, ultimately focuses on the question of the moral life. However, in Valerius, the message is expressed in a more urgent manner and with an emphasis on an idea found in Gregory's Dialogues that visions of hell and heaven can move human beings to change.

CHAPTER THREE

IRELAND, ENGLAND AND THE *DIALOGUES*

Part I. Ireland

By the seventh century the Irish Church had developed a vigorous Christianity centered on monasteries and their daughter-houses. The Irish Church was noted for its rule by abbots, rather than bishops, and for an ascetic spirit that included a highly defined penitential system.¹ Unlike the Church in England whose relations with Rome were based on a personal connection to Pope Gregory the Great and tied increasingly to Roman organization throughout the century, the Irish followed different liturgical practices including the calculation of the date of Easter. The Easter question plagued Ireland in the seventh century and contributed both to contentious relations with Rome and to dissension among the Irish themselves. Several letters from seventh-century popes illustrate their impatience with Irish recalcitrance on this matter.² While the Easter question became an issue for Northumbrians as

¹John Ryan, "The Early Irish Church and the See of Peter," *Settimane di Studio*, 7 (1960), 549-591; and Kathleen Hughes, "The Celtic Church: Is This a Valid Concept?" in *Church and Society in Ireland A.D. 400-1200*, ed. D.N. Dumville, (London, 1987), 1-15, at 2. For a detailed discussion of the notion of the Irish *paruchia* see her *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London, 1966). Richard Sharpe offers a reassessment of the concept in "Some Problems Concerning the Organization of the Church in Early Medieval Ireland," *Peritia*, 3 (1984), 230-70.

²Ryan, 568f.

they were converted to Roman customs through the efforts of Benedict Biscop and Bishop Wilfrid, a Roman party can be found in Ireland before the middle of the seventh century. Before the Council of Whitby (664) when Northumbria officially accepted Roman practice, the seventh-century southern monasteries of Les Mor, Rahan, and Confertmulloe, were already associated with Roman reform.³ The term "Romani" was used to identify a group within the Irish Church which advocated conformity to the Roman calculation for the date of Easter and other Roman practices, and which had connections to supporters on the continent, but not necessarily to Rome itself.⁴ Although Colum Cille's foundation of Iona was the last of the northern monasteries to conform, conversion to Roman practice progressed steadily in Ireland in the seventh century.⁵

It is thus clear that despite the conflict over Easter Ireland was not isolated from foreign influences. This is significant for the transmission of texts to Ireland and for the origin of the influence of Gregory. In a letter to the Irish monk Feradad, Calman admitted that the Romani in Ireland possessed better and more complete editions of important ecclesiastical works, particularly

³Nora K. Chadwick, The Age of the Saints in the early Celtic Church, (Oxford, 1963, 2nd ed), 129

⁴Pádraig ó Néill, "Romani influences on seventh-century Hiberno-Latin literature," in Irland und Europa, die kirche im Frühmittelalter/Ireland and Europe, the Early Church (Stuttgart, 1984), 280-90, at 282.

⁵Adomnán, abbot of Iona, convinced northern monasteries to follow Roman practice at the Synod of Birr 697. The monastery of Iona would not follow until 715.

Isidore's De ecclesiasticis officiis, Jerome's Eusebian Chronicle and Sedulius' Carmen Paschale. Bischoff interpreted this to be a letter from Colman of Iona and thought it implied that the Romani were considered a separate cultural group.⁶

It is often difficult to tell whether a work went directly to Ireland or was first known in a continental Irish monastery, but it is clear that Les Mor and other southern monasteries were in direct contact with Aquitaine and probably Spain.⁷ Scholars generally agree that Isidore's works came to Ireland directly from Spain at an early period; many citations of his work in Ireland after 660 suggest a good portion of his corpus was known there.⁸ Manuscripts of Isidore's Etymologies were copied in Ireland as close as fifteen to twenty years after his death in 636. It is no wonder that the poet Senchan of Guaire (d.663) referred to him as "Isidore of the Etymologies."⁹ Trade routes between Galicia, Brittany and southern Ireland, traces of Spanish influence in manuscript and archeological evidence in Ireland, and the presence of a Celtic monastery, Britonia, in north-west Spain (561-675) support the case for a direct

⁶Bernhard Bischoff, "Il Monachesimo Irlandese nei suoi rapporti col continente," in Mittelalterliche Studien, I (Stuttgart, 1966), 195-205, at 198-9.

⁷Michael Herren, "On the Earliest Irish Acquaintance with Isidore of Seville," in Visigothic Spain: New Approaches, ed. E. James (Oxford, 1980), 243-50, at 244. The Irish were copying manuscripts of Donatus' grammar by the mid-seventh century which Holtz has shown derive from Spain.

⁸Herren, "On the Earliest," 244. The Hisperica Famina c. 650-60, uses Isidore's Etymologies, De natura rerum, De differentiis, and Synonyma.

⁹Esodir in chulmin = Isidore of the Etymologies.

transmission route between Ireland and Spain.¹⁰ Herren hypothesizes that if Spanish works were being imported directly to Ireland it follows that some of their sources may also have followed in this way.¹¹

The paucity of surviving manuscripts from Irish scriptoria obscures the picture of transmission to Ireland. Brittany was another crossroad between Ireland and the continent. Jonas of Bobbio mentions that Columbanus landed in Brittany from Ireland before he began his continental peregrinatio.¹² Irish monasteries in Gaul maintained some connections to Ireland and might have been points of contact for Romani in Ireland with continental churches. Agilbert, a Frank at the Synod of Whitby and later bishop of Paris, studied in Ireland.¹³ In 656 Ireland became the refuge for the exiled Dagobert II, accompanied by Bishop Dido of Poitiers.¹⁴ With two Irish Romani pilgrimages to Rome in the seventh century one cannot ignore the possibility of direct connections between Roman and Irish scriptoria.

Contemporaries in Gaul praised seventh-century Irish monasteries as centers of learning. Like Lérins in the fourth and fifth centuries, these

¹⁰J.N. Hillgarth, "The East, Visigothic Spain and the Irish," Studia Patristica, 4 (Berlin, 1961), 442-56. This argument has been challenged but not dispatched by H. Mayr-Harting in The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England (London, 1972).

¹¹Herren, "Classical and Secular Learning Among the Irish Before the Carolingian Renaissance," Florilegium, 3 (1981), 118-57 at 137.

¹²VCol, c.10

¹³Herren, "Classical," 121

¹⁴J.-M. Picard, "Church and Politics in the Seventh Century: the Irish Exile of King Dagobert II," in Ireland and Northern France AD 600-800, (Dublin, 1991), 27-52.

monasteries united ascetic severity with learning and religious observance.¹⁵ They also functioned as centers of ascetic training, particularly for Northumbrians. Bede refers to Egbert's training at the monastery of Rathmaelsigi.¹⁶ Aethelfrid's sons, notably Oswald and his followers, were exiled in Ireland and later on turned to the Irish community of Iona to establish houses and churches in Northumbria.¹⁷ Aidan, the abbot of Iona, became bishop of Northumbria, his successors, Finan and Colman, had also trained at Iona. Even after the Synod of Whitby (664), Irish-trained bishops held sees in England.¹⁸ Nor was Oswald the only English aristocrat who spent time in Ireland. Aldfrith, king in 685, passed some years in Ireland and Iona, though he maintained the Roman position on church practice.¹⁹ Aldfrith also visited the Irish foundation in Wessex, Malmesbury.

Irish monasteries trained students in secular subjects such as Latin grammar, computus, and astronomy. The emphasis of the curriculum, however, was on scriptural studies, biblical commentaries, and exegesis.²⁰ The works of Isidore are cited by Irish scholars together with those of Gregory, Jerome and Augustine in the Anonymous Commentary on the Catholic

¹⁵Ryan, 586.

¹⁶HE III.iii

¹⁷Ludwig Bieler, "Ireland's Contribution to Northumbrian Culture," in Famulus Christi. Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede, ed. G. Bonner (London, 1976), 208-228, at p. 211.

¹⁸Ibid, 214. Bosa (York), Eata (Bernicia), and Eadheath (Lindsey).

¹⁹Bertram Colgrave, Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert (Cambridge 1985), 329.

²⁰Herren, "Classical," 121.

Epistles. Gregory's prominent place in Irish scholarship could be attributed to the use of him by Spanish authors. Isidore made frequent use of the Moralia. In turn, Isidore's works were cited among some early Irish commentaries. The mid-seventh-century abridgment of Gregory's Moralia known as the Eclogues also included a citation of Isidore's De ortu et obitu patrum.²¹ Its author, Laidcenn (d.661), was a scholar associated with Les Mor in the south of Ireland. His abridgment of the Moralia shows an interest in Gregory's work that follows the Sententiae tradition of Isidore and Taio, and more than likely accounts for Gregory's epitaph among eighth-century Irish authors as "Gregory of the Moralia."²² By 800 Gregory was even given an Irish genealogy which made him a native of Kerry.²³

²¹Ecloga quam scripsit Lathcen Filius Baith de Moralibus Iob quas Gregorius fecit, ed. M. Adriaen CCSL 145 (Turnholt, 1969). Adriaen, v, notes that Lathcen faithfully excerpted the Gregorian text, "distinguishing allegorical and literal interpretation, but often omitting the moral explanation." See also, Wasselynck, "Les compilations," 11-15.

²²Charles Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, 2 vols, (Oxford, 1911).

²³Ryan, 573.

A. Liber de ordine creaturarum

It is the tradition of Les Mor, not Iona, which provides the earliest reference to the Dialogues in Ireland. The Liber de ordine creaturarum c. 680-700, once attributed to Isidore of Seville, is now thought to have been produced in a southern Irish monastery.²⁴ Among its sources the DOC counts the works of Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville and the works of four exegetes from Les Mor. In this context the earlier Spanish attribution of the work is interesting. The DOC presents a connection between Spanish and Irish erudition and confirms the prominent place of Gregory the Great in both traditions.

The author of the DOC moves from a discussion of terrestrial things, the water, the sky, to the heavenly firmament and the space in-between, a concern for paradise, the world, human nature, the diversity of sins and the place of punishment, the fire of purgatory and the future life. Díaz y Díaz has shown that several passages in chapter fourteen of the DOC, "De igne purgatoria," depend on Dialogues IV.41.3-5.²⁵ The author of the DOC also employs Gregory's Homilies on the Gospels for his theory on angels.²⁶ His interest in punishment and the future life coincide with themes found in Gregory's

²⁴Liber de ordine creaturarum. Un anónimo irlandés del siglo VII, ed. trans., M.C. Díaz y Díaz, (Santiago de Compostela, 1972). Herein referred to as DOC. Díaz y Díaz places the date closer to 680. M.C. Díaz y Díaz, "Isidoriana, I: Sobre el «Liber de ordine creaturarum»" in Sacris Erudiri, 5 (1953), 147-66.

²⁵In his edition of the the DOC Díaz y Díaz cites Dialogues IV.39. In de Vogüé's edition of the Dialogues this citation is Dialogues IV.41.3-5.

²⁶Cf. Hom Ev. 2.34.8 and DOC 2.11-12.

works. With the appearance of Book IV of the Dialogues in the DOC and Book II of the Dialogues in Aldhelm of Malmesbury's De virginitate c. 675 it is clear that the Dialogues was in circulation in Romani monasteries in southern Ireland and England by the second half of the seventh century.

Unlike Adomnán's Life of Colum Cille c. 697, an Irish work from Iona, modelled on Northumbrian and continental works, the DOC seems to be connected to Spanish models. The use of the Dialogues in a theological work like the DOC rather than a hagiographic work is significant in this respect. Northumbrian or continental authors for the most part used the Dialogues in saints' lives. In Spain, the Dialogues appeared in the theological works of Isidore, Taio of Saragossa and Julian of Toledo as well as in Spanish hagiography.

There are other reasons for connecting the DOC to a Spanish tradition. Isidore's works, the De differentiis Sententiae, and De ecclesiasticis officiis, appear among the sources of the DOC. One passage from De ecclesiasticis officiis I.18.11-12, "De sacrificio," concerns prayers for the dead and the remission of sin through purgatorial fire. This is also the subject of Dialogues IV.41.3 which the author of the DOC cites. Furthermore, the citation of the Dialogues IV.41.5 in the DOC is a quotation of 1 Corinthians 3, 11-15:

Now if anyone builds on the foundation with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, straw—each man's work will become manifest; for the day will disclose it, because it will be revealed with fire, and the fire will test what sort of work each one has done. If the work which any man has built on the foundation survives, he will receive a reward.

If any man's work is burned up he will suffer loss, though he himself will be saved, but only as through fire.

It is noteworthy that this citation is employed in the DOC, the Dialogues, Isidore's De ecclesiasticis officiis as well as Julian of Toledo's Prognosticum.²⁷ Julian cites 1 Corinthians 3 through a long excerpt of Gregory's Dialogues IV.41.3-6. Further examination of the DOC with other Spanish material might reveal more connections between the works of Gregory, Isidore and Irish authors. The DOC offers a small, but significant example of the use of the Dialogues among Irish authors. Adomnán's Life of Colum Cille illustrates the most extensive use of the Dialogues in Ireland, but it does not represent the only interest Irish authors had in Gregory's work.

B. Adomnán and the Life of Colum Cille

Colman was the first to speak. "Our fathers and their predecessors, clearly inspired by the holy spirit, as was Colum Cille, sanctioned that Easter be celebrated on the Sunday of the fourteenth moon, following the example of the Apostle and Evangelist John who reclined on the breast of our Lord at supper and was called beloved of the Lord. He celebrated Easter on the fourteenth moon, and we, like his disciple Polycarp and others, confidently celebrate it in this way, neither do we dare nor wish to change this, for the sake of our fathers."²⁸

²⁷Prog. II.XVIII

²⁸VW, c.10. Patres nostri et antecessores eorum, manifeste spiritu sancto inspirati, ut erat Collumcillae, XIII luna die dominica pascha celebrandum sanxerunt, exemplum tenentes Iohannis apostoli et euangelistae, qui supra pectus Domini in coena recubuit et amator Domini dicebatur; ille XIII luna pascha celebravit, et nos, sicut discipuli eius Policarpus et alii, ea fiducia celebramus; nec hoc audemus pro patribus nostris neque uolumus mutare.

These are the words of Bishop Colman in his opening argument at the Synod of Whitby as reported by Stephen of Ripon in the Life of Wilfrid.²⁹ Colum Cille (d.597), the founder of monasteries at Iona, Derry and Durrow, oversaw an extensive paruchia, a system of monastic houses owing allegiance to him in Ireland and Scotland.³⁰ His power has been compared to that of an Irish king whose influence was inherited and dependent on family connections.³¹ Iona was Colum Cille's main foundation, established in 563. The Life of Colum Cille, written in the late seventh century by Adomnán (679-704), the ninth abbot of Iona, is contained in the oldest extant hagiographical manuscript from Ireland.³² This work superseded an earlier account of the saint, the Liber de uirtutibus sancti Columbae, written in 661 by the seventh abbot of Iona, Cummene (d.669), which survives only as a fragment in the text of Adomnán's Life of Colum Cille.³³

Recent scholarship has analyzed Adomnán's intention in composing the Life of Colum Cille as well as the context in which it was written and its

²⁹VW, c.10

³⁰Kathleen Hughes, "The Celtic Church," 2.

³¹J.N. Hillgarth, Christianity and Paganism 350-750 (Philadelphia, 1986), 119. See also Máire Herbert, Iona, Kells, and Derry: the History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba (Oxford, 1988), who notes that Colum Cille and his successors belonged to northern branches of the Uí Néill dynasty.

³²Richard Sharpe, Medieval Irish Saints Lives. An Introduction to Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, (Oxford 1991), Schaffhausen Stadtbibliothek MS Generalia 1.

³³Richard Sharpe, rev. of Máire Herbert, Iona, Kells, and Derry: the History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba. Oxford, 1988, in Journal of Theological Studies, 41 (1990), 723-4, at 724.

innovative use of miracle stories.³⁴ Although the lives of Patrick and Brigit were rewritten in the seventh century, there is no evidence that their authors, Muirchú and Tírechán, and Cogitosus, respectively, used Gregory's work.³⁵ The Life of Colum Cille is an important witness for the use of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great in Ireland. In later Irish lives there is a tendency to emphasize a connection between Ireland and Rome.³⁶ Building on the research of Picard, Herbert, and Stancliffe, I would like to confirm the view that Adomnán was trying to imbue Colum Cille with a continental-style sanctity through his use of Gregory's Dialogues. Adomnán knew all four books of the Dialogues; two episodes, hitherto unmentioned, from the Life of Colum Cille present further parallels.

³⁴Jean-Michel Picard, "The Purpose of Adomnán's Vita Columbae," Peritia, 1 (1982), 160-77; "Bede, Adomnán, and the Writing of History," Peritia, 3 (1984), 50-70; "The Marvellous in Irish and Continental Saints' Lives of the Merovingian Period," in Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism, ed. H.B. Clarke and M. Brennan, (Oxford 1981); M. Herbert, Iona, Kells, and Derry; Clare Stancliffe, "The Miracle Stories in seventh-century Irish Saints' Lives," in The Seventh Century, 87-115.

³⁵Ludwig Bieler, The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh (Dublin, 1979), 52-53. Bieler discusses Muirchú's Vita s. Patricii c.661-700 and the bishop of Tírechán's Notulae, acts of St. Patrick c. 668, as well as the Liber Angeli, eighth-century statement of the claims of the See of Armagh. Bieler points out that the claims of Armagh are based on the appearance of an angel giving the privileges to Patrick and "on the special sanctity of the place which possesses the relics of the apostles Peter and Paul and of the martyrs Stephen and Laurence and of a linen cloth with the blood of Christ." The authority of these Roman martyrs is noteworthy.

³⁶Plummer, Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, passim.

1. Context and audience of the Life of Colum Cille

Then, after the saintly priest Wilfrid stopped speaking, King Oswiu asked them all with a smile, "Tell me whether Colum Cille or Peter the Apostle is greater in the kingdom of heaven?" The entire synod with one voice responded in agreement: "The Lord decided this when he said: you are Peter and upon this rock I will build my church and the gates of hell will not prevail against it. And I give you the key to the kingdom of heaven and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven. And whatever you loose on earth will be loosed also in heaven." Again the king wisely said: "He who is the gatekeeper and the keeper of keys, I make no struggle against nor do I agree with those causing controversy nor ever speak against his judgments in my life."³⁷

Although Stephen of Ripon's Life of Wilfrid was written after

Adomnán's death in 704 its attitude toward Colum Cille provides a starting point for a discussion of why Adomnán wrote the Life of Colum Cille. Picard has dated the Life of Colum Cille to the end of the seventh century, possibly 697, one hundred years after the death of Colum Cille.³⁸ He suggests three possible audiences for the life: Ireland, Northumbria, and the continent.³⁹ In all three cases Admonán's purpose was to "restore to the community a prestige

³⁷VW, c. 10. Tunc Oswiu, rex, tacente sancto Wilfritho presbitero, subridens interrogauit omnes, dicens: "Enuntiate mihi, utrum maior est Columcillae an Petrus apostolus in regno coelorum? Omnis synodus una uoce et consensu respondit: "Hoc Dominus diiudicauit qui dixit: Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et portae inferi non praeualebunt aduersus eam. Et tibi dabo clauas regni coelorum et quod cumque ligaueris super terram erit ligatum et in coelis. Et quodcumque super terram erit solutum et in coelis." Iterum rex sapienter dixit: Ille est hostiarius et clauicularius, contra quem conluctationem controuersiae non facio nec facientibus consentio et iudiciis eius in uita mea in ullo contradicam."

³⁸Herbert has also commented on the centenary aspect of the composition.

³⁹Picard, "The Purpose," 166.

it was losing."⁴⁰ On one level, the Life of Colum Cille was intended to update an earlier collection of miracle stories written by abbot Cummene in light of competition generated by the rewriting of the lives of Patrick and Brigit. These new lives were helping to invigorate the communities of Armagh and Kildare.⁴¹ The Life of Colum Cille may be seen as a response to Muirchú's Life of St. Patrick which stressed Patrick's unity with Rome on the celebration of Easter. The Life of Colum Cille was also Iona's answer to Armagh's accusation that Iona had illegally taken over territories belonging to it. Iona was losing the support of the Uí Néill clan and this vita of Colum Cille, who was related to the Uí Néill, was intended to reinforce the royal clan's ties to the monastery.⁴²

Adomnán's focus on a continental audience is connected to the rivalries between the Irish monasteries. Patrick's fame was better established on the continent than it was in Ireland. The opposite was true of Colum Cille who was often confused there with Columbanus.⁴³ In the first preface to the Life of Colum Cille Adomnán apologized for the inclusion of Irish words, an apology

⁴⁰Ibid, 166.

⁴¹Ibid, 169-171. Cogitosus wrote a life of Brigit, c. 650 and Tírechán and Muirchú wrote lives of St. Patrick which appeared 661-700. Cogitosus' Life of Brigit claimed Kildare's superiority over most Irish churches and all women's monasteries; Tírechán claimed nearly the whole of Ireland for Patrick's paruchia while Muirchú's life was written at a time of "great aggrandizement of Armagh." See also Stancliffe, "The Miracles."

⁴²Colum Cille has visions which prophesy victorious battles for the Uí Néill.

⁴³Picard, "The Purpose," 176.

which Picard thinks is directed at continental readers.⁴⁴ Picard says Adomnán may have wanted to secure Colum Cille's reputation among continental Christians, but does not say why he needed to do so.

The most obvious audience for the Life of Colum Cille is Northumbria. Though he does not offer a polemic about the Easter question, Adomnán seems to have directed this work against Northumbrian attacks on Colum Cille's orthodoxy and writers who tried to minimize the role of the Irish in the conversion of England.⁴⁵ Adomnán builds up a picture of Colum Cille as a pillar of the church, in part by reminding the reader of the saint's role in the conversion of Northumbria. (Adomnán implies that the Northumbrians may think of themselves as orthodox, but at one time they were pagans and it was the Irish who converted them).

Adomnán might have experienced slurs against the Irish when he made at least two trips to Northumbria in the late 680's. In 687 he escorted sixty Irish captives back to Ireland and in 689 he visited Irish churches in Northumbria and met with King Aldfrith who had been educated at Iona. These journeys occurred as Wilfrid, "the champion of Roman observance,"⁴⁶ was being restored to the monasteries of Hexham and Ripon and the episcopacy of York by Aldfrith.⁴⁷ Hexham was the focus of the cult of King

⁴⁴Ibid.; VCC, praef.

⁴⁵Picard, "The Purpose," 174.

⁴⁶Goffart, 261.

⁴⁷These restorations occurred between 686-687 according to the VW.

Oswald. Wilfrid's promotion of this cult may have been a way of overshadowing the Irish role in the conversion of Northumbria.⁴⁸ The translation of King Oswald's relics took place in the early 690's but interest in him had to have preceded it. Adomnán must have been aware of the pro-Roman emphasis of Northumbrian Christianity which denigrated or ignored the Irish. Stephen of Ripon, writing in the early eighth century, uses language in the Life of Wilfrid, that is strongly anti-Irish; in one place Wilfrid referred to the Irish as schismatics and quartodecimans, the second-century Christians who calculated Easter according to the Jewish calendar.⁴⁹ This may have been an attitude to which Adomnán responded. Adomnán himself promoted Roman practice in Iona's paruchia so his motive in the Life of Colum Cille was not a defense of Colum Cille's position on Easter.⁵⁰

Adomnán reminds his readers of the conversion and baptism of King Oswald, his being surrounded by Irish monks during his exile in Ireland, and later, the conversion of his entire army.⁵¹ He cleverly employs the model of Constantine's conversion after the victory of the Milvian Bridge. Before a battle Colum Cille appeared in a dream to Oswald foretelling his victory. Oswald

⁴⁸Goffart, 261.

⁴⁹VW, c.12

⁵⁰Throughout the VCC it is clear that Adomnán is working in tandem with the monks of Iona, not against them as earlier scholarship suggested. Adomnán's language, "our Colum Cille," "our monastery," is inclusive, his emphasis is not to convince his monks to follow Roman practice but to build up a cult of Colum Cille.

⁵¹VCC, I.1.8a-9b.

recounted the dream to his troops who promised to convert if it came true.⁵²

The reference to Constantine's conversion may have been employed to mask a subtle contempt of the Northumbrians. Possibly Adomnán was following Gregory's teaching that miracles are only employed as a last resort in conversion; rustics and pagans need miracles, but conversion by preaching is a loftier form of conversion. By reducing the Northumbrian conversion to a battle victory, Adomnán manages to maintain Colum Cille's stature as a holy man while at the same time putting the Northumbrians in their place.

To secure and underscore Colum Cille's important role in the churches of Ireland and England, Adomnán portrays him as the equal in sanctity to Anthony, Martin, Germanus of Auxerre, and Benedict. Stancliffe has called Adomnán the most "European" of all the Irish hagiographers because he adapted certain conventions of continental hagiography.⁵³ According to Stancliffe and Picard the most striking difference between continental and Irish hagiography is the lack of healing miracles in Irish lives and the lack of emphasis on demons. "Gregory of Tours lovingly chronicled every healing miracle he could from the shrine of St. Martin."⁵⁴ This is not the case for the Irish authors who focus on angels rather than demons. The devil was never a dominant part of Irish cosmology as he was in the Greco-Roman world which

⁵²VCC, I.1.14a-15b.

⁵³Stancliffe, "The Miracle Stories," 108. She considers Tírechán the least influenced by continental hagiography.

⁵⁴Stancliffe, "The Miracle Stories," 100; Picard, "The Marvellous," 92-4.

influenced continental hagiography. "The majority of Merovingian saints' lives see the world as a contest between God and the devil with the saint bringing a beam of light and hope into the world where the devil's power was only too apparent..."⁵⁵ In Irish lives, once a saint was predestined for sanctity there was no further struggle.⁵⁶ The Life of Colum Cille contains many of these continental features. References to demons are common: they are actively wicked forces which humans must guard against; they are the evil power behind druidic magic and they battle angels over possession of souls after death.⁵⁷ Colum Cille lives his life on the boundary between the physical and heavenly worlds. To him the sky opens to reveal souls being taken to heaven⁵⁸ or battles between angels and demons.⁵⁹

2. The Life of Colum Cille and its sources

Adomnán composed the Life of Colum Cille using the lives of Anthony and Martin, and the Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus as his models. He also employed the Life of Germanus of Auxerre, the Gesta Silvestri, Jerome's De viris illustribus, and the sermons of Pope Leo I.⁶⁰ The Dialogues of Gregory

⁵⁵Ibid., 102.

⁵⁶Ibid., 105-6.

⁵⁷Ibid., 108.

⁵⁸VCC, III.10-III.14

⁵⁹VCC, I.39, III.8, III.10

⁶⁰Gertrud Brüning, "Adamnans Vita Columbae und Ihre Ableitungen," Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie (Halle), 11 (1916), 213-304. Brüning's collection of citations of Adomnán's VCC indicates the Dialogues to be the most used source for the work followed closely by the Life of Anthony and

occupies an important place. By his choice, adaptation, and annotation of his sources Adomnán created a strong portrait of Colum Cille that was not a mere copy of Anthony, Martin or Benedict.

The tripartite arrangement of the Life of Colum Cille into prophetic knowledge, miracles of power, and angelic conversation identifies the features which Adomnán thought important to include in his portrait.⁶¹ At times Adomnán steps back from the narrative to remind his reader how great the saint's powers were.⁶² For each division of the work Adomnán includes an opening paragraph which repeats the order of the text and reminds the reader what has preceded and what will come next. Adomnán is unrelenting in supporting his themes. Example after example is minutely described. Sometimes three or four stories on the same theme appear in succession. He seems to believe that it is important to accumulate examples of Colum Cille's omniscience, miracles or visions. Adomnán invests all of Colum Cille's actions with religious significance whether it be his prediction that a book a monk is reading will fall into a pitcher of water,⁶³ or that his voice could be heard for many miles⁶⁴ or that his prayer during a storm turned rough seas into

then the Life of Martin.

⁶¹Berschin, II, 245, has noted the "Suetonic" division of the VCC into three parts; Herbert, Derry, Iona, Kells, 139, suggests Adomnán is following Sulpicius' Life of St. Martin.

⁶²VCC, II.4 and II.9

⁶³VCC, I.24

⁶⁴VCC, I.37

calm.⁶⁵

3. The Dialogues and the Life of Colum Cille

Adomnán's concern is to integrate Colum Cille into a church that has conformed to Roman rites and to show he was a monk of the calibre of Benedict. Brüning's work offers a starting point for an examination of the citations of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great in the Life of Colum Cille. Out of eleven citations, three use several common words.⁶⁶ Her assessment emphasizes the importance Book II of the Dialogues, the Life of Benedict, had for Adomnán, particularly for portraying Colum Cille's prophetic power. She points to such parallels as Benedict's and Colum Cille's great sanctity being foretold at an early age; to similar visions both saints had of souls being taken to heaven; and to stories in both vitae of the saint bringing a dead child back to life.⁶⁷ Brüning grudgingly concedes that two healing miracles derive from other books of the Dialogues.⁶⁸ Colum Cille heals a holy woman by directing a monk to sprinkle holy water over her broken hip. This resembles the healing miracle of Bishop Fortunatus in the Dialogues who directs his deacon to sprinkle holy water on a Gothic soldier who has broken a rib. The other story is based on Book III of the Dialogues which describes a drought that is ended

⁶⁵VCC, II.45

⁶⁶Dialogues I.2; I.10; II.prol.

⁶⁷Brüning, 249.

⁶⁸Ibid., 251.

after a procession passes through the fields with a relic, the cloak of blessed Eutychius. A drought in Iona is brought to an end by a similar procession with Colum Cille's tunic (and books).⁶⁹

Brüning's work suggests that Adomnán may only have had access to the first three books of the Dialogues. Stancliffe offers a few additions to Brüning's list that show Adomnán's use of the Dialogues extending beyond Book II, with a particularly strong dependence on the fourth book. Adomnán's story of the demon upsetting the milk pail because the young monk did not make a sign of the cross over it resembles the nun of Gregory's Dialogues who becomes possessed after eating lettuce which she had not signed before she ate it.⁷⁰ Brüning refers to Benedict's vision of Germanus' soul being taken to heaven, but Stancliffe notes eleven instances in the Life of Colum Cille where demons fight over possession of a soul and Stancliffe suspects the influence of

⁶⁹Dialogues I.10. =VCC II.5; Dialogues III.15 =VCC II.44 This story also appears in the VPE V.XIV.2.

⁷⁰Stancliffe, "The Miracles," 109, Dialogues I.4.7 = VCC II.16. Gregory has other references to the power of the sign of the cross which Stancliffe does not note. The protection afforded by the sign of the cross is seen in Dialogues III.7.6 where a Jew spends the night in an abandoned house only to find it the site of a demonic gathering. In fear he makes the sign of the cross over himself. When a demon spies him he is surprised to find him signed with the cross and refers to the Jew as an "empty vessel signed" (uas uacuum et signatum). Leaving aside the anti-semitic elements of this tale (Jewish recalcitrance is reinforced here, i.e. Jews really know that Christ is the saviour but they refuse to admit it, and the Jew is converted at the end of the story), the sign does protect him. Another reference to the power of the sign of the cross is found in Dialogues I.11. Some monks who are baking bread forget to stamp it with the sign of the cross. Another monk overhears their conversation and makes a sign of the cross over the fire where the bread is baking. When the bread is removed it is found to have been stamped.

the Dialogues Book IV at work here.⁷¹

As has been indicated, the continental character of Adomnán's work appears especially in its emphasis on demons. Adomnán refers to Colum Cille's power to see souls being carried to paradise or to hell and Book III is entirely devoted to Colum Cille's visions.⁷² Four episodes concern battles between angels and demons over a soul.⁷³ There is some interesting variation in these stories. In one place a woman who predeceased her husband intercedes for him when his soul is fought over by demons.⁷⁴ In another place Jesus Christ himself is the arbiter of a battle.⁷⁵

Stancliffe refers to Dialogues IV.37.12 as a close model for Adomnán because it explicitly contains a battle between angels and demons for a soul. In Gregory's story a soldier reveals his vision of a layman in the afterlife who tries to cross a bridge to paradise. The man has slipped and is seen dangling over the edge. Demons in the foul river pull at the man to drag him down, while "handsome men in white robes" appear on the bridge to draw him up to safety.⁷⁶ The outcome of the struggle remains unknown since the narrator was

⁷¹Stancliffe, "The Miracle Stories," 109, n. 112, "E.g. departures of blessed souls: Dial IV.7-10, departures of the damned: Dial. IV.31 and .40. Good and evil spirits fight over a soul: Dial IV.37.12."

⁷²VCC I.1

⁷³VCC III.6, III.8, III.10, III.13

⁷⁴VCC III.10

⁷⁵VCC III.6

⁷⁶Dialogues IV.37.12: *albatis et speciosissimis uiris coepit per brachia sursum trahi.*

called back to life.⁷⁷

Stancliffe has noticed that Adomnán only briefly discussed the fate of souls after death and only from the point of view of the viewer. There is nothing from seventh-century Ireland (including Iona) comparable "to the developed treatment of the soul's out-of-the-body experiences such as we find in the Life of Fursey."⁷⁸ Adomnán also avoids concluding paragraphs which summarize or explain the moral of the story. This feature is characteristic of the Dialogues. At the end of the story of the struggle across the bridge to paradise Gregory explained what the struggle symbolized:

The reason for this vision is found in the life of Stephen because in him the evils of the flesh fought against the work of almsgiving. Those who dragged him down by his waist and those who lifted him up by the arms certainly seem to represent that he loved almsgiving and yet did not perfectly resist sins of the flesh which dragged him downward...

It is certain that Stephen, afterward, as I said above, saw the regions of hell in a vision and returned to his body, but after many years in the body did not correct his life and departed still facing a contest of life and death.⁷⁹

In effect, Gregory connects the vision of other-worldly chastisement to a

⁷⁷Dialogues IV.37.12

⁷⁸Stancliffe, "The Miracle Stories," 109.

⁷⁹Dialogues IV.37.13-14. Qua in re de eiusdem Stephani uita datur intellegi quia in eo mala carnis cum elemosinarum operatione certabant. Qui enim per coxas deorsum, per brachia trahebatur sursum, patet nimirum quia et elemosinas amauerat, et carnis uitii perfecte non resisterat, quae eum deorsum trahebant.

Constat tamen quia isdem Stephanus, postquam, sicut superius narraui, et inferi loca uidit et ad corpus rediit, perfecte uitam minime correxit, qui post multos annos de corpore adhuc ad certamen uitae et mortis exiit.

good life lived on earth. Adomnán makes this connection but not as emphatically. The outcome of the battles in the Life of Colum Cille is always on the side of the angels, as if the cavalry has been sent in for a last minute rescue. Demons don't give up so easily but a victory is ensured if the angels fight on your behalf. Adomnán implies that there is a bigger struggle between good and evil which human beings are not a part of.

The struggle on the bridge in the Dialogues is left unresolved. Gregory leaves his audience wondering at the outcome, as if to say, we have a choice in the matter. The struggle is not beyond our control, a battle fought between demons and angels. The inconclusive ending is probably a didactic ploy on Gregory's part as he has discussed the purpose of visions throughout Book IV. Sometimes visions are intended as a warning to the person to give him time to mend his ways; sometimes they are a warning to those who hear about the vision.⁸⁰

A few other episodes from the Life of Colum Cille, not mentioned by Brüning or Stancliffe, recall episodes from the Dialogues.⁸¹ Since these do not contain direct citation of the Dialogues it is more difficult to make the case that Adomnán borrowed them directly. One has to recall, however, Adomnán's ability to integrate his sources into his own work. Two of these passages are

⁸⁰Dialogues IV.40.9. De quo nimirum constat quia pro nobis ista, non pro se uiderat, ut eius uisio nobis proficiat, quos adhuc diuina patientia longanimitèr expectat.

⁸¹These passages are: Dialogues I.9.8 = VCC I.27; Dialogues II.11.1-2 = VCC III.15; Dialogues IV.36 = VCC I.28; Dialogues II.7.3 = VCC II.1.

merely references. In Book I.28 Adomnán refers to a report of a volcano in Italy in which a town was buried in sulphurous flames from heaven.⁸²

Gregory has several references to the nature of fire in hell, but in two cases the mines of Sicily become a metaphor for infernal fire.⁸³ In Dialogues IV.31.3 there is a description of King Theodoric, who had executed Pope John (523-526) and the patrician Symmachus, being led to the mouth of a volcano by his former victims and thrown into its flames.⁸⁴ In another episode when a ship is described as "prepared to take us to Sicily,"⁸⁵ Gregory explains that this refers to "the islands around Sicily, which, more than other places, seem to have cauldrons erupting with the fire of torments."⁸⁶

An episode which shows strong parallels in prophecy between the Dialogues and the Life of Colum Cille but no direct citations includes Colum Cille's frustration over an annoying guest. This story resembles Gregory's story of Bishop Boniface who becomes angry over a musician who disturbs his meal.⁸⁷ Colum Cille predicts that the man who arrived "shouting and seeking health remedies would be better off occupying himself with repentance for his

⁸²VCC I.28. Sulfurea de caelo flamma super romani iuris ciuitatem.

⁸³Dialogues IV.31.3 and IV.36.12

⁸⁴Dialogues IV.31.3

⁸⁵Dialogues IV.36.8. Ecce nauis parata est ut ad Siciliam duci debeamus.

⁸⁶Dialogues IV.36.12. Quod uero se ad Siciliam duci testatus est, quid sentiri aliud potest, nisi quod prae ceteris locis in eius terrae insulis eructuante igne tormentorum ollae patuerunt?

⁸⁷Dialogues I.9.8 = VCC I.27.

sins. For in the end of this week he will die."⁸⁸ In the Dialogues Bishop Boniface is annoyed at the sound of the cymbals and exclaims, "That wretch is dead! He is dead. I come to table and cannot even open my mouth to praise the Lord and he comes with his monkey banging his cymbals. Go and give him food and drink out of charity but know that he is dead."⁸⁹ As the musician entered the house he was struck by a falling stone and died. In both episodes the holy men give the visitors what they want, Colum Cille's guest wants medicines, Boniface's musician wants a meal and in both stories the holy men predict the deaths of their visitors. For Adomnán this passage is an example of Colum Cille's prophetic power juxtaposed in an amusing sequence of episodes related to the frustrations of monastic hospitality.⁹⁰ For Gregory the focus is on the anger of the holy man and his power to inflict vengeance.⁹¹

Another close parallel with the Dialogues exists in Colum Cille's prophetic ability and his conversation with angels.⁹² While he is in his cell

⁸⁸VCC I.27. Valde miserandus est ille clamitans homo, qui aliqua ad carnalia medicamenta petiturus pertentia ad nos uenit. Cui oportunius erat ueram de peccatis hodie penitudinem gerere, nam in huius fine ebdomadis morietur.

⁸⁹Dialogues I.9.8. "Heu, heu, mortuus est miser iste, mortuus est miser iste. Ego ad mensam refectionis ueni, os adhuc ad laudem Dei non aperui, et ille cum simia ueniens cymbala percussit." Subiunxit tamen atque ait: "Ite et pro caritate ei cibum potumque tribuite. Scitote tamen quia mortuus est."

⁹⁰VCC I.25-I.27 records episodes visitors disturbing Columba. In one episode visitor knocks over Columba's ink well.

⁹¹Dialogues I.9.9

⁹²Dialogues II.11.1-2 and VCC III.15.

writing, Colum Cille "knows" a young monk is about to fall off a scaffold of a building under construction. He commands an angel to rescue the boy. The angel catches the boy in mid-fall and he lands safely on the ground.⁹³ Certain elements of this story are found in the Dialogues. While Benedict is praying in his room, some monks are working on a high wall. The devil appeared to Benedict taunting him and remarked that he was going to visit the monks. Benedict sent a warning to the monks but just as they received it the devil overturned the wall crushing a young monk. When the boy's body is brought to Benedict he prays over it and the boy is brought back to life.⁹⁴

The substance of each story is the same: men are working on a construction project, a young monk is the victim, Colum Cille and Benedict are removed from the scene in their cells, and both reveal their prophetic abilities as well as their protective or healing powers. This episode supports Stancliffe's view that the Irish lives focus on the angelic while the continental lives stress the demonic. Adomnán does not attribute the boy's fall to a demonic force as Gregory does in the Dialogues.

Gregory concludes this passage of the Dialogues by explaining that Benedict began to prophesy, to preach about things to come, and to tell things happening far away to those who were present.⁹⁵ Since Adomnán employed

⁹³VCC III.15

⁹⁴Dialogues II.11.1

⁹⁵Dialogues II.11.3. Coepit uero inter ista uir Dei etiam prophetiae spiritu pollere, uentura praedicere, praesentibus absentia nuntiare.

the words of this paragraph in the Life of Colum Cille in a previous story in book I.1 it is likely that he was referring to this story of Benedict and the boy's fall when he was writing about Colum Cille in Book III. 15.

When Adomnán endowed Colum Cille with different qualities from those possessed by Brigit and Patrick, he did so by using the Dialogues. In particular, Colum Cille's use of prophetic powers and his understanding and acceptance of contemplation as the highest indicator of sanctity were modelled on Benedict.

Part II. England, Gregory and the Dialogues

It is better to give credit to the testimony of God the Father as to His own Son than to your Hildefonsus, who composed such prayers for you in your Mass as the holy and universal Church of God knows not. Nor do we think God listens to you when you say them. And if your Hildefonsus in the prayers he wrote called Christ "adoptive," our Gregory, Pope of the Roman See and Doctor renowned throughout all the world, in his prayers never hesitated to call him the Sole-begotten One.⁹⁶

Alcuin to Elipandus (794)

Alcuin's scorn for the Toledan fathers in this letter is overshadowed by his possessiveness toward Gregory the Great. To Aldhelm, he was "Gregory,

⁹⁶MGH Concil ii, 145. Et melius est testimonio Dei patris credere de suo filio quam Hildifonsi vestri, qui tales vobis conposuit preces in missarum sollemniis, quales universalis et sancta Dei non habet ecclesia. Nec vos in illis exaudiri putamus. Et si Hildifonsus vester in orationibus suis Christum adoptivum nominavit, noster vero Gregorius, pontifex Romanae sedis et clarissimus toto orbe doctor, in suis orationibus semper eum unigenitum nominare non dubitavit. Translation from Bishop, Liturgica Historica, 171.

our teacher and instructor;" in the Whitby Life of Gregory, and in Bede, he was "our master," "our apostle". These views express a romanticized perception of Gregory and his role in the conversion of England. Alcuin's condemnation of the Spanish is ironic considering the close bonds seventh-century Spain and England both had with Gregory. Both countries could claim him as their personal spiritual mentor in a way Ireland and Gaul could not.

The Gregorian mission to England has been analyzed in recent years in regards to Gregory's motives, the condition of the English church before 596, and the relations between the Gallic Church and the Church in Kent.⁹⁷ How much the mission was uppermost in Gregory's mind in the late sixth century is difficult to measure. At the time of the mission Gregory was in the process of dealing with a schismatic church in northern Italy, with Romanus, the hostile exarch of Ravenna, with attacks on Rome by King Agilulf, along with ongoing fiscal difficulties.⁹⁸ Yet twenty-nine letters remain in the Registrum which relate to the English mission and the reference to it in the Liber Pontificalis indicate it was considered an important event in Rome. After Gregory's death in 604, the Roman direction of the mission was not

⁹⁷J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, "Rome and the Early English Church: Some Questions of Transmission," Settimane di Studio, 7 (Spoleto, 1960), 519-548. Robert A. Markus, "The Chronology of the Gregorian Mission to England: Bede's Narrative and Gregory's Correspondence," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 14 (1963), 16-30; Paul Meyvaert, "Bede and Gregory the Great," Jarrow Lecture (1964), 8-13; Ian Wood, "The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English," Speculum, 69 (1994), 1-17.

⁹⁸Richards, The Popes, 171-177.

maintained and Paulinus' efforts in the north of England in the 620's were limited and cut short by the defeat and slaying of King Edwin of Northumbria whom he had converted in 627. The south of England remained partly Christian but it was Irish missionaries who converted Northumbria. As one can see in the Life of Wilfrid, the Life of Gregory by the Anonymous of Whitby, Bede's Life of Cuthbert and Historia Ecclesiastica, the literary history of England is a history of the developing interpretation of Gregory's mission.

It is difficult to know precisely which of Gregory's works Augustine of Canterbury brought with him to England or had sent from Rome or the continent. Gregory's works attracted the interest of Benedict Biscop and Bishop Wilfred in the 640's and 650's both of whom made trips to Rome. The arrival in 669 of Theodore of Tarsus as archbishop of Canterbury, and Hadrian as abbot of the SS. Peter and Paul (later St. Augustine's) monastery renewed connections between Canterbury and Rome. As mentioned above, there seemed to be a reciprocity among Irish Romani and English and continental Romani concerning texts.⁹⁹ Aldhelm is generally thought to have read some of Julian of Toledo's works transmitted from Ireland to Malmesbury, the monastery in Wessex founded by the Irish.¹⁰⁰ There is no evidence, however, to prove that transmission was one-sided and in fact, it is possible that Malmesbury supplied the southern Irish monasteries with some of the texts

⁹⁹See n. 6.

¹⁰⁰Bishop, Liturgica Historica, 172.

Calman envied in his letter to Feradad.¹⁰¹ Nor can the reciprocal transmission of manuscripts between Northumbria and Ireland be completely untangled as contact between the Irish and English churches continued after the Synod of Whitby.

A. Aldhelm and the Dialogues

The earliest use of Gregory's works in England occurs in the writings of Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury (d.709), later bishop of Sherbourne. In his political life as well as in his writings, Aldhelm was strongly associated with the pro-Roman party in England. The precise features of his early training remains conjectural. Part of his education was under Irish tutelage, though it is uncertain whether his tutor's name was Maeldub.¹⁰² He had spent possibly two years in Canterbury as a student of Theodore of Tarsus and was on friendly terms with Bishop Wilfrid who had made several trips to Rome. Wilfrid is remembered as much for importing Roman chant to England as he is for his scathing criticism of the church in Ireland. Aldhelm, together with King Aldfrith, who had spent time at Malmesbury and whom Aldhelm sponsored in baptism were sympathetic to Wilfrid's cause.¹⁰³ Aldhelm does

¹⁰¹Bischoff, "Il Monachesimo," 199.

¹⁰²Aldhelm: the Prose Works, trans. M. Lapidge and M. Herren (Cambridge, 1979), 7.

¹⁰³Herren, "Introduction to the Letters of Aldhelm" in Aldhelm: the Prose Works, 150-1. One letter attests to Aldhelm's support of Wilfrid after the latter was expelled to Frisia in 677.

not write about the Irish with the contempt one finds in Stephen of Ripon's work but his letters reveal a partiality for English learning at a time when many English students were still travelling to Ireland for training. His correspondence indicates he was in contact with Ireland and not removed from its influences. One of his correspondents was an Irish monk undoubtedly associated with Roman monasteries of southern Ireland, but, nonetheless, a member of the Irish church.¹⁰⁴

Thirty years before the Anonymous of Whitby extolled Gregory's role and responsibility for the conversion of the English, Aldhelm already established Gregory's reputation:

Whence Gregory our watchful shepherd and teacher—ours
I say, who delivered our ancestors from the error of foul
paganism and handed them a rule of regenerative
grace.¹⁰⁵

De virginitate, c. 55

Aldhelm's prose and poetic versions of the De virginitate contain the first use of Gregory's Dialogues in English literature. The work is difficult to date; it has been suggested that it was written no earlier than 675 and no later than 680.¹⁰⁶ The prose work contains many characteristics of Isidore's De ortu et obitu patrum and De viris illustribus, but in subject matter the work follows

¹⁰⁴Herren, Ibid., 136-151.

¹⁰⁵Aldhelm, De virginitate, c. 55. Unde Gregorius pervigil pastor et pedagogus noster—noster inquam, qui nostris parentibus errorem tetrae gentilitatis abstulit, et regenerantis gratiae normam tradidit.

¹⁰⁶Lapidge, Herren, "The Writings of Aldhelm," in Aldhelm: the Prose Works, 15.

Ildephonsus of Toledo's De virginitate mariae perpetua beatae.¹⁰⁷ In the prose work Aldhelm has arranged a series of approximately fifty-eight figures who are examples of chastity. The first nineteen chapters comprise an introduction. Chapters 20-21 contain Old Testament prophets;¹⁰⁸ chapters 23-24, New Testament figures;¹⁰⁹ chapters 25-26, early church fathers, bishops and popes;¹¹⁰ chapters 26-30, great figures in monasticism;¹¹¹ chapters 31-38 Greek monastic founders;¹¹² chapter 39 is an introduction to the sections on women; chapter 40 concerns Mary, the only New Testament woman listed; chapters 41-46, early church martyrs;¹¹³ chapter 47, Scholastica, Christina and Dorothea; chapter 48, Constantina; chapter 49 Jerome's correspondents, Eustochium and Demetrias; chapters 50-52, Greek and North African women.¹¹⁴ The work concludes with chapters 53-54, the Old Testament figures: Joseph, David, Samson, Abel, and Melchisedech all symbolizing the priesthood. Chapter 57 ends the work with Judith. Aldhelm wrote for the convent at Barking which explains the focus on female sanctity in this work.

¹⁰⁷Michael Winterbottom noted a distinctly Spanish style to Aldhelm's work and a conscious use of rhetorical elements that had been preserved in the works of Isidore. See his "Aldhelm's Prose Style and its Origins," in Anglo-Saxon England, VI (1977), 39-76.

¹⁰⁸Elijah, Elisha, Jeremiah and Daniel.

¹⁰⁹John the Baptist, John (Evangelist), Didymus (Thomas), Paul and Luke.

¹¹⁰Clement, Silvester and Ambrose.

¹¹¹Martin, Gregory of Nazianus, Basil, Felix, Anthony, Paul the Hermit, Hilarion, John and Benedict.

¹¹²Malchus, Narcissus, Athanasius, Babilas, Cosmas and Damian, Chrysanthus, Julian, Amos and Apollonius.

¹¹³Agatha, Lucia, Justina, Eugenia, Agnes, Thecla and Eulalia.

¹¹⁴Chionia, Irene, Agape, Rufina, Secunda, Anatolia and Victoria.

De virginitate contains more parallels to Isidore's work than it does to that of Ildephonsus. Aldhelm seems to use Isidore's De ortu et obitu patrum as the basis for some of his accounts of biblical figures in this work, for instance, Luke, Daniel, and David, where he starts out with Isidore's outline and expands it. The desire to elaborate, not simplify, is a feature of Aldhelm's rhetorical style and in this respect he is not like Isidore.¹¹⁵ Yet this tendency for amplification in Aldhelm is rooted in a formation based on the Synonyma and Etymologies.

Ildephonsus' De viris illustribus has been described as an "example of local hagiography more than literary history," an attempt at imitating Gregory's Dialogues by preferring pastoral to literary activity in the citations of its subjects.¹¹⁶ Perhaps the same could be said of Aldhelm's work. In effect it is a De viris illustribus whose overriding theme is virginity.

Aldhelm knew Gregory's Moralia and Homilies on the Gospels and to judge from the words of praise he had for Gregory, mentioned above, held his works in high esteem.¹¹⁷ Given Aldhelm's support of Wilfrid and the Roman party in England, it is not surprising to find the figures of Benedict and Scholastica among his list of virgins.¹¹⁸ These two references to Benedict and

¹¹⁵Winterbottom, "Aldhelm's Prose," 62.

¹¹⁶J.N. Hillgarth, "Historiography in Visigothic Spain," Settimane di Studio, 17 (Spoleto, 1970), 261-313, at 307.

¹¹⁷Ogilvy, 40-2.

¹¹⁸De virginitate c. XXX on Benedict, c. XLVII. A citation from Gregory's Homilies also appears in the De virginitate making reference to Gregory's liturgical innovation to include Saints Agatha and Lucy in the canon of the

Scholastica must have come from the Dialogues since it is the only source of information known for them. Aside from Book II which contained the references to Benedict and Scholastica that Aldhelm used, he also employed one citation from Book III in his De metris et enigmatibus ac pedum regulis.¹¹⁹ What is noteworthy is that by the latter half of the seventh century the figures of Benedict and Scholastica were placed in the company of Martin, Basil, Felix and the martyrs. Spanish works do not single them out in this way.

Gregory was not overly preoccupied with chastity in the Dialogues. He makes it incumbent on monks, advises it for priests and bishops, but recommends it only in a few cases for the laity. Other ascetic and pastoral qualities are emphasised in the Dialogues. There were besides Benedict and Scholastica other chaste figures in the Dialogues whom Aldhelm could have used. An example is Equitius who desired chastity so much he dreamt an angel made him a eunuch.¹²⁰ Gregory also mentions several accounts of holy men who avoid the company of women, such as the hermit Martin.¹²¹ Aldhelm might also have chosen from among other holy women in the Dialogues besides Scholastica. Gregory refers to the saintly Galla, who, in her aspiration to be holy, as a young widow embraced a physical deformity.¹²² But Gregory does refer to chastity as the beginning of virtue. In Book II of the

Mass.

¹¹⁹De metris et enigmatibus, MGH, AA, XV, p.191 = Dialogues III.17.

¹²⁰Dialogues I.4

¹²¹Dialogues III.16

¹²²Dialogues IV.14

Dialogues it is only after the saint has struggled with the temptation of lust that he is able to become a teacher.¹²³ It is also after this struggle that Gregory begins to record Benedict's powers of discernment and prophecy.

The arrangement of the saints in the prose De virginitate weaves together various themes tied to chastity: prophetic ability, asceticism, monastic life, and hidden martyrdom. Neither the passage on Benedict nor that on Scholastica is extensive, but the information contained represents an essential element of what Gregory wrote about them in the Dialogues; Aldhelm associates chastity with Benedict's prophetic power and with Scholastica's power in prayer to cause a storm to delay Benedict's departure.

The prefatory note of Aldhelm dedicating De virginitate to the nuns of Barking indicates that the lives of Benedict and Scholastica were already well known in England. Besides addressing Hildelth, Cuthburg, Osburg and Aldgith, as well as some nuns with Roman names, Eulalia and Thecla, the name Scholastica also appears in the list of those mentioned.¹²⁴

B. The Whitby Life of Gregory and the Life of Wilfred

The Life of Gregory by the Anonymous of Whitby has been seen as an attempt to bolster the cult of King Edwin in Northumbria.¹²⁵ Chapters 12-20

¹²³Dialogues II.2

¹²⁴De virginitate, praef. Meyvaert, "The Enigma," 349-51.

¹²⁵The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby, ed., trans. Bertram Colgrave (Lawrence, Kansas, 1968). Colgrave puts the date of this work between 704-714. Edwin (d.633) was the Northumbrian

of the Life of Gregory comprise a short account of the conversion of King Edwin. Whether "clumsy" or inexperienced, the author of the Whitby life sought to link Edwin to Gregory.¹²⁶ Goffart has noted another intention in this life. Beneath the desire to "fill out the image of Pope Gregory as an apostle of England," the Anonymous and his sponsors sought to redress the imbalance created by Stephen of Ripon's Life of Wilfrid which had portrayed Wilfrid as the force behind England's acceptance of Roman customs. The Life of Gregory was an attempt to rectify the portrait of the early English church given in Stephen's Life of Wilfrid.¹²⁷

In the Life of Wilfrid the vita genre is fashioned into an apology for Wilfrid of York whose controversial career in mid-seventh-century England had been the cause of much disruption and dissension both in the political life of the country and in the relations between the English church and Rome. In the preface to the work there is barely the pretence of extolling the miracles or sanctity of Wilfrid. The Life of Wilfrid is less a vita than a collection of legal documents supporting his case.

The most glaring feature of the Life of Wilfrid is its conscious promotion

king converted by Paulinus in 627. Sometime between 680 and 704 his relics were translated to Whitby. (Goffart, Narrators, 259.)

¹²⁶Ibid., 266-7.

¹²⁷To accept this argument one must also accept an earlier date for these vitae than is commonly given. Colgrave and Goffart accept a date of 704-714 for the Whitby Life of Gregory. Goffart, however, prefers a date closer to 710 than 720 for Stephen's Life of Wilfrid. The earlier date for the Life of Wilfrid makes it possible to view the Whitby Life of Gregory as a reaction to the Life of Wilfrid.

of Wilfrid's ties to Rome and Roman practice.¹²⁸ In two places Stephen summarizes Wilfrid's accomplishments and his trials. The first occurs at the synod of Austerfield (704). In an outburst of passion Wilfrid lists all he has done to promote the Roman church in England:

Was I not first, after the death of the first elders who were sent by St Gregory, to root out the poisonous weeds planted by the Irish? Did I not change and convert the whole Norththumbrian race to the true Easter and to the tonsure in the form of a crown, in accordance with the practice of the Apostolic See, though their tonsure had been previously at the back of the head, from the top of the head downwards? And did I not instruct them in accordance with the rite of the primitive Church to make use of a double choir singing in harmony, with reciprocal responsions and antiphons? And did I not arrange the life of the monks in accordance with the rule of the holy father Benedict which none had previously introduced there?¹²⁹

Another speech in Stephen's text, spoken by abbess Aebbe, recapitulates the ills Wilfrid has suffered undeservedly at the hands of King Ecgfrith and Queen Iurminburg:

I indeed know that you drove out Bishop Wilfrid beloved

¹²⁸Wilfrid made several trips to Rome to obtain papal support for his side in the conflict over episcopal and monastic appointments in the Northumbrian church.

¹²⁹Colgrave, *VW*, c.47, at 98-99. Necnon et ego primus post obitum primorum procerum, a sancto Gregorio directorum, Scotticae virulenta plantationis germina eradicarem; ad verumque pascha et ad tonsuram in modum coronae, quae ante ea posteriore capitis parte e summo abrasa vertice, secundum apostolicae sedis rationem totam Ultrahumbrensiū gentem permutando converterem? Aut quomodo iuxta ritum primitivae ecclesiae assono vocis modulamine, binis adstantibus choris, persultare responsoriis antiphonisque reciprocis instruerem? Vel quomodo vitam monachorum secundum regulam sancti Benedicti patris, quam nullus prior ibi invexit, constitueram?

of God from his episcopal see for no crime whatsoever; and when he was sent into exile and went to the Apostolic See and returned with the writings of the Apostolic See which has, with St. Peter the Apostle, the power of binding and loosing, you foolishly condemned them and despoiled him, and then adding evil to evil, you shut the saint up in prison.¹³⁰

These inflammatory passages provoked a reaction from Bede in the Historia ecclesiastica. But unlike Bede, the Anonymous of Whitby does not challenge Stephen point for point in his Life of Gregory. He does not confront Wilfrid head-on, either by employing documentary evidence that might have supported his portrait of Gregory or by impugning Wilfrid directly. Stephen's work rests its case on a great decline in English church life between the time of the English missionaries and the appearance of Wilfrid, roughly forty years. This decline was seen as due to the lost connection between the English church and Rome, and Wilfrid's efforts to restore this connection. The Whitby life attempts to re-emphasize Gregory's role in the conversion of England.

Building on earlier research, I intend to show that the Whitby Life of Gregory offered Gregory's life and teaching as a contrast to that of Wilfrid, that the methodology of both works underscores the different intentions of each author, and that the Dialogues of Gregory the Great is fundamental to the

¹³⁰VW, c. 39, at 78. Ego scio et vere scio, quod Deo amabilem Wilfrithum episcopum sine alicuius sceleris piaculo de sede episcopatus abiecisti, et in exilium expulsus sedem apostolicam adiit, et inde reversurum cum scriptis apostolicae sedis, quae habet cum sancto Petro apostolo potestatem ligandi et solvendi, insipienter contempnens spoliasti eum, et mala malis addens, in carcerem sanctum conclusisti.

portrait of Gregory by the Anonymous of Whitby.

1. Examples of the secular nature of the Life of Wilfrid

a. Setting and tone

In its setting, tone and focus, in the conflicts that embroil Wilfred, and in the manner of his death, the Life of Wilfrid is very different from the Whitby Life of Gregory. Wilfrid's life is international in scope; he travels throughout England and the continent, and makes several trips to Rome. On his journeys there Wilfrid visited royal courts: Aldgisl in Friesland, Dagobert II in Gaul, and King Pectarit in Campania. Stephen does not mention a line of monastic houses on the continent or even other episcopal residences which might have been a more common stopping-off point for a bishop on the road. Likewise, Wilfrid's conflicts were on a grand scale. His disputes were with kings, queens and the archbishop of Canterbury. The number of women who play a role in this life can also be taken as evidence of this vita's secular character.¹³¹

b. Conflicts

Wilfrid's conflicts are not interior battles of the soul against temptation or assaults of the devil such as one finds in the works of Valerius of Bierzo.

¹³¹Contrast the Life of Columba which places women on the periphery of the saint's life and whose setting is out of doors.

Wilfrid's conflicts are exterior, jurisdictional or administrative battles. They are conflicts over properties, houses, rental dues. The reader gets no sense that Wilfrid has advanced in virtue. There is only self-righteousness in the words in his petition to Rome where he goes to defend his position in a jurisdictional and ultimately secular conflict.¹³²

c. Death

Wilfrid's preparation for death as described by Stephen is nothing but a description of property division and administrative succession; a description of Wilfrid putting his will in order. This contrasts with other vitae which focus on preparation for eternal peace. Moreover, in the Life of Wilfrid, its protagonist is given two reprieves from death including a vision of St. Michael who tells him he has four years to live.¹³³ Wilfrid's community prays together purportedly to obtain more time for him to put his affairs in order, distribute his monasteries, and appoint successors. In the Dialogues anyone who is granted a reprieve from death receives this as a time to make peace with his enemies or confess some sin that will put his soul in order for the last judgment.¹³⁴ Likewise Colum Cille laments and grieves when he discovers that he will not die after thirty years as a "pilgrim" but must work on earth for

¹³²See VW, c.30, 43, 47, 51, 53 and 54 which contain long extracts or entire documents related to his petitions in Rome as well as the papal responses to those documents.

¹³³VW, c. 56 and 62.

¹³⁴Dialogues IV.40

another four years.¹³⁵ Wilfrid's reprieve of four years is much welcomed, indeed prayed for, and is not part of a hagiographic topos. There is no reference to a need for confession or evidence that Wilfrid was looking forward to the future life. Stephen relates how Wilfrid died in his bed, with monks singing psalms, but there is the strong implication that at the time of death he was still making arrangements to disburse his holdings.

2. Methodology in the Life of Wilfrid and Life of Gregory

a. The Life of Wilfrid

The methodologies of the Lives of Wilfrid and Gregory reflect the different intentions of their authors. Stephen understands the importance of using biblical types to emphasize his subject's holiness. Wilfrid's actions have biblical types. Stephen scrupulously compared episodes in Wilfrid's life with biblical typology. Events, people, and actions are compared to biblical heroes and situations. He draws more heavily on episodes from the Old Testament than from the New. Stephen often interrupts the narration to point out the references to biblical figures and make sure his readers see the parallels he intends.¹³⁶ This may imply that the parallels themselves aren't that clear and people have to be reminded where the biblical reference comes from. It could

¹³⁵VCC, II.22

¹³⁶Examples in the VW include Elijah and Elisha, c. 23; Hur and Aaron raising Moses' arms, c.13; Joseph and the King of Egypt, c.42; Philistines capturing the Ark of the Covenant, c.34; Jezebel persecuting Elijah, c.24, etc.

also imply that the vita was not intended for an entirely monastic audience which would easily have identified these references. The apologetic nature of the Life of Wilfrid is apparent in this typological method.

b. The Life of Gregory

In some ways the methodology of the Whitby Life of Gregory is its most striking feature. The Anonymous, like Stephen of Ripon, understood the importance of using types to establish his hero's sanctity. The Anonymous, however, used Gregory's own works to construct a Life of Gregory which reflected principles Gregory had himself espoused.

The author of the Life of Gregory was familiar with many of Gregory's works and his correspondence. He cites the Moralia, Pastoral Care, and Homilies and offers a précis of each work.¹³⁷ But the Anonymous also attempts to bring together disparate materials about Gregory that he had read or heard.¹³⁸ He refers to the order of angels, which Gregory enumerated in

¹³⁷The purpose of the Moralia, according to the Anonymous, is to provide medicine against ailing morals. He sees Pastoral Care in part as an apology explaining why Gregory fled from his duties but also as a guide on how to preach and teach: not all exhortations are suited to all people. In the Homilies the author of the VCC says it is clear Christ spoke through Gregory: "preach the gospel to every creature." The Anonymous also offers a description of preaching and illumination and repeats Gregory's statements concerning vices and virtues associated with different classes and what should be said to each.

¹³⁸Colgrave and Jones suggest an oral history component to this work. Colgrave and Jones disagree as to the Anonymous' sources: Colgrave sees the influence of the Life of Anthony, that of Paul the Hermit by Jerome, and Sulpicius' Life of Martin. Jones does not admit that the Anonymous knew the models on which other hagiographers drew for their work. But Jones does

Homilies on the Gospel II.34, and to Gregory's letter to Reccared praising the king's role in the conversion of the Visigoths. To a large extent the Life is an apology for the lack of miracles associated with Gregory. A long section comprises legends about Gregory, including the episode of St. Gregory's Mass and Gregory's intercession on behalf of Trajan in hell.

Although Colgrave's edition has cited the use of non-Gregorian sources in the Life of Gregory—biblical citations pepper this vita as they do the Life of Wilfrid—Gregory's works outnumber those of any other author. The Anonymous' methodology, in effect, suffuses the work with a Gregorian spirit.

C. The Whitby Life of Gregory and the Dialogues

1. Main features

Considering its overall "amateurish" portrait of Gregory, the Whitby author was rather selective in his use of passages from the Dialogues. Approximately ten references either direct or paraphrased from the Dialogues can be found in the Life of Gregory. The Anonymous does not advocate a specifically Benedictine style of sanctity, such as one finds in Bede's prose Life of Cuthbert or the HE. There is, however, a stress on certain characteristics of Gregory's teachings: foreknowledge, miracles, and preaching.

think that the Anonymous' turns of phrase, indicate a wide study of Gregory though he may not have had a complete set of Gregory's works.

a. Foreknowledge

Two citations appear from Book II of the Dialogues and one from Book IV. Two of these concern prophecy and one the soul after death. Although the Anonymous has understood the significance of prophecy as an indication of a holy life, he is not as rigorous as Gregory in connecting prophecy to contemplation, that is in stressing that foreknowledge is the pinnacle of ascetic perfection.¹³⁹

b. Miracles

The Anonymous of Whitby follows Gregory's understanding of miracles. Three citations repeat Gregory's emphasis on virtue as more important than miracles. Miracles indicate a person God has chosen but not all such men perform miracles.¹⁴⁰ Hermits living great lives may go unrevealed if judged by miracles, while lesser men in cities may work miracles and appear to be greater.¹⁴¹ Lastly, miracles are necessary for the destruction of paganism because shows of power make preachers more convincing to those they are trying to convert.¹⁴²

¹³⁹For example, see VG, c. 4, 7, 8 and compare with Dialogues II.11, II.34, IV.11.

¹⁴⁰VG, c. 3

¹⁴¹VG, c. 4. The author is also aware of men who boast unreasonably about their miracle-working as a way to promote their sanctity. This chapter contains a reference to Paul's statement that Jews need a sign.

¹⁴²VG, c. 4

c. Preaching and conversion

Closely connected to Gregory's teaching on the value of virtue over miracles is the importance of preaching. Miracles are not as important as virtue, nor are they as important as preaching.¹⁴³ The Anonymous drew both on Gregory's Homilies on the Gospels and on the Dialogues when he wrote that "miracles are greater the more spiritual they are"¹⁴⁴ and that preaching is more significant than miracles.¹⁴⁵

The Whitby Life seems to downplay certain areas the Life of Wilfrid promotes and highlights areas that it downplays. One is church building, another is preaching.

In chapters 5 and 10 at the beginning of the Life of Wilfrid, Stephen refers to his hero's training in Rome and his remarkable eloquence in preaching at Whitby. Moreover, Stephen connects this eloquence to Wilfrid's first visit to Rome where he had prayed in the oratory of St. Andrew and

¹⁴³VG, c. 5

¹⁴⁴VG, c. 6. This is from Homilies on the Gospel II.29, que nimirum miracula tanto maiora sunt quanto spiritualia. See also Dialogues I.2, que tanto securiora sunt quanto spiritualia.

¹⁴⁵VG, c.6. Christ, speaking through St. Gregory, teaches us more than when he made Peter walk on water or when through Paul his co-apostle he struck the evil magician with blindness. Plus igitur nobis Christus per sanctum loquendo proficit Gregorium, quam quod Petrum apostolum per undas fecit ambulare, vel quod per Paulum eius co-apostolum cecitate malignum percussit magum.

VG, c.7. Power which can only produce amazement inspired by what is seen and heard is of a baser kind than that which avails itself of the meek and lowly Christ and the love which Christ ever has. Vilior itaque vis est que stuporem semper visu et auditu solet incutere cognitum, quam quod mitem Christum et humilem simul et caritatem quae ipse est habet in perpetuum.

sought the apostle's intercession that might grant him the ability to read and teach the gospel to many peoples.¹⁴⁶ But only two episodes of preaching and conversion appear in the Life of Wilfrid. Stephen notes that Wilfrid, during his exile, lays the foundation for the faith of the pagans in Friesland.¹⁴⁷ A good part of Wilfrid's second exile was spent preaching and converting the population of Sussex. But whereas the Anonymous of Whitby emphasizes preaching and conversion in his portrait of Gregory, Stephen in the Life of Wilfrid does not do this. These two episodes of Wilfrid's preaching are almost presented as asides. Stephen seems to understand the importance of preaching and conversion, but unlike Gregory, who emphasized preaching to bring souls to God, an idea repeated by the Anonymous, Stephen's Wilfrid appears as a preacher bringing souls to Rome. In a similar way, Wilfrid's ecclesiastical foundations are not connected to the Gregorian ideal of salvation of souls so much as an attempt to maintain Roman customs against Celtic. The stress on preaching and conversion, the omission of Gregory's building programs in the Whitby Life of Gregory, is aimed at the belly of Stephen's Life of Wilfrid.

¹⁴⁶VW, c. 5. Venit et in oratorio sancto Andreae apostolo dedicato ante altare, supra cuius summitatem IIII euangelia posita erant, humiliter genuflectens, adiuravit in nomine Domini Dei apostolum, pro quo passus est, ut pro sua intercessione Dominus ei legendi ingenium et docendi in gentibus eloquentiam euangeliorum concedisset.

¹⁴⁷VW c. 26. Willibrord, a monk at Ripon, would continue this work.

2. Legends and conversion

In what appears to be a contradictory move, after emphasizing Gregory's teaching on the superiority of virtue to miracles,¹⁴⁸ the Anonymous proceeds to describe various legends surrounding Gregory. There are eleven and their inclusion in the Life of Gregory can be explained in two ways.¹⁴⁹ In the first place, the author of the Life of Gregory imitated not only Gregory's words from the Dialogues and elsewhere, he imitated Gregory's methodology and his style. Gregory taught the real though "basic" value of miracles as a power to produce "amazement inspired by what is seen and heard."¹⁵⁰ The Whitby author mostly placed these miracles at the end of the Life of Gregory as if to punctuate all that has been said before, just as a miracle functions at the end of a sermon. Since the Anonymous' entire work had been devoted to shaping a vita according to Gregory's own teaching, there can be little doubt that he imitated Gregory here as well. Although Gregory's clearest statements on the value of virtue over miracles are to be found in the Dialogues, yet this same work is filled with miraculous stories.¹⁵¹

The inclusion of eleven legends pertaining to Gregory is not difficult to understand if one sees the work as a totality emphasizing preaching and

¹⁴⁸VG c. 4

¹⁴⁹VG c.7, c.9, c.10, cs.20-23, c.26, c.28 (two), c.29.

¹⁵⁰VG, c. 7, at 84, ...stuporem semper visu et auditu solet incutere cognitum.

¹⁵¹C.W. Jones, Saints' Lives and Chronicles (Ithaca, 1947) at 218, n.84, has noted this "parallel action" of Gregory and the Anonymous of Whitby. Both "inveigh" against miracles and yet both recount them.

conversion. Six of these accounts pertain directly to conversion, either faith via preaching or faith via miracles.¹⁵² Chapters 9-11 contain the story of Gregory and the English boys in Rome and his ultimate success in sending missionaries to convert the English. Chapters 20-22 refer to conversion by miracles. In what later became known as the Mass of St. Gregory, a skeptical Roman woman is convinced that the Eucharist is the body and blood of Jesus Christ. With the people of the church praying, and with Gregory as intercessor, the bread that he laid on the altar appeared in the form of a bloody finger to those present.¹⁵³ Gregory performed another miracle for some servants who were skeptical that the cloths with which he had touched some relics themselves contained power. Gregory and his congregation prayed together and when a small cut was made into the cloth it began to bleed.¹⁵⁴ A fourth story concerns some magicians who were hired by an evil man to kill Gregory. Gregory defeated them in a show of power; the magicians became blind and later converted to Catholicism. The Anonymous attributed their conversion to Gregory's words (and probably his actions).¹⁵⁵ In the legend of a Lombard king, the Anonymous does not say that Gregory converted him, rather that

¹⁵²The miracles concerning sacred cloth and the magicians who convert possibly derive from Gregory's writings. Many of Gregory's letters refer to relic requests. He often sent cloths that had touched a relic and vouched for their efficacy. The story of the magicians and Gregory has its counterpart in Dialogues stories concerning the defeat of magicians: Dialogues I.4, I.10.

¹⁵³VG, c. 20

¹⁵⁴VG, c. 21

¹⁵⁵VG, c. 22. The Anonymous has already referred to Paul's power against the magicians in chapter 6.

Gregory softened his heart and became like a mentor to him.¹⁵⁶ The Anonymous notes here that Gregory had always shown himself to be a healer of souls, but in this episode he also showed himself to be a healer of bodies.¹⁵⁷ This is a twist. Usually vitae are so filled with miracles an author has to remind its audience that the miracle-worker does not merely perform external miracles, but also heals souls.

Another legend contained in this work that became popular in the Middle Ages was the release of Trajan from hell.¹⁵⁸ When Gregory heard a story about Trajan's kindness to a widow in Rome he saw the act as an imitatio Christi, and he prayed and wept for Trajan's soul which was languishing in hell.¹⁵⁹ Later on Gregory received a revelation of Trajan's release.¹⁶⁰ The story of Trajan is connected to the previous chapter twenty-eight which described Gregory's powers of binding and freeing souls from heaven. Here the Anonymous misinterpreted a story from the Dialogues. In Book IV of the Dialogues Gregory recounts the story of Justus a monk in his community who confessed on his deathbed that he possessed three gold coins. Gregory refused to forgive the man and forbade anyone from comforting him

¹⁵⁶VG, c. 23

¹⁵⁷Gregory prescribed a milk diet for the king's illness; this has been seen as a great joke on the virility of the Lombard king.

¹⁵⁸VG, c. 29

¹⁵⁹VG, c. 14

¹⁶⁰Stancliffe, "The Miracles," 102-105, observed that Irish vitae stress the idea of the "good pagan," that salvation is possible for those in a "state of nature." The Life of Colum Cille contains an episode of a deathbed conversion of a pagan who had lived an essentially christian life.

at death. When Justus died his body was not buried but thrown on a dung heap. Gregory did, however, have masses said for the repose of the man's soul. Thirty days after his death the monk's brother reported that the man had appeared to him in a dream to say he had been released from purgatory. Instead of seeing this as a story about the need for monastic obedience, the Anonymous saw it as an example of Gregory's own power. The episode combines the Dialogues and the Biblical injunction that Christ gave to Peter when he said "You are Peter and upon this rock I shall build my church, and whatever you loose in heaven is loosed."¹⁶¹

In this same chapter twenty-eight the Anonymous includes a story pertaining to Gregory's successor who is unwilling to "make provision for the multitude Gregory had converted."¹⁶² Three times Gregory visits this pope in a dream to urge him to take care of these people, but to no avail. On the third

¹⁶¹Gregory includes a few episodes in the Dialogues which concern Benedict's power to bind or loose souls to hell. A young monk who leaves the monastery without Benedict's authority died after he reached his parents' home. His body, however, will not remain buried until Benedict forgives him (Dialogues II.24). Similarly, Benedict warned two pious sisters to stop gossiping lest he excommunicate them. After they die their ghosts are seen attending Mass, but rising to leave whenever the priest tells the non-communicants to leave the Eucharistic part of the service. Even though Benedict didn't formally condemn the nuns his words were powerful enough to delay their salvation. After Benedict absolves them their spirits are no longer seen in church (Dialogues II.23). See also Dialogues II.32.

¹⁶²VG, c. 28. Cum enim sanctus vir Gregorius Christi sic caritate constringitur ut plures e populo post suam conversos suscepit doctrinamque suorum, eorum non facile iste ab eo secundus portavit multitudinem. This pope has been identified as Pope Sabinianus (604-606) who was a member of the anti-Gregorian faction at Rome.

visit Gregory kicked the man in the head so hard that he died a few days later.¹⁶³ This story is also concerned with conversion; it refers to the many people Gregory had converted, and the refusal of the successor pope to change his mind even after Gregory scolded him in his dreams.

It has been argued that the author of the Whitby Life intended to strengthen the cult of Gregory in England, particularly in the north; he notes the church at Whitby had an altar devoted to the pope.¹⁶⁴ The final chapters of this life seem to combine elements of the Liber Pontificalis and an expanded calendar entry noting the works Gregory wrote, the date of his death (March 12th), and his place in the litanies.¹⁶⁵ Still, the role of conversion was central to the Whitby author and can be seen in the work's organization and the inclusion of legends connected to conversion. While the Whitby Life may have been an inadequate response to Stephen's Life of Wilfrid, the author did attempt to strengthen the importance of Gregory's role in the conversion of England. The readers are asked to remember the legend that Gregory himself had set out for England but was prevented from leaving Rome by its people, so although Gregory himself couldn't come, he must still be seen as the Apostle to England.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³VG, c. 28. Cumque eius non adquevit sermonibus, tertia vice eum adloquens, pede suo percussit in caput. Cuius dolore percussionis in paucis diebus defunctus est.

¹⁶⁴VG, c. 19

¹⁶⁵VG, c. 32. This celebration at Whitby was well in advance of the formal commemoration of March 12th accepted at the Synod of Cloveshoe in 747.

¹⁶⁶VG, c. 9-10

In a letter to the Visigothic king Reccared (599 A.D.) Gregory praised the king's decision to accept the Roman church and bring his people to the Catholic faith:

These things stir me up against myself, that while I am lazy and useless, and inactive in my lethargic leisure, kings labor to gather souls for the gain of the heavenly kingdom. What am I to say to the coming Judge in that awful trial if I come there empty-handed, whereas your excellency leads flocks of the faithful after him, whom you drew to the grace of the true faith by zealous and continual preaching? But for me, good man, this gift from God is great consolation, because the holy work, which I do not have in me, I delight to find in you, and when I rejoice in great exultation over your deeds those things which are yours by labor become mine by charity.¹⁶⁷

The Anonymous of Whitby refers to this letter when he writes, "On Judgment Day, when all the apostles are leading their provinces Gregory will lead us, the people of the Angles."¹⁶⁸ Through the Gregorian missionaries, the

¹⁶⁷Registrum, IX, 229. Haec me plerumque etiam contra me excitant, quod piger ego et inutilis tunc inerti otio torpeo, quando in animarum congregationibus pro lucro caelestis patriae reges elaborant. Quid itaque ego in illo tremendo examine iudicii uenienti dicturus sum, si tunc illuc vacuus venero, ubi tua excellentia greges post se fidelium ducit, quod modo ad uerae fidei gratiam per studiosam et continuam praedicationem traxit? Sed est mihi, bone uir, hoc ex Dei munere in magna consolatione, quia opus sanctum, quod in me non habeo, diligo in te, cumque de tuis actibus magna exultatione gaudeo, ea quae per laborem tua sunt mea per caritatem fiunt.

¹⁶⁸VG, c. 6. Juxta cuius sententiam quando omnes apostoli, suas secum provincias ducentes Domino in die iudicii ostendent, atque singuli gentium doctores, nos ille, id est gentem Anglorum, eo miratius per se gratia Dei credimus edoctam adducere, quo eam corpore absens sed tantum spiritu presens, apostolica divinitus potestate eius audacter, fortis nimirum viri eius quem Christus alligavit domum ingrediens, vasa eius quae nos fuimus, aliquando tenebre, nunc autem lux in Domino, diripiebat.

Colgrave says he cannot find a reference to these words in the registers. I'm sure the Anonymous is referring to Gregory's letter to Reccared.

English became Gregory's converts, as the Visigoths had been Reccared's. There is a reciprocity in the English conversion. No longer will Gregory be considered less important than Reccared at the Last Judgment. Gregory is bound to the English and the English people are forever bound to Rome through Gregory.

D. The Dialogues and Bede

No analysis of Bede's literary achievement can ignore the work of Walter Goffart's Narrators of Barbarian History.¹⁶⁹ His examination of the Life of Cuthbert¹⁷⁰ and the Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum¹⁷¹ as Bede's response to Stephen of Ripon's Life of St. Wilfrid¹⁷² challenges readers to see Bede not as an isolated, cloistered monk, but as someone grounded in the politics of the Northumbrian church whose intentions were clearly to shape the history of that church from his point of view. Towards the end of his chapter, Goffart refers to Bede as a "proper revisionist."¹⁷³ To sum up Goffart's thesis, Bede rewrote the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert at the request of the monks of Lindisfarne because the life had been employed by Stephen of

¹⁶⁹Goffart, *op. cit.*

¹⁷⁰Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: a Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life, ed. trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940, rpt. 1985).

¹⁷¹Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), hereafter referred to as HE.

¹⁷²The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus, ed. trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927).

¹⁷³Goffart, Narrators, 312.

Ripon to build up a portrait of Bishop Wilfrid, a figure hostile both to Cuthbert and the Lindisfarne tradition.¹⁷⁴ Goffart also suggests that in Stephen's composition, more so than in the other vitae, there is "the nearest thing to a history of the English church."¹⁷⁵ Stephen's view of Wilfrid's role in this history motivated Bede to set a counterweight in the HE which negated or ignored Wilfrid's impact and ultimately condemned him.

In the light of Goffart's thesis that Bede set out to cleanse the portrait of Cuthbert sullied by Stephen of Ripon's Life of Wilfrid and that Bede recast the story of the English church in contradistinction to Stephen's telling,¹⁷⁶ I should like to examine how Bede employed Gregory's Dialogues as a means of countering the portrait of Wilfrid and suggest reasons why he used them.

1. Cuthbert and the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert

Cuthbert (634-687), was closely associated with some of the major figures of Northumbrian history in the period after the Council of Whitby. He was trained at the Irish monastery of Melrose and left it with his mentor Eata to join in the founding of the monastery at Ripon. In 660 King Alhfrith and Bishop Wilfrid drove Celtic monks from the monastery and placed it under

¹⁷⁴Ibid., 284. "The plagiarism and imitation of the Lindisfarne St. Cuthbert in Stephen's Life of Wilfrid is difficult to explain away as harmless. Stephen seems, on the contrary, to have engaged in a rather gross rivalry as though, scorning Cuthbert, he were saying: Let me illustrate the nature of real Northumbrian heroism."

¹⁷⁵Ibid., 281.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., 285.

Wilfrid's control. Cuthbert accompanied Eata, who accepted the Roman Easter, to Lindisfarne shortly afterward. Eata was made abbot of Lindisfarne, Cuthbert became prior until 672 when he retired to Farne Island. Thirteen years later he was called upon by King Ecgfrith to become the bishop of Lindisfarne when Wilfrid's large Northumbrian diocese was being divided. Cuthbert, however, was bishop for less than one year before Ecgfrith was killed in battle and succeeded by his half-brother Aldfrith, who sympathized with Wilfrid. Ill-health prevented Cuthbert from carrying out his duties as bishop; he retired after Christmas of 686 and returned to Lindisfarne where he died in March 687. Wilfrid resumed control of the bishopric of Lindisfarne after Cuthbert's demise.

The Anonymous Life of Cuthbert has been dated 699-705, within twenty years of Cuthbert's death. Stancliffe has suggested that the Life was written in the same milieu as Adomnán's Life of Colum Cille and shared the same sources and the same unusual vocabulary.¹⁷⁷ Its author, a monk of Lindisfarne, was intent on proving to the Iona monks that a Northumbrian saint could attain the same holiness as Colum Cille. In effect, Cuthbert became for Northumbria what Colum Cille was for the monasteries under Iona.¹⁷⁸ The author also intended this life to minimize the Irish origins of Cuthbert and

¹⁷⁷Clare Stancliffe, "Cuthbert and the Polarity between Pastor and Solitary," in St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200 (Woodbridge, 1989), 21-44, at 23. For the opposite view see David Rollason, Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford, 1989), 79-80.

¹⁷⁸Stancliffe, "Cuthbert," 23.

portray him as completely Roman in his orientation; the author, for example, insists that Cuthbert was tonsured at Ripon, when, in fact, he was already tonsured at Melrose. Stancliffe sees the work as an attempt at making Cuthbert the unifier of Roman and Irish traditions.

One of Stancliffe's suggestions is that the anonymous author knew and used Gregory's Dialogues as the basis for eleven episodes in the Life of Cuthbert. Of the eleven instances of indirect citations which Stancliffe suggests, only four present truly close parallels: chapters II.6, III.2, III.3, and IV.9 and 11.¹⁷⁹

The division of the work into four books has been compared to Gregory's Dialogues. Yet other major works of hagiography, the Life of St. Martin by Venantius Fortunatus and Gregory of Tours' De virtutibus S. Martini, are also divided into four books and these too, might have influenced the Anonymous.¹⁸⁰ Since there are no direct citations of the Dialogues in the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert I will not analyze this work in the context of the Dialogues' influence but in relation to Bede's use of it in his Life of Cuthbert.

¹⁷⁹II.6: Cuthbert warns of the devil's delusions; III.2: Monks are unable to move a rock; III.3: Cuthbert locates water in rocky soil; IV.9: Cuthbert heals an infirm nun; IV.11: Cuthbert prepares for death.

¹⁸⁰Walter Berschin, "Opus deliberatum ac perfectum: Why Did the Venerable Bede Write a Second Prose life of St. Cuthbert?" in St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community to AD 1200, ed. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe, (Woodbridge, 1989), 95-102, at 98.

2. The Dialogues in Bede's Life of Cuthbert

In total, Bede employed approximately twelve citations of the Dialogues in his Life of Cuthbert and seventeen citations in the HE.¹⁸¹ Bede's Life of Cuthbert closely followed the arrangement of the Anonymous' Life of Cuthbert through Books I-III but he made modifications in several areas, notably in the miracles pertaining to Cuthbert. There are only eight out of forty miracles in the updated life which are peculiar to Bede, these being found in chapters 3, 8, 19, 23, 31, 35, 36, and 46. Colgrave has noted that Bede omitted the names of witnesses given in the Anonymous life, but in telling a new miracle, not related to the Anonymous, he refers to his witnesses, though not always by name.¹⁸²

3. Bede's additions to the Life of Cuthbert

Of the eight miracle stories Bede added to his Life of Cuthbert, only one of them directly refers to Gregory's Dialogues and this is a paraphrase of the story of Benedict's ability to obtain water from a rock.¹⁸³ Bede is not at all subtle in this miracle. He tells the story of Cuthbert's ability to get water from

¹⁸¹See Appendix. There are also numbers of passages in both works where echoes of Gregory appear without the same language being used. Sources used by the Anonymous author include the Life of Martin, Life of Anthony, Acts of Silvester, and Ambrose's Exposition on the Gospel of St. Luke. -

¹⁸²Colgrave, Introduction, Two Lives, 14. "Bede also distinguishes between eyewitnesses and those who had heard the details from others, just as he did in the HE."

¹⁸³Dialogues II.5 = VCuthB, c. 19

a rock and to command birds away from a field. Miracles involving animals are intended to attest to the sanctity of the saint. Bede plainly states his reason for including this miracle:

And here also the venerable servant of Christ followed in these two miracles the deeds of two of the fathers. In obtaining water from the rock, a deed of the blessed father Benedict of whom it is likewise read that he performed an almost identical miracle in the same way, but more fruitfully because there were more who were suffering from lack of water.¹⁸⁴

In driving away the birds, Cuthbert "followed the example of the most reverend and holy father Anthony."¹⁸⁵

Two other miracles inserted by Bede hint at inspiration from Gregory, but do not cite him specifically. In chapter eight Bede discusses Eata's and Cuthbert's exile from Ripon and makes reference to the Gregorian themes of "perfection in weakness" and the world as a "tempest."¹⁸⁶ These passages have parallels in Book I of the Dialogues and in the Moralia where Gregory describes himself as a ship on a stormy sea.¹⁸⁷ In Book IV of the Dialogues, Gregory recounts episodes of people who are made perfect for salvation by

¹⁸⁴VCuthB, c. 19. Et hic quoque uenerabilis Christi famulus in duobus miraculis duorum patrum est facta secutus. In aqua uidelicet elicita de rupe, factum beati patris Benedicti qui idem pene et eodem modo legitur fecisse miraculum, sed iccirco uberius quia plures erant qui aquae inopia laborarent.

¹⁸⁵VCuthB, c. 19. Porro in arcessitis a messe uolatilibus reuerentissimi et sanctissimi patris Antonii sequebatur exemplum, qui a lesione hortuli quem ipse plantauerat uno onagros sermone compescuit.

¹⁸⁶VCuthB, c.8. uirtus in infirmitate perficeretur. Derived from II Cor. 12.9.

¹⁸⁷Dialogues I. Prol.

their physical infirmity on earth.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, in chapter 46 of the Life of Cuthbert, a post-mortem healing miracle that Bede has added describes the combination of forces that effect a miracle: the faith of the one being healed, the sanctity and intercession of the holy man, and God's grace. Gregory describes this combination in several places in the Dialogues.¹⁸⁹

From this analysis one can conclude that Bede did not use the miracle stories from the Dialogues in a random way either to inflate the number of miracle stories in the life or to pad the reputation of Cuthbert as a great miracle worker.¹⁹⁰

4. Bede's modifications to existing stories in the Life of Cuthbert

In the Life of Cuthbert, Bede used significant stories from the Dialogues to associate Cuthbert with a Benedictine spirituality that is completely lacking in the Life of Wilfrid. In several key places, in stories that have already

¹⁸⁸Dialogues IV.11; IV.14; IV.15; IV.16; IV.18

¹⁸⁹Dialogues I.11; I.2; II.32.1; III.33.

¹⁹⁰One of the first miracles that Wilfrid performs is a resurrection miracle of a young boy. It has all the components of the miracle of Libertinus bringing the child back to life in Dialogues I.2. Stephen even echoes Gregory's teaching on the threefold requirement of faith, intercessor, and grace to work a miracle. Bede offers no comparable resurrection miracle in the Life of Cuthbert. Why not? In light of Goffart's analysis one reason must have to do with the fact that Cuthbert's cult had already been established and was thriving and might have made a resurrection miracle seem a bit obvious. Still, it would have been legitimate to add a resurrection miracle if there had been a witness for one, or a post-mortem resurrection miracle via relics would not have been beyond the realm of possibility. Could the lack of a resurrection miracle show that Bede was not interested in matching Wilfrid miracle-for-miracle? Cuthbert's life already contained many more miracles than one finds in the Life of Wilfrid.

appeared in the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert, Bede injects references from the Dialogues that raise Cuthbert as a saint to the calibre of St. Benedict. This is illustrated, for example, in chapters 11 and 14 of Bede's work.

In chapter 11 of Bede's Life of Cuthbert and II.4 of the Anonymous life, the details of the story concerning Cuthbert and two companions stranded by rough seas are very similar. The monks set sail after Christmas for Pictland for a short trip but rough seas prevent their return. Cuthbert spends the night in prayer and the next morning on the beach he and his companions find three portions of dolphin meat "as if they had been cut by a human hand and prepared for cooking."¹⁹¹ Cuthbert interprets this to mean that the Lord provided enough food for three days because on the fourth day the weather would clear for them to set sail again. Though the details of the story change little and both versions underscore the fulfillment of Cuthbert's prophecy, there is a great difference between the focus of each author. The Anonymous life concludes the story by pointing out the parallels between Cuthbert and Elijah, who was given food in the desert, and between Cuthbert and Paul's prophecy to the travellers in the Acts of the Apostles.¹⁹² Bede, however, eliminates this concluding reference altogether.

¹⁹¹VCuthB, c. 11. Ubi aduenientes inuenerunt tria frusta delphininae carnis, quasi humano ministerio secta, et prepara ta ad cocturam, flexisque genibus gratias egerunt Domino.

¹⁹²VCuthA, c. 4. Glorificans Deum quod eadem misericordia tunc homini Dei, qua et olim in deserto Helie carnes largitus est. Et eodem spiritu imbutus tempestatem et serenitatem praeuidit, quo et Paulus apostolus in actibus apostolorum nauigantibus prophetauit.

Bede opens his version of Cuthbert's prophecy with the following words: "Meanwhile, the man of God began to grow in the spirit of prophecy, to predict things about to happen and to announce to those present things that were happening elsewhere."¹⁹³ This sentence is taken from the Dialogues and describes Benedict's power of discernment, one of the highest achievements of the contemplative life.¹⁹⁴ By eliminating the previous references to the Old and New Testament figures of Elijah and Paul and replacing them with a reference to Benedict, Bede makes a strong statement about whom Cuthbert should be associated with. In placing the quotation from Gregory at the opening of the chapter, not as a moral at the end, Bede alerts the reader immediately to this aspect of Cuthbert's sanctity and directs the reader in a way that is lacking in the original description made by the Anonymous.¹⁹⁵

The only story in the Life of Wilfrid that seems to contain some of the same elements as the story of Cuthbert occurs in chapter thirteen. In this story Wilfrid's ship is beached on the Sussex shore and he and his companions face a hostile people who threaten to divide the booty of the ship and make captives of the travellers. After negotiations fail, the pagan enemies attempt an

¹⁹³VCuthB, c. 11. Coepit inter ista uir Dei etiam prophetiae spiritu pollere, uentura praedicere, praesentibus absentia nuntiare.

¹⁹⁴Dialogues II.11.3. Coepit uero inter ista uir Dei etiam prophetiae spiritu pollere, uentura praedicere, praesentibus absentia nuntiare.

¹⁹⁵A particularly Gregorian element found in both accounts is the reference to one of the witnesses later becoming a priest. Bede mentions this at the end of the story which makes it seem as if the miracle and the contact with Cuthbert move this man to take his vows.

armed assault on the ship. During this siege Wilfrid and his priests pray and are able to withstand three assaults. Finally, the tide miraculously returns earlier than expected which allows them to float to the open sea and the safety of another harbor. Stephen uses references to deliverance in the Old Testament: Moses calling on the Lord; David and Goliath; Joshua battling the Amalek.¹⁹⁶

Another interesting and important association of Cuthbert to Benedictine spirituality concerns miracles of fire. Two episodes in the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert describe Cuthbert's ability to see a phantom fire kindled by the devil and a real fire that threatens a town.¹⁹⁷ Bede follows these two accounts closely in his Life of Cuthbert.¹⁹⁸ The basic components of the story concern Cuthbert's premonition during a sermon that the devil will try to interrupt and distract his listeners by starting a fire. In the middle of his sermon Cuthbert warns the people not to be distracted. When a fire suddenly breaks out people rush outside, but soon realize it is a deception; they return and ask for forgiveness.¹⁹⁹ Cuthbert prays they may realize the cunning nature of the devil who never ceases his onslaughts. The story of Cuthbert extinguishing a "real" fire follows this episode and is shorter. While he is visiting a relative a fire threatens the town but, when Cuthbert prays, the wind changes direction, shifting the fire away from the town.

¹⁹⁶VW, c. 13

¹⁹⁷VCuthA II.6 and 7.

¹⁹⁸VCuthB, c. 13 and c. 14.

¹⁹⁹In VCuthA it is the men who rush outside; in Bede, it is all the people..

In Bede's Life of Cuthbert both episodes are expanded with parallels from the Dialogues. Bede used not only Gregory's story of Marcellinus, bishop of Ancona, who defended his city against a raging fire by his presence and his prayer, but he combined it with a reference to Benedict's ability to extinguish a phantasmal fire that the devil had begun in a kitchen.²⁰⁰ Bede connects these two miracles to Cuthbert by noting the imitation of the earlier fathers.²⁰¹ Moreover he implies a deeper connection between Benedict and Cuthbert than mere imitation of a miracle. In summing up the moral of the story, Bede writes:

Nor should it be surprising that perfect men serving God faithfully should receive such power against the strength of the flames, men who daily practice virtue and have learned to overcome the lusts of the flesh and extinguish all fiery darts of the wicked one. To them this prophecy applies most suitably: When you pass through fire you will not be burned, and the flame of passion will not burn in you.²⁰²

In a sophisticated and concise way Bede has conflated not just two miracle stories, but three. He ties together the Bishop of Ancona's ability to put out

²⁰⁰cf Dialogues I.6.1-2 and Dialogues II.

²⁰¹VCuthB, c.19, at 200. Sicque in duobus miraculis duorum patrum est uirtutes imitatus. In fantasticis quidem praeuisis et euacuatis incendiis, uirtutem reuerentissimi et sanctissimi patris Benedicti, qui simulatum ab antiquo hoste quasi ardentis coquinae incendium ab oculis discipulorum orando pepulit.

²⁰²VCuthB, c.19, at 202. Nec mirandum perfectos et fideliter Deo seruientes uiros tantam contra uim flammaram accipere potestatem, qui cotidiana uirtutum industria et incentiua suae carnis edomare, et omnia tela nequissimi ignea norunt extinguere. Quibus aptissime congruit illud propheticum, Cum transieris per ignem non combureris, et flamma non ardebit in te.

real fire with Benedict's ability to put out phantasmal fire, but underscores the connection by another reference to Benedict. A story in the Dialogues concerning the young Benedict tells of his desire to quench the fires of lust by rolling around in some thorn bushes.²⁰³ Hence Bede implies that Cuthbert's power is derived from a virtuous and ascetic life. Bede's portrait gives a depth to Cuthbert's powers that is lacking in the Anonymous' version and that surpasses the post-mortem fire miracle found in the Life of Wilfrid.²⁰⁴

Perhaps it was important for Bede to elaborate this portrait of Cuthbert at these particular junctures by stressing prophetic powers and the phantasmal fire, because these are two features found in the Life of Wilfrid.

A post-mortem miracle that Stephen of Ripon includes concerns the inability of some marauders to burn down the building in which Wilfrid has died. When one man enters the building to set it alight with dry hay he finds a young man in white holding a golden cross in his hand. The man recognizes him as an angel and warns the others to depart. Stephen describes how the fire also burnt a thorn bush that grew alongside the monastery, but at the place where a wooden cross stood commemorating the washing of Wilfrid's body the flames died away. Stephen concludes by saying that eventually these evil men were killed and that "with such a miracle, Wilfrid, the saint of God, by

²⁰³Dialogues II.2.2

²⁰⁴VCuthA, II.6 and VW, c. 67.

his prayers avenged his wrongs."²⁰⁵

Except for Bede's dislike of Wilfrid and his desire to undermine his role in the history of the English Church, there is nothing in the account of the Life of Cuthbert to indicate that Bede directed the account of Cuthbert extinguishing a fire against Stephen's conflagration miracle. Bede, however, might have directed his interpretation of Cuthbert's miracle against the fire that Stephen reported arose on the day of Wilfrid's birth:

Some men were standing outside when suddenly they saw the house (in which Wilfrid had just been born) appear to be burning and the flames rising to the sky. At which point everyone came running quickly desiring to quench the fire with water and rescue those inside from the flames. Then some women came out of the house saying, "Stand back and wait; behold, an infant has been just now born into this world." The people were amazed and recognized the great deeds of God, as Moses saw in the bush which burned and consumed nothing."²⁰⁶

Stephen concluded this description with scriptural references to fire.²⁰⁷ "And

²⁰⁵VW, 146. Nam quidam nobilissimi ex his erant cum exercitibus suis post intervallum temporis in clara luce excaecati; nihil videntes, ab hostibus suis improvidi undique circumacti moxque prostrati et occisi sunt, paucique ex sociis eorum evaserunt, signo crucis muniti. Tali igitur prodigio sanctus Dei Wilfrithus precibus iniurias suas vindicavit.

²⁰⁶VW, c. 1. Viderunt viri foris stantes domum illam extemplo quasi ardentem et flammam usque ad caelum elevatam; omnes undique concito cursu pavidi advenerunt, flammam minuere aquis hominesque de incendio eripere cupientes. Quibus mulieres de domo obviarunt dicentes: "Sustinete, stabiliter expectantes; ecce modo infans huic natus est mundo." Illi vero stupefacti, videntes magnalia Dei, sicut Moyses in rubo vidit flammam sonantem nihilque consumentem, agnoverunt."

²⁰⁷VW, c. 1, at 4. "The Holy Spirit has appeared in the form of fire. For God is a fire consuming sinners and illuminating the righteous" and "the Lord commanded the light be set on a candlestick not under a bushel." Nos autem fratres, frequenter legimus spiritum sanctum in igne apparuisse, quia Deus

through our blessed bishop it has plainly shone on almost all the churches of Britain, just as the foreshadowings told and events afterward proved."²⁰⁸

Both the Anonymous and Bede warned about the dangers of interpreting sudden fire as "real" instead of a distracting display by the devil. Stephen's portent of the fire at Wilfrid's birth may have been the "phantastical fire" Bede had in mind when he wrote the Life of Cuthbert.

ignis est, consumens peccatores et illuminans iustos; quod lumen non sub modio sed super candelabrum Dominus poni iussit.

²⁰⁸Ibid. Et hoc per beatum pontificem nostrum omnibus paene Britanniae ecclesiis palam effulsit, sicut praesagia futurorum prodiderunt et rei eventus postmodum probavit.

E. The Dialogues in the Historia ecclesiastica

Goffart is convinced that Bede undertook the HE to revise the view of the Northumbrian church encountered in Stephen's Life of Wilfrid. For Stephen, the period leading up to the Council of Whitby was a dark period dominated by the recalcitrance of the Irish to accept the Roman Easter calculation. Through Wilfrid's influence Roman customs prevailed at Whitby and afterward.

Bede's interpretation of those same events in the HE, far from painting a bleak picture of the period before Whitby, makes the Irish missionaries play an essential part in the conversions of the Anglo-Saxons. Wilfrid appears in the background and his role in the life of the church is minimized. I have noted how Bede employed the Dialogues in the Life of Cuthbert, as a means of bolstering the portrait of Cuthbert by injecting elements of Benedictine sanctity into his vita. There can be no doubt that the contrast between Cuthbert and Wilfrid is absolute. Likewise, the contrast between Wilfred and Gregory is absolute. In the HE Bede notes that unlike other popes who built churches and donated them with silver and gold, Gregory applied himself to "winning souls."²⁰⁹ The Liber Pontificalis however, makes clear that Gregory refurbished the churches of SS. Peter and Paul with gold and that he dedicated another church as well as establishing a monastery in his home.²¹⁰ Bede

²⁰⁹HE II.1. Nam alii quidam pontifices construendis orandisque auro uel argento ecclesiis operam dabant, hic autem totus erga animarum lucra uacabat.

²¹⁰Liber Pontificalis c. 66

knew and used the Liber Pontificalis; why then would he practically deny Gregory had anything to do with church building? The answer may lie in the Life of Wilfrid. Stephen accounts for all of Wilfrid's monastic foundations, churches and the decoration, glass and vessels with which he supplied them after his trips to Rome and the continent. Since it had been Stephen's intention throughout the Life to connect his hero to Roman rites and customs and to portray him as a Roman apostle, is it possible that his portrait of Wilfrid the builder was modelled on the accounts of papal building in the Liber Pontificalis which highlighted the money and support popes gave for building and repairing churches? In this context, Bede's statement that "Gregory was more interested in souls than in buildings" may have been directed against Wilfrid.

It is also possible that Bede projected Benedictine or Gregorian models of sanctity on Cuthbert, Benedict Biscop, and Mellitus in order to counter Wilfrid's claim that he brought the Rule of Benedict to England. An earlier precedent had been set in the History of the Abbots.²¹¹ Here Bede used the famous opening paragraph from Dialogues II.1 describing Benedict and applied it to Benedict Biscop verbatim.²¹² Clearly Bede wanted to associate Benedict Biscop to St. Benedict. It is also possible that Bede wanted to indicate

²¹¹Historia abbatum (Vita beatorum abbatum Benedicti, Eolpridi, Eosterwini, Sigfridi, atque Hwaetberliti) ed. C. Plummer, Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica. I, (1896; rpt Oxford 1969), 364-387.

²¹²Ibid., c. 1.

that it was Benedict Biscop, not Wilfrid, who should be credited with introducing the Rule of Benedict or perhaps Roman monasticism to England.

The HE is a much longer and more complicated work than the Life of Cuthbert but Bede uses the Dialogues of Gregory in a similar fashion, to expand the portraits of various figures and associate them with a Benedictine model of sanctity. There is some overlap between the Life of Cuthbert and the HE in regard to the use of the Dialogues. It is useful to compare passages of the Dialogues found in both Bede's Life of Cuthbert and the HE.

1. Patterns of borrowing: the Dialogues in the Life of Cuthbert and Historia Ecclesiastica

In his approximately seventeen references to the Dialogues in the HE, Bede used two passages that he had previously employed in the Life of Cuthbert. Two passages are also common to both the HE and the Life of Cuthbert, though they borrow different lines from the same passage of the Dialogues.²¹³ Two of these four passages are pertinent to a discussion of Bede's use of the Dialogues as a model for Benedictine sanctity.²¹⁴ The other two passages indicate Bede's reliance on Gregory's Dialogues for his teaching on the future life.

²¹³Dialogues I.6.1-2 = VCuthB 19 = HE II.7
Dialogues II.37.2 = VCuthB 39 = HE IV.23
Dialogues IV.16.5 = VCuthB 7 = HE V.12
Dialogues IV.40.1-13 = VCuthB 25 = HE V.13
²¹⁴Dialogues I.6.1-2 and Dialogues II.37.2

2. Models of Benedictine sanctity

a. Dialogues I.6.1-2

Two passages of the Dialogues which appear in both the Life of Cuthbert and the HE show Bede's desire to attach a Benedictine spirituality to the figures of Mellitus and abess Hild.

I have already examined the use of the fire miracle of Marcellinus of Ancona in Dialogues I.6.1-2 in the Anonymous' Life of Cuthbert II.6-7 and Bede's Life of Cuthbert c. 13-14. The miracle shows up in substantially the same form again in the HE II.7 account where Bede applies it to Bishop Mellitus. Mellitus, though suffering from gout and unable to walk is carried to the edge of a great fire that threatens to consume the town of Canterbury, particularly the Church of the Four Crowned Martyrs. Human efforts to douse the fire are useless, but Mellitus trusts in divine aid. His prayers divert the flames which had defeated strong men and a south wind rises and the fire dies out. Bede concludes that it was right that Mellitus should prevail over earthly fire and wind because he "burned with the fire of divine love."²¹⁵ In one of the opening lines of this passage Bede says this is just one example of Mellitus' power "from which the rest may be inferred."²¹⁶

In this episode, Bede has connected Bishop Mellitus to Bishop Marcellinus of Ancona. The wording and narration of the story is almost exact

²¹⁵HE II.7. Et quia uir Dei igne diuinae caritatis fortiter ardebat.

²¹⁶HE II.7. Denique ut unum uirtutis eius, unde cetera intellegi possint, testimonium referam.

and even extends to the fact that both Mellitus and Marcellinus suffer from gout. Bede's use of this story in the Life of Cuthbert and the HE could suggest that there was a connection between Mellitus and Cuthbert. But in his two adaptations, Bede focused on different aspects of Gregory's story. Bede's Life of Cuthbert stresses Cuthbert's foreknowledge of the devil's tricks and ability to discern between phantom and real fire. In the HE the focus is on pastoral care and Mellitus' great power against natural elements rather than on the power of foreknowledge.

To understand why Bede applied the fire miracle to Mellitus, one must look at the arrangement of Book II of the HE. The last chapters of Book I are devoted to Gregory and the early mission to England.²¹⁷ The second book opens with the death of Gregory and discusses the first bishops in England: Augustine, Laurence, Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus.²¹⁸ Chapters 3 and 4 of Book II essentially narrate the order of consecrations, relations with kings, the Irish and the papacy. The following chapters, 5 to 9, are respectively devoted to Augustine, Laurence, Mellitus, Justus, and Paulinus, a veritable Acts of the English Apostles.²¹⁹ Moreover, it is clear in these chapters that Bede has

²¹⁷HE I.23-34

²¹⁸HE I.20

²¹⁹These acts of the Gregorian apostles occur after Bede has already given a more chronological narration in chapters 3 and 4. In effect, Bede uses these chapters, which contain miracles associated with the bishops, to underscore the previous "historical" discourse. Goffart notes a similar phenomenon when Bede places the story of Gregory and the English slaves at the end of his documentary narrative on Gregory.

intended to link the figures of Augustine, Laurence and Mellitus to the early founders of the christian faith, Peter and Paul, Clement, and, surprisingly, Benedict.

Each of the accounts of these three bishops includes some parallel to their prototype. Augustine of Canterbury is forced to decide to abandon a mission "rather than remain fruitlessly among barbarian rebels to the faith,"²²⁰ just as Paul was forced to abandon Damascus and Benedict to abandon the monks at Vicovaro.²²¹ In chapter 4 Bede has already linked Augustine to Peter. By consecrating Laurence before he died, Augustine followed the example of Peter who consecrated Clement to help him with his evangelistic work and to be his successor. Laurence's dream of Peter in HE II.6 makes sense in this context. Peter appears to Laurence in a dream, scourging him and exhorting him to continue his efforts to convert King Eadbald.²²²

In HE II.7 Bede writes of Mellitus' power over the fire in Canterbury, using the same passage he employed to associate Cuthbert to Benedict. Although Bede has focused on the episcopal components of this story there is

²²⁰HE II.5. Decretumque est communi consilio, quia satius esset ut omnes patriam redeuntes libera ibi mente Domino deseruissent, quam inter rebelles fidei barbaros sine fructu residerent.

²²¹See Paul's flight from Damascus in Acts 9.25 and 2 Cor.11.32.33. See Gregory's discussion of the right of an abbot to leave his monks in Dialogues II.3, especially, Dialogues II.10-13 and Dialogues II.3 Gregory compares Benedict's situation to that of Paul.

²²²cf. Life of Clement in Acts

a clear connection to Mellitus' monastic virtue.²²³ Three chapters earlier Bede has discussed Mellitus' trip to Rome to confer with Pope Boniface. While in Rome Mellitus attended a synod of bishops who drew up regulations concerning the monastic life. Bede offers documentary evidence of the dates Mellitus attended "in order that he might confirm and subscribe to the decrees by his authority and bring them back with him to Britain to be directed to and observed by the English churches."²²⁴

Mellitus, therefore, represents the monastic element in the configuration of the English Church. By associating Mellitus to a story in the Dialogues which has already been tied to Benedictine virtue, Bede emphasizes England's monastic ties to Rome that pre-date Wilfrid. Mellitus is also tied to Benedict by the opening words of this section, "noble by birth, nobler still in spirit."²²⁵

b. Dialogues II.37.2

Stephen of Ripon's account of two abbesses of the early English Church, Hild of Whitby and Aebbe of Coldingham, again provoke Bede to amend the Life of Wilfrid. Hild of Whitby, the niece of King Edwin baptized as a young

²²³Bede does not see bishops and monks as mutually exclusive. There is a strong discussion of the need for the monastic life to enhance the episcopal life—very much a Gregorian idea.

²²⁴HE II.4. Ut quaeque erant regulariter decreta, sua quoque auctoritate subscribens confirmaret, ac Britanniam rediens secum Anglorum ecclesiis mandanda atque obseruanda deferret, una cum epistulis quas idem pontifex Deo dilecto archiepiscopo Laurentio et clero uniuerso, similiter et Aedilbercto regi atque genti Anglorum direxit.

²²⁵HE II.4. Erat carnis origine nobilis, sed culmine mentis nobilior.

girl by Paulinus, abbess of the double monastery in Whitby, and a force at the Synod of 664, is discussed in Stephen's Life only as an adversary of Stephen.²²⁶ In Stephen's account, abbess Aebbe from Coldingham is a more important figure than Hild. In the Life of Wilfrid Aebbe helped procure Wilfrid's release from King Ecgfrith's prison by her speech. Aebbe does not merely plead with the king, she recounts the ills suffered by Wilfrid and ties the king and queen's current misfortunes to their treatment of Wilfrid, as if a heavenly judgment were being passed on them.²²⁷ Stephen plays down Hild's role in church events in contrast to Aebbe, whose exhortation to the King is as impassioned as Wilfrid's own justification of himself in chapter forty seven.

Bede revises Stephen's interpretation of the abbess of Coldingham.²²⁸ He does not deny Aebbe's own piety, but it is Hild and her monastery and the numerous priests and bishops who come from Whitby that he extols and contrasts to the lax moral conditions that existed at the house in Coldingham. If Stephen makes Aebbe into an Old Testament prophetess excoriating King Ecgfrith in his treatment of Wilfrid, Bede makes Adomnán into an Old Testament prophet warning her of the sinfulness under her nose when he visits Coldingham Abbey and alerts Aebbe to the sinful ways of her monks

²²⁶VW c.21 and c.54.

²²⁷VW c.39. After Ecgfrith imprisoned Wilfrid, while visiting Coldingham abbey, the queen fell ill.

²²⁸HE IV.25

and nuns. Considering Stephen's antipathy toward the Irish in the Life of Wilfrid it is ironic that in Bede Aebbe's prophet is Irish. When Adomnán warns Aebbe of the behaviour of those under her supervision, she is surprised and alarmed. Bede notes that after this the monks and nuns reformed for a little while but they soon revert back to their old habits after Aebbe's death. Eventually the monastery was closed (and ultimately destroyed).²²⁹

In the HE Aebbe is damned by the very fact that Bede does not say much about her, referring only to her ineffectiveness as an abbess. Throughout Gregory's works and particularly in Pastoral Care there is the constant theme of the responsibility of the shepherd for his flock and of the accounting for souls under one's care that will take place at the Last Judgment. Aebbe has no control over her sheep, and, unlike Hild, whose monastery is a "nursery for bishops," there are no lasting contributions from Coldingham.²³⁰

Bede recounts Hild's pedigree, her connection to Paulinus and her consecration by Bishop Aidan.²³¹ More importantly he describes her virtues, especially "justice, goodness, and chastity" and her insistence on her subjects holding goods in common, on the model of the primitive church.²³² Bede's

²²⁹Bede makes reference here to Ps. 66.5.

²³⁰HE IV.23. Denique quinque ex eodem monasterio postea episcopos uidimus, et hos omnes singularis meriti ac sanctitatis uiros, quorum haec sunt nomina: Bosa, Aetla, Offfor, Iohannes et Uilfrid.

²³¹HE IV.23

²³²HE IV.23. Nam eisdem, quibus prius monasterium, etiam hoc disciplinis uitae regularis instituit, et quidem multam ibi quoque iustitiae pietatis et castimoniae ceterarumque uirtutum, sed maxime pacis et caritatis custodiam docuit; ita ut in exemplum primitiuae ecclesiae nullus ibi diues, nullus esset

contrast of Hild and Aebbe (their accounts are found in close proximity in Book IV) extends to Bede imputing to Hild the sanctity of Benedict.

In the history of hagiographical literature the model of Benedict's death is almost as important as the model of his life. Gregory's portrait of Benedict's last six days in a fever, his death supported on the arms of two monks at the oratory altar as he receives the viaticum, hands extended and in prayer, is a scene often imitated in later vitae. Benedict's death was accompanied by independent visions seen by two monks from distant monasteries, of a road covered with rich carpeting that glittered with thousands of lights stretching from Benedict's monastery eastward in a line to heaven—"the road taken by Benedict when he went to heaven."²³³

Bede recounts the deaths of a number of persons in the HE. The passing of all the Gregorian missionaries is recorded, as well as that of other holy men and kings. It is significant, therefore, that only Hild's death contains direct references to the death of Benedict.²³⁴ Instead of Benedict's six days Hild suffered for six years with a fever.²³⁵ Although Bede does not portray her as dying at the altar, Hild receives the viaticum and died still in the process of

egens, omnibus essent omnia communia, cum nihil cuiusquam esse uideretur proprium.

²³³Dialogues II.37

²³⁴HE IV.23

²³⁵Bede again reminds his readers that this trial of bodily sickness was to make the body "perfect in weakness," something Gregory advocated very clearly.

exhorting her nuns.²³⁶ Two stories reported from far off monasteries witness her soul escorted by angels to heaven.²³⁷

c. Dialogues IV.16.5

In Dialogues IV.16.5 Gregory describes the death scene of the nun Romula. Nuns of the convent, crowding around her bed, feel the room has become filled with the invisible presence of other people. Then a bright light fills the room and a delightful odor follows which calms the fearful nuns. This line, miri est odoris fragrantia is used by Bede in the Life of Cuthbert and the HE to describe heavenly encounters. After Cuthbert has unwittingly given hospitality to an angel, he experiences this wonderful fragrance after the angel departs. The angels also leaves behind three loaves of bread.²³⁸ In the HE these words occur in a passage from the vision of Dryhthelm and describe the beautiful meadow in heaven Dryhthelm sees in his vision of the afterlife.²³⁹

²³⁶HE IV.23. Septimo ergo suae infirmitatis anno, conuerso ad interanea dolore, ad diem peruenit ultimum, et circa galli cantum, percepto uiatico sacrosanctae communionis, cum accersitis ancellis Christi, quae erant in eodem monasterio, de seruanda eas inuicem, immo cum omnibus pace euangelica ammoneret, inter uerba exhortationis laeta mortem uidit; immo, ut uerbis Domini loquar, de morte transiuit ad uitam.

²³⁷HE IV.23

²³⁸VCuthB c. 7. Miri odoris fragrantiam.

²³⁹HE V.12. Sed et odoris flagrantia miri tanta de loco effundebatur.

d. Dialogues IV.40.1-13

Gregory offers three stories in Dialogues IV.40.1-13 in order to illustrate the didactic purpose behind visions of the afterlife. Sometimes they are intended for the person who sees them, sometimes as a lesson for people who hear of them. In one episode a man reluctant to carry out his monastic vows sees himself about to be devoured by a dragon. The dragon is prevented from devouring the man because of the prayers of the other monks. After this the monk repents and lives a perfect monastic life. In the second episode, a rich man who had lived a debauched life sees evil demons near his deathbed about to carry him to hell. Before he can make a heartfelt repentance he dies. Gregory notes that this episode is intended as a warning: even if we repent at the end of our life our request may not be granted.²⁴⁰

The last example in this section of the Dialogues concerns a monk who had appeared to live a good life but was a secret sinner. On his deathbed he confesses that he secretly ate food, thus breaking fasts and deceiving his community. The monk describes his vision of a dragon coiling around him to devour him; he dies before he has time to repent.²⁴¹

In chapter XXV of the Life of Cuthbert Bede quotes a few words from Dialogues IV.40.3 which describe a body on the point of death. "The

²⁴⁰Dialogues IV.40.9. De quo nimirum constat quia pro nobis ista, non pro se uiderat, ut eius uisio nobis proficiat, quos adhuc diuina patientia longanimiter expectat. Nam illi tetros spiritus ante mortem uidisse et indutias petisse quid profuit, qui easdem indutias quas petiit non accepit?

²⁴¹Dialogues IV.40

extremities of his body were prematurely dead."²⁴² This line is used in the story of a man, a gesith of King Ecgfrith who, on his deathbed, is healed by holy water Cuthbert sprinkles on him.²⁴³

Whereas Bede used only a single phrase of this passage in the Life of Cuthbert for a healing miracle, he elaborates on the ideas of this passage when he writes the HE.²⁴⁴ In the Life of Cuthbert Cuthbert heals a man's body. In the HE Bede stresses the need to heal the soul. His story concerns a man in the service of King Cenred, whose "visions and words, but not his way of life, was of profit to many, but not to himself."²⁴⁵ Although the king himself urged the man to repent he refused to do so for fear that his friends would think him insincere in doing something near death that he had not done when he was well. Even after the sick man has a vision of angels and demons showing him the small book in which his good deeds were written and the large tome containing his evil deeds, instead of repenting, he remains fatalistic and despairing. When he dies he has still not repented.

Bede moves away from using this passage of the Dialogues for a simple

²⁴²Dialogues IV.40.3. Iam corpus eius ab extrema fuerat parte praemortuum; in solo tantummodo pectore uitalis adhuc calor anhelabat.

²⁴³VCuthB, XXV. Extrema namque corporis parte praemortua, per modicum ore et naribus flatum trahere uidetur.

Again Bede notes here that the servant of the gesith, Baldwin, who witnessed this miracle, is still alive and holding an appointment in the church in Lindisfarne as a priest. Could this be another case where a miracle encouraged someone to seek the religious life?

²⁴⁴HE. V.12

²⁴⁵HE V.13. Cuius uisiones ac uerba, non autem et conuersatio, plurimis, sed non sibimet ipsi, profuit.

healing miracle as he did in the Life of Cuthbert to a focus on Gregory's penitential teaching. Bede explicitly refers to Gregory in order to emphasize its importance:

From this it is clear, as blessed Pope Gregory writes about certain people, that he saw this vision not for his own benefit because it did not profit him, but for the sake of others, so that they, hearing of his fate, may fear to put off their time of repentance while they still have opportunity, and not be cut off by sudden death and die impenitent.²⁴⁶

The story of the vision of the books is offered as the middle section of a trilogy in HE V.12, 13, and 14. In effect, Gregory's Dialogues IV.40, which contains three stories, becomes the model for three of Bede's chapters. The arrangement in the Dialogues includes a monk who repents, a secular man who repents too late, and a monk who does not repent. Bede uses a similar pattern in chapters 12, 13, and 14 respectively, one man is a penitent, two are not. This is a significant elaboration from Bede's use of this passage in the Life of Cuthbert.

The view of Bede as removed from the events of his day cannot be sustained. His writings reveal the careful adaptation of sources; he consulted the monks at Lindisfarne for information on Cuthbert, obtained material from Canterbury and from Nothelm in London who had travelled to Rome to copy

²⁴⁶HE V.13. De quo constat quia, sicut beatus papa Gregorius de quibusdam scribit, non pro se ista cui non profuere, sed pro aliis uiderit, qui eius interitum cognoscentes differre tempus paenitentiae, dum uacat, timerent, ne in prouiso mortis articulo praeuerti inpaenitentes perirent.

the letters of Gregory.²⁴⁷ He observed and understood the ecclesiastical politics of Northumbria but the contemporary scene did not distract him from his fundamental interest which was the reform of society. His letter to Bishop Egbert indicated his dismay at the lax spiritual life he saw around him.²⁴⁸ The reform program he advocated there permeates his work and was grounded in his understanding of Gregory.

Of all the seventh-and eighth-century authors surveyed here, Bede shows the most exceptional and complete understanding of Gregory in his vision of reform of the church. Like Gregory he advocated a spiritual life for all Christians—lay, monastic, and clerical—that was based on virtues practiced in coenobio²⁴⁹ and a monastic pastorate which integrated monasteries into a diocesan system.²⁵⁰ In Gregory's Benedict, Bede recognized the ideal preacher, ascetic and monastic teacher, qualities he sought to apply to Cuthbert.

Bede's use of Gregory is not limited to the references examined here. He used the Dialogues in his retelling of the vision of Fursey in the HE and in the vision of Drythelm.²⁵¹ More detailed analysis of these two examples would reveal how completely Bede followed Gregory in presenting Fursey's

²⁴⁷Paul Meyvaert, Bede and Gregory the Great, Jarrow Lecture, (1964), 9.

²⁴⁸Epistula ad Egbertum episcopum. ed. C. Plummer. I, 405-23.

²⁴⁹Alan Thacker, "Bede's Ideal of Reform," in Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society, Studies presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, ed. P. Wormald with D. Bullough, R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), 132.

²⁵⁰Epistula, cc. 10-13.

²⁵¹Fursey: HE III.19; Drythelm: HE V.12

chastisement by purgatorial fire and his return to earth to preach by example.

Bede also followed Gregory in the belief that reporting these occurrences could move people to repentance.

Lastly, Meyvaert has discussed Bede's stylistic similarity to Gregory. Bede's style has far less in common with Aldhelm, whom Bede never cites, but who also admired Gregory.²⁵² Perhaps Bede was less well disposed toward Aldhelm's work because of his connections with Wilfrid.

²⁵²Meyvaert, "Bede and Gregory," 15.

CHAPTER FOUR

GALLIC USE OF THE *DIALOGUES*

Part 1. Gregory and Gaul

Gregory's influence on the works of Spanish and English authors is tied in part to a personal connection between Gregory and churchmen in those countries. His friendship with Leander helped fill the shelves of the library in Seville with manuscripts from Rome which included some of his own works. Likewise, the Roman mission to England, encouraged and sustained by Gregory, brought not just men but manuscripts to England and left an archive of letters between England and Rome which were later used to reinforce the image of "our Gregory the apostle to the English."

Gregory's relationship with Gaul is remarkably restrained in contrast to what one finds in Spain and England. This is all the more remarkable considering such a large correspondence remains. The majority of Gregory's letters are directed to the bishoprics of Provence and the Rhone Valley which were part of the traditional papal patrimony, Arles, Marseille, Vienne, Lyon. These letters give evidence of tension and conflict. Gregory is concerned with simony and lax standards among the clergy. In one case Gregory admonishes Bishop Theodore of Marseille for forcibly baptizing Jews of the city, a report he had heard from Jewish merchants in Rome.¹ In a series of letters to

¹Registrum I.45

Archbishop Vergilius of Arles and Bishop Protasius of Aix Gregory tries to recover money owed to the papal lands with which the previous rector at Arles had absconded.² He met with no success from either bishop. Gregory's famous letter to Desiderius of Vienne, which marked him for the ages as anti-intellectual, is the letter of a pope reprimanding a bishop for being more concerned with books than with his congregation.³

It is only after Gregory had made Vergilius papal vicar in 595 and appointed Candidus, formerly of Gregory's service in Rome, as rector of the papal lands in Gaul, that one finds a softer tone in his correspondence. Likewise, Candidus served as a link between the northern Gallic bishops and Gregory. One still does not find the same level of close friendship in his letters to Gaul as one finds in his letters to Leander. Letters from Gregory to the Gallic bishops at the time of the English mission ask them to support Augustine and his companions and provide for them on their journey and afterward when they are in England. Over the course of the next few years the missionaries passed through the south on their way to Aquitaine, their point of embarkation to England. The contacts with the English missionaries provided another link between Gregory and Gaul.

Gregory's hopes for a reform of the clergy of Gaul centered on Brunhild and Theudebert, her grandson, and Bishop Syagrius of Autun. His letters to

²Registrum I.56

³Registrum I.34. See also Paul Meyvaert, "Bede and Gregory," 14.

Brunhild are most sympathetic and come closest of all to terms of affection. He spoke highly of Brunhild's piety. At Gregory's urging she and Syagrius undertook to reform the Gallic Church by endowing several monasteries near Autun. It is significant that one of the earliest manuscripts of the Dialogues of Gregory, dating from the eighth century, has its provenance from Autun.⁴

Still, neither directly in his letters nor indirectly through his missionaries, can we "learn of anyone in Gaul on the level of a Leander."⁵ No Gallic bishop, queen or king requests Gregory supply him or her with manuscripts from Rome or with the latest works by Gregory himself. One reason for this may be that southern Gaul had a rich christian tradition that went back to Roman times. Lyon had been the home of Irenaeus, martyred in 177; Honoratus had founded Lérins, the "nursery of bishops," in the fourth century; about the same time Hilary of Poitiers had written against the Arians. This strong tradition, founded on martyrs, monks and defenders of the faith, was invigorated in the sixth century by the sermons of Caesarius of Arles (d.542) whose works were to be influential throughout the middle ages. The sophisticated south of Gaul thus had a thriving ecclesiastical culture in place with no urgent need for the writings of Gregory. It is also likely that the relatively close proximity between southern Gaul and Rome meant that there were already long-established ties to scriptoria in northern Italy and Rome

⁴CLA, VI, 719, Autun Bib Munic. 20 (S21).

⁵Pierre Riché, "Les monastères Hiberno-Francis en Gaule du Nord-VIIe-VIIIe siècles," Ireland and Northern France A.D. 600-850 (Dublin, 1991), 21.

independent of Gregory. These reasons underscore the important role played by the personal connection between Leander and Gregory for the dissemination of his works in Spain which, like Gaul, had had a thriving christian culture from the fourth century onwards.

The formal, at times tense, relationship between Gregory and the southern bishops, who were heirs to a strong, independent, christian tradition made southern Gaul a less likely place than England for the dissemination of Gregory's writings.⁶ In the seventh century there is an interest in Gregory's works from authors associated with northern Gallic monasteries that is not found in the south.

A. Columbanus

It is noteworthy that with all the contacts between Gregory and southern Gaul the only request for his books comes from an outsider, the Irish monk Columbanus (d.615), who had established a network of monastic houses in Burgundy. Columbanus had come to Gaul from Ireland in 590. His hagiographer, Jonas of Bobbio, portrayed him as a man of action, albeit one who sacrificed Irish erudition for accomplishment.⁷ How well Columbanus

⁶Henry G. Beck, The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France During the Sixth Century (Rome, 1950) and Nora K. Chadwick, Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul (London, 1955)

⁷Jean Leclercq, "L'univers religieux de s. Colomban et de Jonas de Bobbio," Revue d'Ascetique et de Mystique, 42 (1966), 15-30, at 28. Leclercq notes that in the Life of Columbanus Jonas of Bobbio employs military language referring to Columbanus' monks and nuns as a "troop." Even Columbanus' disciple

knew Gregory's works is unclear because only some of his own works survive.⁸ Yet in 599 Columbanus was obviously aware of Gregory's exegetical works for he asked Gregory to send him part of his commentary on Ezekiel and a portion of the commentary on the Canticle of Canticles.⁹ In this letter he also solicited advice on what to do with monks who leave the monastery. Columbanus knew Gregory's Pastoral Care which was a manual for the clergy and that Gregory was an authority on ecclesiology for he mentions the work in a letter to the bishops in Gaul. Could his request imply that he knew the Dialogues or knew of it? After all, the Dialogues itself contained several very dramatic stories depicting the horrors that await monks who leave their monasteries.

Columbanus ended his life as an exile from Gaul and spent his remaining years in northern Italy where he founded the monastery of Bobbio (c. 612), and where he was buried in 615. One of Columbanus' supporters was Queen Theodelinda (d. 626), a Bavarian princess, who became queen of the Lombards. The two joined in opposition to the Council of Constantinople of 553, where Justinian had forced Pope Vigilius to accept a decree that condemned the writings of three fifth-century theologians.¹⁰ Northern Italian

Congal's name signifies "warrior."

⁸Sancti Columbani Opera, ed. G.S.M Walker (Dublin, 1970). Two works have been lost, a commentary on the Psalms, and a Libellus against the Arians.

⁹Columbanus, Epistula, I.

¹⁰Columbanus wrote a strong letter to Pope Boniface expressing his opposition to the papal stand on the Three Chapters. For a concise discussion of the "Three Chapters" controversy and its repercussions in northern Italy see

churches split with Rome over this issue and had been out of communion with the papacy for almost twenty years when Columbanus arrived.¹¹

In his History of the Lombards Paul the Deacon records Gregory giving Theodelinda a copy of the Dialogues. This is an eighth-century source and no other information corroborates it. It is worth noting that two of the three earliest manuscripts of the Dialogues derive from Columbanian centers,¹² and a third contains Irish influences from the eighth century;¹³ all are found in northern Italy, at Milan, Monza, and Verona. While there is no direct evidence that Columbanus himself used the Dialogues or that Queen Theodelinda possessed a copy, the Dialogues appears in the 640's and 650's in the works of Jonas of Bobbio who was originally from the town of Susa in northern Italy, and in a number of vitae associated with Columban monasteries in Gaul and Italy.

Frantisek Graus and Marc Van Uytfanghe have established the dating of about thirty-one Merovingian vitae from the seventh or eighth century which employ the writings of Gregory.¹⁴ The murky waters of Merovingian

Herrin, 122f.

¹¹Herrin, 119-124 and 166. This is known as the Istrian or Aquileian schism. The rupture was not settled until after Gregory's time.

¹²CLA III.309, Milan.Ambros.B.159 Sup., origin at Bobbio, and CLA III.383 Monza.Bib.Capitolare a.2(4), script is similar to that of St. Gall.

¹³CLA IV.503, Verona, XLVI (44), "parchment is reminiscent of Irish centers," probably written at Verona.

¹⁴Frantisek Graus, Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger; Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit, Prague, 1965; Marc Van Uytfanghe, Stylisation biblique et condition humaine dans l'hagiographie mérovingienne (600-750). Brussels, 1987. Seventh-century lives include: The

hagiography which Prinz characterized as "private canonization" prevent me from doing more than a limited analysis here.¹⁵ Citations of the Dialogues in some of the extant and datable Merovingian vitae of the seventh century connected to Luxeuil foundations, seem to show a preference for the eschatological material in Book IV.¹⁶ Even among eighth-century vitae, where there is an increased number of references to other books of the Dialogues, one still finds a preference for Book IV in vitae associated with Luxeuil.¹⁷ Eighth-century vitae not associated with Luxeuil, in contrast, focus on earlier books of

Life of Arnulfus (d.640), vita, 650, anon.; Life of Balthildis (d.680-1), vita, pre-691 at Chelles; Life of Burgundofara, vita, 629-42, Jonas of Bobbio, at Faremoutiers; Life of Gaugericus(d.623-26), vita, 650, anon. of Cambrai; Life of Germanus of Granval (d. 675), vita, post-675, Bobolene; Life of Gertrude of Nivelles (d. 659), vita, 670, anon. of Nivelles; Life of John of Réomé (d.544), vita, 659, Jonas of Bobbio; Life of Justus of Beauvais, vita, post-650; Life of Leodegarius of Autun (d. 679), vita, 690, monk of St. Symphorien (Autun); Life of Praeictus of Clermont (d.676), vita, post-676, monk of Volvic; Life of Sulpicius of Bourges (d.646-7), vita, pre-671; Life of Vedastus of Arras (d.540), vita, 643-6, Jonas of Bobbio at Arras; Life of Wandregiselus (d.668), vita, 700, Fontanelle. Other seventh-century works include the Life of Fursey (d.650), vita, at Lagny; Visio Baronti c.680.

Vitae from the eighth-century: Lives of Audoenus, Bonitus, Amandus, Eligius of Noyon, Eucherius of Orléans, Eustadiola of Bourges, Filibert of Jumièges, Goar of Rhénanie, Hubert de Tongres-Maestricht-Liége, Landibert of Maestricht, Pardulfus of Guéret, Sigismund of Burgundy.

¹⁵Friedrich Prinz, "Aristocracy and Christianity in Merovingian Gaul. An Essay," in Gesellschaft, Kultur, Literatur: Beiträge Liutpold Wallach Gewidmet (Stuttgart, 1975), 153-165, at 159. Krusch was much less kind when he referred to hagiography as Kirchliche Schwindelliteratur, "ecclesiastical swindling literatur." For this reference see Paul Fouracre, "Merovingian History and Merovingian Hagiography," Past and Present, 127 (1990), 3-38, at 5, n.5.

¹⁶These include the Life of Germanus of Granval, c. 675; the Passio Praeicti, c.676; the Life of Wandrille, founder of Fontanelle, c. 700; and the Life of Frodobert, 673.

¹⁷cf. vitae Ansbert, Anstrude, Bavonis, Bonitus, Ermenland, Odile, Pardous, Sollemnis, Trond

the Dialogues excluding vision literature.¹⁸ Until the secular background and controversial careers of these bishops, nuns, and abbots, with their aristocratic rivalries and tangled family and monastic connections can be sorted out the following statements are offered only as preliminary observations.

B. Jonas of Bobbio and the Life of Columbanus

Jonas of Bobbio writing approximately thirty years after Columbanus' death, used the Dialogues extensively in his hagiographic compositions in the 640's and 50's. Jonas appears to have written the Life of Columbanus at Bobbio (639-43); other works of his were written in Gaul.¹⁹ The Life of John of Réomé (c.659) was written when Jonas visited Réomé, a monastery founded in the sixth century. At Arras he wrote the Life of St. Vaast, who had been a contemporary of Clovis. St Vaast d'Arras was associated with Bishop Aubert of Cambrai who had been a monk at Luxeuil.²⁰ Jonas also composed a series of vitae known as the the Life of Burgundofara in the 640's after Jonas had spent

¹⁸Lives of Amandus, Bertille; Corbinianus, use books I-III; Ermen of Lobbes uses books II-III, Ermenland of Luxeuil has two references to Book IV; Eucher of Orleans uses books II-III; Haimramnani contains only two references to Book IV, Lambert of Maestricht uses only Book I; Odile of Hoheburg contains four references to Book IV; Pardoux has two references to the Dialogues IV; Philibert of Jumièges, considered an important figure in the spread of the Rule of Benedict, contains only references from books I-III and none to Dialogues Book IV. The Life of Ursmar also contains no reference to Book IV, only Books I-III. Lives of Sollemnis and Trond have two references to the fourth book.

¹⁹Jonas of Bobbio, Vita sancti ac beatissimi Columbani abbatis et confessoris, MGH.SRG in usum scholarum, ed. B. Krusch (Hannover, 1905).

²⁰Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, 197. See also Van der Essen.

time there collecting stories. This work does not so much extol the life of one saint as it does the entire community of Faremoutiers, a convent near Paris founded by Burgundofara, whose aristocratic family had supported Columbanus.²¹ In Book I of the Life of Columbanus Burgundofara as a young girl is blessed by Columbanus and promised to the Church.²² Her brother Burgundofaro or Faro was a monk and then bishop of Meaux.

Ian Wood has discussed the politics of Jonas' writings in some detail.²³ Jonas was the pupil of Columbanus' successors at Bobbio, Athala and Bertulf. He was involved in negotiations between Pope Honorius and Bishop Probus of Tortona to gain immunity for Bobbio from episcopal control. Jonas also attempted to dissociate the memory of Columbanus from the monk Agrestius, who had attacked Columbanus' successor Eustasius and the Rule of Columbanus as too harsh.²⁴ Both Agrestius and Columbanus supported the churches of North Italy against the papacy during the Aquileian schism.²⁵ Finally, Jonas was concerned with the transfer of patronage from Brunhild and Theuderic II, who had supported the initial Luxeuil foundation, to Chlothar,

²¹The family came from Meaux.

²²VCol c. 26

²³Ian Wood, "The Vita Columbani and Merovingian Hagiography," Peritia, 1 (1982), 63-80; The Merovingian Kingdoms, passim.

²⁴Lellia Cracco Ruggini has proposed that this conflict was due more to the refusal of Columbanus' followers to adapt themselves to local customs than to the austerity of the Rule. Lellia Cracco Ruggini, "The Crisis of the Noble Saint: the 'Vita Arnulfi,'" in The Seventh Century, 116-153, at 120, n.6.

²⁵Wood, The Merovingian Kingdoms, 197.

their nemesis.²⁶

Recent scholarship has been concerned with the question of how to characterize seventh-century Gallic monasticism.²⁷ One view seeks a more nuanced understanding of the "Iro-Frankish" monasticism which connects Gallic monasteries to an Anglo-Saxon rather than an Irish milieu.²⁸ Another point of view argues for a continued stress on Irish influence in Gallic monasticism.²⁹ This debate concerns me only peripherally. Both Wood and Dierkens say that the type of sanctity with which Jonas invested Columbanus was identical to that of the earlier examples of Merovingian hagiography. Wood says, "Columbanus is not depicted by his biographer as a new type of holy man."³⁰ In the light of Dierkens' and Wood's comments, this chapter will analyze Jonas' Life of Columbanus, proposing first that Jonas does make extensive use of Gregory's Dialogues in both Book I, the Life of Columbanus, and in Book II, the Life of Burgundofara, and in doing so presents a view of sanctity different from that of earlier hagiographic models, and, secondly, that

²⁶Ibid, 195-6.

²⁷La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850, Colloque historique international, ed. H. Atsma (Sigmaringen, 1989), 2 v.; and Ireland and Northern France AD 600-850, ed. J.-M. Picard (Dublin, 1991).

²⁸Alain Dierkens, "La diffusion de la culture insulaire sur le Continent," in La Neustrie, 2, 371-394 and Ian Wood, "The Vita Columbani and Merovingian Hagiography," Peritia, 1 (1982), 63-80 and The Merovingian Kingdoms 450-751 (London, 1994), 188-189.

²⁹J.-M. Picard, "Church and Politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II," in Ireland, 27-52 and Pierre Riché, "Les monastères hiberno-francs en Gaule du Nord—VIIe-VIIIe siècles," in Ireland and Northern France, 21-26.

³⁰Wood, "The Vita Columbani," 76.

the Life of Columbanus should not be seen as separate from that of Burgundofara.³¹ The last part of this section will be taken up with a discussion of the Life of Fursey and Vision of Barontus, products of an Irish tradition on the continent not connected to Luxeuil, but nonetheless using the Dialogues for reasons similar to Jonas. It is also possible to find several parallels between Jonas' work and the late seventh-century lives of Colum Cille and Cuthbert.

1. The Dialogues and the Life of Columbanus

Although no direct citations of the Dialogues have been found by the editors of Book I of the Life of Columbanus, Jonas knew and used the Dialogues in Book II, the lives of the Burgundofara nuns. A number of non-literal parallels can be found, moreover, between the Life of Columbanus and the Dialogues.

Merovingian hagiography is predominantly concerned with miracles of healing and exorcisms. It is also characterized by a pervasive emphasis on post-mortem miracles either through the use of relics or at tombs. This is evident in such collections as Gregory of Tours' vitae. In Sulpicius, Martin's sanctity is depicted through his extreme asceticism, his desire for the desert, and his steadfast resolve in the face of assaults by the devil. None of these

³¹Jonas' work is titled the Life of Columbanus and his disciples. For the sake of clarity I refer to Book I as the Life of Columbanus and Book II as the Life of Burgundofara.

themes is evident in Jonas' Life of Columbanus. Several healing miracles occur but they are not described along the lines of earlier Merovingian models. Columbanus performs no resurrection miracles and there are no later reports of miracles occurring at his tomb. One miracle in the Life of Columbanus occurs at the tomb of St. Martin but even here Jonas does not emphasize the power of the relics so much as he does the power of prayer. In composition and theme the Life of Columbanus is oriented to Benedict not to Martin.

Jonas structured his account of Columbanus along the lines of Gregory's Life of Benedict. Columbanus' early life is the story of his maturing sanctity. He is not, like Martin, a wise child from a young age, rather, like Benedict, his formation is begun by a woman. Benedict had his "nurse" with him at the outset of his career.³² Columbanus was taught by a religious woman who encouraged his peregrinatio.³³ Like Benedict, Columbanus' first step towards holiness was overcoming temptation of the flesh. In the Dialogues Benedict quells his carnal lust by rolling naked in some thorn bushes; afterward he is never troubled by this form of temptation and once he has conquered lust he can become a teacher of others. Columbanus turns away from the lusts of the world especially after the holy woman, his mentor, exhorts him to avoid the sins of the flesh. He becomes a monk at Bangor and after perfecting himself in discipline and fasting, he begins to instruct others.³⁴

³²Dialogues II.1

³³VCol c. 8

³⁴VCol c. 9

Several key themes found in Gregory's Dialogues appear in the Life of Columbanus: the importance of obedience and confession in monastic life; faith, teaching by example, the power of prayer in effecting miracles, and conversion by preaching, not miracles. Jonas connects these themes to episodes that also have parallels in the Dialogues.

In two places Jonas remarks on Columbanus' strict adherence to the community and rejection of private property. "Everything was held in common, if anyone was tempted to possess anything by himself he was separated from the rest of the monks and was punished by penance."³⁵ There is an interesting parallel to Gregory's story of the monk Justus who hoarded three gold coins. While passing through Tours one of the monks from Columbanus' entourage steals money that had been collected for the poor. When Columbanus prays to Saint Martin the guilty monk begins to be tormented and confesses his crime. The other monks pray to Columbanus to pardon the man. Jonas writes, "this miracle struck terror in them all so that whoever heard it did not dare to touch anything which belonged to Columbanus as everything concerned with him was sacred."³⁶ In the Dialogues Gregory writes that after Justus is condemned his monks become

³⁵VCol. 5. Communia omnibus omnia erat; si quispiam proprium aliquid usurpare temptasset, ceterorum consortio segregatus penitentiae ultione vindicabatur.

³⁶VCol. 22. Quod miraculum omnibus terrorem incutit, ut deinceps qui ista audierant velut sacrata omnia quae ad virum Dei pertinebant attingere non auderent.

fearful about owning anything privately.³⁷ Jonas focused on the power of Columbanus not the punishment awaiting the transgressor, but the story clearly has a basis in the Dialogues.

The story of the stolen money in the Life of Columbanus is interesting for another reason. It is the only episode in the work which refers to the power of relics. The theft occurs while Columbanus is keeping vigil all night at the relics of St. Martin. It is Columbanus's prayer before the relics that causes the money to be returned. Jonas, while recognizing the powerful cult of St. Martin, gives a Gregorian slant to this story. The focus is not so much on the power of the relics of St. Martin as it is on Columbanus' prayerful vigilance and the effectiveness of prayer itself. These combined with the relics cause the guilty man to confess.

The emphasis on prayer rather than miracles is found again in four out of the five healing miracles and in two out of the three exorcisms that Columbanus performs. Jonas follows the pattern Gregory set down in the Dialogues, that a miracle is performed when the faith of the person seeking the miracle is combined with the prayer and intercession of the holy man and God's grace. A man asked Columbanus to heal his wife and since he made the request with a "humble and contrite heart, Columbanus did not wish to deny his request. Gathering the brothers together he prayed for the Lord's mercy for the woman. And when he and his brothers had finished praying she who had

³⁷Dialogues IV.57

been at the brink of death was immediately returned to health."³⁸

Jonas furthermore understands Gregory's view of the importance of teaching by example and the need to convert by preaching not by miracles.³⁹ After Columbanus set out from Ireland he preached the Gospel in Gaul, "and it pleased the people that his teaching was adorned by eloquence and at the same time confirmed by examples of virtue."⁴⁰

Elsewhere Jonas writes of Columbanus' success with the Swabians:

"Many were converted to the faith of Christ by the eloquence and preaching of the blessed man and were baptized; others who were already baptized but still held down by pagan error he led back, like a good shepherd, by his exhortations, to the bosom of the Church and to the following of the Gospel."⁴¹

³⁸VCol c. 7. Humili et anxio corde poscenti noluit vir sanctus denegare solamen; adhibitis simul fratribus, pro ea Domini misericordiam deprecatur. Cumque ille cum suis orationem conplesset, statim ea quae periculum mortis in propatulo habebat sanitati est reddita.

Other episodes which concern Columbanus healing via prayer with the faithful and with his brothers are found in VCol c. 7 Columbanus heals crowds by their faith, his prayers, and God's will; VCol c. 14, a monk hurt in an accident is healed after Columbanus lies prostrate in prayer; VCol c. 21, a woman's faith persuades Columbanus to heal her blind husband, he lies down in prayer and after he and his community pray the man begins to see; VCol c. 21, a possessed man is healed by Columbanus' prayers; VCol c.26, by invoking God's name Columbanus expels a demon.

³⁹VCol c. 16

⁴⁰VCol c. 5. Erat enim gratum hominibus, ut quod facundiae cultus adornabat, elucubrante praedicationis doctrina, simul et exempla virtutum confirmabant.

⁴¹VCol c. 27. Multique eorum tunc per beati viri suasum vel doctrinam ad Christi fidem conversi, baptismum sunt consecuti; aliosque, quos iam lavacro abluto error detinebat profanus, ad cultum evangelicae doctrinae monitis suis

Three more episodes from the Dialogues are related to the Life of Columbanus. Gregory writes in the Dialogues of Frankish marauders who try to find money they think Libertinus has hidden in his church.⁴² Even though Libertinus is inside the church, lying prostrate in prayer, he is invisible to them. The story takes on an amusing tone as the soldiers rush back and forth stumbling over him, brushing past him, but not seeing him. In the Life of Columbanus Jonas writes of Columbanus hiding from Brunhild's soldiers.⁴³ The band of soldiers enters the monastery precincts and even though they brush past him or bump into him many times he remains calmly reading a book in the refectory, unseen by them.

Jonas includes a story of Columbanus' ability to find water in a rocky place, taking a young boy with him to mark the site. Before he locates the spot he kneels down in prayer.⁴⁴ This is also similar to the story of Benedict who takes a young boy with him to the mountains to find a spring. The place where Benedict knelt down to pray becomes the site of the spring and he marks it with three stones.⁴⁵ Finally, Jonas connects Benedict and Columbanus when he describes an angel offering Columbanus a vision of the whole universe.⁴⁶ In the Dialogues Benedict is given a similar contemplative vision

ut bonus pastor ecclesiae sinibus reducebat.

⁴²Dialogues I.2.4

⁴³VCol c. 20

⁴⁴VCol c. 9

⁴⁵Dialogues II.5

⁴⁶VCol c. 27

of the world gathered up in a dazzling array of light.⁴⁷

2. Irish vitae and the Life of Columbanus

Ian Wood finds in the miracles relating to beer a parallel to the Irish hagiography of the Life of Columbanus.⁴⁸ At least three more stories in the Life are connected, however, to accounts in the Life of Fursey, the Life of Colum Cille, and the Anonymous' Life of Cuthbert. An episode in the Dialogues where a nun greedily eats a piece of lettuce leaf forgetting to bless it, seems to be the basis for a story in Adomnán's Life of Colum Cille and in Jonas' Life of Columbanus. In the Dialogues the nun becomes possessed by a demon after eating the lettuce, but before Equitius exorcizes him from the woman, the demon protests that he was merely sitting on the leaf when she came along and ate it.⁴⁹ In Jonas' version Columbanus prevents some pagans from offering a cask of beer to the god Wodan. When he breathes on the cask it breaks into many pieces. "It was clear that the devil had been hidden in the cask so that, through the unsanctified drink, he might seize the souls of those making the sacrifice."⁵⁰ Another version of this tale is found in the Life of Colum Cille. A young monk who has just returned from milking asks for Colum Cille's blessing on the milk. When Colum Cille blesses the pail it

⁴⁷Dialogues II.35

⁴⁸VCol c. 16 and c. 27. See Wood, "The Vita Columbani," 73, n.1.

⁴⁹Dialogues I.4.7

⁵⁰VCol c. 27. Manifesteque datur intellegi diabolium in eo vase fuisse occultatum, qui per profanum ligorem caperet animas sacrificiantum.

shakes, spilling half of the milk. Colum Cille admonishes the boy for not making the sign of the cross over the pail before he began his work.⁵¹ "Before pouring the milk in the empty pail you did not make the sign of the cross over it to expel the demon that was at the bottom." Whereas Jonas understood the presence of the devil waiting to be ingested, Adomnán focused on the power of the sign of the cross. Both of these elements are in Gregory's story.

Jonas and Adomnán also describe Columbanus and Colum Cille's prophetic powers as directed to ruling families in Gaul and Ireland, just as Benedict prophesied about the barbarian rulers whom he encountered in Italy.⁵² A miracle concerning food in the Life of Columbanus has a parallel to a miracle in the Life of Cuthbert. While on a journey Columbanus tells his monks to trust that they will find enough to eat. As they walk on they find five freshly caught fish floating on the river. Jonas writes, "Filled with the holy spirit Columbanus knew that the feast had been prepared by the Lord."⁵³ This story comes very close to the Lindisfarne author's story of Cuthbert. When Cuthbert and two companions are stranded for several days on an island without any food they find three pieces of freshly caught dolphin flesh on the

⁵¹VCC II.16. Daemonem enim in fundo uauui latitantem uacui inpresso dominicae crucis signo ante infussionem lactis non effugasti.

⁵²See Benedict's predictions concerning Totila in Dialogues II. 14. Colum Cille makes many prophecies about Irish kings in VCC I.6-I.14. Columbanus predicts the demise of his royal enemies, Brunhild and Theudebert and the victory of Chlothar in VCol c. 22, 24, 28 and 29.

⁵³VCol 11. Nempe Spiritu sancto plenus noverat sibi a Domino passim dapes paratas.

beach. One of the men who told the story later said he gave thanks to God because he had bestowed the meat on Cuthbert just as he had bestowed manna in the desert on the Israelites.⁵⁴

Another story that connects the Life of Columbanus to the Anonymous Life of Cuthbert concerns ravens. Jonas relates the story of a raven who flies off with Columbanus' work-gloves which he had left outside. When the monks later inquire about the whereabouts of the gloves, Columbanus says that the raven who stole the gloves will not be able to feed its young if it doesn't return the gloves. At that moment the bird returned with the gloves and did not immediately fly away, but remained to await its punishment. It flew away only after Columbanus gave the command.⁵⁵

The Anonymous Life of Cuthbert tells a strikingly similar miracle also connected to ravens. Cuthbert saw two ravens tearing pieces of thatch off the roof of a shelter used by the monks. He chased them away and banished them from the island. After three days one of the ravens returned to Cuthbert in a humble manner, bent its head, and carried on as if it were asking for a pardon. Cuthbert forgave the bird and an hour later it returned with its mate both of them carrying pieces of fat which they placed at Cuthbert's feet as an offering. Their gift provided enough grease to last the winter.⁵⁶

Lastly, a passage in the Life of Fursey recalls the Life of Columbanus.

⁵⁴VCuthA II.4

⁵⁵VCol c. 15

⁵⁶VCuthA III.5

When Columbanus is offered food and drink by his royal adversaries Brunhild and Theudebert, he refuses, citing Scripture: "The Most High is not pleased with the offerings of the wicked."⁵⁷ This notion, quoted in the Life of Columbanus, explains the cause of Fursey's scar on his way out of hell in the vision of the afterlife in the Life of Fursey. There, demons pull a sinner out of the fire and hurl the man at Fursey burning his shoulder. Fursey is burnt by the fire because the demons knew that Fursey had once accepted a cloak from this sinful man on his deathbed. The devil tells Fursey: "Do not try to repel this man as if he were our friend and not yours whom you have previously received. For just as you have accepted his gifts, so also must you be a partaker of his punishments."⁵⁸

These connections between Jonas' vita and later Irish works—particularly the parallels with the Life of Cuthbert and Life of Colum Cille—cannot be dismissed lightly. Stancliffe and Picard have called Adomnán the most continental of Irish hagiographers, but as yet there is no evidence to prove he read Jonas' work. These parallels show that Jonas' work is more deeply imbued with Irish symptoms than with those that are found in Merovingian hagiography.⁵⁹

⁵⁷VCol c. 19. Eccles. 34, 23.

⁵⁸VFur c. 22. *Nolite repellere hunc quasi nostrum socium et non vestrum, quem antea suscepistis. Sicut enim eius bona suscepistis, sic et de penis eius participes esse debetis.*

⁵⁹Wood says that "any search for specifically Irish elements in the work is inevitably doomed to failure," "The Vita Columbani," 72. While this search began as an investigation into the Dialogues as a source of the Life of

Part II. Vision Literature: The Life of Burgundofara, Life of Fursey and the Vision of Barontus

Ian Wood notes that vision literature is more closely associated with Fursey's monastery at Peronne than with Columbanus at Luxeuil.⁶⁰ Yet, Book II of Jonas' Life of Columbanus and his disciples, known as the Life of Burgundofara, contains numerous visions and relies on the Dialogues for this material. The Life of Fursey c. 650 and the Vision of Barontus c. 679 are works written by authors partly independent of the Columban tradition but, like the Life of Burgundofara, also strongly marked by the influence of Gregory's Dialogues.⁶¹ The influence of the Dialogues in the Life of Columbanus is reflected in its use of Benedictine themes in Book I of the Life of Columbanus, teaching by example, prayer as against miracles, and conversion by preaching. The influence of Gregory's work in Book II of the Life of Columbanus is reflected by the use of vision material and an emphasis on pedagogical and penitential elements found in the Dialogues.

Columbanus it seems clear that there is a link between this Life and other Irish vitae.

⁶⁰Wood, "The Vita Columbani," 69.

⁶¹The VFur was written at Peronne and the Vision of Barontus was written at Lagny, a monastery with Columban ties.

1. Moral-pedagogical element

The moral element of the Dialogues is not lost on these seventh-century authors. Jonas' Life of Columbanus contains pedagogical and penitential features which link it not merely to the Dialogues but also to the Life of Fursey and the Vision of Barontus. Jonas notes the moral function of the accounts of the afterlife in the Life of Burgundofara. He follows a consistent pattern in almost all of these short sketches. An opening sentence describes the purpose of the tale and a concluding sentence summarizes what the reader or listener should know: "I wish the reader to remember that I promised above to disclose how many different wonders the Creator of all things deigned for the encouragement of his handmaidens in the community called Evoriacus..."⁶² He concludes with these words, "And through this first lesson to his handmaidens the Lord wished to show the rest who remained behind that they should make every effort in their practice of religion."⁶³

The instructive or moral element again appears in the Life of Fursey and the Vision of Barontus. The story of Fursey's journey to the afterlife is intended both as a personal warning to him and also as a tale to move others. Fursey

⁶²See VBurg c. 11. *Meminisse lectorem velim me superius fuisse pollicitum de coenubio supra memoratae Burgundofarae quem Evoriacas vocant, quemque ex regula beati Columbani omni intentione et devotione construxerat, quanta et qualia inibi rerum sator ob famularum suarum hortamina dignatus est demonstrare miracula. See also VBurg c. 12, 15-22.*

⁶³VBurg c. 11. *Hanc primam huius coenubii exhortationem Dominus famulabus suis voluit demonstrare, ut ceterae, quae superstites essent, omni intentione ad cultum religionis aspirarent. See also VBurg c. 16, 19 and 22.*

received specific instructions to preach what he had seen after he returned to the body in order to bring souls to heaven.⁶⁴ In the Vision of Barontus biblical quotations and moral exhortations to penance are collected at the end of the work, but at one point on Barontus' journey, St. Peter charges Barontus to attend to his own salvation by giving away all his money when he returns to earth.⁶⁵ The narrator of the Vision of Barontus emphasizes the need to terrify the sinner by depicting the punishments of hell and hopes that the story of Barontus will "warm us again to heavenly desires."⁶⁶ "If anyone takes up this little work I have made and begins to read it, he may indeed accuse me of rusticity of expression, but not of lying. Who, dearest brethren, possesses such an iron-bound mind that the punishments described here will not terrify him?"⁶⁷

2. Demons

Although the Life of Burgundofara, the Life of Fursey, and the Vision of Barontus were not written by Irish authors, they follow certain patterns associated with Irish hagiography; their depiction of demons while pervasive,

⁶⁴VFur 44.16

⁶⁵VBar c. 13

⁶⁶VBar c. 22. Recalescat ergo, dilectissimi fratres, fides nostra ad caelestem desideria [sic]. Quoting Homilies on the Gospels 14.6.

⁶⁷Ibid., c. 20. Si quis aliquis hunc opusculum a me factum legendum in manibus acciperit, potest me de rusticitatem verbi repraehendere, non potest de mendacii culpam redarguere. Quisnam ille est, fratres karissimi, rogo, tam ferream mentem habet, quem non terreant ista denuntiata supplicia. [sic]

is not the central focus of these works. Descriptions of demons and hell are not as extensive as the author's portrayal of the future delights of heaven. There is an optimistic tendency in Columban hagiography where miracles and visions are not intended to better "man's condition in this world but as a transgression of the limits of experience, a reunion of the ordinary human world with paradise."⁶⁸ The Dialogues, on the other hand, is dominated by the presence of devils and by Gregory's emphasis on depicting hell or purgatory rather than paradise. The Life of Burgundofara, the Life of Fursey, and the Vision of Barontus show a progression in depictions of heaven. Jonas does not move beyond scenes of celestial visitors or demonic tormentors at a deathbed; Fursey's author remains firmly rooted in purgatory for most of the account; in the Vision of Barontus, however, Barontus is taken right up through the gates of heaven.

The Life of Burgundofara for the most part describes only deathbed visitors, not heaven or hell itself. Gibtrude has a vision of a judgment but this describes only a heavenly militia, not heaven itself.⁶⁹ In eight of the eleven episodes of this work there is some connection to heaven or angels; in contrast, there are only three references to the devil, but the story of the fugitive nuns,

⁶⁸Pierre Riché, "Columbanus, His Followers and the Merovingian Church," in Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism, ed. H.B. Clarke and M.Brennan, (Oxford, 1981), 59-71 at 69.

⁶⁹VBurg c. 12

one of the longest in this collection, is strongly influenced by Gregory.⁷⁰ In this story the nuns describe terrible demons who have come to drag them to hell.⁷¹ Jonas follows Gregory in two other places by referring to the presence of evil and the idea of the devil as the one who is the cause of human sin. Gibtrude's maid whom the devil worked through is the cause of her sin.⁷² It is also the devil who tempts a woman to gluttony and "instills transgressions in the mind of another nun." Like Gregory in his harsh treatment of the monk Justus who had sinned against the community, Jonas is harshest in his story of the three nuns who leave their convent.

Although the Life of Burgundofara concerns nuns, Jonas does not only employ stories from the Dialogues concerning women. In most cases his short vitae are really conflation of several episodes from the Dialogues. The story of Deurechild and her mother has a parallel with Galla in the Dialogues but it also contains elements of Dialogues I.8.4, where one of Anastasius' monks asks to be taken along to heaven. Leudeberga's vision and dialogue with Peter in chapter 18 of the Life of Burgundofara is paralleled not just by the story of Musa and the Blessed Mother, but also by the appearance of Peter and Paul to a priest.⁷³ In chapter 17 of the Life of Burgundofara the nun Wilsindane on

⁷⁰For visions of heavenly visitors at the deathbed see VBurg chapters 11-14, 16-18 and 20. The only episodes which concern demons are chapters 12, 19, and 22.

⁷¹VBurg c. 19

⁷²VBurg. c 12

⁷³Dialogues IV.12.4

her deathbed greets nuns from the community who have predeceased her. When the living nuns ask who she is talking to, she identifies the names of the dead nuns. "Do you not see your sisters who have gone to heaven? Do you not know your sister Ansild who went to heaven a little while ago?"⁷⁴ In Dialogues IV.13.3 the holy man Probus identifies the martyrs Juvenal and Eleutherius to the young boy left tending him. In Dialogues IV.15.4 Servulus interrupts the chanting of those gathered around his deathbed. "Hush! Do you not hear the great praises resounding in heaven?"⁷⁵

Jonas, by the same token, is harshest in his story of nuns who leave their convent. He constructs the visionary and demonic elements of his tale from episodes of the Dialogues. Chapter 19 of the Life of Burgundofara is a long account of two nuns who try to escape from their monastery cloister but are brought back twice. Even on their deathbeds they refuse to confess to their abbess. Jonas describes their terror as demons close in on them at death. In previous episodes those gathered in the chamber of the dying nun feel the presence of invisible visitors, hear music or witness celestial light. In this episode there are black shadows, not white light.⁷⁶ When the nuns are asked

⁷⁴VBurg, c. 17, "Inquirentes qui astabant, quibus salutem praemitteret, respondit: "Non cernitis sorores vestras, quae de vestro collegio ad caelos migraverunt? Quaerentesque illae, si agnosceret, increpantes voce ad unam earum Ansetrudem nomine loquitur: 'Vel tu,' inquit, 'non agnoscis sororem tuam Ansildem, quae dudum ad caelos migravit, candidatorum choris insertam?'"

⁷⁵Dialogues IV.15.4. "Tacete. Numquid non auditis quantae resonant laudes in caelo?"

⁷⁶VBurg c. 19

who it is they are speaking to, the answer is not a vision of a saint, but a hoard of "Ethiopians." After their deaths the two nuns are buried outside the cloister walls, but for the next few years disturbances occur around their tomb; flames are seen coming from their graves, particularly on Christmas Eve and Easter. When the abbess has the tombs opened, the walls are found to be burned and only glowing ashes remain. Jonas remarks that the lives of these two nuns served as a deterrent to others.

Jonas employed several episodes from the Dialogues for these very vivid descriptions of demons and infernal fire. Black demons are referred to in the Dialogues where a young child was allowed to blaspheme, uncorrected by his parents.⁷⁷ During a plague the child is dying and, like the women in the Life of Burgundofara, shouts, "Hold them back." When he is asked who he means, the child says, "Devils." Gregory describes infernal flames in two other places in the Dialogues. After an unholy man has been buried his spirit is heard shouting, "I burn, I burn." When the grave is opened only his clothes are found but not the body.⁷⁸ In another place Gregory tells of a man who forced his goddaughter into carnal relations with him. When he died flames were visible shooting up out of his tomb.⁷⁹

In the Dialogues, Gregory, in punishing the monk Justus, forbade the other monks to comfort the man at death, and has his body buried on a dung

⁷⁷Dialogues IV.19.3-4

⁷⁸Dialogues IV.56.1-3.

⁷⁹Dialogues IV.33

heap with a ceremonial condemnation. It is only after forty days of Masses and prayers that Justus returns in a dream to his brother to say he has been freed from purgatory. Gregory's reason for such harsh treatment of Justus can be explained by another passage, "The very dread that grips a departing soul is enough to purify it of minor faults."⁸⁰ Justus' lonely death will begin the purification process for him. Gregory's harshest condemnations were reserved for those who transgressed monastic life. Gregory himself says that his action toward Justus caused his own monks to confess any personal possessions, even things they were allowed to have. In another story of the Dialogues, a young monk attempting to flee the monastery, sees a demon devouring him.⁸¹ When another monk returns to his parents' home without his abbot Benedict's permission, he dies the next day but his body will not remain in the grave until he receives absolution from the saint.⁸²

The Life of Fursey includes vivid descriptions of both angels and devils. Essentially these creatures are described only as opposites. Whereas angels are beautiful, winged creatures with a body whose brilliance prevents one from discerning detail in the face, devils are horrid creatures or shadowy figures; the gloomy atmosphere prevents one from seeing details about them clearly.⁸³ Fursey sees the outside areas of heaven where he is able to hear heavenly

⁸⁰Dialogues IV.48. Sed plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pauor egredientes animas iustorum purgat.

⁸¹Dialogues IV.25

⁸²Dialogues IV.24

⁸³VFur c.8

singing. He sees the four walls of purgatorial fire which a soul must pass through and this is the focus of the Life. Five chapters are used to describe the devil and angels battling over Fursey's soul. The account reads like a transcript of a legal contest, a prosecution by Satan and a defense of Fursey by angels. The portrait of the angels and the devils is more sharply defined than in Jonas' accounts. Fursey is told that his repentance requires a promise that he preach, and the author strongly emphasizes that the monastery is a place where the body should be purged on earth in preparation for heaven.⁸⁴ There is a psychological element to the Life of Fursey which closely resembles that of the Dialogues.

The Vision of Barontus provides the most detailed account of heaven, but also many more images of devils compared to the other two accounts. In this story the aggression and power of the devils is emphasized: they kick Barontus, they try to carry him off in their claws, they accuse him of sins meriting hell. Barontus is given a view of hell which is juxtaposed with the view of heaven. As in heaven, saints of like virtues are grouped together, while in hell, those guilty of like sins are also gathered together.

Barontus' depiction of demons derives in part from the Dialogues.⁸⁵ The author of this work wants to emphasize how powerless the soul after

⁸⁴Ibid. The Life of Fursey was a very influential work in the Middle Ages. Bede mentions Fursey in the HE for his preaching work in East Anglia. His account indicates that he had only heard parts of the story since the order of the account in the HE is mixed up.

⁸⁵Dialogues IV.36 and IV.38

death is to effect its salvation. The work, like the Life of Fursey, is aimed at those who have not given themselves completely over to a holy life or aspire to greater virtue. It intends to show how vulnerable souls become if virtue is not practiced rigorously, if spiritual torpor is allowed to take over. Both the Life of Fursey and the Vision of Barontus show how carefully the devil and demons will pick over any sins left over and not forgiven at death. In the Vision of Barontus demons stick close by Barontus as he is escorted by angels.⁸⁶ He notes how demons lie in wait of souls and are always seeking to drag human beings down by deed and word.⁸⁷

3. Penitential aspect

Gregory does not offer the full-blown confessional system in his theology which was characteristic of Irish monasticism, but his work promotes the need for purifying one's life on earth before passing to the next world. Besides the moral element and demonic content, it appears Jonas and the authors of the Life of Fursey and Vision of Barontus paid special attention to episodes of the Dialogues which included Gregory's teaching on penance.

The penitential element in the Dialogues is found in several places. On her deathbed the holy woman Galla asks St. Peter who has come for her, "Are my sins forgiven?" Peter answers: "They are forgiven, come."⁸⁸ In a

⁸⁶VBar c. 7

⁸⁷VBar c. 4

⁸⁸Dialogues IV.14.4

contemplative vision the monk Anthony is told to prepare for a journey. When he says he does not have the money to pay the fare, he is told, "If you are referring to your sins, know that they are forgiven."⁸⁹ The need for penance before one enters heaven is illustrated by the story of the Spanish hermit Peter who is saved by an angel and is told to remember what he saw in hell and how he should live henceforth.⁹⁰ Other episodes refer to people who have died or received a vision of their death and what they must do to perfect themselves.⁹¹

When one hasn't fully repented one risks trials in the afterlife, like the layman Stephen who is pulled in different directions by angels and devils in a tug-of-war over the river to paradise.⁹² Gregory also draws attention to the purification by fire endured by Paschasius who becomes an attendant in the Roman bathhouse, symbolic of his temporary fate. There are many instances of Masses and prayers releasing souls in the Dialogues. This is not stressed in Jonas' work or the Life of Fursey or Vision of Barontus. This element is surprisingly lacking in these works. Jonas' fugitive nuns, for instance, are not assisted by Masses that put their souls at rest.⁹³

Concurrent with Gregory's attitude toward the urgency of repentance

⁸⁹Dialogues IV.49.1

⁹⁰Dialogues IV.37

⁹¹Musa is told by the Blessed Virgin to comport herself strictly for thirty days, Dialogues IV.18.1-3; a man is brought back from death and given eight days to do penance with the priest Severus in Dialogues I.12

⁹²Dialogues IV.37

⁹³VBurg c. 19

are examples of men and women who repented too late. The monk at the monastery of Ton Galathon who repents of his secret eating habits too late feels the serpent coiling around him.⁹⁴ The rich man Crisaorius, like the rich man in the New Testament, asks if he can't himself be saved perhaps someone will tell his sons of their father's fate.⁹⁵ These episodes tie in with the pedagogic nature of the Dialogues.

Book IV of the Dialogues contains Gregory's most developed treatment of a theology of penance and purgatory:

From these quotations it is clear that each one will be presented to the Judge exactly as he was when he departed this life. Yet there must be a cleansing fire before judgment, because of some minor faults that may remain to be purged away...

Some sins can be forgiven in this world and some in the world to come. Forgiveness is possible for slight transgressions, such as persistent idle talking, immoderate laughter, or blame in the care of property, which can scarcely be administered without fault even by those who know the faults to be avoided, or errors due to ignorance in matters of no great importance. All these faults are troublesome for the soul after death if they are not forgiven while one is still alive.

For when St Paul says that Christ is the foundation, he adds: 'But on this foundation different men will build in gold, silver, precious stones, wood, grass, or straw... a fire will test the quality of each man's workmanship. He will receive a reward, if the building he had added on stands firm if it is burnt up, he will be the loser; and yet he himself will be saved, though only as men are saved by passing through fire!'

Although this may be taken to signify the fire of suffering we experience in this life, it may also refer to the

⁹⁴Dialogues IV.40.10-12

⁹⁵Dialogues IV.40.8-9

cleansing fire of the world to come, and, if one accepts it in this sense, one must weigh St. Paul's words carefully.⁹⁶

Gregory continues with the metaphor of mortal sin as indestructible:

Wood and straw are venial sins or trivial sins, which fire easily consumes.

In this connection we should also remember that in the world to come no one will be cleansed even of the slightest faults, unless he has merited such a cleansing through good works performed in this life.⁹⁷

Since we can't know how closely we will be judged, there is a need to be

⁹⁶Dialogues IV.41.3–IV.41.5. Trans. Odo John Zimmermann, in Dialogues, Fathers of the Church, 39, (New York, 1959), 248-9. Ex quibus nimirum sentiis constat quia qualis hinc quisque egreditur, talis in iudicio praesentatur. Sed tamen de quibusdam leuibus culpis esse ante iudicium purgatorius ignis credendus est, pro eo quod ueritas dicit quia si quis in sancto Spiritu blasphemiam dixerit, neque in hoc saeculo remittetur ei, neque in futuro. In qua sententia datur intellegi quasdam culpas in hoc saeculo, quasdam uero in futuro posse laxari. Quod enim de uno negatur, consequens intellectus patet quia de quibusdam conceditur.

Sed tamen, ut praedixi, hoc de paruis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est, sicut est assiduus otiosus sermo, inmoderatus risus, uel peccatum curae rei familiaris, quae uix sine culpa uel ab ipsis agitur, qui culpam qualiter declinare debeant sciunt, aut in non grauibus rebus error ignorantiae. Quae cuncta etiam post mortem grauant, si adhuc in hac uita positus minime fuerint relaxata.

Nam et cum Paulus dicat Christum esse fundamentum, atque subiungat: Si quis supraedificauerit super hoc fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, foenum, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit quod supraedificauit, mercedem accipiet. Si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur, ipse autem saluus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem, quamuis hoc de igne tribulationis in hac nobis uita adhibito possit intellegi, tamen si quis haec de igne futurae purgationis accipiat, pensandum sollicitate.

⁹⁷Dialogues IV.41.5-6. Trans. Zimmermann, 249. Sed ligna, foenum, stipulam, id est peccata minima atque leuissima, quae ignis facile consumat. Hoc tamen sciendum est quia illic saltem de minimis nil quisque purgationis obtinebit, nisi bonis hoc actibus, in hac adhuc uita positus, ut illic obtineat promereatur.

always vigilant.

Peter. But why are they called saints if they do not pray for their enemies whom they see in torments? Were not the words 'Pray for your enemies,' addressed especially to them?

Gregory. They pray for their enemies at a time when the hearts of their enemies can still produce fruits of repentance and through penance gain salvation. What better prayer could we say for our enemies than that proposed by St. Paul: 'It may be that God will enable them to repent, and acknowledge the truth; so they will recover their senses, and shake off the snare by which the devil, till now, has held them prisoners to his will.' And how shall one pray for one's enemies when these can no longer repent of their evil ways and turn to works of righteousness?

The saints in heaven therefore do not offer prayers for the damned in hell for the same reason that we do not pray for the Devil and his angels. Nor do saintly men on earth pray for the deceased infidels and godless people. And why? because they do not wish to waste their prayers in the sight of a just God by offering them for souls who are known to be condemned.⁹⁸

Peter. At the hour of death who would not stand in dread of this inexplicable sentence of damnation, no matter

⁹⁸Dialogues IV.46.6-8. Trans. Zimmermann, 256-7. Petrus. Et ubi est quod sancti sunt, si pro inimicis suis quos tunc ardere uiderint non orabunt, quibus utique dictum est: Pro inimicis uestris orate?

Gregorius. Orant pro inimicis suis eo tempore, quo possint ad fructuosam paenitentiam eorum corda conuertere atque ipsa conuersione saluare. Quid enim aliud pro inimicis orandum est, nisi hoc quod ait apostolus: Vt det illis Deus paenitentiam ad cognoscendam ueritatem et respiscant a diaboli laqueis, a quo capti tenentur ad ipsius uoluntatem? Et quomodo, pro illis tunc orabitur, qui iam nullatenus possunt ad iustitiae opera ab iniquitate conmutari?

Eadem itaque causa est cur non oretur tunc pro hominibus aeterno igne damnatis, quae nunc etiam causa est ut non oretur pro diabolo angelisque ejus aeterno supplicio deputatis. Quae nunc etiam causa est ut non orent sancti homines pro hominibus infidelibus impiisque defunctis, nisi quia de eis utique, quos aeterno deputatos supplicio iam nouerunt, ante illum iudicis iusti conspectum orationis suae meritum cassari refugiunt?

what his life may have been? For even if he is conscious of what he did, he still does not know how minutely his deeds will be judged.⁹⁹

The Dialogues provided Jonas with an idea of postponement and purification. The theme of confession or expiation of sin occurs in seven out of eleven passages in the Life of Burgundofara. Sistrude is given forty days to prepare for her departure from this life; Gibtrude dies but is sent back to earth to make peace with her enemies; Ercantrude is forgiven by Jesus Christ himself.¹⁰⁰ The citations of the Dialogues used by Jonas concern Benedicta, who must wait thirty days to follow Galla in death, and Musa who must practice discipline for thirty days before the Virgin will come for her. Jonas interpreted these delays as a period of penance and used the Dialogues to give force to personal penance, which is a major theme in his work.

The works associated with Irish foundations follow the pattern of not emphasizing demons, rather they stress the need for confession. This is seen especially in the Life of Burgundofara and the Life of Fursey. In the Life of Burgundofara confession dominates the stories. In the Life of Fursey we are

⁹⁹Dialogues IV.47.3. Trans. Zimmermann, 258. Petrus. Quis hanc tam inexplicabilem damnationis sententiam, cuiuslibet sit operis, ad exitum ueniens non pertimescat, quando etsi iam nouit quid egit, adhuc tamen facta illius quam subtiliter iudicentur ignorat?

¹⁰⁰See also VBurg c. 15, Deurechild's intercession for her mother; VBurg c.13 and c.17, Ercantrude and Wilsindane who discern other nuns' guilt and cause them to confess; VBurg c.19, the fugitive nuns who try to escape the monastery and are urged to confess, but even at the point of death, their recalcitrance prevents them from saving themselves from the demons who close in on them in a terrifying manner.

reminded that we do not always know how minutely our faults will be judged. The seemingly harmless act of accepting a gift from a wicked man can throw us into hell.¹⁰¹

The Vision of Barontus understands the need for repentance. Like Gregory, the author notes the purifying power of a long illness and stresses the value of alms-giving.¹⁰² From Gregory's Homilies on the Gospels he repeats that it is useless for the man who has lost the opportunity of proper penance to come to pray to the Lord.¹⁰³ Barontus himself is told by Peter the way to assure his salvation is by giving away all his money.¹⁰⁴ In the Life of Fursey Fursey must incite people against spiritual torpor, the Vision of Barontus goes further in suggesting the monastery as the site of assured salvation.¹⁰⁵

In these works from seventh-century Gaul, the Dialogues was employed as the basis for visions; it was also used to enhance the confessional system of the Irish. Gregory's work also became a model used by Merovingian hagiographers to structure their works. Jonas' Life of Columbanus and his disciples followed Gregory's use of the short sketch, especially in the Life of Burgundofara. It could be argued that the entire composition is a microcosm of

¹⁰¹It is noteworthy that Gregory himself discusses this issue in the Dialogues. The biblical precedent, of course, is God's refusal to accept the sacrifice of Cain after Abel's murder.

¹⁰²VBar c. 13

¹⁰³VBar c. 22

¹⁰⁴VBar c. 13

¹⁰⁵VBar c. 18

the Dialogues. The Life of Columbanus itself can be compared to the Life of Benedict in the Dialogues on which Jonas partly bases his portrait of Columbanus. While the second part of the work, Book II, consists not so much of a life of the holy woman Burgundofara, as a series of vignettes or sketches such as Gregory uses in Book IV of the Dialogues. The Life of Fursey is the only work in this period that uses a dialogue format as a pedagogic form. The Vision of Barontus is based on the Vita Furse and closely follows the path of the journey to the afterlife in the Vita.

The Life of Fursey and the Vision of Barontus, while both independent of the Columban tradition, still contain the characteristic Irish penitential element in their work. Indeed continental Irish hagiographic works should not be characterized so much for the use of the fantastic, as for the strong penitential element they contain. Insofar as all hagiography is pedagogic, intended to teach, the continental Irish emphasize the need for awareness of sin and frequent confession.

CONCLUSION

Gregory could not have known the many uses to which his work would be put. That the Dialogues was being used throughout Gaul, Spain, Ireland and England within a century of his death is a testament to its universal appeal. Yet no golden thread allows us to weave a pattern that neatly traces the influence and appeal of the work to authors writing in contexts quite different from Gregory's. His principal themes, the pre-eminence of virtue and prayer over miracles in the portrait of the holy man and the coalescence of the physical and spiritual worlds revealed in reports of experiences with the afterlife, find their expression in such disparate works as Taio of Saragossa's Liber quinque sententiarum and Jonas of Bobbio's lives of the Faremoutiers nuns. Few authors understood the Dialogues completely or used the work in its entirety. Bede is perhaps the author of this period who knew, understood, and used the Dialogues most thoroughly.

The Dialogues is more than a collection of short vitae intended to amuse. In some ways it is more like a work of theology underscored by hagiographic exempla and contains themes encountered elsewhere in Gregory's works. The pedagogic nature of the Dialogues is evident in Gregory's view that revealing the miracles and lives of holy persons will help inspire others to follow their example or remind people of how far they have yet to go to attain a holy life. In effect, the writing down of these stories in itself is an imitation of what the authors of the Gospels did in the New

Testament.

Gregory emphasizes the pre-eminence of virtue and prayer over miracles in the portrait of the holy man, his focus is the living holy man. Miracles occur in the Dialogues through a combination of faith, virtue, prayer, and the grace of God. The holy man alone is not able to effect a miracle. As much as Gregory tried to provide a model of the holy life in the Dialogues, he does not hold the view that complete perfection is possible in this life. Two things follow from this. Perfection must still be the goal of human beings and this is best achieved by adopting a monastic way of life which is incumbent on all Christians. It is not monks as a class who will attain heavenly rewards, but those clergy or laity who have practiced monastic virtue. Bede understands this perspective.

The second point Gregory makes in the Dialogues in connection with perfection is the idea that purgatory is not a terrible punishment but a place where a final cleansing is still possible for men and women who die in a state of sin. Gregory comforts his readers with the thought that the devil and his demons will not overcome. The emphasis on purgatory as a hope and comfort to human beings who cannot perfect themselves in this life is a common link among continental works. In Jonas of Bobbio's work this becomes attached to confession.

The visions of hell and heaven that Gregory includes in the Dialogues inspire much more elaborate descriptions in the later part of the seventh

century, particularly in the Vision of Barontus and Life of Fursey. Where Gregory writes of noble men in white robes in heaven, Valerius and Barontus recall the sound of feathers as an angel alights. Where Gregory describes the horrible appearance of the devil surrounded by flames Valerius describes a grotesque bird-headed creature. The pedagogic value of these visions is not lost on the Irish continental authors nor on Valerius and Jonas. Fursey is commanded by St. Peter in his vision to preach and to reveal what he has seen. Images of the afterlife persuade the nuns at the convent of Faremoutiers to pursue their monastic vows seriously.

The broad survey of authors and citations of the Dialogues offered here allows a glimpse of the wide dissemination of the work and offers points for comparison. It is clear that early medieval churchmen accepted the Dialogues as one of Gregory's major works, not as an aberration in his corpus. In the case of Spain and England the popularity of the Dialogues was tied to the reputation Gregory had already secured; in Spain through his contacts with Leander and the earlier use of the Moralia, in England, with his establishment of the Roman mission and the affection for him that that engendered. In Spain interest in Gregory remained high in the seventh century; it did not extend to the papacy per se. In England the opposite was true. As the century wore on there developed a keen interest in Rome and close relations between the papacy and various English churchmen were maintained, particularly through the efforts of Benedict Biscop and Bishop Wilfrid.

In Spain the Dialogues was employed in works of hagiography and theology. Julian of Toledo and Taio of Saragossa drew on the theology of the Dialogues. Likewise the use of the Dialogues in Ireland suggests different emphasis by authors in the northern and southern monastic traditions.

Adomnán used the Dialogues extensively in his hagiographic work, the Life of Colum Cille, while the author of the Liber de ordine creaturarum used the Dialogues for theological interpretation. Scant manuscript evidence from Ireland prevents a definitive statement about this. In England, however, Bede used the Dialogues only in his vitae and historical works; no citation of the Dialogues appears in his exegetical writings.

The Dialogues had a great impact on works of hagiography, particularly those connected with the movement towards a Benedictine understanding of prophecy and the holy life. An even greater impact is traceable in detailed descriptions of the afterlife. Gregory's description of the battle for souls between angels and demons that takes place after death is repeated by Valerius, Adomnán, Jonas and the authors of the Vision of Barontus and Life of Fursey. A discussion of the need for repentance focusing on the cleansing power of purgatory leads to full-blown descriptions of hell and heaven in Valerius which Gregory only hinted at in the Dialogues. The distinction historians have made between Irish and Iro-Frankish works provides a clue here.

The Dialogues does not seem to have inspired many works from Italy. It

was only in the eighth century, under Pope Zachary, who translated a copy of the Dialogues into Greek for a community of Greek monks in Rome, that Italy moves to the forefront in vita production and in the use of Gregory's works. Zachary's translation of the Dialogues attained such popularity that in Greek Gregory was known as "Gregory of the Dialogues."

Any picture of the influence of the Dialogues in the seventh century will remain incomplete until we have a systematic assessment of its connections with early medieval monastic literature, preferably one that does not isolate the use of the Life of Benedict from citations of other books from the Dialogues. A fuller investigation of citations of the Dialogues in Gallic vitae of the seventh century should provide a firm link to the dissemination of the Rule of Benedict. The substantial collection of Merovingian vitae that used the Dialogues would constitute a study of its own.

The selection of works from Spain, Ireland, England, and Gaul examined here lent themselves to a geographic survey at the outset of this project. Some repetition might have been avoided if a thematic approach had been substituted, but the the examination of direct citations of the Dialogues by authors in historical contexts different from that of Gregory's sixth-century Rome has permitted a comparison and overview of a major work of the middle ages. To some extent the breadth of this study of the influence of the Dialogues has meant certain works, such as Defensor's Liber Scintillarum, have had to be omitted. Jonas of Bobbio's Life of John of Réomé and Life of St.

Vaast are, likewise, absent. Figures such as Braulio and Ildephonsus, who were influenced by Gregory, but who do not cite the Dialogues, also had to be neglected. An investigation into the liturgical sources of the seventh century was beyond the scope of this work but it might clarify the connections between the use of the Dialogues and prayer collections. Vogel has attributed the multiplication of Masses to Gregory's discussion in the Dialogues of the efficacy of the Mass, particularly its power in springing souls from purgatory. This is obviously a theme worth pursuing. These limitations, however, provide opportunities for further investigation in the different ways in which the Dialogues of Gregory affected the minds of Europeans in the early middle ages.

APPENDIX: CHAPTER TWO

Dialogues

Dialogues II.16.3-4, 7

3. Petrus. Iste uir diuinitatis, ut uideo, etiam secreta penetrauit, qui perspexit hunc clericum idcirco diabolo traditum, ne ad sacrum ordinem accedere auderet.

Gregorius. Quare diuinitatis secreta non nosset, qui diuinitatis praecepta seruaret, cum scriptum sit: Qui adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est?

4. Si unus fit cum Domino spiritus, qui Domino adhaeret, quid est quod iterum isdem egregius praedicator dicit: Quis nouit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius eius fuit? Valde enim esse inconueniens uidetur, eius sensum, cum quo unum factus fuerit, ignorare.

7. Ad utraque haec tibi superius sub breuitate respondi, dicens quod sancti uiri, in quantum cum Domino sunt, sensum Domini non ignorant. Omnes enim qui deuote Dominum sequuntur, etiam deuotione cum Deo sunt, et adhuc carnis corruptibilis pondere grauati, cum Deo non sunt. Occulta itaque Dei iudicia, in quantum coniuncta sunt, sciunt; in quantum disiuncti sunt, nesciunt. Quia enim secreta eius adhuc perfecte non penetrant, inconprehensibilia eius iudicia esse testantur. Quia uero ei mente inhaerent, atque inhaerendo uel sacrae scripturae eloquiis uel occultis reuelationibus, in quantum accipiunt, agnoscunt, haec et norunt et pronuntiant. Iudicia igitur, que

Isidore of Seville

Sententia I.3.2

Intelligibilter quodam miro modo Dei essentia sciri potest, dum esse creditur. Opus uero ejus, quod utique aequari ei non potest, atque iudicia a nullo penitus sciuntur. Dei secreta iudicia non posse sensu penetrari, uel angelico, uel humano (constat). Et ideo quia occulta, sed iusta sunt, tantumdem uenerari ea opus est, et timere, non discutere, aut inquirere, secundum Apostolum, qui ait: **Quis enim sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit.** (I Cor. 11, 16)

Deus tacet, nesciunt; quae Deus loquitur, sciunt.

Dialogues IV.48

Gregorius. Vt aduersis. Sed Plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pauor egredientes animas iustorum purgat, sicut narrari de quodam sancto uiro mecum frequenter audisti, qui ad mortem ueniens uehementer timuit, sed post mortem discipulis in stola alba apparuit et quam praeclare sit susceptus indicauit.

Dialogues IV.49.1,3-4

1. Nonnumquam uero omnipotens Deus trepidantium mentes quibusdam prius reuelationibus roborat, ut in morte minime pertimescant.

3. Huic per nocturnam uisionem dictum est: "Paratas esto, et quia Dominus iussit, migra."

4. Alius etiam frater in eodem monasterio Merulus dicebatur, uehementer lacrimis atque elemosinis intentus, psalmodia uero ex ore illius paene nullo tempore cessare consueuerat, excepto cum aut alimentum corpori, aut membra dedisset sopori. Huic nocturna uisione apparuit quia ex albis floribus corona de caelo in caput illius descendebat. Qui mox molestia corporis occupatus, cum magna securitate animi atque hilaritate defunctus est.

Sententia III.6.1

"De tentamentis somniorum." Plerumque daemones in noctibus occurrentes humanos sensus per uisiones conturbant, ut formidolosus et timidos faciant. Aliquoties etiam ex desperatione peccatorum mentem conuersi per soporem conturbant, horridaque gehennae supplicia minitant. Nonnumquam autem et aperta impugnatione grassantes humana corpora verberant, quod tamen, Deo permittente, malis fit ad vindictam, iustis ad tolerantiae gloriam.

Sententia III.6.3

Qui aut nullis, aut raris conscii sunt delectis, aut numquam, aut raro terroribus fatigantur nocturnis; sed placato somno quiescentes, interdum etiam per soporem quaedam arcana et mystica contuentur ac vident. Qui uero corda sua gravioribus vitiis poluerunt, conscientiae pavore illusi species tremendas aspiciunt. Fallax enim imago mente miserorum diversis illudit imaginibus; et quos vigilantes in vita traxit, dormientes fatigat, ut nunquam securos requiescere sinat.

Sententia III 6.6

Diversae qualitates sunt somniorum. Quaedam enim ex saturitate, seu inanitione occurrunt, quae etiam per experientiam nota sunt. Quaedam uero ex propria

cogitatione oriuntur; nam saepe quae in die cogitamus, in noctibus recognoscimus.

Dialogues I.12.5

Petrus. Scio plane nec dubium est, quia minimus omnium apostolorum tamen plus omnibus laborauit.

De ortu et obitu patrum 68.2

Hic secundo post ascensionem Domini anno baptizatus, dignitatem meruit apostolatus atque plus omnibus laborans multo latius inter ceteros uerbi gloriam seminavit atque doctrinam euangelicam sua praedicatione conpleuit. Incipiens enim ab Hierosolimis usque ad Ilyricum et Italiam Spaniasque processit ac nomen Christi multarum manifestauit gentium quibus non fuerat declaratum; cuius miracula ista esse noscuntur.

Dialogues II.6.1

Alio quoque tempore Gothus quidam pauper spiritu ad conuersionem uenit, quem uir Domini Benedictus libentissime suscepit. Quadem uero die ei dari ferramentum iussit, quod a falcis similitudine falcastrum uocatur, ut de loco quodam uepres abscideret, quatenus illic fieri hortus deberet. Locus autem ipse, quem mundandum Gothus susceperat, super ipsam laci ripam iacebat. Cumque Gothus idem densitatem ueprum totius uirtutis adnisi succideret, ferrum de manubrio prosiliens in lacum cecidit, ubi scilicet tanta erat aquarum profunditas, ut spes requirendi ferramenti nulla iam esset.

Etymologies XX 14.5

Falcastrum, a similitudine falcis uocatum. Est autem ferramentum curuum cum manubrio longo, ad densitatem ueprum succidendam. Hi et runcones dicti, quibus uepres secantur, a runcando dicti.

Dialogues III.26.7 and 9

7. Gregorius. Duo sunt, Petre, martyrii genera: unum in occulto, alterum quoque in publico. Nam et si persecutio desit exterius, martyrii meritum in occulto est, cum uirtus ad passionem prompta flagrat in animo...

9. De his autem talibus tantisque uiris, quorum superius memoriam feci, cur dicamus quia, si persecutionis tempus existeret, martyres esse potuissent,—qui occulti hostis insidias tolerantes, suosque in hoc mundo aduersarios diligentes, cunctis carnalibus desideriis resistentes, per hoc quod se omnipotenti Deo in corde mactauerunt, etiam pacis tempore martyres fuerunt,—dum nostris modo temporibus uilis quoque et saecularis uitae personas, de quibus nil coelestis gloriae praesumi posse uidebatur, oborta occasione contigit ad coronam martyrii peruenire?

See also Dialogues IV.50.1-6

Etymologies IV.11.4

"De Martyribus"

Duo autem sunt martyrii genera, unum in aperta passione, alterum in occulta animi uirtute. Nam multi hostis insidias tolerantes, et cunctis carnalibus desideriis resistentes, per hoc quod se Omnipotenti Deo in corde mactauerunt, etiam pacis tempore martyres facti sunt, qui etiam, si persecutionis tempore existerent, martyres esse potuerunt.

Dialogues

Dialogues I.8.5-6

Gregorius. Obtineri nequaquam possunt quae praedestinata non fuerint, sed ea quae sancti viri orando efficiunt, ita praedestinata sunt ut precibus obtineantur. Nam ipsa quoque perennis regni praedestinatio ita est ab omnipotente Deo disposita, ut ad hoc electi ex labore perveniant, quatenus postulando mereantur accipere, quod eis omnipotens Deus ante saecula disposuit donare.

Petrus. Probari mihi apertius uelim, si potest praedestinatio precibus iuvari.

Gregorius. Hoc quod ego, Petre, intuli, concite ualet probari. Certe etenim nosti quia ad Abraham Dominus dixit: In Isaac uocabitur tibi semen. Cui etiam dixerat: Patrem multarum gentium constitui te. Cui rursus promisit, dicens: Benedicam tibi, et multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas caeli et uelut arenam quae est in litore maris. Ex qua re aperte constat quia omnipotens Deus semen Abrahae multiplicare per Isaac praedestinauerat. Et tamen scriptum est: Deprecatus est Isaac Dominum pro uxore sua, eo quod esset sterilis. Qui exaudiuit eum, et dedit conceptum Rebeccae. Si ergo multiplicatio generis Abrahae per Isaac praedestinata fuit, cur coniugem sterilem accepit? Sed nimirum constat quia praedestinatio precibus impletur, quando is, in quo Deus multiplicari semen Abrahae praedestinauerat, oratione obtinuit ut filios habere potuisset.

Taio of Saragossa

Liber quinque sententiarum

Sententiae (Taio) I.xxxv

Ea quae sancti viri orando efficiunt, ita praedestinata sunt ut precibus obtineantur. Nam ipsa quoque perennis regni praedestinatio ita est ab omnipotente Deo disposita, ut ad hoc electi ex labore perveniant, quatenus postulando mereantur accipere quod eis omnipotens Deus ante saecula disposuit donare. Certissime novimus quod ad Abraham Dominus dixit: In Isaac uocabitur tibi semen (Gen. xxi, 13). Cui etiam dixerat: Patrem multarum gentium constitui te (Gen. xvii, 4). Cui rursus promisit, dicens: Benedicam tibi, et multiplicabo semen tuum sicut stellas coeli, et uelut arenam quae est in littore maris (Gen. xxii, 17). Ex qua re aperte constat quia omnipotens Deus semen Abrahae multiplicare per Isaac praedestinauerat, et tamen scriptum est: Deprecatus est Isaac Dominum pro uxore sua, eo quod esset sterilis; qui exaudiuit eum, et dedit conceptum Rebeccae (Gen. xxv, 21). Si multiplicatio generis Abrahae per Isaac praedestinata fuit, cur coniugem sterilem accepit? Sed nimirum constat quia praedestinatio precibus impletur, quando is in quo Deus multiplicare semen Abrahae praedestinauerat, oratione obtinuit ut filios habere potuisset.

Dialogues III.14.12-14

12. Gregorius. Magna est, Petre, omnipotentis Dei dispensatio, et plerumque contingit ut, quibus maiora bona praestat, quaedam minora non tribuat, ut semper eorum animus habeat unde se ipse reprehendat, quatenus, dum appetunt perfecti esse nec possunt, et laborant in hoc quod non acceperunt nec tamen elaborando praevalent, in his quae accepta habent se minime extollant, sed discant quia ex semetipsis maiora bona non habent, qui in semetipsis uincere parua uitia atque extrema non possunt.

13. Hinc est enim quod perducto Dominus ad terram promissionis populo, cunctos fortes atque praepotentes aduersarios eius extinguens, Philisteos atque Chananeos diutius reseruauit, ut, sicut scriptum est, in eis experiretur Israel, quia nonnumquam, ut dictum est, eis etiam quibus magna dona tribuit parua quaedam reprehensibilia relinquit, ut semper habeant contra quod bellum gerant, et deuictis magnis hostibus mentem non erigant, quando eos adhuc aduersarii etiam minimi fatigant. Fit itaque miro modo ut una eademque mens et uirtute polleat et ex infirmitate lassescat, quatenus et ex parte constructa sit et ex parte se conspiciat esse destructam, ut per bonum quod quaerit et habere non ualet, illud seruet humiliter quod habet.

14. Sed quid mirum quod hoc de homine dicimus, quando illa superna regio in ciuibus suis ex parte damna pertulit et ex parte

Sententiae (Taio) III.ii

Magna est omnipotentis Dei dispensatio, et plerumque contingit ut quibus maiora dona [Ed. bona] praestat, quaedam minora non tribuat, ut semper eorum animus habeat unde ipse se reprehendat. Plerumque electi appetunt perfecti esse, nec possunt; elaborant in hoc quod a Domino acceperunt, nec tamen laborando praevalent. In his autem quae accepta habent se minime extollunt, et discunt quia ex semetipsis maiora bona non habent, qui in semetipsis uincere parua uitia non possunt. Perducto Dominus ad terram promissionis populo, cunctos fortes atque praepotentes aduersarios eius extinguens, Philisthaeos atque Chananaeos diutius reservavit, ut, sicut scriptum est, in eis experiretur Israel (Judic.III,4). Nonnumquam, ut dictum est, eis etiam Dominus quibus magna dona tribuit parua quaedam reprehensibilia relinquit, ut semper habeant contra quod bellum gerant, et deuictis magnis hostibus, mentem non erigant, quando eos adhuc aduersarii etiam minime fatigant. Miro modo fit ut una eademque mens et uirtute polleat, et ex infirmitate lassescat, quatenus et ex parte constructa sit, et ex parte se conspiciat esse destructam; ut per bonum quod quaerit et habere non ualet, illud seruet humiliter quod habet. Quid igitur mirum quod hoc de homine dicimus, quando illa superna regio in ciuibus suis ex parte damna pertulit, et ex parte fortiter stetit, ut electi angelorum spiritus dum alios per superbiam cecidisse

fortiter stetit, ut electi angelorum spiritus, dum alios per superbiam cecidisse conspicerent, ipsi tanto robustius quanto humiliter starent? Illi ergo regioni sua etiam detrimenta profecerunt, quae ad aeternitatis statum ex parte suae destructionis est solidius instructa. Sic ergo et in unaquaque anima agitur, ut in humilitatis custodia aliquando ad lucra maxima ex minimo damno seruetur.

Dialogues III.34.1-5

1. In multis speciebus conpunctio diuiditur, quando singulae quaeque a poenitentibus culpa planguntur. Vnde ex uoce quoque poenitentium Hieremias ait: Diuisiones aquarum deduxit oculus meus.

2. Principaliter uero conpunctionis genera duo sunt, quia Deum sitiens anima prius timore conpungitur, post amore. Prius enim sese in lacrimis afficit, quia, dum malorum suorum recolit, pro his perpeti supplicia aeterna pertimescit. At uero cum longa moeroris anxietudine fuerit formido consumpta, quaedam iam de praesumptione ueniae securitas nascitur et in amore caelestium gaudiorum animus inflammatur, et qui prius flebat ne duceretur ad supplicium, postmodum flere amarissime incipit quia differetur a regno. Contemplatur etenim mens qui sint illi angelorum chori, quae ipsa societas beatorum spirituum, quae maiestas interna uisionis Dei, et amplius plangit quia a bonis perennibus deest; quam flebat prius

conspicerent, ipsi tanto robustius quanto humiliter starent? Sic ergo et in unaquaque anima agitur, ut in humilitatis custodia [Ed. custodiam] aliquando ad lucra maxima ex minimo damno seruetur.

Sententiae (Taio) III.xlv

Sunt nonnulli qui iam in dono perceperunt libere pro iustitia eloqui, oppressos tueri, indigentibus possessa tribuere, ardorem fidei habere; sed adhuc gratiam lacrymarum non habent. Hi nimirum terram Australem et arentem habent, sed adhuc irrigua indigent, quia in bonis operibus positi, in quibus magni atque ferventes sunt, oportet nimis ut aut timore supplicii, aut amore regni coelorum, mala etiam quae antea perpetraverunt deplorent. Licet in multis speciebus conpunctio dividatur, quando singulae quaeque a poenitentibus culpa planguntur; unde ex uoce quoque poenitentium Jeremias ait: Diuisiones aquarum deduxit oculus meus (Thren.III,48); principaliter tamen conpunctionum genera duo sunt, quia ad Deum sitiens anima, prius timore conpungitur, post amore. Prius enim sese in lacrimis afficit, quia dum malorum suorum recolit, pro his perpeti aeterna supplicia pertimescit. Cum longa moeroris

cum mala aeterna metuebat. Sicque fit, ut perfecta compunctio formidinis tradat animum compunctioni dilectionis.

3. Quod bene in sacra ueracique historia figurata narratione describitur, quae ait quod Axa filia Caleph, sedens super asinum, suspirauit. Cui dixit pater suus: "Quid habes?", atque illa respondit: "Da mihi benedictionem. Terram australem et arentem dedisti mihi, iunge et irriguam." Dedit ei pater suus irriguum superius et irriguum inferius.

4. Axa quippe super asinum sedit, cum irrationabilibus carnis suae motibus anima praesedit. Quae suspirans a patre terram irriguam petit, quia a creatore nostro cum magno gemitu quaerenda est lacrimarum gratia. Sunt namque nonnulli, qui iam in dono perceperunt libere pro iustitia loqui, oppressos tueri, indigentibus possessa tribuere, ardorem fidei habere, sed adhuc gratiam lacrimarum non habent. Hi nimirum terram australem et arentem habent, sed adhuc irriguam indigent, qui in bonis operibus positi, in quibus magni atque feruentes sunt, oportet nimis ut aut timore supplicii aut amore regni caelestis mala etiam, quae antea perpetrauerunt, deplorent.

5. Sed quia, ut dixi, duo sunt compunctionis genera, dedit ei pater suus irriguum superius et irriguum inferius. Irriguam quippe superius accipit anima, cum sese in lacrimis caelestis regni desiderio adfligit, irriguum uero inferius accipit, cum

anxietudine fuerit formido consumpta, quaedam jam de praesumptione veniae securitas nascitur, et in amore coelestium gaudiorum animus inflammatur. Et qui prius flebat, ne duceretur ad supplicium, postmodum flere amarissime incipit, quia differtur a regno. Plerumque contemplatur mens qui sint illi angelorum chori, quae ipsa societas sanctorum spirituum, quae majestas internae visionis Dei, et amplius plangit, quia a bonis perennibus deest, quam flebat prius, cum mala aeterna metuebat. Sicque fit ut perfecta compunctio formidinis tradat animum compunctioni dilectionis. In sacra ueracique historia figurata narratione describitur quod Axa filia Caleph sedens super asinum suspiravit (Iosue xv, 18 seq). Cui dixit pater suus: Quid habes? atque illa respondit: Da mihi benedictionem, terram Australem et arentem dedisti mihi, iunge et irriguam. Tunc dedit ei pater suus irriguum superius et irriguum inferius. Axa quippe super asinum sedet, cum irrationabilibus carnis suae motibus anima praesidet; quae suspirans a patre terram irriguam petit; quia a Creatore nostro cum magno gemitu quaerendae sunt lacrymae compunctionum. Quia ergo, ut dixi, duo sunt compunctionis genera, dedit ei Pater suus irriguum superius, et irriguum inferius. Irriguam quippe superius accipit anima, cum sese in lacrymis caelestis regni desiderio affligit; irriguum uero inferius accipit, cum inferni supplicia flendo pertimescit.

infernī supplicia flendo pertimescit.

Dialogues IV.41.5-6

5. Si quis supraedificauerit super hoc fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, foenum, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit quod supraedificauit, mercedem accipiet. Si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur, ipse autem saluus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem, quamuis hoc de igne tribulationis in hac nobis uita adhibito possit intellegi, tamen si quis haec de igne futurae purgationis accipiat, pensandum sollicite est quia illum dixit per ignem posse saluari, non qui super hoc fundamentum ferrum, aes uel plumbum aedificat, id est peccata maiora et idcirco duriora atqua tunc iam insolubilia, sed ligna, foenam, stipulam, id est peccata minima atque leuissima, quae ignis facile consumat.

6. Hoc tamen sciendum est quia illic saltem de minimis nil quisque purgationis obtinebit, nisi bonis hoc actibus, in hac adhuc uita positus, ut illic obtineat promereatur.

Sententiae (Taio) V.xxi

Egregius praedicator ait: Si quis autem supraedificat supra fundamentum hoc aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, foenum, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus manifestum erit. Dies enim Domini declarabit, quia in igne revelabitur; et uniuscuiusque opus, quale sit, ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit, quod supraedificauit, mercedem accipiet. Si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur; ipse autem saluus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem (1 Cor.iii,12). Quamuis hoc, quod superius protulimus de igne tribulationis in hac nobis uita adhibito possit intelligi, tamen si quis hoc de igne futurae purgationis accipiat, pensandum sollicite est quia illum dixit per ignem posse saluari, non qui super hoc fundamentum ferrum, aes, uel plumbum aedificat, id est, peccata maiora, et idcirco duriora, atque tunc iam insolubilia; sed ligna, foenum, stipulam, id est, peccata minima, atque leuissima, quae ignis facile consumat. Hoc tamen sciendum est, quia illic saltem de minimis nil quisque purgationis obtinebit, nisi bonis hoc actibus in hac adhuc uita positus, ut illic obtineat promereatur.

Dialogues IV.44.1-3

1. Nonnulli namque in quadam terrarum parte infernum esse putauerunt, alii uero hunc sub terra esse aestimant. Sed tamen hoc animum pulsat, quia si idcirco infernum dicimus quia inferius iacet, quod terra ad caelum est, hoc esse inferus debet ad terram. Vnde et fortasse per psalmistam dicitur: Liberasti animam meam ex inferno inferiori, ut infernus superior terra, infernus uero sub terra esse uideatur.

2. Et Iohannis uox in ea aestimatione concordat. Qui cum signatum librum septem sigillis uidisse se diceret, quia nemo inuentus est dignus neque in caelo, neque in terra, neque subtus terra aperire librum et soluere signacula eius, adiunxit: Et ego flebam multum. Quem tamen postmodum librum per leonem de tribu Iuda dicit aperiri.

3. In quo uidelicet libro quid aliud quam sacra scriptura signatur, quam solus redemptor noster aperuit? Qui homo factus moriendo, resurgendo, ascendendo cuncta mysteria quae in ea fuerant clausa patefecit. Et nullus in caelo quia neque angelus, nullus in terra quia neque homo uiuens in corpore, nullus subtus terra dignus inuentus est, quia neque animae corpore exutae aperire nobis praeter Dominum sacri eloquii secreta potuerunt. Cum ergo ad soluendum librum nullus sub terra inuentus dignus dicitur, quid obstet non uideo ut sub terra esse infernus credatur.

Sententiae (Taio) V.xx

Nonnulli in quadam terrarum parte infernum esse putauerunt; alii uero hunc sub terra esse aestimant. Sed tamen hoc animum pulsat, quia si idcirco infernum dicimus, quia inferius iacet, quod terra ad caelum est, hoc esse infernus debet ad terram. Unde fortasse dicitur: Liberasti animam meam ex inferno inferiori (Psal. LXXXV,13) ut infernus superior terra infernus uero inferior sub terra esse uideatur. Joannis uox in ea aestimatione concordat, qui cum signatum librum septem sigillis uidisse se diceret, quia nemo inuentus est dignus, neque in caelo, neque in terra, neque subtus terram aperire librum, et soluere signacula eius, adiunxit: Et ego flebam multum (Apoc v,4). Quem tamen postmodum librum per leonem de tribu Iuda dicit aperiri. In quo uidelicet libro, quid aliud quam sacra Scriptura signatur? Quam solus Redemptor noster aperuit, qui homo factus moriendo, resurgendo, ascendendo, cuncta mysteria quae in ea fuerant clausa patefecit. Nullus in caelo dignus inuentus est aperire librum, quia neque angelus; nullus in terra, quia neque homo uiuens in corpore; nullus subtus terram, quia neque animae corpore exutae aperire nobis, praeter Dominum, sacri eloquii secreta potuerunt. Cum ad soluendum librum nullus sub terra inuentus dignus dicitur, quid obstet non uideo ut sub terra esse infernus credatur.

Dialogues IV.50.2-6

2. Sciendum, Petre, est quia sex modis tangunt animam imagines somniorum. Aliquando namque somnia uentris plenitudine uel inanitate, aliquando uero inlusione, aliquando cogitatione simul et inlusione, aliquando reuelatione, aliquando autem cogitatione simul et reuelatione generantur. Sed duo quae prima diximus, omnes experimento cognoscimus.

Subiuncta autem quatuor in sacrae scripturae paginis inuenimus.

3. Somnia etenim nisi plerumque ab occulto hoste per inlusionem fierent, nequaquam hoc uir sapiens indicaret, dicens: Multos enim errare fecerunt somnia, et exciderunt sperantes in illis; uel certe: Non auguriabimini, nec obseruetis somnia. Quibus profecto uerbis cuius sint detestationis ostenditur quae auguriis coniunguntur.

4. Rursum nisi aliquando ex cogitatione simul et inlusione procederent, uir sapiens minime dixisset: Multas curas sequuntur somnia. Et nisi aliquando somnia ex mysterio reuelationis orirentur, Ioseph praefendum se fratribus somnio non uideret, nec Mariae sponsum, ut ablato puero in Aegyptum fugeret, per somnium angelus admoneret.

5. Rursum nisi aliquando somnia cogitatione simul et reuelatione procederent, nequaquam Daniel propheta Nabucodonosor uisionem disserens, a radice cogitationis inchoasset, dicens: Tu, rex, cogitare coepisti in stratu tuo quid esset futurum post haec, et qui reuelat

Sententiae (Taio) IV.vii

Sciendum est quod sex modis tangunt animam imagines somniorum. Aliquando namque somnia uentris plenitudine uel inanitate, aliquando uero illusiones, aliquando cogitatione simul et illusionem, aliquando reuelatione, aliquando autem cogitatione simul et reuelatione generantur. Sed duo quae prima diximus omnes experimento cognoscimus;

subiuncta autem quatuor in sacrae Scripturae paginis inuenimus.

Somnia etenim nisi plerumque ab occulto hoste per illusionem fierent, nequaquam hoc uir sapiens indicaret, dicens: Multos errare fecerunt somnia, et illusiones vanae (Eccli xxxiv, 7). Vel certe:

Non augurabimini, nec observabitis somnia (Lev.xix,26).

Quibus profecto uerbis cuius sint detestationis ostenditur quae auguriis coniunguntur. Rursum nisi aliquando ex cogitatione simul et illusionem procederent, Salomon minime dixisset: Multas curas sequuntur somnia (Eccle.v,2). Nisi aliquando somnia ex mysterio reuelationis orirentur, Ioseph praefendum se fratribus per somnium non uideret

(Gen.xxxvii,7); nec Mariae sponsum, ut ablato puero in Aegyptum fugeret, per somnium Veritas

admoneret (Matt II,13-14). Rursum nisi aliquando somnia cogitatione simul reuelatione procederent, nequaquam Daniel propheta Nabuchodonosor uisionem disserens, a radice cogitationis inchoasset, dicens: Tu, rex, cogitare coepisti in strato tuo quid esset

mysteria ostendit tibi quae uentura sunt; et paulo post: Videbas, et ecce quasi statua una grandis. Statua illa magna et statura sublimis stabat contra te, et caetera. Daniel itaque, dum somnium et inplendum reuerenter insinuat, et ex qua ortum sit cogitatione manifestat, patenter ostenditur quia hoc plerumque ex cogitatione simul et reuelatione generatur.

Sed nimirum cum somnia tot rerum qualitatibus alternent, tanto eis credi difficilius debet, quanto et ex quo impulsu ueniant facilius non elucet. Sancti autem uiri inter inlusiones atque reuelationes ipsas uisionum uoces aut imagines quodam intimo sapore discernunt, ut sciant uel quid a bono spiritu percipiant, uel quid ab inlusione patiantur. Nam si erga haec mens cauta non fuerit, per deceptorem spiritum multis se uanitatibus immergit, qui nonnumquam solet multa uera praedicere, ut ad extremum ualeat animam ex una aliqua falsitate laqueare.

futurum post haec, et qui reuelat mysteria ostendet tibi quae uentura sunt (Dan.II,29). Et paulo post: Videbas, et ecce quasi statua una grandis, statua illa magna, et statura sublimis stabat contra te (Ibid,31), et caetera. Daniel itaque dum somnium adimplendum reuerenter insinuat, et ex qua ortum sit cogitatione manifestat, patenter ostenditur quia hoc plerumque ex cogitatione simul et reuelatione generetur. Cum somnia tot rerum qualitatibus alternent, tanto eis credi difficilius debet, quanto et ex quo impulsu ueniant facilius non elucet. Sancti uiri inter illusiones atque reuelationes, ipsas uisionum uoces, aut imagines, quodam intimo sapore discernunt, ut sciant uel quid a bono spiritu percipiant, uel quid ab illusore patiantur. Si erga somnia mens cauta non fuerit, per deceptorem spiritum multis se uanitatibus immergit, qui nonnumquam solet multa uera praedicere, ut ad extremum ualeat animam ex una aliqua falsitate laqueare.

Dialogues

Dialogues IV.24.2

Cum scriptum sit: Iustus quacumque morte praeuentus fuerit, iustitia eius non auferetur ab eo, electi, qui procul dubio ad perpetuam uitam tendunt, quid eis obest, si ad modicum dure moriuntur? Et est fortasse nonnumquam eorum culpa, licet minima, quae in eadem debeat morte researi.

Dialogues IV.25

Nam uir Dei contra Samariam missus, quia per inoboedientiam in itinere comedit, hunc leo in eodem itinere occidit, sed statim scriptum est quia stetit leo iuxta asinum et non comedit leo de cadauere. Ex qua re ostenditur, quod peccatum inoboedientiae in ipsa fuerit morte laxatum, quia isdem leo, quem uiuentem praesumpsit occidere, contingere non praesumpsit occisum. Qui enim occidendi ausum habuit, de occisi cadauere comedendi licentiam non accepit.

Dialogues IV.26.1-2

1. Hoc neque de omnibus iustis fateri possumus neque de omnibus negare. Nam sunt quorundam iustorum animae, quae a caelesti regno quibusdam adhuc mansionibus differuntur. In quo dilationis damno quid aliud

Julian of Toledo

Prognosticum

Prog.I.VII.10

beatus Gregorius dicit: "Scriptum est: Iustus quacumque morte praeuentus fuerit, anima eius in refrigerio erit. Electi ergo qui ad perpetuam uitam tendunt, quid eis obest, si ad modicum dure moriuntur? est enim fortasse nonnumquam eorum culpa, licet minima, quae in eadem debeat morte researi."

Prog.I.VII.15

Nam uir Dei contra Samariam missus, quia per inobedientiam in itinere comedit, hunc leo in eodem itinere occidit. Sed statim illic scriptum est, quia stetit leo iuxta asinum, et non comedit de cadauere. Ex qua re ostenditur quod peccatum inobedientiae in ipsa fuerit morte laxatum, quia isdem leo quem uiuentem praesumpsit occidere, contingere non praesumpsit occisum. Qui enim occidendi ausum habuit, de cadauere occisi comedendi licentiam non accepit."

Prog.II.VIII

De his interroganti Petro beatum Gregorium ita legimus respondisse: "Hoc neque de omnibus iustis fateri possumus, neque de omnibus negare. Nam sunt quorundam iustorum animae, quae a coelesti regno quibusdam adhuc

innuitur, nisi quod de perfecta iustitia aliquid minus habuerunt? Et tamen luce clarius constat quia perfectorum iustorum animae, mox ut huius carnis claustra exeunt, in caelestibus sedibus recipiuntur. Quod et ipsa per se ueritas adtestatur, dicens: Vbicumque fuerit corpus, illuc congregabuntur aquilae, quia ubi ipse redemptor est corpore, illuc procul dubio colleguntur et animae iustorum.

2. Et Paulus dissolui desiderat et cum Christo esse. Qui ergo Christum esse in caelo non dubitat, nec Pauli animam esse in caelo negat. Qui etiam de solutione sui corporis atque inhabitatione patriae caelestis dicit: Scimus quoniam si terrestris domus nostra huius habitationis dissoluatur, quod aedificationem habemus ex Deo, domum non manufactam, sed aeternam in caelis.

Dialogues IV.26.3-4

3. Hoc eis nimirum crescit in iudicio, quod nunc animarum sola, postmodum uero etiam corporum beatitudine perfruuntur, ut in ipsa quoque carne gaudeant, in qua dolores pro Domino cruciatusque pertulerunt. Pro hac quippe geminata eorum gloria scriptum est: **In terra sua duplicita possidebunt.**

4. Hinc etiam ante resurrectionis diem de sanctorum animabus scriptum est: **Datae sunt illis singulae stolae albae**, et dictum est illis ut requiescerent tempus adhuc

mansionibus differuntur, in quo dilationis damno quid aliud innuitur, nisi quod de perfecta iustitia aliquid minus habuerunt? Et tamen luce clarius constat, quia perfectorum iustorum animae, mox ut huius carnis claustra exeunt, in coelestibus sedibus recipiuntur. Quod et ipse per se ueritas attestatur dicens: Vbicumque fuerit corpus, illuc congregabuntur et aquilae; quia ubi ipse Redemptor noster est corpore, illuc procul dubio colliguntur et animae iustorum. Et Paulus dissolui desiderat et cum Christo esse. Qui ergo Christum in caelo esse non dubitat, nec Pauli animam esse in caelo negat. Qui etiam de solutione sui corporis atque inhabitatione patriae caelestis dicit: Scimus quoniam si terrestris domus nostra huius habitationis dissoluatur, quod aedificationem habeamus ex Deo, domum non manufactam, aeternam in coelis."

Prog.II.XXXV

Animae beatorum mox ut de huius corporis domicilio exeunt, donec ueniant ad resurrectionis illius ultimum tempus, sola iucunditate spiritus perfruuntur, attestante Ioanne de animabus occisorum propter uerbum Dei, et dicente: **Datae sunt illis singulae stolae albae**. Haec ergo prima stola est quietis atque iucunditatis, qua post mortem carnis anima tantum perfruitur; secunda illa erit, cum recepto corpore de animae et carnis immortalitate laetabitur.

**modicum, donec inpleatur
 numerus conseruorum et fratrum
 eorum. Qui itaque nunc singulas
 acceperunt, binas in iudicio stolas
 habituri sunt, quia modo animarum
 tantummodo, tunc autem animarum
 simul et corporum gloria
 laetabuntur.**

Dialogues IV.29.1

Si esse sanctorum animas in caelo
 sacri eloquii satisfactione credidisti,
 oportet ut per omnia esse credas et
 iniquorum animas in inferno, quia
 ex retributione aeternae iustitiae, ex
 qua iam iusti gloriantur, necesse est
 per omnia ut et iniusti crucientur.
 Nam sicut electos beatitudo
 laetificat, ita credi necesse est quod
 a die exitus sui ignis reprobos
 exurat.

Dialogues IV.30.1-3

1. Gregorius. Si uiuentis hominis
 incorporeus spiritus tenetur in
 corpore, cur non post mortem, cum
 incorporeus sit spiritus, etiam
 corporeo igne teneatur?

Petrus. In uiuente quolibet idcirco
 incorporeus spiritus tenetur in
 corpore, quia uiuificat corpus.

2. Gregorius. Si incorporeus
 spiritus, Petre, in hoc teneri potest
 quod uiuificat, quare non poenaliter
 et ibi teneatur ubi mortificatur?
Teneri autem per ignem spiritum
 dicimus, ut in tormento ignis sit
 uidendo atque sentiendo. Ignem
 namque eo ipso patitur quo uidet,
 et quia concremari se aspicit

Prog.II.XIII

'Si esse sanctorum animas in caelo
 attestazione sacri eloquii credimus,
 oportet ut et iniquorum animas in
 inferno per omnia esse credamus,
 quia ex retributione internae
 iustitiae ex qua iam iusti gloriantur,
 necesse est ut et iniusti per omnia
 crucientur. Nam sicut electos
 beatitudo laetificat, ita credi necesse
 est quod a die exitus sui ignis
 reprobos exurat.'

Prog.II.XVII

Si uiuentis hominis incorporeus
 spiritus tenetur in corpore, cur non
 post mortem, cum incorporeus sit
 spiritus, etiam corporeo igne
 teneatur? Teneri autem per ignem
 spiritum dicimus, ut in tormento
 ignis sit uidendo atque sentiendo.
 Ignem namque eo ipso patitur quo
 uidet, et quia concremari se aspicit,
 crematur. Sicque fit, ut res corporea
 incorpoream exurat, dum ex igne
 uisibili ardor ac dolor inuisibilis
 trahitur, ut per ignem corporeum
 mens incorporea etiam corporea
 flamma crucietur. Quamuis colligere
 dictis euangelicis possumus, quia
 incendium anima non solum

crematur. Sicque fit ut res corporea incorpoream exurat, dum ex igne uisibili ardor ac dolor inuisibilis trahitur, ut per ignem corporeum mens incorporea etiam incorporea flamma crucietur.

3. Quamuis collegere dictis euangelicis possumus quia incendium anima non solum uidendo, sed etiam experiendo, patiat. Veritatis etenim uoce diues mortuus in infernum dicitur sepultus. Cuius anima quia in igne teneatur insinuat uox diuitis, quae Abraham deprecatur, dicens: Mitte Lazarum ut intingat extremum digiti sui in aquam et refrigeret linguam meam, quia crucior in hac flamma. Dum ergo peccatorem diuitem damnatum ueritas in ignibus perhibet, quisnam sapiens reproborum animas teneri ignibus neget?

Dialogues IV 34.3-5

3. Quibus uerbis aperte declaratur quia et boni bonos et mali cognoscunt malos. Si igitur Abraham Lazarum minime recognouisset, nequaquam ad diuitem in tormentis positum de transacta eius contritione loqueretur, dicens quod mala receperit in uita sua. Et si mali malos non recognoscerent, nequaquam diues in tormentis positus fratrum suorum etiam absentium meminisset. Quomodo enim praesentes non posset agnoscere, qui etiam pro absentium memoria curauit exorare?

4. Qua in re illud quoque

uidendo sed etiam experiendo patiat. Veritatis enim uoce, diues mortuus in infernum dicitur sepultus, cuius anima, quia in igne teneatur, insinuat, qui Abraham deprecatur, dicens: Mitte Lazarum, ut intingat extremum digiti sui in aquam, ut refrigeret linguam meam; quia crucior in hac flamma. Dum ergo peccatorem diuitem damnatum ueritas in ignibus perhibet, quisnam sapiens reproborum animas teneri ignibus neget?

Prog.II.XXIII

Possunt enim 'et boni bonos, et mali malos cognoscere. Si enim,' ut ait sanctus Gregorius, 'Abraham Lazarum minime recognouisset, nequaquam ad diuitem in tormentis positum de transacta eius contritione loqueretur, dicens, quod mala receperit in uita sua. Et si mali malos non recognoscerent, nequaquam diues in tormentis positus, fratrum suorum etiam absentium meminisset. Quo modo enim praesentes non possit agnoscere, qui etiam pro absentium memoria curauit exorare? Qua in re illud quoque ostenditur, quia et boni malos, et mali cognoscunt

ostenditur, quod nequaquam ipse requisisti, quia et boni malos et mali cognoscunt bonos. Nam et diues ab Abraham cognoscitur, cui dictum est: Recepisti bona in uita tua, et electus Lazarus a reprobis est diuite cognitus, quem mitti precatur ex nomine, dicens: Mitte Lazarum, ut intingat extremum digiti sui in aquam et refrigeret linguam meam. In qua uidelicet cognitione utriusque partis cumulus retributionis excrescit, et ut boni amplius gaudeant, qui secum eos laetari conspiciunt quod amauerunt, et mali, dum cum eis torquentur quos in hoc mundo despecto Deo dilexerunt, eos non solum sua, sed etiam eorum poena consumat.

5. Fit autem in electis quiddam mirabilius, quia non solum eos agnoscunt quos in hoc mundo nouerant, sed uelut uisos ac cognitos recognoscunt bonos quos nunquam uiderant. Nam cum antiquos patres in illa aeterna hereditate uiderint, eis incogniti per uisionem non erunt, quos in opere semper nouerunt. Quia enim illic omnes communi claritate Deum conspiciunt, quid est quod ibi nesciant, ubi scientem omnia sciunt?

Dialogues IV.41.3-6

3. Ex quibus nimirum sententiis constat quia qualis hinc quisque egreditur, talis in iudicio praesentatur. Sed tamen de quibusdam leuibus culpis esse ante iudicium purgatorius ignis credendus est, pro eo quod ueritas dicit quia si quis in sancto Spiritu

bonos. Nam et diues ab Abraham cognoscitur, cum dictum est: Recepisti bona in uita tua. Et electus Lazarus a reprobis est diuite cognitus, quem mitti precatur ex nomine dicens: Mitte Lazarum, ut intingat extremum digiti sui in aquam, et refrigeret linguam meam. In qua uidelicet cognitione utriusque partis cumulus retributionis excrescit, ut et boni amplius gaudeant, qui secum eos laetari conspiciunt quos amauerunt; et mali, dum cum eis torquentur, quos in hoc mundo, despecto Deo, dilexerant, eos non solum sua, sed etiam eorum poena consumat. Fit autem in electis quiddam mirabilius; quia non solum eos agnoscunt quos in hoc mundo nouerunt, sed uelut uisos ac cognitos recognoscunt bonos quos nunquam uiderant. Nam cum antiquos patres in illa aeterna hereditate uiderint, eis incogniti per uisionem non erunt, quos in opere semper nouerunt. Quia enim illic omnes communi claritate Deum conspiciunt, quid est quod ibi nesciant, ubi scientem omnia sciunt.

Prog. II. XVIII

Gregorius quoque de hoc purgatorio igne sic dicit: 'Pro quibusdam leuibus culpis esse ante iudicium purgatorius ignis credendus est, pro eo quod ueritas dicit, quia si quis in sancto Spiritu blasphemiam dixerit, neque in hoc saeculo remittetur ei neque in

blasphemiam dixerit, neque in hoc saeculo remittetur ei, neque in futuro. In qua sententia datur intellegi quasdam culpas in hoc saeculo, quasdam uero in futuro posse laxari. Quod enim de uno negatur, consequens intellectus patet quia de quibusdam conceditur.

4. Sed tamen, ut praedixi, hoc de paruis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est, sicut est assiduus otiosus sermo, immoderatus risus, uel peccatum curae rei familiaris, quae uix sine culpa uel ab ipsis agitur, qui culpam qualiter declinare debeant sciunt, aut in non grauibus rebus error ignorantiae. Quae cuncta etiam post mortem grauunt, si adhuc in hac uita positis minime fuerint relaxata.

5. Nam et cum Paulus dicat Christum esse fundamentum, atque subiungat: Si quis supraedificauerit super hoc fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, foenum, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit quod supraedificauit, mercedem accipiet. Si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur, ipse autem saluus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem, quamuis hoc de igne tribulationis in hac nobis uita adhibito possit intellegi, tamen si quis haec de igne futurae purgationis accipiat, pensandum sollicitate est quia illum dixit per ignem posse saluari, non qui super hoc fundamentum ferrum, aes uel plumbum aedificat, id est peccata

futuro. In qua sententia datur intellegi, quasdam culpas in hoc saeculo, quasdam uero in futuro posse laxari. Quod enim de uno negatur, consequens intellectus patet quia de quibusdam conceditur. Sed tamen, ut praedixi, hoc de paruis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est, sicut est assiduus otiosus sermo, immoderatus risus, uel peccatum curae rei familiaris, quae uix sine culpa uel ab ipsis agitur, qui culpam qualiter declinare debeant sciunt, aut in non grauibus rebus error ignorantiae, quae cuncta etiam post mortem grauunt, si adhuc in hac uita positis minime fuerint relaxata. Nam et cum Paulus dicat Christum esse fundamentum, atque subiungat: Si quis supraedificauerit super hoc fundamentum, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, faenum, stipula uniuscuiusque opus qualis sit, ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit, quod supraedificauit, mercedem accipiet. Si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur; ipse autem saluus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem. Quamuis hoc de igne tribulationis in hac nobis uita adhibito possit intellegi, tamen si quis haec de igne futurae purgationis accipiat, pensandum sollicitate est, quia illum dixit per ignem posse saluari, non qui super hoc fundamentum ferrum, aes uel plumbum aedificat, id est, peccata maiora et idcirco duriora, atque tunc iam insolubilia; sed ligna, faenum, stipula, id est, peccata minima atque leuissima, quae ignis facile consumat. Hoc tamen

maiora et idcirco duriora atque tunc iam insolubilia, sed ligna, foenum, stipulam, id est peccata minima atque leuissima, quae ignis facile consumat.

6. Hoc tamen sciendum est quia illic saltem de minimis nil quisque purgationis obtinebit, nisi bonis hoc actibus, in hac adhuc uita positus, ut illic obtineat promereatur.

Dialogues IV.45.2

Vnus quidem est gehennae ignis, sed non uno modo omnes cruciat peccatores. Vnius cuiusque etenim quantum exigit culpa, tantum illic sentietur poena. Nam sicut in hoc mundo sub uno sole multi consistunt, nec tamen eiusdem solis ardorem aequaliter sentiunt, quia alius plus aestuat atque alius minus, ita illic in uno igne non unus est modus incendii, quia quod hic diuersitas corporum, hoc illic agit diuersitas peccatorum, ut et ignem non dissimilem habeant, et tamen eosdem singulos dissimiliter exurat.

Dialogues IV.46.7-9

7. Orant pro inimicis suis eo tempore, quo possint ad fructuosam paenitentiam eorum corda conuertere atque ipsa conuersione saluare. Quid enim aliud pro inimicis orandum est, nisi hoc quod ait apostolus: Vt det illis Deus paenitentiam ad cognoscendam ueritatem et resipiscant a diaboli laqueis, a quo capti tenentur ad ipsius uoluntatem? Et quomodo

sciendum est, quia illic saltem de minimis nil quisque purgationis obtinebit, nisi bonis hoc actibus in hac adhuc uita positus, ut illic obtineat, promereatur.'

Prog.II.XVIII

'Vnus quidem est gehennae ignis, sed non uno modo omnes cruciat peccatores. Vnius cuiusque etenim quantum exigit culpa, tantum illic sentietur et poena. Nam sicut in hoc mundo sub uno sole multi consistunt, nec tamen eiusdem solis ardorem aequaliter sentiunt, quia alius plus aestuat atque alius minus; ita illic in uno igne non unus est modus incendii, quia quod hic diuersitas corporum, hoc illic agit diuersitas peccatorum, ut et ignem non dissimilem habeant, et tamen eosdem singulos dissimiliter exurat.'

Prog.II.XXV

'Orant pro inimicis suis eo tempore.' ut ait sanctus Gregorius, 'quo possint ad fructuosam poenitentiam eorum corda conuertere, atque ipsa conuersione saluare. Quid enim aliud pro inimicis orandum est, nisi hoc quod ait apostolus, ut det illis Deus poenitentiam ad cognoscendam ueritatem, et resipiscant a diaboli laqueis, a quo capti tenentur ad

pro illis tunc orabitur, qui iam nullatenus possunt ad iustitiae opera ab iniquitate conmutari?

8. Eadem itaque causa est cur non oretur tunc pro hominibus aeterno igne damnatis, quae nunc etiam causa est ut non oretur pro diabolo angelisque ejus aeterno supplicio deputatis. Quae nunc etiam causa est ut non orent sancti homines pro hominibus infidelibus impiisque defunctis, nisi quia de eis utique, quos aeterno deputatos supplicio iam nouerunt, ante illum iudicis iusti conspectum orationis suae meritum cassari refugiunt?

9. Quod si nunc quoque uiuentes iusti mortuis et damnatis iniustis minime conpatiuntur, quando adhuc aliquid iudicabile de sua carne se perpeti etiam ipsi nouerunt, quanto districtius tunc iniquorum tormenta respiciunt, quando ab omni uitio corruptionis exuti ipsi iam iustitiae uicinius atque arctius inhaerebunt. Sic quippe eorum mentes, per hoc quod iustissimo iudici inhaerent, uis districtionis absorbet, ut omnimodo eis non libeat quicquid ab illius internae regulae subtilitate discordat.

Dialogues IV.48

Vt adseris, ita est. Sed plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pauor egredientes animas iustorum purgat, sicut narrari de quodam sancto uiro mecum frequenter audisti, qui ad mortem ueniens uehementer timuit, sed post mortem discipulis in stola alba

ipsius uoluntatem? Et quo modo pro illis tunc orabitur, qui iam nullatenus possunt ad iustitiae opera ab iniquitate conmutari?

Eadem itaque causa est, cur non oretur tunc pro hominibus aeterno igne damnatis, quae nunc etiam causa est, ut non oretur pro diabolo angelisque eius aeterno supplicio deputatis. Quae nunc etiam causa est, ut non orent sancti homines pro hominibus infidelibus impiisque defunctis, quia de eis utique quos aeterno deputatos supplicio iam nouerunt, ante illum iudicis iusti conspectum orationis suae meritum cassari refugiunt? Quod si nunc quoque uiuentes iusti mortuis et damnatis iniustis minime conpatiuntur, quando adhuc aliquid iudicabile de sua carne se perpeti, etiam ipsi nouerunt; quanto districtius tunc iniquorum tormenta respiciunt, quando ab omni uitio corruptionis exuti, ipsi iam iustitiae uicinius atque artius inhaerebunt? Sic quippe eorum mentes, per hoc quod iustissimo iudici inhaerent, uis districtionis absorbet, ut omnino eis non libeat quidquid ab illius internae regulae subtilitate discordat.'

Prog.I.VII.23

Vnde ita esse credendum est, quod 'plerumque de culpis minimis ipse solus pauor egredientes iustorum animas purget.'

apparuit, et quam praeclare sit susceptus indicauit.

Dialogues IV.52

Petrus. Quis sit ille memini. Sed quaeso te, ea quae coepimus exequamur. Putamusne animabus aliquid prodesse, si mortuorum corpora in ecclesiis fuerint sepulta? Gregorius. Quos graua peccata non deprimunt, hoc prodest mortuis si in ecclesiis sepeliantur, quod eorum proximi, quotiens ad eadem sacra loca conueniunt, suorum, quorum sepulcra aspiciunt, recordantur et pro eis Domino preces fundunt. Nam quos peccata graua deprimunt, non ad absolutionem potius quam ad maiorem damnationis cumulum eorum corpora in ecclesiis ponuntur. Quod melius ostendimus, si ea quae diebus nostris gesta sunt breuiter narramus.

Prog.I.XX

Cum quisque apud memorias martyrum sepelitur, hoc tantum prodest defuncto, ut commendans eum is qui superstes est, martyrum patrocinio, affectus pro eo supplicationis augeatur. Cum ergo recolit animus, ubi sepultum sit carissimi corpus, et occurrit locus nomine martyris uenerabilis, eidem martyri animam dilectam commendat recordantis et precantis affectus. Qui tamen affectus cum defunctis a fidelibus carissimis exhibetur, eum prodesse non dubium est his, qui cum in corpore uiuerent, talia sibi post hanc uitam prodesse meruerunt.

Prog.I.XXI.24

Haec sanctissimi uerba sunt Augustini, quibus creditur non esse illorum fidem uacua, qui pie uiuentes suorum cadauera in memoriis martyrum precipiunt tumulanda; licet multis aliis rationibus et maiorum didicerimus exemplis, quod illi damnabiliter in ecclesia tumulentur, qui usque in finem suum sceleratissime uiuunt.

Dialogues

Dialogues I.prol.1

Quadam die, nimiis quorundam saecularium tumultibus depressus, quibus in suis negotiis plerumque cogimur soluere etiam quod nos certum est non debere, secretum locum petii amicum moerori, ubi omne quod de mea mihi occupatione displicebat se patenter ostenderet et cuncta quae infligere dolorem consueuerant congesta ante oculos licenter uenirent.

Dialogues I.5.6

Ex qua re pensandum est cuius apud se humilitatis fuit, qui despicientem se rusticum amplius amauit. Qualis enim quisque apud se lateat, contumelia inlata probat. Nam sicut superbi honoribus, sic plerumque humiles sua despectione gratulantur. Cumque se et in alienis oculis uiles aspiciunt, idcirco gaudent, quia hoc iudicium confirmari intellegunt, quod de se et ipsi apud semetipsos habuerunt.

Dialogues I.8.4

Provolutus uero eius pedibus, coepit ab eo cum lacrimis postulare, dicens: "Per illum ad quem uadis, ne septem dies super te in hoc mundo faciam."

Vitas Patrum Emeritensium

VPE V.xiii.9

Et ideo obsecro te atque admoneo ut iam modo ita curam sancte ecclesie totiusque sancte congregationis sollicite geras, ut me in omnibus securum reddas et mihi liceat in loco secreto meroris amico mea priusquam habeam, deflere delicta.

VPE IV.vi.14-15

Ex qua re pensandum est cuius meriti iste uir fuerit, qui ita apud Deum suis precibus obtinuerit ut prius non daretur antiqui hostis potestas tante fabricae perpetrare ruinam quam ipse cunctos foris eductos integro numero Deo miserante salberet.

VPE IV.II.12

Cui dum multi medici diuersa adhiberent et nullum remedium medelle sentiret, sed in gravi discrimine posita cotidie morti propinquaret, supradictus inlustris uir eius, eo quod illi nichil carius esset coniuge, quam nouiter coniugii gratia sortitus fuerat, contemptis uniuersis medicis, spe recuperande salutis ad eundem sanctum uirum cucurrit et prouolutus pedibus eius cum

lacrimis exorauit ut, quia Dei seruus erat, orationibus suis Dominum pro eius matrone salutem precaretur aut certe, quia medicus esset, non duceret indignum manu sua egrote gratia prebere medendi.

Dialogues I.9.5

Tunc terribiliter presbitero praecepit, ne, quousque ipse in corpore uiueret, hoc miraculum cuiilibet indicaret, uidelicet pertimescens ne in uirtute facti humano fauore pulsatus, inde intus inanesceret, unde foris hominibus magnus appareret.

Dialogues I.10.9

Praeterea equus cuiusdam militis in rabiem fuerat uersus, ita ut a multis uix teneri posset, sed quoscumque potuisset inuadere, eorum membra morsibus dilaniaret. Tunc, ut cumque a multis ligatus, ad uirum Dei deductus est. Qui mox eius capiti extensa manu signum crucis edidit, cunctam eius rabiem in mansuetudinem mutauit, ita ut mitior post existeret, quam ante illam uesaniam fuisset.

Dialogues I.10.12

"Homo ille longe fuit ab istis hominibus, quos uidemus modo. Nam quicquid ab omnipotente Deo petiit, ita dum peteret impetrauit."

VPE IV.vii.35-38

Cui ille et oram in qua surrexerat et moram quam ad portam fecerat enarrauit. Quem cum uir Dei interrogasset si aliquid non uidisset et ille uidisse se fateretur, hunc admonuit ut, quousque ipse sanctus in corpore esset nulli referret ne ei ad immane periculum pertineret.

VPE V.vi.121-123

Cumque uiro Dei ut in eo ascenderet pararetur, rex crudelissimus per fenestram eminens palatii respiciens expectabat ut ei uir sanctus de equo casurus ingens spectaculum preberet. Statimque in nomine Domini edito uexillo crucis sanctissimus sacerdos ascendit equum ferocem, quem ei Dominus uelut agnum mansuetissimum reddit.

VPE I.85-86

"Homines, quos ibi uidi, longe erant ab his hominibus quos uidemus modo, nam alia forma et alio habitu decorati sunt omnes."

Dialogues I.10.18

"Subsequente autem die dominico ante exurgentis lucis crepusculum, uocatis duobus diaconibus suis, perrerexit ad domum defuncti, accessit ad locum ubi iacebat corpus exanime, ibique se in orationem dedit. Expleta autem prece, surrexit et iuxta corpus defuncti sedit, non autem grandi uoce defunctum per nomen uocauit, dicens: 'Frater Marcelle.' Ille autem ac si leuiter dormiens ad uicinam uocem quamuis modicam fuisset excitatus, statim oculos aperuit, atque ad episcopum respiciens, dixit: 'O quid fecisti? O quid fecisti?' Cui episcopus respondit, dicens: 'Quid fecit?' At ille ait: 'Duo hesterno die uenerunt, qui me eicientes ex corpore in bonum locum duxerunt. Hodie autem unus missus est, qui dixit: Reducite eum, quia Fortunatus episcopus in domum illius uenit.' Quibus expletis uerbis, mox ex infirmitate conualuit, et in hac uita diutius mansit."

Dialogues II.13

Sed Benedictus, plus appetens mala mundi perpeti quam laudes, pro Deo laboribus fatigari quam uitae huius fauoribus extolli, nutricem suam occulte fugiens, deserti loci secessum petiit, cui Sublacus uocabulum est, qui a Romana urbe quadraginta fere millibus distans, frigiditas atque perspicias emanat aquas.

VPE I.117

Et quoniam iam uespere erat, minime ea die sepultus est.

Sequenti uero nocte dum ipsud corpusculum inhumatum in cellula qua defunctus fuerat iaceret, intempesta nocte idem Agustus alium puerulum equeuum suum nomine Quintilianem a foris per nomen uoce magna uocauit. Cuius uoce audita et cognita quidam puer simplex et uerax nomine Veranianus ilico surrexit egressusque foras ipsum Augustum in albam uidere stantem promeruit, sed pauore perterritus propius ad illum accedere non praesumpsit, cuius faciem niueo candore uidisse cum iuramento testatus est.

VPE II.4-5

Dum in monasterium cui Colonia uocabulo est, quod ab Emerita urbe haud procul situm fere millibus octo distat, reuerentissimus uir pie memorie Renouatus abba praeeset.

Dialogues II.8.2

Cumque se iam conspiceret eius proeectibus obuiare non posse, et conuersionis illius opinionem crescere, atque multos ad statum uitae melioris ipso quoque opinionis eius praeconio indesinenter uocari, inuidiae facibus magis magisque succensus deterior fiebat, quia conuersionis illius habere appetebat laudem, sed habere laudabilem uitam nolebat.

Dialogues II.8.13

Sed iam nunc expectanda sunt contra Dei famulum antiqui hostis noua certamina. Cui pugnas quidem uolens intulit, sed occasiones uictoriae ministravit inuitus.

Dialogues II.33.4

Tunc vir Dei inter coruscus et tonitruos atque ingentis pluuiiae inundationem uidens se ad monasterium non posse remeare, coepit conqueri contristatus, dicens: "Parcat tibi omnipotens Deus, soror. Quid est quod fecisti?"

VPE IV.io.27-28

Hoc sane decretum uir sanctus reuelante sibi Spiritu sancto promulgauit, profetie gratia prescius non defuturas eidem uiro multorum obsistere inuidias hominum prauorum, qui eum canino more circumquaque in postmodum oblatrarent atque inuidie facibus succensi mordaciter laniarent.

VPE V.ix.32-33

Quod dum instanter fieret et multe catholice ecclesie fabente Deo, tranquillitas redderetur et Arriane calamitatis error ab omnium pene mentibus discuteretur et, cunctis simultatibus pulsus, urbis Emerita una cum sancto Masona episcopo pro tante tranquillitatis gratia congraderet et Domino indesinenter gratias referret, rursus antiquus hostis inuidia adsueta incitatus rediuiua Dei famulo per suos ministros intulit prelia.

VPE III.33

At ubi, ignorante illo, femineus eum attigit aspectus, ita cum gemitu magno sese in terra prostrauit ac si magni lapidis hictu grauiter fuisset percussus. Mox etiam ipsi diacono dicere cepit: "Indulgeat tibi Dominus, frater. Quid est quod fecisti?"

Dialogues II.37.2

Cumque per dies singulos languor ingrauesceret, sexto die portari se in oratorium a discipulis fecit, ibique exitum suum dominici corporis et sanguinis perceptione muniuit, atque inter discipulorum manus inbecilla membra sustentans, erectis in caelum manibus stetit et ultimum spiritum inter uerba orationis efflauit.

Dialogues III.1-2

Sed uir Dei, magnopere petenti feminae quid dare potuisset inquirens, nihil apud se aliud nisi se inuenit, petentique feminae respondit, dicens: "Mulier, quid possim dare non habeo, sed memetipsum tolle, me seruum iuris tui esse profiteri, atque ut filium tuum recipias, me uice illius in seruitium trade."

Dialogues III.1.3

Procedenti autem regis genero, qui eius filium habebat, uidua rogatura se obtulit, ac prius petiit ut ei donari debuisset. Quod cum uir barbarus typo superbiae turgidus, gaudio transitoriae prosperitatis inflatus, non solum facere, sed etiam audire despiceret.

VPE V.xiii.79-80

Sanctus uero Masona episcopus plurimis quibus supprestitis fuit diebus multam elemosinam egenis impertiuit ac fidelibus famulis maiora gratie sue beneficia conferens largiora stipendia munerum tribuere est dignatus. Dein senex et nimium etate decrepitus dierumque multorum ultimum inter uerba orationis cum pace efflabit spiritum.

VPE V.vii.3-8

Quumque pene nicil remansisset quod largire deberet, quedam uidua pauperula quae multis obsistebat erumnis, ad eum stipem flagitans aduenit. Quum uero uir Dei, qui iam omnia in opus simile consumpserat, magnopere inquireret quid ei impertiret, et quia minime repperiret cepit pueros qui cum eo erant deposcere ut si aliquis eorum aliquid haberet, ei fideliter presentaret ut iam dicte muliercule tribueret.

VPE V.iii.59-60

Sed merito ei ab omnipotenti Domino fuit tanti muneris donum conlatum, cuius cor in tanta opulentia et gloria transitorie prosperitatis gaudio numquam fuit turgidum neque inflatum.

Dialogues III.2.2

Cumque eum praedicti nobilis uiri coniuix sedere ex more uoluisset, ultra non ualuit, quia post sessionem tanti pontificis mulierem ferre recusauit. Coepit namque inmenso flatu et fremitu atque incessanti totius corporis motu quasi despiciendo prodere quia post membra pontificis mulierem ferre non posset.

Dialogues III.7.6

Cumque Iudaeus qui aduenerat hoc uigilans cerneret, et magnae formidinis anxietate palpicaret, ab eodem spiritu, qui cunctis illic obsequentibus praeerat, iussum est, ut requirerent quisnam esset ille qui iacere in templo eodem praesumpsisset. Quem maligni spiritus pergentes et subtiliter intuentes, crucis mysterio signatum uiderunt mirantesque dixerunt: "Vae, vae, vas vacuum et signatum."

Dialogues III.13.3

Cumque itum esset ad sepulcrum, effossa terra inuenerunt corpus pueri pariter humati utpote iam die quadragesimo tabe corruptum et uermibus plenum, corpus uero episcopi ac si die eodem esset sepultum, et quod est adhuc magna admiratione uenerandum, quia ita caput eius unitum fuerat corpori, ac si nequaquam fuisset abscisum, sic uidelicet ut nulla uestigia sectionis apparent.

VPE V.vi.123-126

Cepit namque cum omni mansuetudine et cautela itineris sui pergere uiam qui paulo ante immenso flatu et fremitu atque incessanti totius corporis motu quasi despiciendo alium ferre recusabat. Quumque hoc miraculum omnes cernerent, obstupescentes ualde admirati sunt.

VPE V.x.54

Quumque diu multumque ense educere uoluisset et omnino non ualuisset, ceperunt auctores huius prauis consilii tacite admirari cur Witericus quod fuerat pollicitus minime adimpleret, eumque subtiliter oculis intuentes magis magisque ortabatur ut tantum nefas et tam inmane piaculum incunctanter patrare deberet et predictos uiros gladio animaduerti nullatenus formidaret.

VPE II.103

Quas dum monachi restaurare uoluissent, contigit ut, dum fundamenta construunt in cellula qua supradictus iacebat, ipsum sepulcrum aperirent. Sed mox inde nectareus odor erupit. Ipse uero integer et incorruptus repertus est, ac si ora eadem fuisset humatus, ut nec uestimenta eius nec capilli ex aliqua parte cernerentur fuisse corrupti.

Dialogues III.14.2

Qui mox ad orandum stetit diemque totum peregit in oratione, cui sequentem continuauit et noctem. Secundo etiam die cum nocte subsequenti indefessus in precibus perstitit. Diem quoque tertium in oratione coniunxit.

Dialogues III.14.4

Alii ad construendum monasterium praedia, alii pecunias, alii subsidia quaeque poterant offerre uiro Dei suppliciter uolebant, sed seruus omnipotentis Domini horum nihil accipiens, egressus urbem non longe desertum locum repperit ibique sibi humile habitaculum construxit.

Dialogues III.14.6

Nam die quadam ad uesperum in horto monasterii fecit iactari ferramenta, quae usitato nos nomine uangas uocamus. Dixit itaque discipulis suis: "Tot uangas in horto proicite, et citius redite."

Dialogues III.15.11

Cum enim magna eius opinio longe lateque crebresceret, quidam diaconus longe positus ad eum pergere studuit, ut eius se orationibus commendaret. Qui ad eius cellulam ueniens, omnem locum per circuitum inuenit

VPE IV.ii.41-42

Ilico namque basilicam sanctissime uirginis Eulaliae petiit ibique prostratus pauimento per tota die incubuit atque in oratione indefensus perseverans sequentem continuauit et noctem.

VPE III.34-35

Post hec denique statim inde egressus ad heremi loca paucis cum fratribus ibique sibi uilissimum habitaculum construxit.

VPE II.46

Post hec fercula diuersa furtim subripiens, etiam uasa uinaria quae husitato nomine gillones aut flascones appellantur auferebat et in ortum contiguum monasterii inter arbusta frondosa aut arundineta condensa in loco abditissimo occulebat.

VPE III.38

Sed dum crebris illic uirtutibus coruscaret, recurrente opinione ad auditum Leuigildi principis peruenit. Qui quamlibet esset Arrianus tamen ut se eius precibus Domino commendaret, eidem uiro, auctoritate conscripta, de quodam

innumeris serpentibus plenum.

Dialogues III.15.11

Ad cuius uocem subito caelum intonuit atque isdem tonitruus omnes illos qui eundem locum occupauerant serpentes interemit.

Dialogues III.15.18

Nam quotiens pluua deerat et aestu nimio terram longa siccitas exurebat, collecti in unum ciues urbis illius eius tunicam leuare atque in conspectu Domini cum precibus offerre consueuerant. Cum qua dum per agros exorantes pergerent, repente pluua tribuebatur, quae plene terram satiare potuisset.

Dialogues III.16.5

Vir iste uitae uenerabilis, in clausione suae tempore primo, decreuerat ut ultra mulierem non uideret, non quia aspernabatur sexum, sed ex contemplata specie temptationis incurrere metuebat uitium. Quod quaedam mulier audiens, audacter ascendit montem atque ad eius specum inpudenter prorupit.

precipuo loco fisci direxit ut alimenta aut indumenta exinde cum suis fratribus haberet.

VPE.V.vi.100

Dum hec et his similia loquerentur et esset multa celi serenitas, maiestas divina coelitus fragore magno repente intonuit ita ut tremebundus de throno suo Leouigildus rex in terram cum pauore procideret.

VPE V.xiv.8-12

Tante denique sanctitatis et conpunctionis fuisse perhibetur ut, quotiens plubia deerat et estu nimio terram longa siccitas exurebat, collecti in unum ciues urbis illius cum eodem per basilicas sanctorum precibus Dominum exorantes pergebant; repente uero quotiens quum eum precedebant plubia celitus largiflua tribuebatur, quae plenissime terram satiare potuisset.

VPE III.10-11

Sed, ut fertur, per omnia aspectu mulierum ueluti uipereum uitebat morsum, non quia aspernabatur sexum sed ex contemplata specie temptationis metuebat incurrere uitium, ita etenim ut quocumque loco pergebat unum monachum ante se et alium post se eminus gradi precipiebat, ne eum quacumque occasione mulier uideret.

Dialogues III.31.2-3

2. Cumque ille constantissime responderet, numquam se ueram fidem posse relinquere quam semel agnouisset, iratus pater eum priuauit regno rebusque omnibus expoliauit.

3. Sed uir Deo deditus arriano episcopo uenienti exprobrauit, ut debuit, eiusque a se perfidiam dignis increpationibus repulit, quia, etsi exterius iacebat ligatus, apud se tamen in magno mentis culmine stabat securus.

Dialogues III.31.7

Post cuius mortem Reccharedus rex, non patrem perfidum, sed fratrem martyrem sequens, ab arrianae hereseos prauitate conuersus est, totamque Wisigotharum gentem ita ad ueram perduxit fidem, ut nullum suo regno militare permetteret, qui regno Dei hostis existere per hereticam perfidiam non timeret.

Dialogues III.32.1

Nam cum eis in ipsa defensione ueritatis silentium indiceret, nec tamen ipsi contra perfidiam tacerent, ne tacendo forsitan consensisse uiderentur, raptus in furore, eorum linguas abscidi

VPE V.iv.13-18

Quumque uir Deo dicatus constantissime responderet, bis terque regredientibus nuntiis regi mandaret numquam se ueram fidem relinquere quam semel agnouisset, ipsi insuper Arriano regi exprobrauit ut debuit eiusque a se perfidiam dignis increpationibus repulit.

VPE V.ix.10-17

Post cuius crudelissimam mortem uenerabilis uir Recaredus princeps, filius eius, iure administrationem regni adeptus est meritoque ad culmen sibi deuite principatus euectus est, precipuis meritis legitime solemniterque regale culmen tribuente Deo promeruit, uir denique orthodoxus et per omnia catholicus, qui non patrem perfidum sed Xpum sequens Dominum ab Arriane hereseos prauitate conuersus est totamque Wisiqotorum gentem mira predicatione ad ueram fidem perduxit.

VPE V.iv.23-24

Ille uero suasiones multas callidas contempsit, dona et premia ueluti purgamenta respuit, fidem catholicam uiriliter prorsus uindicauit, nec tamen contra perfidiam tacere maluit ne tacendo

radicitus fecit.

forsitan consensisse uideretur, sed totis nisibus eius uesaniae repugnans clangore ueritatis personauit. Quumque se ille cerneret casso labore deficere, raptus in furore eum cepit multis pulsare terroribus, opinans minis posse concutere quem blandimentis superare nequiuisset.

Dialogues III.33.1

Vir autem tantae simplicitatis erat et conpunctionis, ut dubium non esset, quod illae lacrimae ex tam humili simplici que mente editae apud omnipotentem Deum multa obtinere potuissent. Huius ergo aliquod miraculum narro, quod inquisitus mihi simpliciter et ipse fatebatur.

VPE V.xiv.7

Qui eodem tempore quo ordinatus est, ut fertur, in ordine diaconorum ultimus habebatur. Tante denique sanctitatis et conpunctionis fuisse peribetur ut, quotiens plubia deerat et estu nimio terram longa siccitas exurebat, collecti in unum ciues urbis illius cum eodem per baselicas sanctorum precibus Dominum exorantes pergebant, repente uero quotiens quumque eum precedebant, plubia celitus largiflua tribuebatur, que plenissime terram satiari potuisset. Vnde non dubium erat quod eius lacrimae, ex tam humili simplici que mente editae, apud omnipotentem Deum non solum hec, uerum etiam potiora his obtinere potuissent.

Dialogues IV.11.1

Aiebat enim quia uenerabilis pater nomine Spes monasteria construxit in loco, cui uocabulum Cample est, qui sexti ferme milliarii interiacente spatio a uetusta Nursiae urbe disiungitur.

VPE II.4-5

Dum in monasterium cui Colonia uocabulo est, quod ab Emerita urbe aut procul situm ferre millibus octo distat, reuerentissimus uir pie memorie Renouatus abba praeesset...

Dialogues IV.11.3

Cum uero iam anni quadragesimi fuisset in caecitate tempus exemptum, ei Dominus lumen reddidit, uicinum suum obitum denuntiauit, atque ut monasteriis circumquaque constructis uerbum uitae praedicaret admonuit, quatenus, corporis recepto lumine, uisitatis in circuitu fratribus cordis lumen aperiret. Qui statim iussis obtemperans, fratrum coenobia circuiuit, mandata uitae, quae agendo didicerat, praedicauit.

Dialogues IV.11.4

Quinto decimo igitur die ad monasterium suum, peracta praedicatione, reuersus est, ibique fratribus conuocatis adstans in medio sacramentum dominici corporis et sanguinis sumpsit, moxque cum eis mysticos psalmorum cantus exorsus est. Qui, illis psallentibus, orationi intentus animam reddidit.

VPE IV.ix.32

Qui ilico iussis obtemperantes ambulauerunt, sed eum minime percutientes reuersi sunt dicentes: "In cellam eius minime ingredi possumus, quia non dormit, sed in terram prostratus iacet et orat. Insuper tanto timiamatis suauissimo odore cella ipsa redolet, ut nitor tante fragrantie incensi qui ab eo oblati sunt Domino, nos illic penitus intrare non sinat."

VPE V.xii.26-27

Denique prostratis consternatisque uniuersis fidei Catolice inimicis, sanctus Masona episcopus cum omni plebe sua psalmodie canticum exorsus misticas laudes Domino cecinit, atque ad aulam alme uirginis Eolalie cum omni plebe plaudentes manibus ymnizantesque uenerunt.

Dialogues

Dialogues II.1.8

Eodem quoque tempore hunc in specu latitantem etiam pastores inuenerunt. Quem, dum uestitum pellibus inter fructecta cernerent, aliquam bestiam esse crediderunt, sed cognoscentes Dei famulum, eorum multi ad pietatis gratiam a bestiali mente mutati sunt.

Dialogues II.2.1

Nam nigra paruaque auis, quae uulgo merola uocatur, circa eius faciem uolitare coepit.

Dialogues II.3.2

Non longe autem monasterium fuit, cuius congregationis pater defunctus est, omnisque ex illo congregatio ad eundem uenerabilem Benedictum uenit, et magnis precibus, ut eius praeesse deberet, petiit.

Dialogues II.3.5

Tunc ad locum dilectae solitudinis rediit, et solus in superni spectatoris oculis habitauit secum.

Life of Fructuosus

VF 5.1-5

Contigit enim, ut quodam tempore in cuiusdam rupis gradibus, melotem ex capreis pellibus indutus enixius oraret; adueniens quidam arcistis uenationibus insidians quum eum uidisset super unum rupis gradum in oratione prostratum, extimans rupeam esse uenationem, tendens arcum et quum librasset ictum ut dimitteret sagittam.

VF 11.15-16

Qui dum uirum dei eminus uidisset eumque singularem, uili habitu excalciatis nudisque pedibus, inter fructecta conspexisset.

VF 9.3

Idem uir nigras paruasque aues, quas usitato nomine uulgas fragulas uocitat, mansuetas in monasterio habuisse peribetur.

VF 6.5-6

Quumque ibidem aliquanto tempore quieuisset, egressa est omnis congregatio Conplutensis cenobii, multitudo monachorum, et pie uiolenti uenientes, eiecerunt eum de eadem claustra et ad pristinum reduxerunt locum.

VF 3.1

Post haec reuertens ad locum illum solitudinis supra memoratum et deuotionem quam dudum paruulus elegerat iam perfectus impleuit.

Dialogues II.4.2

Quod cum seruo Dei ab eodem monasterii patre quem constituerat, nuntiatum fuisset. Cumque uir Dei uenisset in eodem monasterio et constituta hora, expleta psalmodia.

Dialogues II.5.3

Valet enim omnipotens Deus etiam in illo montis cacumine aquam producere, ut uobis laborem tanti itineris dignetur auferre.

Dialogues II.11.2

Qui orationi instantius quam solebat incubuit.

Dialogues III.15.11

Cum enim magna eius opinio longe lateque crebresceret, quidam diaconus longe positus ad eum pergere studuit.

Dialogues IV.20.2

Quidam peruersae uoluntatis uir, antiqui hostis stimulis instigatus, eodem messem.

VF 4.1-2

Hic uero sanctissimus confirmans cunctum regularem ordinem, constituensque cenobii patrem, cum ingentem districtiois rigorem.

VF 19.1-3

Interdum inter Bracarensem urbem et Dumiensem cenobium in cacumine modici montis praecipuum aedificauit monasterium ubi suum sanctum humatum est corpus.

VF 11.14

Ipse uero subsistens in abdito nemorum, sylvarumque densarum secretissimo loco, paulisper orationi incubuit.

VF 10.21-23

Cumque diutissime hoc ageretur, cepit in loco eodem tantae uirtutis longe lateque fama crebrescere. Sed quia antiquus hostis, unde bonos cernit enitescere ad gloriam, inde peruersos per inuidiam rapit ad poenam.

VF 3.9

... ilico uir iniquus, sororis eius maritus, antiqui hostis stimulis instigatus, coram rege prostratus surgens subripuit animum eius.

Dialogues

Dialogues III.26.7

Duo sunt, Petre, martyrii genera: unum in occulto, alterum quoque in publico. Nam et si persecutio desit exterius, martyrii meritum in occulto est, cum uirtus ad passionem prompta flagrat in animo.

Dialogues III.26.9

De his autem talibus tantisque uiris, quorum superius memoriam feci, cur dicamus quia, si persecutionis tempus existeret, martyres esse potuissent, –qui occulti hostis insidias tolerantes, suosque in hoc mundo aduersarios diligentes, cunctis carnalibus desideriis resistentes, per hoc quod se omnipotenti Deo in corde mactauerunt, etiam pacis tempore martyres fuerunt,–dum nostris modo temporibus uilis quoque et saecularis uitae personas, de quibus nil coelestis gloriae praesumi posse uidebatur, oborta occasione contigit ad coronam martyrii peruenire?

Dialogues III.28.4

Sed eos de quibus praediximus fieri martyres potuisse fidenter fatemur, quia hoc iam ex eorum fine

Valerius of Bierzo

De uana saeculi sapientia

DVSS 10.

Hic illi, qui supra praefati, in omni abstinentia degentes vigiliis, jejuniis et orationibus sine intermissione atque diversae artis operibus vacantes, cunctisque religionis exercitiis et psalmodiae officiis jugiter studentes, humiliantesque se usque ad mortem, viam angustam arripientes, arctam martyrii tenuerunt vitam, sicut scriptum est, quia duo sunt martyrii genera, unum in occulto, alterum quoque in publico. Martyrii meritum in occulto est, cum uirtus ad passionem prompta flagrat in animo.

DVSS 10

Quique occulti hostis insidias tolerantes, suosque in hoc mundo aduersarios diligentes, cunctis carnalibus desideriis resistentes, omnesque lasciuientis saeculi illecebras respuentes, atque in rigore abstinentiae degentes, et cuncta exercitii spiritualis studia exercentes per hoc quod se omnipotenti Domino in corde mactauerunt, etiam pacis tempore martyres fuerunt, et similes cum primis martyribus victoriae palmas atque immarcescibiles coronas acceperunt; qui usque ad finem hujus uitae in occulta martyrii contritione perseverauerunt.

collegimus. Cadere enim nec in aperta persecutione poterant hii, de quibus constat quia et usque ad finem uitae in occulta animi uirtute perstiterunt.

Dialogues IV.31.3

Nam hesterno die hora nona inter Iohannem papam et Symmachum patricium discinctus atque discalciatus et uinctis manibus deductus in hac uicina uulcani olla iactatus est.

Dialogues IV.36.12

Quod uero se ad Siciliam duci testatus est, quid sentiri aliud potest, nisi quod prae ceteris locis in eius terrae insulis eructuante igne tormentorum ollae patuerunt? Quae, ut solent narrare qui nouerunt, laxatis cotidie sinibus excrescunt, ut mundi termino propinquante, quanto certum est illuc amplius exurendos collegi, tanto et eadem tormentorum loca amplius uideantur aperiri. Quod omnipotens Deus ad correctionem uiuentium in hoc mundo uoluit ostendi, ut mentes infidelium, quae infernorum tormenta esse non credunt, tormentorum loca uideant, quae audita credere recusant.

Dialogues IV.37.2

Superna enim pietas ex magna misericordiae suae largitate disponit, ut nonnulli etiam post exitum repente ad corpus redeant, et tormenta infernorum, quae audita non crediderant, saltem uisa pertimescant.

DVSS 11

Et ne forte inferni non crederentur atrocissima esse incendia, sacra teste fateor Scriptura, quia prae caeteris locis in Siciliae terrae insula per illam horrendam et pessimam Vulcani ollam horribilis vorago de profundo abyssi super illam terram saevisimam eructat flamma, ut qui infernorum incendia non credunt audita, saltem pertimescant vel uisa.

Dialogues IV.30.5

Certe reprobis ueritas in fine dictura est: Ite in ignem aeternum, qui praeparatus est diabolo et angelis eius. Si igitur diabolus eiusque angeli, cum sint incorporei, corporeo sunt igne cruciandi, quid mirum si animae, et antequam recipiant corpora, possint corporea sentire tormenta?

Dialogues IV.55.2

Ibi namque, ut dicunt, Valentinus nomine Mediolanensis ecclesiae defensor defunctus, est uir ualde lubricus et cunctis leuitatibus occupatus, cuius corpus in ecclesia beati confessoris Syri sepultum est.

DVSS 12

Hii autem qui ad sinistram consistent, audient illam terribilem ac truculentam Domini vocem, dicentis: Recedite a me, maledicti, et ite in ignem aeternum, qui praeparatus est diabolo et angelis eius.

Ordo querimoniae.2

Cumque jam summa necessitas suffragante Domini pietate verteretur in voluptate, ilico insurgens quidam uir barbarus, valde lubricus et cunctis leuitatibus occupatus, Flainus nomine...

APPENDIX: CHAPTER THREE

Dialogues

Dialogues IV.41.3

Sed tamen de quibusdam leuibus culpis esse ante iudicium purgatorius ignis credendus est, pro eo quod ueritas dicit quia si quis in sancto Spiritu blasphemiam dixerit, neque in hoc saeculo remittetur ei, neque in futuro. In qua sententia datur intellegi quasdam culpas in hoc saeculo, quasdam uero in futuro posse laxari. Quod enim de uno negatur, consequens intellectus patet quia de quibusdam conceditur.

Dialogues IV.41.5

Si quis supraedificauerit super hoc fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, foenum, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus quale sit ignis probabit. Si cuius opus manserit quod supraedificauit, mercedem accipiet. Si cuius opus arserit, detrimentum patietur, ipse autem

Liber de ordine creaturarum

DOC XIV.5

In ipsorum autem uocatione manifestum uidetur quod nunc longiuscule a Christo, quamuis in dextera, fuerunt constituti, quibus postmodum dicitur a summo iudice: 'uenite benedicti,' ac si diceret: qui hucusque in examinationis purgatione quamdiu aliquid habuistis inmunditiae, quod iudicii igni purgaretur, a salute longiuscule fuistis, nunc ad purum examinati ab omni uel modica culparum labe proprius accedite et uenite.

DOC XIV.6

Quasdam culpas in futuro remitti dominus ipse non dinegat, cum dicit: qui blasphemauerit in spiritum sanctum non habet remissionem neque in hoc saeculo neque in futuro sed reus erit aeterni delicti; ex quo intellegitur quaedam esse peccata quae, etsi in hoc saeculo non remittuntur, in futuro tamen iudicio per ignem deleri possunt.

DOC XIV.10

Per haec autem duo aedificia, id est, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos et ligna, fenum, stipulam perfecta et minus perfecta super fidem Christi aedificata opera designantur; sed illa quae per lignum, fenum, stipulam designantur quamuis fragilia non tamen polluta fieri demonstrantur.

saluus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem...
[ICor.3.11.12-15]

DOC XIV.11

Quod non ita in re sit opinari,
falsum quod uerum putaueris in
rebus quae ad fidem non pertinent
approbare, bonum quod faciendum
est neglegenter obliuisci,
inordinatum habitum habere: haec
et his similia peccata per ignem
purgari posse non est denegandum.

Dialogues

Dialogues I.10.14-15

14. Et eius coxa mox fracta est, ita ut in duabus partibus os esset diuisum.

15. Cui benedictam aquam uenerabilis Fortunatus statim dedit, dicens: 'Vade citius et eam super iacentis corpus proice;' mox ut aqua benedicta coxam...contigit, ita omnis fractura solidata est et saluti pristinae coxa restituta.

Dialogues II.prol.

Fuit uir uitae uenerabilis, gratia Benedictus et nomine.

Dialogues II.3.9

Ille itaque qui porcos pauit, uagatione mentis et inmunditia sub semetipso cecidit, iste uero quem angelus soluit eiusque mentem in extasi rapuit, extra se quidem sed super semetipsum fuit.

Adomnán

Life of Colum Cille

VCC II.5.57b-58a

In hac enim praeterita nocte cassu aliquo Maugina sancta uirgo filia Daimeni ab oratorio post misam domum reuersa titubauit, coxaque eius in duas confracta est partes...

Lugaido obsecundanti et consequenter emigranti sanctus pineam tradit cum benedictione capsellam, dicens: 'Benedictio quae in hac capsellula continetur quando ad Mauginam perueniens uisitandam in aquae uasculum intinguatur eademque benedictionis aqua super eius infundatur coxam...

Nam statim ut Lugaidus ad sanctam peruenit uirginem aqua benedicta sicut sanctus commendauit perfussa coxa sine ulla morula condensato osse plene sanata est.

VCC Praef II

Vir erat uitae uenerabilis et beatae memoriae monasteriorum pater et fundator, cum Iona profeta omonimon sortitus nomen.

VCC III.5.107a

Alio in tempore, cum uir praedicabilis in Hinba commoraretur insula, quadam nocte in extasi mentis angelum domini ad se missum uidit, qui in manu uitreum ordinationis regum habebat librum.

Dialogues II.8.8

Nam in aqua ex petra producta Moysen, in ferro uero quod ex profundo aquae rediit Heliseum, in aquae itinere Petrum, in corui oboedientia Heliam, in luctu autem mortis inimici Dauid uideo.

Dialogues II.11.3

Coepit uero inter ista uir Dei etiam prophetiae spiritu pollere, uentura praedicere, praesentibus absentia nuntiare.

Dialogues II.24.2

Perpendis, Petre, apud Iesum Christum Dominum cuius meriti iste uir fuerit.

Dialogues II.32.3

Cuius mox manum tenuit, et eum patri uiuentem atque incolumem dedit.

Dialogues I.2.6

Quo orante anima pueri ad corpus rediit. Quem manu comprehendit et flenti matri uiuentem reddidit atque iter quod coeperat peregit.

VCC II.32.79a

Hoc noster Columba cum Elia et Eliseo profetis habeat sibi commune uirtutis miraculum, et cum Petro et Paulo et Ioanne apostolis partem honoris similem in defunctorum resuscitatione.

VCC I.1.10a

Sed ut ad propositum redeamus: inter ea miracula quae idem uir domini in carne mortali conuersans deo donante perfecerat, ab annis iuuenilibus coepit etiam profetiae spiritu pollere, uentura praedicere, praesentibus absentia nuntiare, quia quamuis absens corpore praesens tamen spiritu longe acta peruidere poterat.

VCC III.23.134a

Perpendat itaque lector, quanti et qualis apud deum praedicabilis patronus honoris habeatur, cui aliquando in carne mortali conuersanti deo dignante oranti tempestates sedatae sunt et maria tranquillata.

VCC II.32.79a

Cum hac sancti honorabili uoce anima ad corpus rediit, defunctusque apertis reuixit oculis; cuius manum tenens apostolicus homo erexit, et in statione stabiliens secum domum egressus deducit, et parentibus rediuuium adsignauit.

Dialogues II.35.3 and 6

3. Omnis etiam mundus uelut sub uno solis radio collectus, ante oculos eius adductus est.

6. Quia ipsa luce uisionis intimae mentis laxatus sinus, tantumque expanditur in Deo, ut superior existat mundo.

Dialogues IV.8

Qui eandem quoque ascendentem animam intuens, mentis laxato sinu, quasi sub uno solis radio cunctum in suis oculis mundum collectum mundum uidit.

Dialogues III.1.9

De cuius etiam morte apud eius ecclesiam scriptum est, quia, cum dolore esset lateris tactus, ad extrema perductus est, dumque eius omnis domus in sua soliditate persisteret.

VCC I.43.44b

Sunt nonnulli quamlibet pauci admodum quibus diuina hoc contulit gratia, ut etiam totum totius terrae orbem, cum ambitu oceanici et caeli, uno eodemque momento quasi sub uno solis radio, mirabiliter laxato mentis sinu, clare et manifestissime speculentur.

VCC I.1.10b

31Sicut et ipse quibusdam paucis fratribus de re eadem aliquando percunctantibus non negauit, in aliquantis diali gratiae speculationibus totum etiam mundum, veluti uno solis radio collectum, sinu mentis mirabiliter laxato, manifestatum perspiciens speculabatur.

VCC II.31

Alio quoque in tempore, sanctus cum trans Britannicum iter ageret dorsum, quidam iuuenis unus comitum subita molestatus egrimonia ad extrema usque perductus est nomine Fintenus.

VCC III.9

Hic cum ad extrema in bona senectute perduceretur supra memoratus Columbus...

Dialogues III.15.18

Nam quoties pluua deerat et aestu nimio terram longa siccitas exurebat, collecti in unum ciues urbis illius eius tunicam leuare atque in conspectu Domini cum precibus offerre consueuerant. Cum qua dum per agros exorantes pergerent, repente pluuia tribuebatur, quae plene terram satiare potuisset.

Dialogues IV.28.1

Fuit namque uir misericordiae actibus deditus, bonis operibus intentus hospitalitati praecipue studens.

VCC II.44.98b-99b

Ante annos namque ferme xuii. in his torpentibus terris ualde grandis uerno tempore facta est siccitas iugis et dura, in tantum ut illa domini in leuitico libro transgressoribus coaptata populis comminatio uideretur inminere...

Nos itaque haec legentes, et imminentem plagam pertimescentes, hoc inito consilio fieri consiliati summus, ut aliqui ex nostris senioribus nuper aratum et seminatum campum cum sancti Columbae candida circumirent tunica, et libris stilo ipsius discriptis, leuarentque in aere et excuterent eandem per ter tunicam qua etiam hora exitus eius de carne indutus erat...

Quae postquam omnia iuxta initum sunt peracta consilium, mirum dictu, eadem die caelum in praeteritis mensibus, martio uidelicet et apreli, nudatum nubibus mira sub celeritate ipsis de ponto ascendentibus ilico opertum est, et pl<u>uia facta est magna die noctuque descendens. Et sitiens prius terra satis satiata oportune germina produxit sua, et ualde laetas eodem anno segites.

VCC III.6

Alio in tempore, cum uir sanctus in iona commoraretur insula, quidam de suis monachus Brito bonis actibus intentus molestia correptus corporis ad extrema perductus est.

VCC III.9

Quidam faber ferrarius in

mediterranea Scotiae habitabat parte
 elimosinarum operibus satis
intentus et ceteris iustitiae actibus
 plenus.

Dialogues IV.49.5

De eodem sepulcro illus frangrantia
 suauitatis emanauit, ac si illic
florum omnium fuissent
 odoramenta congregata.

Dialogues IV.16.5

Quam lucem protinus miri odoris
frangrantia subsecuta, ita ut earum
 animum, quia lux emissa terruerat,
 odoris suauitas refoueret.

VCC I.37

Nam et in his praeter euntibus
 dieculis et nunc etiam quandam
miri odoris fragrantiam ac si
 uniuersorum florum in unum sentio
 collectorum.

Dialogues

Dialogues II.33.2-4

2. Soror namque eius, Scolastica nomine, omnipotenti Domino ab ipso infantiae tempore dicata, ad eum semel per annum uenire consueuerat, ad quam uir Dei non longe extra ianuam in possessione monasterii descendebat.

3. Sanctimoniales quippe femina, caput in manibus declinans lacrimarum fluuios in mensam fuderat, per quos serenitatem aeris ad pluuium traxit...Nec paulo tardius post orationem inundatio illa secuta est, sed tanta fuit conuenientia orationis et inundationis, ut de mensa caput iam cum tonitruo leuaret, quatenus unum idemque esset momentum et leuare caput et pluuiam deponere.

4. Tunc uir Dei inter coruscus et tonitruos atque ingentis pluuiæ inundationem uidens se ad monasterium non posse remeare.

Dialogues III.17.4

Ablato itaque pallio, diu eo quem collegerat puluere defuncti faciem fricauit. Qui dum diutius fricaretur, recepit animam, oscitauit, oculos aperuit, seseque eleuans resedit, quid erga se ageretur miratus est, ac si de graui somno fuisset excitatus.

Aldhelm

De Virginitate. XLVII

Porro Scolastica ac Cristina simulque Dorothea apud Caesariam oriunda in provincia Cappadociae, licet dispari saeculorum serie sequestrarentur, pari tamen integritatis tiara a Christo coronabantur. Quarum prima sub confessionis titulo, licet cruentae passionis occasio defuisset, in consortio catholicorum laudabiliter degebat, et in tam praelso puritatis fastigio fulminavit, ut cum unicus germanus, quem subnixis precibus unius noctis intercapedinem imopportune poposcerat, obtemperare pertinaciter reluctaretur, statim profusis lacrimarum fontibus serenitatem aetheris in procellarum turbines commutans et tonitrua fragore horrisono orbem tementem terrentia concitans, simulque igniferas fulminum coruscationes eliciens mirum mundo spectaculum exhibuit.

De Metris et Enigmatibus ac Pedom Regulus CXXXVII

Et notandum, quod Focas grammaticus praeteritum tempus frico fricui exposuit, Gregorius uero tertio dialogi volumine non fricuit sed fricavit retulit dicens: faciem defuncti fricavit et infra: cumque diutius fricaretur et cetera.

Dialogues

Dialogues I Prol.10

Hoc uero scire te cupio quia in quibusdam sensum solummodo, in quibusdam uero et uerba cum sensu teneo, quia si de personis omnibus ipsa specialiter et uerba tenere uoluisssem, haec rusticano usu prolata stilus scribentis non apte susciperet.

Dialogues I.2.8

Est plane, sed si sit qui uelit imitari. Ego enim uirtutem patientiae signis et miraculis maiorem credo.

Dialogues I.12.4

Neque enim si talia signa non faciunt, ideo tales non sunt. Vitae namque uera aestimatio in uirtute est operum, non in ostens signorum. Nam sunt plerique, qui etsi signa non faciunt, signa tamen facientibus dispares non sunt.

Dialogues II.16.3

Quare diuinitatis secreta non nosset, qui diuinitatis praecepta seruarent cum scriptum sit: Qui adhaeret Domino, unus spiritus est?

Whitby Life of Gregory

VG 23

Haec igitur sensu in quibusdam proferimus, ne ut ipse de sanctorum ait actibus quae scripsit, rustice dicentes nil spiritale dicamus.

VG 7

"In patientia uestra possidebitis animas uestras," cuius nos uirtutem signis et miraculis maiorem esse cognoscere, sanctus docuit agnoscendo Gregorius.

VG 4

Quibus etiam est pure agnoscendum, quia ut ille sanctus uir, "Sunt," inquit, "plerique qui, etsi signa non faciunt, signa tamen facientibus dispares non sunt." Hinc namque de signis proprie uirtutis suae quas fecit Veritas, a se minoribus maiora id est apostolis concessa diuinis ostendit, maiora horum facietis.

VG 30

"Quare," inquit, "diuinitatis secreta non nosset, qui diuinitatis praecepta seruaret, cum scriptum sit, 'Qui adheret Domino unus spiritus est?'" per hunc quippe inhabitantem spiritum eius quo caritas eius diffusa est in corde suo, quae finis precepti est de corde puro et

conscientia bona et fide non ficta
humilitatis sue qua proprie caritatis
quiescit, opus explevit mirificum.

Dialogues IV.40.6

Vir in hoc mundo ualde diues fuit,
sed tantum plenus uitii, quantum
rebus, superbia tumidus, carnis
suae uoluptatibus subditus, in
adquirendis rebus auaritia facibus
accensus.

VG 22

Fuit ergo vir quidam Romae diues
in rebus sed egenus in religione cui
cum uxor sua displicuit, fecit sibi ab
ea, contra preceptum Domini
saluatoris nostri, divortium.

Dialogues

Dialogues I.6.1

Gregorius. Eiusdem quoque Anchonitanae antistes ecclesiae uir uitae uenerabilis Marcellinus fuit, cuius gressum dolore nimio podagra contraxerat, eumque familiares sui, sicubi necesse esset, in manibus ferebant. Quadam uero die per culpam incuriae eadem ciuitas Anchonitana succensa est. Cumque uehementer arderet, concurrerunt omnes ut ignem extinguerent. Sed illis aquam certatim proicientibus, ita crescebat flamma, ut iam totius urbis interitum minari uideretur. Cumque propinquiora sibi quaeque loca ignis inuaderet iamque urbis partem non modicam consumpsisset et obsistere nullus ualeret, deductus in manibus uenit episcopus, et tanta periculi necessitate compulsus familiaribus suis se portantibus praecepit, dicens: "Contra ignem me ponite."

Dialogues I.6.2

Quod ita factum est, atque in eo loco est positus, ubi tota uis flammae uidebatur incumbere. Coepit autem miro modo in semetipsum incendium retorqueri, ac si reflexione sui impetus exclamaret se episcopum transire non posse. Sicque factum est ut flamma incendii, illo termino refrenata, in semetipsa frigesceret et contingere ulterius quicquam aedificii non auderet. Perpendis, Petre, cuius sanctitatis fuerit aegrum hominem sedere et exorando flammam premere.

Bede

Life of Cuthbert

CuthB XIV

Quam cum uir Domini Cuthbertus uerbum seminaturus intraret, repente in orientali plaga eiusdem uici per culpam incuriae domus incensa uehementer coepit ardere.

CuthB XIV

In ueris uero aequae uictis ac retortis ignium globis, uirtutem uiri uenerabilis Marcellini Anchonitani antistitis, qui ardente eadem ciuitate ipse contra ignem positus orando flammam compescuit, quas tanta ciuium manus aquam proiciendo nequiuerat.

Dialogues I.10.15

Res mira et uehementer stupenda!
Mox ut aqua benedicta Gothi coxam
contigit ita omnis fractura solidata
est et saluti pristinae coxa restituta.

Dialogues II.11.3

Coepit uero inter ista uir Dei etiam
prophetiae spiritu pollere, uentura
praedicere, praesentibus absentia
nuntiare.

Dialogues II.37.2

Cumque per dies singulos languor
ingrauesceret, sexto die portari se in
oratorium a discipulis fecit, ibique
exitum suum dominici corporis et
sanguinis perceptione miniuit, atque
inter discipulorum manus inbecilla
membra sustentans, erectis in
caelum manibus stetit et ultimum
spiritum inter uerba orationis
effluit.

Dialogues II.38.1

Qui et in eo specu, in quo prius
Sublacu prius habitauit, nunc
usque, si petentium fides exigat,
miraculis coruscat.

Dialogues IV.16.3

Romula ea quam graeco uocabulo
medici paralysin uocant, molestia
corporis percussa est, multi que
annis in lectulo decubans paene
omni iacebat membrorum officio
destituta.

CuthB XXIX

Res mira et uehementer stupenda,
mox ut eam aqua benedicta tetigit
languentem, et quid erga eam
ageretur prorsus ignorantem.

CuthB XI

Coepit inter ista uir Dei etiam
prophetiae spiritu pollere, uentura
praedicere, praesentibus absentia
nuntiare.

CuthB XXXIX

At ubi consuetum nocturnae
orationis tempus aderat, acceptis a
me sacramentis salutaribus exitum
suum quem iam uenisse cognouit
dominici corporis et sanguinis
communione muniuit, atque
eleuatis ad coelum oculis,
extensisque in altum manibus,
intentam supernis laudibus animam
ad gaudia regni coelestis emisit.

CuthB XLIII

Ubi nunc usque si petentium fides
exigat, miraculorum signa fieri non
desinunt.

CuthB XLV

Erat in monasterio quodam non
procul inde posito adolescens, ea
quam Graeci paralysin uocant
infirmirate, omni membrorum
officio destitutus.

Dialogues IV.16.5

Quam lucem protinus miri odoris est fragrantia subsecuta, ita ut earum animum, quia lux emissa terruerat, odoris suauitas refoueret.

Dialogues IV.40.3

Iam corpus eius ab extrema fuerat parte praemortuum; in solo tantummodo pectore uitalis adhuc calor anhelabat.

CuthB VII

Quod ingressus, continuo obuiam habuit miri odoris fragrantiam.

CuthB XXV Extrema namque corporis parte praemortua, per modicum ore et naribus flatum trahere uidetur.

Dialogues

Dialogues I. Prol.4

At nunc occasione curae pastoralis saecularium hominum negotia patitur, et post tam pulchram quietis suae speciem terreni actus puluere foedatur. Cumque se pro condescensione multorum ad exteriora sparserit, etiam cum interiora appetit, ad haec proculdubio minor redit. Perpendo itaque quid tolero, perpendo quid amisi, dumque intueor illud quod perdidit, fit hoc grauius quod porto.

Dialogues I. Prol.10

Sed ut dubitationis occasionem legentibus subtraham, per singula quae describo, quibus mihi haec auctoribus sint comperta manifesta.

Dialogues I.6.1-2

1. Eiusdem quoque Anthonitanae antistes ecclesiae uir uitae uenerabilis Marcellinus fuit, cuius gressum dolore nimio podagra contraxerat, eumque familiares sui, sicubi necesse esset, in manibus ferebant. Quadam uero die per culpam incuriae eadem ciuitas Anthonitana succensa est. Cumque uehementer arderet, concurrerunt omnes ut ignem extinguerent.

2. Quod ita factum est, atque in eo

Bede

Historia Ecclesiastica

HE II.1.74

Denique tempore quodam secreto, cum diacono suo Petro conloquens, enumeratis animi sui uirtutibus priscis mox dolendo subiunxit: 'Nunc ex occasione curae pastoralis saecularium hominum negotia patitur, et post tam pulchram quietis suae speciem terreni actus puluere fedatur. Cumque se pro condiscensione multorum ad exteriora sparserit, etiam cum interiora appetit, ad haec procul dubio minor redit. Perpendo itaque, quid tolero, perpendo quid amisi; dumque intueor illud quod perdidit, fit hoc grauius. quod porto.'

HE Praef. 6

Vt autem in his quae scripsi uel tibi uel ceteris auditoribus siue lectoribus huius historiae occasionem dubitandi subtraham, quibus haec maxime auctoribus didicerim, breuiter intimare curabo.

HE II.7

Erat autem Mellitus corporis quidem infirmitate, id est podagragravatus, sed mentis gressibus sanis alacriter terrena quaeque transiliens atque ad caelestia semper amanda petenda et quaerenda peruolans. Erat carnis origine nobilis, sed culmine mentis nobilior.

Denique ut unum uirtutis eius, unde cetera intellegi possint, testimonium referam, tempore

loco est positus, ubi tota uis flammae uidebatur incumbere. Coepit autem miro modo in semetipsum incendium retorqueri, ac si reflexione sui impetus exclamaret se episcopum transire non posse.

quodam ciuitas Doruuernensis per culpam incuriae igni correpta crebrescentibus coepit flammis consumi. Quibus cum nullo aquarum iniectu posset aliquis obsistere, iamque ciuitatis esset pars uastata non minima, atque ad episcopium furens se flamma dilataret, confidens episcopus in diuinum, ubi humanum deerat, auxilium iussit se obuiam saeuientibus et huc illucque uolantibus ignium globis efferri. Erat autem eo loci, ubi flammaram impetus maxime incumbebat, martyrium beatorum quattuor Coronatorum. Ibi ergo perlatum obsequentum manibus episcopus coepit orando periculum infirmus abigere, quod firma fortium manus multum laborando nequiuerat.

Dialogues II.37.2

Ante sextum uero sui exitus diem, aperiri sibi sepulturam iubet. Qui mox correptus febris, acri coepit ardore fatigari.

HE IV.23.256

Vt iuxta exemplum apostoli uirtus eius in infirmitate perficeretur. Percussa etenim febris acri coepit ardore fatigari, et per sex continuos annos eadem molestia laborare non cessabat.

Dialogues IV.16.5

Quam lucem protinus miri est odoris fragrantia subsecuta, ita ut earum animum, quia lux emissa terruerat, odoris suauitas refoueret.

HE V.12.307

Sed et odoris fragrantia miri tanta de loco effundebatur ut is, quem antea degustans quasi maximum rebar, iam permodicus mihi odor uideretur.

Dialogues IV.40.1-13

Sciendum quoque est quia

HE V.13.313

Gregorius de quibusdam scribit, non pro se ista, cui non profuere, sed pro aliis uiderit, qui eius

nonnumquam animae adhuc in suis corporibus positae poenale aliquid de spiritualibus uident, quod tamen quibusdam ad aedificationem suam, quibusdam uero contingere ad aedificationem audientium solet...

interitum cognoscentes differre tempus paenitentiae, dum uacat, timerent, ne inproviso mortis articulo praeuente inpaenitentes perirent.

APPENDIX: CHAPTER FOUR

Dialogues

Dialogues IV.12.3

Hic ergo uenerabilis presbiter cum longam uitae inplisset aetatem, anno quadragesimo ordinationis suae inardescente grauiter febre correptus, ad extrema deductus est.

Dialogues IV.17.2

Cum subito sursum illa respiciens Iesum uenientem uidit, et cum magna animaduersione coepit circumstantibus clamare, dicens: "Recedite, recedite. Iesum uenit."

Dialogues IV.36.14

Quae nimirum ueritas iudicii sui diem denuntians ait: **Tunc dicam messoribus: 'Collegite zizania et ligate ea fasciculos ad conburendum.**' Messores quippe angeli zizania ad conburendum in fasciculis ligant, cum pares paribus in tormentis similibus sociant, ut superbi cum superbis, luxuriosi cum luxuriosis, auari cum auaris, fallaces cum fallacibus, inuidi cum inuidis, infideles cum infidelibus ardeant. Cum ergo similes in culpa

Vision of Barontus

VBar 1

Qui cum matutinis laudibus Deo reddidisset in ecclesia cum fratribus deuote, mox ut ad lectum suum redivit, repente febre correptus, ad extremum funere deductus, coepit magnis doloribus exagitare filiumque suum nomine Aglioaldo vocare ut cum summa festinatione ad Eodonem diaconem deberet ambulare, et eum pro fraterno amore ueniret visitare.

VBar 5

Mox Rafahel sanctus imperavit daemonibus, dicens: "Recedite, recedite, cruentae bystiae, iam non potestis nocere ad istam animolam, dum signum sonavit super ipsam ecclesiam, quia fratres congregantur, ut orarent pro illam."

VBar 17

Tenebantur ibi superbi cum superbis, luxuriosi cum luxuriosis, periuri cum periuris, homicidi cum homicidis, inuidi cum inuidis, detractores cum detractoribus, fallaces cum fallacibus; gemebant, iuxta quod et sanctus Gregorius in Dialogorum exposuit Ligabant eos in fasciculis ad conburendum...

ad tormenta similia ducuntur, quia eos in locis poenalibus angeli deputant, quasi zizaniorum fasciculos ad conburendum ligant.

Dialogues IV.37.12

Cumque hoc luctamen esset, ut hunc boni spiritus sursum, mali deorsum traherent, ipse qui haec uidebat ad corpus reuersus est, et quid de eo plenius gestum sit minime cognouit.

Dialogues IV.37.16

Nam quoniam praemium lucis aeternae elemosinarum largitate promerebitur, nimirum constat quia auro aedificat mansionem suam. Quod enim superius memoriam fugit ut dicerem, isdem miles qui haec uiderat narrabat quod eosdem laterculos aureos ad aedificationem domus senes ac iuuenes, puellae et pueri ferebant.

Dialogues IV.56.1

Eius spiritus coepit clamare: "Ardeo, ardeo."

VBar 4

Sanctus Rafahel pugnabat pro animam meam elevare ad caelum sursum et daemones cupiebant semper praecipitare deorsum.

VBar 10

Ibi et multitudo sacerdotum, excelsi meritorum, quorum mansiones laterculis aureis erant aedificatae, iuxta quod et sanctus Gregorius in Dialicorum memorat.

VBar 12

At ille, nullam moram tardantem, advenit, dicens "quid est frater Rafahel, quod me arcessire fecisti?"

Dialogues

Dialogues I.2.4

Libertinus lies prostrate in prayer in church, but remains hidden from Frankish soldiers who are looking for him

Dialogues I.4.7

A nun greedily eats a lettuce leaf and becomes possessed. She has actually ingested a demon.

Dialogues II.3

Benedict conquers temptation and becomes leader of monastic community. This story also describes the foundation of a monastery and Benedict's love of the wilderness.

Dialogues II.5

Benedict and young boy climb a mountain to find water. Benedict prays and marks the spot with three stones which will show monks where to dig for a well.

Dialogues II.35

Benedict is given a vision of the universe.

Jonas of Bobbio *Life of Columbanus*

VCol 20

Columbanus is unseen by Brunhild's soldiers even though he is in the same room with them.

VCol 27

Columbanus breathes on a cask of beer destined for a pagan sacrifice and the cask bursts into pieces.

VCol 3-5

Columbanus is instructed in Scripture and exhorted to chastity. He leaves Ireland to found monasteries.

VCol 9

Columbanus goes with a young boy into the mountains. He obtains water from rocky land by his prayer and marks spot with stones so that other monks will find the well.

VCol 27

An angel offers Columbanus a vision of the entire universe.

Dialogues

Dialogues I.4

Greedy nun steals lettuce and then becomes possessed by the devil.

Dialogues IV.12.4

Vision of heavenly visitors at deathbed

cf. Dialogues IV.18.1-3 Musa's vision of the Virgin

Dialogues IV.13.3

Heavenly visitors at the deathbed of Bishop Probus

cf. Dialogues IV.15.4 Death of Servulus who has vision of heavenly visitors and music at his death.

Dialogues IV.16.5-7

Holy women Redempta and Romula. Gregory describes Romula's death: heavenly visitors are present and the soul of Romula seen flying to heaven.

Dialogues IV.19.3-4

Children and the afterlife. A child who blasphemes is condemned to hell.

cf. Dialogues IV.32.3 Reparatus recounts experience he had in the afterlife.

cf. Dialogues IV.56.1-3 A wicked man suffers in the afterlife.

cf. Dialogues IV.33.1-5 Flames shoot

Jonas of Bobbio
Life of Burgundofara

VBurg 22

Gluttonous nuns

VBurg 18

Leudebertana's death

VBurg 17

Wilsandane predicts her own death. On her deathbed she sees spirits of deceased nuns and hears heavenly music.

VBurg 13

Death of nun Ercantrude.

VBurg 19

Nuns try to leave the monastery. When they are brought back they remain obstinant and fail to confess their sins. They die wretchedly and visions of demons appear at their deathbed.

from the grave of a man who
dishonored his goddaughter.

Dialogues IV.14.4-5

Galla's vision of St. Peter

cf. Dialogues I.8.4

Anastasius hears the voice of God.

cf. Dialogues II.37

Benedict's vision of the sky opening
to reveal the whole world.

VBurg 15

Deurechild gazes on God as the
heavens open.

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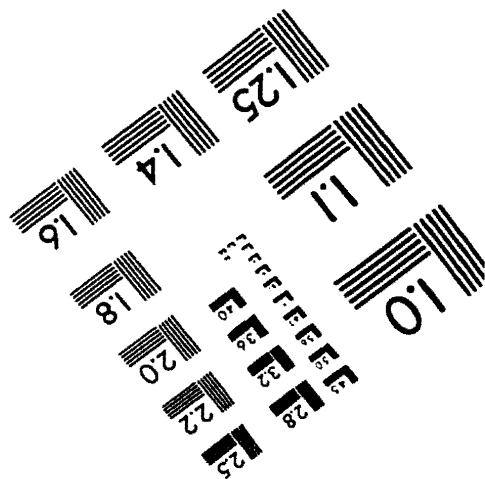
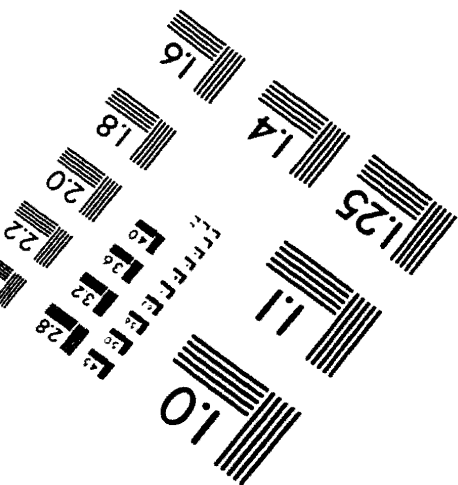
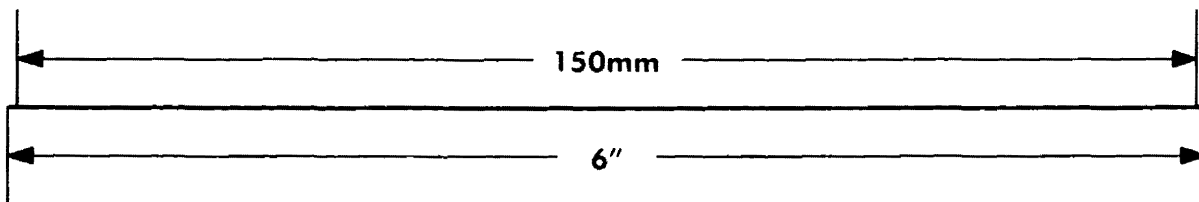
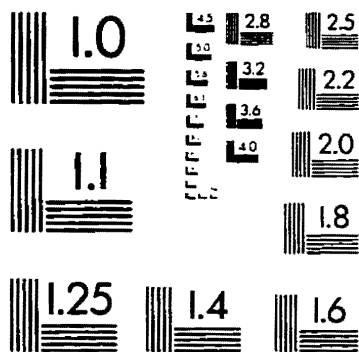
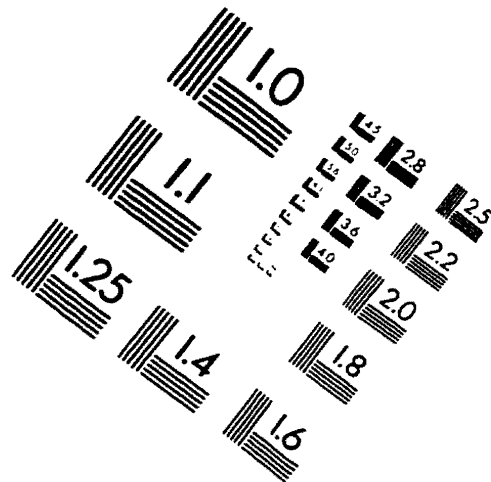
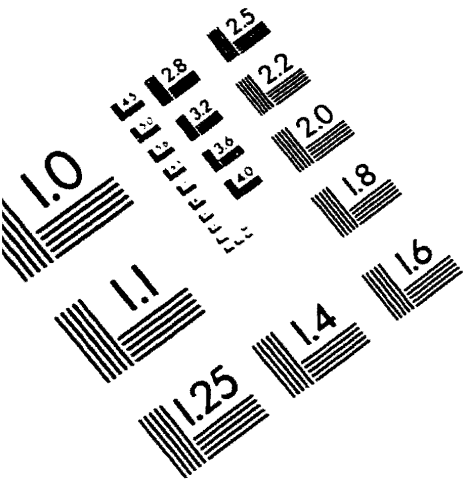
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