

The Martinelli, Gregory of Tours, and the Construction of the Past in Carolingian Europe

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This article investigates the construction of the past in Carolingian Europe by focusing on the 'Martinelli', a family of manuscripts that contain texts related to the cult of Martin of Tours (d. 397). The article focuses particularly on the presentation of the writings of Gregory of Tours (d. 594) within these manuscripts. Two codices are used as case studies: Berlin, MS Phillippus 1877 and Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 10848. This analysis sheds new light on when the earliest Martinellus was compiled, the reception of Gregory of Tours and the agency of scribes in shaping conceptions of the past in the Carolingian period.

BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; *Dialogi* = Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogorum libri duo*, ed. K. Halm, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum i, Vienna 1866, 152–216; *Hist.* = Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum*, ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, MGH, SSRM i/1, Hanover 1951; MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historica: SSRM = Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum; ODNB = *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; SC = *Sources chrétiennes*; PL = *Patrologia Latina*; VM = Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus Martini*, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SSRM i/2, Hanover 1885, 134–211 [584–744]

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A Carolingian Martinellus: Berlin, MS Phillipps 1877

In the collection of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, MS Phillipps 1877 contains a set of writings about St Martin (d. 397), the fourth-century confessor, wonderworker and bishop of Tours.¹ The codex belongs to a group of manuscripts known in modern scholarship as ‘Martinelli’, which are today scattered across libraries around the world.² The family resemblance of these manuscripts is embodied in a ‘core’ of texts that they usually contain: the hagiographical writings produced by Martin’s contemporary, Sulpicius Severus (consisting of the *Life of Martin of Tours*, the *Dialogues* and three letters); a set of verse and prose texts that were inscribed on the walls of various churches in the Touraine (the *Sylloge epigraphica*); a description of Saint-Martin’s basilica in Tours; a trinitarian formula that is incorrectly attributed to Martin himself in the manuscripts; and some excerpts from the *Histories* and the *Miracles of Martin*, composed by Gregory of Tours (d. 594).³ There is considerable diversity within the Martinellus family, however: a few of these texts are sometimes omitted, and the order in which they are presented varies. Furthermore, many manuscripts contain additional texts about Martin. These include Paulinus of Périgueux’s verse *Life of Martin* (c. 460), Venantius Fortunatus’ verse *Life of Martin* (c. 575), two works about Martin by Alcuin (d. 804), and additional excerpts from

¹ For descriptions of Berlin, MS Phillipps 1877 see B. Krusch, ‘Praefatio’, MGH, SSRM i/1, Hanover 1951, p. xxxiii; E. K. Rand, *A survey of the manuscripts of Tours*, Cambridge, MA 1929, i. 151–2; and V. Rose, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, XII: *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1893, 237–41.

² On the Martinelli see J. Hewish, ‘Sulpicius Severus and the medieval Vita Martini’, *Peritia* xx (2008), 28–58 at pp. 38–43; M. Hellmann, ‘Die Auszeichnung der Textstruktur in einer biographischen Sammeledition der Karolingerzeit am Beispiel des “Weissenburger Martinellus”’, in D. Walz (ed.), *Scripturus Vitam: lateinische Biographie von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart: Festgabe für Walter Berschin zum 65. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg 2002, 243–62; P. Bourgain and M. Heinzelmann, ‘L’Œuvre de Grégoire de Tours: la diffusion des manuscrits’, in N. Gauthier and H. Galinié (eds), *Grégoire de Tours et l’espace gaulois: actes du congrès international (Tours, 3–5 novembre 1994)*, Tours 1997, 273–317 at pp. 300–9; R. Van Dam, *Saints and their miracles in late antique Gaul*, Princeton, NJ 1993, 308–10; H. Delehaye, ‘Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère’, *Analecta Bollandiana* xxxviii (1920), 5–137 at pp. 8–18; and E.-C. Babut, *Saint Martin de Tours*, Paris 1912, 299–304.

³ I have used the following editions for these texts: Sulpicius Severus, *Vita sancti Martini Turonensis*, ed. J. Fontaine, SCcxxxiii. Paris 1967, 248–316; *Dialogi*; and *Epistulae tres*, ed. J. Fontaine, SCcxxxiii, Paris 1967, 316–44; E. Le Blant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, i, Paris 1886, 231–46; Pseudo-Martin of Tours, ‘Trinae Unitatis et Trinitatis Confessio’, *PL* xviii. 11–12; Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* and *VM*. The description of Saint-Martin’s is also found in *Hist.* II.14, pp. 63. 21–64. 9.

Gregory's writings.⁴ A final distinctive feature of early medieval Martinelli is that they contain very little non-Martinian material.⁵

MS Phillipps 1877 presents an instructive example. It is one of at least thirty-two Martinelli manuscripts produced before *c.* 1000 that have survived into the modern era (*see* Appendix, Table 1).⁶ No extant copy dates from before the ninth century (although it is clear, as will be seen, that there were earlier exemplars). The Berlin manuscript is one of at least seventeen Martinelli the production of which can be confidently ascribed to Carolingian Tours.⁷ The selection of Martinian materials that it contains is entirely typical, even if there are idiosyncrasies in their presentation. And while the Berlin manuscript is exceptionally lavish, other Tours Martinelli also show signs of being high-status products.⁸ What makes MS Phillipps 1877 unusual, however, is the extent of our knowledge about the earliest phase of its life cycle. Although it was copied in the Touraine, the Berlin codex had come to Metz by the later tenth century. In an extra folio added to the front of the manuscript, it is recorded that Bishop Theodoric I of Metz (956–84) presented the work (which he called a 'book containing the deeds of St Martin') to the monastery of Saint-Vincent in Metz, his own foundation, as a gift for the eternal benefit of his soul.⁹

Following this dedicatory leaf, the ninth-century codex opens with an *incipit*, lavishly illuminated in gold letters, introducing 'St Martin's book about the Trinity' (that is, the pseudo-Martinian confession).¹⁰ The confession is followed by a new title page, introducing Sulpicius Severus' biography of Martin (fos 3v–35v). After the *Life of Martin*, we find Sulpicius' three letters (fos 36r–45r): these describe, respectively, how Martin was miraculously saved from a fire; a vision that Sulpicius received when Martin died; and a description of the confessor's death while on a visit to the

⁴ For a table demonstrating the variations in content and ordering of texts across some Martinelli see Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

⁵ Some Martinelli contain one or two non-Martinian texts at the end. Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 2854 unusually contains a significant sequence of non-Martinian materials at the start.

⁶ This count includes Hessische Landesbibliothek, Wiesbaden, ms 5, which is thought to have been destroyed in the twentieth century.

⁷ *See* Appendix, Table 1. One other Martinelli (listed with a question-mark in the table) can probably be ascribed to Carolingian Tours.

⁸ As noted by R. McKitterick in 'Carolingian book production: some problems', *The Library* 6th ser. xii/1 (1990), 1–33 at p. 30.

⁹ 'Hunc librum gesta sancti martini continentem': MS Phillipps 1877, fo. 1v. Rose (*Die Handschriften*, 238) identified the dedicator as Theodoric II, the eleventh-century bishop of Metz. I follow Krusch ('Praefatio', p. xxxiii) in preferring Theodoric I. On the latter see S. K. Herrick, 'Friend or foe? The bishops of Metz in monastic historical narrative, *c.* 1000–1200', this *JOURNAL* lxxi/2 (2020), 253–69 (with brief discussion of his patronage of Saint-Vincent at p. 259).

¹⁰ MS Phillipps 1877, fos 2r–3r.

church of Candes. The copyist chose to cut off the third letter – to Sulpicius’ mother-in-law, Bassula – at its midpoint. A decorated title page then announces a new unit of text: ‘Here begins [some writing] about the death of the most glorious St Martin, bishop of the Tourangeaux and confessor’.¹¹ The second half of Sulpicius’ letter to Bassula follows (with an ornate illumination, but without a new *incipit*), describing Martin’s final hours (fos 46r–49v).

A rubricated *incipit* then introduces a new text within this same section of writings about Martin’s death: ‘Here begins a letter concerning the death of the saintly bishop Martin.’¹² This unattributed ‘letter’ is, in fact, a chapter from the *Histories*, a work produced in the late sixth century by Gregory of Tours.¹³ The extract added two useful pieces of information to the saintly dossier: it specified the precise year in which Martin had died, and explained how the Tourangeaux had translated Martin’s body to Tours immediately following his death.¹⁴ Another heading then introduces a new text within the same sequence: ‘Likewise [here begins] a letter about the death of the saintly bishop Martin.’¹⁵ Once again, what follows is not a letter, but a chapter from Gregory of Tours’s writings – this time from the *Miracles of Martin*, a four-book hagiographical work. The excerpt (*Miracles of Martin* 1.4) is a spurious story about how Martin’s death was revealed to St Severinus of Cologne (d. c. 404) in a vision.¹⁶ Another *incipit* follows: ‘Likewise a sermon (*sermo*) of the Blessed Ambrose about the death of St Martin.’¹⁷ The extract does not contain any ‘sermon’ by Ambrose: the story that follows is the subsequent chapter from Gregory’s *Miracles* (*Miracles of Martin* 1.5), describing how Ambrose of Milan (d. 397), too, supposedly received a vision at the moment of Martin’s death.¹⁸ The next *incipit* reads: ‘Likewise another [sermon] [about] when his body was translated.’¹⁹ This is Gregory of Tours’s account (*Miracles of Martin* 1.6) of how Bishop Perpetuus of Tours (458/9–488/9) translated Martin’s body from the small church in which Bishop Bricius (397–442) had deposited it to a new

¹¹ ‘INCIPIT DE TRANSITU SANCTI MARTINI GLORIOSISSIMI TURONORUM EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS’: *ibid.* fo. 45v.

¹² ‘INCIPIT EPISTOLA DE TRANSITU SANCTI MARTINI EPISCOPI’: *ibid.* fo. 50r.

¹³ *Ibid.* fos 50r–52r = *Hist.* 1.48. For scholarship on the *Histories* see nn. 68, 78 below.

¹⁴ Year of Martin’s death: *Hist.*, 1.48, pp. 32.1–5; 34.3; translation of Martin’s body: pp. 32.7–33.14.

¹⁵ ‘ITEM ALIA DE TRANSITU SANCTI MARTINI EPISCOPI’: MS Phillipps 1877, fo. 52r.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* fos 52r–53r = *VM* 1.4.
¹⁷ ‘ITEM SERMO BEATI AMBROSII DE TRANSITU SANCTI MARTINI’: MS Phillipps 1877, fo. 53v.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* fos 53v–54v = *VM* 1.5. On the implausibility of the story see Van Dam, *Saints*, 207 n. 24.

¹⁹ ‘ITEM ALIUS QUANDO CORPUS EIUS TRANSLATUM EST’: MS Phillipps 1877, fo. 55r.

basilica.²⁰ The scribe rounded off the block of texts about Martin's death by adding a closing formula that is not found in Gregory's original work: 'With the aid of our Lord Jesus Christ who lives and rules with the Father and Holy Ghost through all the ages, Amen.'²¹

The next item in MS Phillipps 1877 is the *Dialogues*, a set of conversations about Martin composed by Sulpicius Severus (fos 57r–127v). It is worth noting here that Sulpicius' authorship of the *Life of Martin*, *Dialogues* and letters are clearly signposted in the *incipits*, whereas Gregory's name is entirely omitted from the Berlin codex. Next, we find the *Sylloge epigraphica*, a relatively stable fixture of the Martinellus tradition (fos 128r–132v). Whereas the first set of verses was produced for Martin's cell at Marmoutiers, the second set was inscribed on the walls of Saint-Martin's basilica, the church that Perpetuus had founded in the fifth century to house Martin's body.²² These inscriptions are rounded off with a block of prose text – without any *incipit* – that notes the dimensions of the basilica, describes its distance from the cathedral, and instructs the reader (addressed in the second-person singular) on how and when to celebrate Martin's feast days (fo. 133r). The copyists were possibly uncertain whether this short text was another inscription, or had merely been transmitted alongside the epigrams.²³

On fo. 133v, we encounter a new full-page *incipit*, enclosed by decorated arcades: 'here begins the Life of St Bricius, bishop and confessor'.²⁴ This is a biography of Bricius – Martin's episcopal successor – lifted from Gregory of Tours's *Histories*.²⁵ Even though the text itself is richly decorated, Gregory's authorship of the extract is not acknowledged. The *Vita* is rounded off with a brief closing formula: 'With the help of our Lord Jesus Christ to whom there is glory, honour, praise, and power alongside the Eternal Father and Holy Ghost for all ages, Amen.'²⁶ The *Vita Bricii* closes the ninth-century manuscript.²⁷

²⁰ Ibid. fos 55r–56v = VM 1.6.

²¹ 'Adiuuante domino nostro Iesu Christo qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat per omnia saecula saeculorum amen': MS Phillipps 1877, fo. 56v.

²² On the inscriptions see L. Pietri, *Ville de Tours: naissance d'une cité chrétienne*, Rome 1983, 798–800, 812–22.

²³ Hellmann ('Die Auszeichnung', 256) notes this ambiguity across the Martinelli. The passage in question also features in the *Histories* (see above n. 3): the creator of the original Martinellus could have taken the passage from Gregory, but it seems more likely that the two rely on a common source. On the earliest Martinellus see below.

²⁴ 'INCIPIT VITA SANCTI BRICII EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS': MS Phillipps 1877, fo. 133v.

²⁵ Ibid. fos 134r–136v = *Hist.* II. 1.

²⁶ 'Praestante domino nostro Iesu Christo cui est gloria honor laus imperium una cum aeterno patre et spiritu sancto. In saecula saeculorum amen': MS Phillipps 1877, fo. 136v. This closing formula is consistently found at the end of the *Vita Bricii* in Martinellus manuscripts.

²⁷ A later hand added a paschal hymn and an epitaph for a tenth-century count: *ibid.* fo. 137.

Rethinking the Martinelli

MS Phillipps 1877 raises questions consequential not only to our understanding of the Martinellus tradition, but also to broader scholarly debates about the uses of the past in Carolingian Europe. Why did the Tours scribes invest such significant resources into producing the codex? What explains the selection of Martinian writings that were included in the collection? What accounts for the editorial decisions that they made (such as slicing Sulpicius' letter to Bassula in half to create a sub-dossier of texts about Martin's death)? And lastly, there is the question of the *incipits*. Why were extracts from Gregory of Tours's works introduced with such misleading titles? And why – in Tours, of all places – did the scribes not acknowledge Gregory's authorship of these excerpts?

The Martinelli are among the most abundant families of manuscripts surviving from Carolingian Europe. The texts that they contain describe Martin's life, his death, the translations of his corpse and the basilica that Perpetuus built to house his body. These core texts outline events that occurred in the diocese of Tours from the late fourth to the late fifth century. Their authors exclusively belong to the Merovingian (c. 500–751) and pre-Merovingian era. At first blush, then, the Martinelli would appear to have little to say about Carolingian Europe. None the less, this article will suggest that these manuscripts can shed fresh light on the agency of scribes in shaping perceptions of the past in ninth-century Europe. Specifically, it will focus on the presentation of Gregory of Tours's writings in manuscripts produced at the Tours *scriptorium*. Although it will argue that most Martinelli were produced for distribution beyond the Touraine, it will close by focusing on one exceptional manuscript – Paris, BnF ms. Lat. 10848 – which was most likely produced for the cathedral of Tours. In this case, the Tours scribes creatively reworked the Martinellus template to serve a much more ambitious project: to create a history of the diocese of Tours starting from its third-century foundation and culminating in the ninth century.

The modern study of the Martinelli has been profoundly shaped by Ernest-Charles Babut's *Saint Martin de Tours* (1912).²⁸ Babut believed that textual variations within the manuscripts of Sulpicius Severus' writings could elucidate the early development of Martin's cult. The Martinelli form only one branch of this early transmission: Sulpicius' *Life of Martin*, *Dialogues* and three letters survive in several early medieval codices without the additional Martinian writings that characterise the Martinellus.²⁹ Babut suggested that

²⁸ Babut, *Saint Martin*.

²⁹ On the three families of Sulpician manuscripts see Hewish, 'Sulpicius Severus', 31–43, and Babut, *Saint Martin*, 299–301. The earliest manuscript (the 'Italian' family) is headed by Biblioteca Capitolare, Verona, MS XXXVIII (36), a sixth-century codex. On this manuscript see B. Valtorta, *Manoscritti agiografici latini della biblioteca capitolare di Verona*, Florence 2020, 41–7. Universitätsbibliothek, Munich, 4°3 is an eighth- or ninth-

Martin's reputation remained contested among the Tours clergy until the time of Bishop Perpetuus, more than sixty years after the saint's death. He alleged that Perpetuus censored two controversial passages from Sulpicius Severus' *Dialogues* in an attempt to heal these divisions. The censorship hypothesis helped to explain why certain manuscripts of the *Dialogues* omitted those passages.³⁰ Alongside editing Sulpicius' writings, Perpetuus also produced the earliest version of the Martinellus, so Babut believed. This 'primitive' Martinellus would have consisted of Sulpicius Severus' writings and the *Sylloge epigraphica*, part of which was a short poem that Babut thought had originally functioned as a summary appended to Sulpicius' writings.³¹ He found confirmation for this line of argument in the fact that the *Dialogues* transmitted in the Martinelli lacked the two controversial passages that he believed Perpetuus had expunged.³²

This reconstruction of the early history of Martin's cult has not won universal approval, however. Already in 1920, Hippolyte Delehaye pointed out that, whilst Martin was clearly a controversial figure in his own lifetime, there is no evidence that the clergy of Tours remained split into two factions up to the mid-fifth century.³³ In other words, the censorship hypothesis, so central to Babut's train of argument, lacks a solid foundation. It is clear that Perpetuus was an early promoter of Martin's cult, but beyond this circumstantial reasoning there are no grounds for thinking that he prepared the earliest Martinellus.

It is worth stressing at this point that no Martinellus manuscript survives dated to before *c.* 800. What reason is there for positing a pre-Carolingian Martinellus? It is certain that Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Martin*, *Dialogues* and letters were circulating together by the early sixth century, and indeed it

century representative of the Italian family: see B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, ii, Wiesbaden 2004, 300, and Hewish, 'Sulpicius Severus', 36–7 (noting that Hewish incorrectly names the manuscript Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 4°3). Another family (the 'Dublin' family) is uniquely represented by Trinity College, Dublin, MS 52, pt III (copied in the ninth century). The Martinelli represent the 'Franco-German' family. Two other early medieval pathways for the transmission of Sulpicius' works are worth noting: the homiliaries of Alan of Farfa and Egino of Verona (on which, see below n. 48); and a group of Iberian manuscripts that contain sequences of Martinian material (on which, see below nn. 135–6).

³⁰ Babut, *Saint Martin*, 301, 302–4. The two passages are *Dialogi* II.14 and III.15–III.17.1. The Franco-German family is also distinguished by dividing the *Dialogi* into three rather than two books.

³¹ Babut, *Saint Martin*, 300. For this poem see Le Blant, *Inscriptions*, 243–4 (no. 183). This is not to be confused with the description of Saint-Martin's (ibid. 246) which Le Blant lists under the same heading.

³² Babut, *Saint Martin*, 301–2. *Dialogi* 3.15–3.17.1 are reintroduced out of sequence in some Martinelli: see below n. 94.

³³ Delehaye, 'Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère', at pp. 8–18, 115–36. See also Hewish, 'Sulpicius Severus', 40–2.

seems that Gregory of Tours himself knew them as a single collection, which he called a *historia*.³⁴ The question, then, is when other Martinian materials were first copied alongside Sulpicius' works. Babut thought it revealing that the *Sylloge epigraphica* ostensibly does not include an inscription that the Iberian cleric Martin of Braga produced for Saint-Martin's around 560, nor the verse inscriptions that Venantius Fortunatus wrote to decorate the walls of Tours cathedral in 589/90.³⁵ Neither observation is entirely compelling though. Any of the anonymous poems included in the *Sylloge* could have been authored by Martin of Braga. Meanwhile, the *Sylloge* has no inscriptions from the cathedral of Tours. In other words, the absence of Fortunatus' poems reveals little. In any case, even if the inscriptions were transcribed into manuscript form under Perpetuus, it would not prove the existence of a collection combining the *Sylloge* with Sulpicius Severus' *oeuvre*. As noted above, Babut also believed that the final poem included in the *Sylloge* was a summary of Sulpicius Severus' writings. But the location of the poem in the manuscripts, at the end of a set of verses that were inscribed on the walls of Saint-Martin's, surely indicates that the poem refers to the events from Martin's life depicted and described on the walls of the basilica itself.³⁶ In other words, there is nothing surprising at all about the fact that this poem rounds off the inscriptions. If it were a summary of Sulpicius' writings, it would presumably feature immediately after one of Sulpicius' works in the manuscripts.³⁷

There is thus no clear evidence that a Martinellus dossier circulated before the time of Gregory of Tours. Indeed, it is worth underlining just how central the latter's writings were to the Martinellus tradition: all the early medieval Martinelli that I have identified contain excerpts from Gregory of Tours' writings (see Appendix, Table 1).³⁸ By contrast, the *Sylloge epigraphica* – which Babut considered essential to the 'primitive' dossier – is missing from three.³⁹ It should also be noted that, while the *incipits* introducing the excerpts vary, the two blocks of Gregorian writings show signs of originating from a small sample of exemplars. *Histories* 1.48 and *Miracles of Martin* 1.4–6 are almost always sequenced together as a single

³⁴ The Verona manuscript (see above n. 29) proves the existence of a Sulpician collection in the sixth century. Gregory encourages readers to consult Sulpicius' *historia* to learn about the vision that the latter received when Martin died: this can only be an allusion to Sulpicius Severus, *ep.* ii, indicating that he considered Sulpicius' Martinian writings an assemblage: *VM* 1.4, p. 140.23–4.

³⁵ Babut, *Saint Martin*, 300–1.
³⁶ We can be confident that the texts in the *Sylloge* really were inscribed on the walls of Saint-Martin's: Pietri, *Ville de Tours*, 812–15.

³⁷ See Delehaye 'Saint Martin', 12. Van Dam (*Saints*, 310) is equivocal.

³⁸ Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 5581 does not contain any of Gregory of Tours's writings, but the surviving codex is clearly fragmentary.

³⁹ The *Sylloge* is not found in Bibliothèque municipale, Cambrai, MS 828, Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 2854, or Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 468.

unit, whilst *Histories* II.1 is always presented as a standalone *Vita Bricii*.⁴⁰ These two blocks are often rounded off with closing formulas that can be identified across multiple manuscripts.⁴¹ On this logic, it seems likely that Gregory of Tours's writings formed part of the Martinellus from its very inception. The earliest 'Martinellus' dossier would therefore have consisted of Sulpicius Severus' writings, the five extracts from Gregory of Tours' corpus, and possibly (though not necessarily) the *Sylloge*. At some point before about 800, the Pseudo-Martinian confession may have been added into the dossier. Finally, various other texts were added into certain Martinelli during the Carolingian period.

Who produced the first Martinellus dossier, then? It is conceivable that Gregory of Tours himself did so. If he were the compiler, this might explain why his own authorship is so rarely acknowledged in the *incipits* to the Gregorian extracts contained in the Martinelli.⁴² None the less, it would be surprising that Gregory did not mention the compilation of such a dossier anywhere in his extant corpus.⁴³ The evidence of the *incipits* also points against the conclusion that Gregory himself integrated them into the Martinellus. As the case of MS Phillipps 1877 has demonstrated, these *incipits* inadequately described the contents of the extracts and actively obfuscated their original context within Gregory's corpus. In fact, one modern cataloguer was led sufficiently astray by the *incipits* that he listed *Miracles of Martin* 1.5 – Gregory's account of St Ambrose's vision – as a text authored by Ambrose.⁴⁴ Many medieval readers must have fallen into the same trap. Had Gregory prepared the first Martinellus, we would expect the *incipits* to signal their position correctly within his corpus, or to correspond to the chapter headings found in the *Histories* and *Miracles of Martin*.⁴⁵ On this reasoning, the initial compilation of the Martinellus should be viewed as the work of posthumous redactors, rather than Gregory himself.

Hence, we must look instead to the seventh or eighth centuries for the origins of the Martinellus. Indeed, the preparation of the earliest Martinellus could be placed alongside other evidence for the promotion

⁴⁰ For an indication of this consistency, see the table provided by Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245. ⁴¹ For the closing formulas see above nn. 21, 26.

⁴² The suggestion of Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 243.

⁴³ No such dossier is mentioned in his literary testament (*Hist.* x. 31, pp. 535.20–536.2), but this is not decisive, since Gregory also omitted his collection of the Apostle Andrew's miracles from that list.

⁴⁴ In his entry for Bibliothèque humaniste, Sélestat, MS 2, Paul Adam erroneously listed one of its contents as 'S. Ambroise, *De Transitu S. Martini*': *L'Humanisme à Sélestat: l'école, les humanistes, la bibliothèque*, Sélestat 1962, 99. I have not been able to view the manuscript's *incipits*, but Adam's description suggests that the first block of Gregorian texts was introduced as a set of *epistolae*.

⁴⁵ The headings of VM 1.4–6 are much more logical in the integral text: see VM, *Capitula*, p. 134.18–20.

of Martin's cult at later Merovingian Tours. In the seventh and eighth centuries, the Tours *scriptorium* was busy producing labels to be affixed to Martinian relics.⁴⁶ During the same period, scribes were creatively reworking Gregory of Tours's corpus. In the first half of the seventh century, a redactor somewhere in Francia produced a shortened recension of the *Histories*. This 'B' recension circulated on a significant scale across the later Merovingian period; one of its exemplars was, in fact, copied at Tours.⁴⁷ Finally, in the mid-eighth century, Alan of Farfa (d. 769) compiled a homiliary that included *Histories* 1.48 alongside Sulpicius Severus' letter to Bassula and an excerpt from the latter's *Vita Martini*.⁴⁸ It is clear, then, that Sulpicius' and Gregory's writings were already circulating together by the mid-eighth century. I would therefore suggest that the compilation of the earliest Martinellus occurred alongside two complementary projects of the period c. 600–750 – the dissemination of the cult of St Martin and the reworking of Gregory of Tours's corpus.

The production of Martinelli in Carolingian Tours

Most Carolingian Martinelli were written in a 'Tours hand'. What do we know about copying activities in the ninth-century Touraine? It is clear both from the palaeographical evidence and from dedications that manuscript production occurred on a significant scale at Tours during the period c. 800–53.⁴⁹ It is plausible that the cathedral church played a role in copying, but the absence of bishops of Tours in dedicatory notices points against its significance as a centre for book production. It is possible, too, that some writing took place at the monastery of Marmoutiers, Martin's

⁴⁶ J. M. H. Smith, 'The remains of the saints: the evidence of early medieval relic collections', *Early Medieval Europe* xxviii/3 (2020), 388–424 at pp. 393–407.

⁴⁷ Walter Goffart proved that the 'B' recension was the work of a subsequent editor: 'From *historiae* to *historia francorum* and back again: aspects of the textual history of Gregory of Tours', repr. in his *Rome's fall and after*, London 1989, 255–74. On the 'B' manuscripts see Bourgain and Heinzelmänn, 'L'Œuvre', 279–83, and Krusch, 'Praefatio', pp. xxv–xxvii.

⁴⁸ The slightly later homiliary of Egino of Verona (d. 802) incorporated the same material. See Bourgain and Heinzelmänn, 'L'Œuvre', 300–3, 304–5.

⁴⁹ For appraisals of book-production in Carolingian Tours see L. Nees, *Frankish manuscripts: the seventh to the tenth century*, London 2022, i, 26; D. Ganz, 'Mass production of early medieval manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours', and R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Bible production: the Tours anomaly', both in R. Gameson (ed.), *The early medieval Bible: its production, decoration and use*, Cambridge 1994, 53–62, 63–77; McKitterick, 'Carolingian book production', 8, 29–30; B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and libraries in the age of Charlemagne*, trans. M. M. Gorman, Cambridge 1994, 30–1; Rand, *A survey of the manuscripts of Tours*; and W. R. W. Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, i/1–2, Berlin 1930–3.

own foundation. None the less, the invisibility of Marmoutiers in dedications also seems telling.⁵⁰ Although scribes with a Tours hand could of course have been working anywhere, the dedications suggest that the abbots of Saint-Martin's were the primary supervisors of book production in the Touraine. One of the Tours Martinelli, for example, announces its sponsorship by an abbot of Saint-Martin's: on fo. 183v of Halle, Quedlinburg MS 79, a scribe named Adalbaldu states that he produced the codex at the behest of Fridugisus (abbot of Saint-Martin's, 804/6–833).⁵¹

This copying activity would have occurred in the complex of buildings and churches of which Saint-Martin's was the focus. This centre was less than a kilometre from the walled area of Tours (within which the cathedral, episcopal residency and a few other churches were situated).⁵² During the ninth century, the ecclesiastical status of the basilica was in a process of transition.⁵³ In the time of Gregory of Tours, ascetics certainly lived in or around the Martinian complex, but Gregory never referred to Saint-Martin's as a *monasterium* (even if he did occasionally refer to an abbot).⁵⁴ From the mid-seventh century, charters state that a *monasterium* formed part of the basilica complex, but a clerical community continued to live there alongside the monks. This uncertainty of status became problematic in the Carolingian period: in 801/2, Charlemagne complained that some inmates of Saint-Martin's were monks, some were clerics, and others neither monks nor clerics.⁵⁵ Over the course of the ninth century, the community of Saint-Martin's gradually resolved this ambiguity by adopting a canonical lifestyle.⁵⁶ Scribal activity probably declined in the second half of that century due to Viking raids, which are recorded in 853, 872 and 903.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ We know very little about Marmoutiers up to the mid-ninth century, including whether manuscript production took place there. See H. Noizet, *La Fabrique de la ville: espace et sociétés à Tours (ixe-xiii^e siècle)*, Paris 2007, 143–8.

⁵¹ Quedlinburg, Stifts- und Gymnasialbibliothek, Halle, 79, fo. 183v.

⁵² On the physical topography of Tours see A-M. Jacquand and others (eds), *Carte archéologique de Gaule xxxvii/2* (2024); H. Galinié and others, *Tours antique et médiéval. Lieux de vie, temps de la ville: 40 ans d'archéologie urbaine*, Tours 2007; Pietri, *Ville de Tours*. Gregory of Tours (*Hist.* II.14) said that the basilica was fewer than 550 paces from the city.

⁵³ For the discussion that follows see Noizet, *La Fabrique*, 29–44. See also Galinié and others, *Tours antique et médiéval*, 371–2.

⁵⁴ L. Pietri, 'Les Abbés de basilique dans la Gaule du vie siècle', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* lxi/182 (1983), 5–28 at pp. 8–12. On Abbot Leo see n. 109 below.

⁵⁵ Alcuin, *Epistola* 247, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, *Epistolae Karolini aevi* IV, Berlin 1925, 400, 36–7.

⁵⁶ Noizet, *La Fabrique*, 36–7. On the emergence of the canonical clergy see E. Kurdziel, 'What is a *canonicus*? The Carolingians and the rethinking of the ecclesiastical *ordines*', in R. Kramer, G. Ward and E. Kurdziel (eds), *Monastic communities and canonical clergy in the Carolingian world (780–840)*, Turnhout 2022, 131–78.

⁵⁷ Ganz, 'Mass production', 53.

The abbots of Saint-Martin's were important actors within the patronage politics of the Carolingian Empire. Alcuin (796–804) was a significant adviser and tutor to Charlemagne. His successor Fridugisus was a witness to Charlemagne's will and served as arch-chancellor to Emperor Louis the Pious (813–40) from 813 to 833.⁵⁸ Under the lay abbot Vivian (843–51), Tours formed part of a group of Loire-valley copying centres tied into the patronage network of Charles the Bald (ruler of West Francia, 843–77).⁵⁹ The scribes of Carolingian Tours specialised in the production and export of Bibles – forty-six of which survive.⁶⁰ The celebrated 'Vivian' Bible, for instance, was dedicated to Charles on behalf of Vivian.⁶¹

Who were the Martinelli made for? The sumptuousness of codices such as MS Phillipps 1877 would indicate that the copyists intended them to be distributed to rarefied clientele beyond the Touraine.⁶² It is clear, of course, that the Berlin manuscript was in Metz by the tenth century. Rosamond McKitterick has argued that it displays a script that the Tours copyists reserved for books intended for export.⁶³ There was certainly no shortage of demand for writings about Martin: by the dawn of the Carolingian period, evidence for Martinian devotion can be found across Francia, Britain, Iberia and Italy.⁶⁴ It is conceivable that Saint-Martin's produced the Berlin codex for a Carolingian bishop of Metz, such as Charlemagne's son Drogo, who ruled the diocese from 823 to 855 and acted as Louis the Pious' arch-chancellor from 834.⁶⁵ Equally, the book could have passed *via* Charles the Bald, given that the latter was crowned emperor in Metz cathedral in 869.⁶⁶ It is also indicative that at least fourteen of the surviving Carolingian Martinelli were not copied in Tours script: exemplars must have reached centres as far afield as Auxerre, Freising, Lorsch, Mainz, Regensburg, Saint-Denis and Schönau by the tenth century, if not earlier

⁵⁸ D. A. Bullough, 'Alcuin [Albinus, Flaccus]' and M. Garrison, 'Fridugisus [Frithugils, Nathanael]', *ODNB*, <<https://doi-org.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/298>; <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/61648>>, accessed 31 August 2025.

⁵⁹ McKitterick, 'Carolingian book production', 8, 29–30.

⁶⁰ Nees, *Frankish manuscripts*, i, 26.

⁶¹ Ganz, 'Mass production', 71–2.

⁶² McKitterick likens Tours Bibles to Fabergé eggs: 'Carolingian Bible production', 73.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 30.

⁶⁴ For cautionary perspectives see A. S. McKinley, 'The first two centuries of Martin of Tours', *Early Medieval Europe* xiv/2 (2006), 173–200, and Van Dam, *Saints*, 117–28. But relic labels, inscriptions and church dedications suggest the cult had been widely diffused by *c.* 750: Smith, 'The remains of the saints', 393–407; M. A. Handley, *Death, society and culture: inscriptions and epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750*, Oxford 2003, 139–42; E. Ewig, 'Der Martinskult im Frühmittelalter', in his *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien*, ii, Munich 1979, 371–92.

⁶⁵ L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, iii, Paris 1907, 58; R. McKitterick, *The Frankish kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987*, London 1983, 125.

⁶⁶ J. L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, Abingdon 1992, 219–20. Carolingian Bibles often came to monasteries *via* prominent court figures: Ganz, 'Mass production', 60–1.

(see Appendix, Table 1). In sum, the evidence of the Martinelli strengthens the hypothesis that the Tours *scriptorium* primarily copied books for distribution beyond the Touraine.

Gregory of Tours within the Martinelli

The Martinelli can also shine new light on the reception of Gregory of Tours's writings in early medieval Europe. Since the 1980s, the manuscript tradition of Gregory's corpus has been a topic of concerted interest.⁶⁷ Reception scholarship on the *Histories* has proven especially revealing because of the text's complex transmission history.⁶⁸ Although the work must have circulated throughout the early Middle Ages in its original, ten-book form (which Bruno Krusch called the 'A' recension), the earliest surviving witness to the complete *Histories* was copied in the eleventh century.⁶⁹ As noted above, a redactor had produced a shorter, six-book version (the 'B' recension) within a generation of Gregory's death.⁷⁰ In the ninth century, Carolingian scribes produced a nine-book version of Gregory's text (the 'C' recension) to which they added the fourth book of the seventh-century work known to modern scholarship as 'the Chronicle of Fredegar'.⁷¹ In the early tenth century, a mostly-complete 'D' recension was created.⁷² These various redactions were attempts to reshape Gregory's

⁶⁷ The best stock-take of Gregory's entire corpus remains Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'Œuvre'.

⁶⁸ H. Reimitz, *History, Frankish identity, and the framing of western ethnicity*, Cambridge 2017, 127–65; H. Reimitz, 'The early medieval editions of Gregory of Tours' *Histories*', and J. J. Contreni, 'Gregory's works in the high medieval and early modern periods', both in A. C. Murray (ed.), *A companion to Gregory of Tours*, Leiden 2015, 517–65, 566–81; M. Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours: history and society in the sixth century*, trans. C. Carroll, Cambridge 2001, 192–201; Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'Œuvre', 273–94; W. Goffart, *The narrators of barbarian history (A.D. 550–800): Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon*, Princeton, NJ 1988, 119–27, and 'From *historiae* to *historia Francorum*'; B. Krusch, 'Die Handschriftlichen Grundlagen der *Historia Francorum* Gregors von Tours', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* xxvii (1934), 673–757, and 'Praefatio', pp. xxii–xxxv. For my own contribution see J. Merrington, 'Bede and Gregory of Tours: a reconsideration', *EHR* cxl/662 (2025), 1–29.

⁶⁹ On the 'A' recension see Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'Œuvre', 277–9, and Krusch, 'Praefatio', pp. xxiii–xxv. Three fragments from a Merovingian 'A' manuscript survive (Krusch's A2); and Paul the Deacon had access to an 'A' manuscript in the eighth century.

⁷⁰ See n. 47 above.

⁷¹ Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'Œuvre', 283–9; Krusch, 'Praefatio', pp. xxvii–xxix. Krusch's 'C' stemma is much more heterogeneous than his other stemmae.

⁷² Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'Œuvre', 289–91; Krusch, 'Praefatio', pp. xxx–xxxii.

vision of the past to reflect the changing priorities of Merovingian and Carolingian readers.⁷³

Recent studies on the reception of Gregory's writings have overlooked the Martinelli, however.⁷⁴ This is surprising, given that Martinelli manuscripts represent one of the most significant transmission pathways for Gregory of Tours's writings in the early Middle Ages.⁷⁵ Just seven 'B' manuscripts and nine 'C' manuscripts of the *Histories* survive dating to before c. 1000.⁷⁶ By contrast, thirty-one of the Martinelli that survive from the same period preserve extracts from the Gregorian corpus.⁷⁷ In particular, the Tours Martinelli offer a unique perspective on how the sixth-century bishop's writings were understood in his home diocese. Although Gregory's horizons as an author were in certain respects universal, a sizeable proportion of his writings addressed the history of the Touraine.⁷⁸ In the first four books of his *Histories*, Gregory inserted intermittent notices recording the accession of each new bishop of Tours.⁷⁹ He also concluded the *Histories* with an epilogue containing capsule biographies of his episcopal predecessors, culminating in an autobiographical statement.⁸⁰ Gregory rounded off this epilogue by addressing future bishops of Tours directly, urging them to keep his works intact.⁸¹ It is likewise relevant that Gregory addressed his *Miracles of Martin* to 'the holy lord bishops, sweet brothers, and sons of the Church of Tours'.⁸² Given that Gregory

⁷³ Reimitz, *History*, esp. pp. 282–91. See also Heinzelmann, *Gregory*, 198–201, and Goffart, 'From *historiae* to *historia Francorum*'.

⁷⁴ Krusch ('Praefatio', pp. xxxii–xxxiv) counted some Martinelli under his 'E' stemma, which denoted manuscripts containing *Hist.* x.31 in isolation. He recognised that these manuscripts could resolve some textual problems: see n. 135 below.

⁷⁵ The fragments of Gregory's writings that circulated in homiliaries, canon law collections and other hagiographic dossiers would also benefit from study. For a starting point see Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'Œuvre', 309–12.

⁷⁶ Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'Œuvre', 282–3, 287–9. Only one 'D' manuscript, survives from this period, although one has also been lost: *ibid.* 290–1.

⁷⁷ The only exception is the fragmentary Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 5581. Some Martinelli contain extra Gregorian materials: for instance, Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 5583 and Cambrai, BM ms 828.

⁷⁸ On the Tours materials see A. H. B. Breukelaar, *Historiography and episcopal authority in sixth-century Gaul: the histories of Gregory of Tours interpreted in their historical context*, Göttingen 1994, 189–98, 203–10, 379–82. On the significance of Gaul as a geographical focus see Reimitz, *History*, 52–7, and Breukelaar, *Historiography*, 210–26.

⁷⁹ *Hist.* 1.30, 39, 48; II.1, 14, 26, 39; III.2, 7; IV.3, 4, 11, 15.

⁸⁰ *Hist.* x.31.

⁸¹ *Hist.* x.31, p. 536.8–15. Exceptionally, Gregory permitted future bishops to versify his writings. See M. Heinzelmann, 'La Réécriture hagiographique dans l'œuvre de Grégoire de Tours', in M. Gouillet and M. Heinzelmann (eds), *La Réécriture hagiographique dans l'Occident médiéval: transformations formelles et idéologiques*, Ostfildern 2003, 15–70 at pp. 17–23.

⁸² 'DOMINIS SANCTIS ET IN CHRISTI AMORE DULCISSIMIS FRATRIBUS ET FILIIS ECCLESIAE TURONICAE MIHI A DEO COMMISSAE GREGORIUS

presented the local clergy as his legatees, it is especially instructive to consider how the scribes at Saint-Martin's received and reworked his literary bequest.

Returning to MS Phillipps 1877, it has been noted that readers of that codex would have been entirely unaware that Gregory was the author of any of its contents. The Berlin manuscript is typical in this respect. Of the twenty-six Martinelli produced before *c.* 1000 whose *incipits* I have been able to consult, only six feature Gregory of Tours's name (see Appendix, Table 1). It might be assumed that manuscripts copied at Tours were more likely to acknowledge Gregory's authorship, but no such correlation presents itself. An explanation for this discrepancy could be that the scribes were copying from already existing compendia of Gregory's writings, and so were ignorant of the excerpts' original context. However – as we shall see below – it is very likely that the copyists at Carolingian Tours had access to at least one 'A' recension of the *Histories* and therefore could have known where the extracts had come from.

One motive for deliberately omitting Gregory's name may have been to give the impression that the latter's discussions of Martin, Bricius and Perpetuus were near-contemporary with the events described, rather than written some time later. Gregory's tendentious claims about Martin's connections with Severinus of Cologne and Ambrose of Milan, for example, would have perhaps appeared more forceful if understood as contemporaneous epistles, like the Sulpician letters. And the credibility of the *Vita Bricii* might have been undermined had the scribes advertised the fact that it was written around 150 years after Bricius' death. Whether the silence of the copyists was a cause or a consequence, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Gregory would not have been well known as a promoter of Martin's cult in the Carolingian period, even if his writings circulated widely in the Martinelli. It may therefore be necessary to nuance existing claims about Gregory's influence over conceptions of the past in the early medieval Frankish world.⁸³

It is also worth noting the methods that the copyists used to disembed the Gregorian extracts from their original context in his corpus. As seen in the case of MS Phillipps 1877, Gregory's writings are arranged into two distinct blocks. The first block consisted of one chapter from the *Histories* (1.48) and three chapters from the *Miracles of Martin* (1.4–6), which were presented in

PECCATOR.' VM, prologue, p. 135.24–6. Gregory's *Vita patrum*, *In gloria confessorum* and *In gloria martyrum* (which are not discussed here) also contain significant chunks of Tours material. For panoramic discussion see now S. T. Loseby and B. Ward-Perkins, 'Gregory of Tours and the boundaries of sainthood', in J. Doroszewska and M. Kusio (eds), *Boundaries of holiness, frontiers of sainthood*, Turnhout 2025, 87–122.

⁸³ See Reimitz, *History*, esp. pp. 282–91. Admittedly, Reimitz focuses on Gregory's historiographical rather than hagiographical corpus.

that manuscript as part of a sequence of texts about Martin's death (and, implicitly, the posthumous translations of his body). The generic difference between Gregory's hagiographical and historiographical works was silently elided. Indeed, Gregory may have unwittingly inspired his future redactors when, at *Histories* 1.48, he referred readers to 'the first book of his miracles' for further details about Martin's death.⁸⁴ The biography of Bricius (*Histories* II.1) forms the second Gregorian block. An attentive reader might have noticed that this unit of text seems to point back to *Histories* 1.48 and includes an allusion to the *Miracles of Martin*, but the scribe working on the Berlin manuscript actively occluded this connection by separating the two textual units with a mass of other material.⁸⁵ The copyists who produced the Martinelli used a set of relatively simple techniques – rubricated *incipits* and *explicitis*, and short closing formulas – to transform these excerpts into standalone textual units.

Lastly, it is very likely that the Gregorian excerpts found in the Martinelli were put to liturgical use. The sequence of texts about Martin's death is generally presented as a set of letters (*epistolae*), sermons (*sermones*), or little verses (*versiculi*). These would have been suitable for recitation, probably on Martin's feast-days (or indeed those of St Severinus of Cologne or St Ambrose of Milan).⁸⁶ Meanwhile, the *Vita Bricii* would certainly have been read aloud on Bricius' feast-day.⁸⁷ The Martinelli are not unique in this respect. Selections of moralising tales from Gregory's corpus crop up in early medieval homiliary collections.⁸⁸ Such scribal efforts to make these extracts into liturgical items present yet another case study in the creative repurposing of Gregory's writings in the centuries that followed his death.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ 'Quod in libro virtutum eius primo plenius exposuimus': *Hist.* 1.48, p. 32.6–7 = MS Phillipps 1877, fo. 50r. Gregory also referred readers to Sulpicius Severus' Martinian writings in *VM* 1.3, p. 139, 19–22; 1.4, p. 140, 23–4.

⁸⁵ 'Igitur post excessum beati Martini': *Hist.* II, p. 37. 13. 'De cuius virtutibus magna apud nos volumina retinentur': p. 37.4.

⁸⁶ Among Martinelli copied in ninth-century Tours, for *incipits* or *explicitis* referring to *epistola* in describing Gregory's writings see MS Phillipps 1877; Stifts- und Gymnasialbibliothek, Quedlinburg, MS 79; Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 5325, 5580, 5582, 10848, 13759, 18312; Valenciennes, MS 518; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS 468; Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, MS Cod. Guelf. 581 Helmst. For '*sermo*' see MS Phillipps 1877; BnF, MS Lat. 10848; BAV, MS Reg. Lat. 495; Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, MS Cod. Guelf. 581 Helmst. For '*versiculus*' see Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 5325, 5580. Martin's two feast-days were recorded in Bishop Perpetuus' calendar: see n. 108 below.

⁸⁷ On the recitation of saints' *Lives*, see, for example, *VM* II.29, 49. On Perpetuus' calendar see n. 108 below.

⁸⁸ See nn. 48, 75 above.

⁸⁹ On the Carolingian liturgy as a mode of engaging with history see G. Ward, 'The order of history: liturgical time and the rhythms of the past in Amalarius of Metz's *De ordine antiphonarii*', in E. M. Screen and C. West, *Writing the early medieval west: studies in honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, Cambridge 2018, 98–111.

Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 10848: an episcopal past

It has been shown that most Tours Martinelli were produced for export. There is reason to believe, however, that at least one of these manuscripts served an audience closer to home. BnF, MS Lat. 10848 can be confidently dated to the early ninth century (between 816 and 835/7).⁹⁰ The Paris manuscript is, like MS Phillipps 1877, a richly decorated book. It also bears certain structural similarities with the Berlin manuscript, which reflect broad commonalities that can be found across the Martinelli, rather than direct dependency.⁹¹

The Paris manuscript opens with Sulpicius Severus' *Life of Martin* (fos 1r–27r). Sulpicius' three letters come next (fos 27v–38r). The first of Sulpicius' letters is split in half, with a single rubricated capital signalling the division between the two sections (fo. 29v). The scribe also divided Sulpicius' third letter (to Bassula) in half, as had the scribe that produced MS Phillipps 1877: the section detailing Martin's death is presented on a fresh page with an illuminated capital and its first lines rubricated.⁹² Unlike the Berlin copyist, however, the Paris scribe did not shift the second half of the letter into a separate block of writings about Martin's death. Sulpicius Severus' *Dialogues* follow (fos 38v–94r).⁹³ The *Sylloge epigraphica* features next (fos 94r–98r). The description of Saint-Martin's is separated from the *Sylloge* with an *explicit* (fo. 98v), but has no *incipit* of its own – once again reflecting the ambiguous status of this extract within the tradition. Then we find one of the two 'censored' passages from the *Dialogues* (also without an *incipit*) that is presented out of sequence in several Martinelli.⁹⁴ The pseudo-Martinian *De Trinitate* appears next (fos 101r–102r).

At this point the first unit of Gregorian materials is introduced. Notably, Gregory is named as the author of these texts: 'Here begins a sermon of the Lord Bishop Gregory concerning the death of Martin' (*Histories* 1.48).⁹⁵

⁹⁰ On the manuscript see Krusch, 'Praefatio', p. xxxii, and 'Grundlagen', 733; Rand, *A survey of the manuscripts of Tours*, i. 122–3; and Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, 1/1, 388.

⁹¹ On the sequencing of texts in Martinelli manuscripts, the best resource is the table provided in Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245. On textual similarities among specific Martinelli see Hewish, 'Sulpicius Severus', 39.

⁹² The second half of the letter to Bassula begins at BnF, MS Lat. 10848, fo. 35v. See n. 11 above.

⁹³ For some reason, the scribes neglected to produce the illumination, rubrics or incipit for the title page: BnF, MS Lat. 10848, fo. 38v.

⁹⁴ Ibid. fos 99r–100v = *Dialogi* III.15–17.1. Hellmann's table ('Die Auszeichnung', 245) shows that these passages are presented out of sequence in at least two other manuscripts: Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 13759; Rome, BAV, MS Pal. lat. 845. On the censorship thesis see n. 32 above.

⁹⁵ '[Incipit] sermo domini Gregorii episcopi de transitu sancti Martini': BnF, MS Lat. 10848, fo. 102v.

The Paris copyist and decorators went to considerable lengths in preparing fo. 102v: a spacious incipit alternates between rubricated and non-rubricated capitals, and is followed by a richly foliated 'A' (for 'Arcadius') at the start of the extract. The second Gregorian extract, *Miracles of Martin* 1.4, is introduced with simple rubrication, indicating that it belongs to the same block of texts about Martin's death: 'Likewise another [sermon] by the same person concerning what Bishop Severinus heard upon the death of St Martin.'⁹⁶ *Miracles of Martin* 1.5 and 1.6 are similarly introduced as sermons authored by Gregory of Tours.⁹⁷ *Miracles of Martin* 1.6 here lacks the closing formula that can be found in other Martinelli. Instead, the conclusion to this first unit simply reads, 'here ends the letter', recalling the classification of these excerpts as *epistolae* in some Martinelli.⁹⁸ Unlike in ms Phillipps 1877, the *Vita Bricii* (*Histories* II.1) follows immediately, again richly decorated, but (as always) Gregory's authorship of this excerpt is suppressed.⁹⁹ This second unit is then concluded with the same closing formula as in the Berlin manuscript.¹⁰⁰

It is the appearance of a third extract from Gregory of Tours' corpus that sets BnF, ms Lat. 10848 apart from the other Carolingian Martinelli, and accords it a singular role in the transmission history of Gregory of Tours' corpus. After the *Vita Bricii*, an austere rubricated heading introduces a text entitled *De episcopis Turonicis*.¹⁰¹ What follows is the epilogue to Gregory of Tours' *Histories* (*Histories* x.31). In this final chapter, Gregory had recorded short biographies of each bishop of Tours up to his own time. In penning these biographical notices, Gregory reprised some information he had provided earlier in the *Histories*, but added plenty of new material too.¹⁰² They address a range of themes: place of birth; year of ordination (dated by regnal years of emperors or of the Frankish kings ruling at the time); the condition of the Christian community in the Touraine; building projects and details of bequests (for which Gregory may have had access to documentation); place of burial; and periods of interregnum.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ 'Item alius eiusdem de eo quod audivit Severinus episcopus in transitu sancti Martini': *ibid.* fo. 104r.

⁹⁷ 'Item alius de eo quod sanctus Ambrosius in ipsius transitu fecit': *ibid.* fo. 105r. 'Item alius eiusdem quando corpus eius translatum est': *ibid.* fo. 106r.

⁹⁸ 'Explicit epistola': *ibid.* fo. 107v.

⁹⁹ 'Incipit vita Sancti Bricii episcopi': *ibid.* fo. 107v.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* fo. 110r. For this closing formula see n. 26 above.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* fo. 110v. 'De episcopis turonicis' are the first words of *Hist.* x.31. Although Gregory is not named in the *incipit*, his authorship would have been clear from the autobiographical statement on fo. 115v.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* fos 110v–115v = *Hist.* x.31, pp. 526–36.

¹⁰³ The list is not to be taken at face value. See L. Pietri, 'La Succession des premiers évêques tourangeaux: essai sur la chronologie de Grégoire de Tours', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, moyen âge* xciv (1982), 551–619. Gregory claimed to be related to all but five of these bishops: *Hist.* v.49, p. 262.10–15.

Readers of BnF, MS Lat. 10848 would have found much information relevant to the institutional history, liturgical life and physical environment of Tours in Gregory's biographies. The manuscript records that the first office-holder, Gatianus, was dispatched from Rome to Tours by an unnamed pope in the time of Emperor Decius (249–51), and suffered persecution at the hands of the city's pagan inhabitants.¹⁰⁴ There was a time gap between Gatianus and the second office-holder, Litorius, who was appointed in 337/8. The readers of BnF, MS Lat. 10848 would have needed to turn back only a few pages to find Gregory's explanation for the patchiness of the early history of the diocese.¹⁰⁵ The notice on Martin referred readers to Sulpicius Severus' *Vita* (readily available in the Paris manuscript) and noted the fact that the confessor continued to work posthumous wonders up to Gregory's time.¹⁰⁶ The Bricius mini-biography is largely a summary of *Histories* II.1, but with the addition of the saintly bishop's church-building activities and place of burial.¹⁰⁷ Gregory copied Perpetuus' liturgical calendar verbatim into his biography of the fifth-century bishop, and recorded that Injuriosus (529–46) had introduced the offices of tierce and sext in the cathedral.¹⁰⁸ He was also interested in church vessels: Bishop Leo (d. 526) made pyxes, some of which survived up to Gregory's time. These were presumably recognisable from their inscriptions and perhaps remained in the cathedral into the ninth century. Carolingian readers may also have been interested to read that Leo had been abbot of Saint-Martin's before his ordination as bishop.¹⁰⁹

The culmination of the episcopal succession was Gregory himself. In a brief autobiographical entry, he underlined his own most significant accomplishments: his building projects, his relic-collecting and his writings.¹¹⁰ Given the local audience that this concluding chapter seems to envisage, it is hardly surprising that Gregory chose this moment to exhort future bishops to keep his writings intact, impressing upon them their obligation towards the memory of their predecessors.¹¹¹ It is relevant, finally, that Gregory used Martin of Tours as one of his chronological orientation-points in the recapitulation of years that closes the epilogue, helping readers to place Martin and the other bishops of Tours in the sweep of universal history.¹¹²

Taken together, the epilogue amounted to an episcopal history, not dissimilar to the *Liber pontificalis* that was composed in sixth-century Rome,

¹⁰⁴ *Hist.* x.31, p. 527.5–15.

¹⁰⁵ *Hist.* I.48, pp. 33.13–34. 2 = BnF, MS Lat. 10848, fo. 104r.

¹⁰⁶ *Hist.* x.31, pp. 527.5–528.3. 'De cuius vita tres a Severo Sulpicio libros conscriptos legimus': *Hist.* x.31, p. 527.17.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 528.4–15.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 529.13–530.18; 533.6–7.

¹⁰⁹ 'Leo ex abbate basilicae sancti Martini ordinatur episcopus. Fuit autem faber lignarius, faciens etiam turres olocriso tectas, ex quibus quaedam apud nos retinentur': *Hist.* x.31, p. 532.18–20.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 534–6.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 536.2–15.

¹¹² *Ibid.* 537.5.

and which Gregory may have known.¹¹³ The appetite for episcopal histories grew significantly in the Carolingian period: *Gesta episcoporum* were written for Auxerre, Le Mans, Metz, Naples, Ravenna and Verdun.¹¹⁴ These texts represented an expansion of the existing genre of episcopal lists, which continued to be compiled and copied into the Carolingian period.¹¹⁵ The authors of *Gesta* were often cathedral canons – or, in one case, a bishop.¹¹⁶ They recorded each office-holder's circumstances of ordination, building projects, years in office, location of burial, and sometimes charters, letters or synodal decrees cited verbatim.¹¹⁷ In some cases, *Gesta episcoporum* were updated periodically to reflect the succession of further bishops.¹¹⁸ By starting their narratives with the first office-holder, who was often a figure said to have been sent from Rome to establish the diocese, the authors of *Gesta Episcoporum* ensured that the diocesan histories they presented were woven into the broader history of the universal Church. In this way, these texts contributed to a growing sense of institutional self-recognition on the part of ninth-century bishops.¹¹⁹

For the readers of BnF, MS Lat. 10848, Gregory's biographies anchored the bishopric of Tours in a sequence from Gatianus to Gregory. For ease of use, the scribe rubricated and placed in the left-hand margin the number (in Roman numerals) that Gregory had assigned to each bishop, and also rubricated the first letter of each bishop's name. The final entry is Gregory's autobiographical notice, and it is accorded special status: exceptionally, Gregory's number is spelt out in capitalised rubrics as a separate heading.¹²⁰ BnF, MS Lat. 10848 would hence have provided a reference volume for anyone wishing to know about the history of the cathedral and its dependent churches. Taken together, *Histories* x.31, coming at the end

¹¹³ R. McKitterick, *Rome and the invention of the papacy: the Liber pontificalis*, Cambridge 2020, 25–35 (on the first instalment, composed shortly after 536), 185 (on Gregory of Tours), and 'Rome and the popes in the construction of institutional history and identity in the early Middle Ages: the case of Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek Scaliger MS 49', in V. M. Garver and O. M. Phelan (eds), *Rome and religion in the medieval world: studies in honor of Thomas F. X. Noble*, London 2014, 207–23.

¹¹⁴ M. Sot, 'Auxerre et Rome: *Gesta pontificum* et *Liber pontificalis*', in F. Bougard and M. Sot (eds), *Liber, gesta, histoire: écrire l'histoire des évêques et des papes, de l'antiquité au XXI^e siècle*, Turnhout 2009, 5–20, and 'Historiographie épiscopale et modèle familial en Occident au IX^e siècle', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* xxxiii/3 (1978), 433–49; S. Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts*, Ostfildern 2008, 411–29.

¹¹⁵ The classic study is L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, Paris 1894–1915. These lists may have emerged from Roman consular *fasti*: see M. Gouillet, 'Introduction', in M. Gouillet and M. Sot (eds), *Les Gestes des évêques d'Auxerre*, i, Paris 2002, p. xxvi.

¹¹⁶ Sot, 'Historiographie épiscopale', 433–4.

¹¹⁷ See Gouillet, 'Introduction', in Gouillet and Sot, *Les Gestes*, i, pp. xxvii–xxviii.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. viii. ¹¹⁹ See Patzold, *Episcopus*, esp. pp. 415–16, 419–20, 426–7, 428–9.

¹²⁰ BnF, MS Lat. 10848, fo. 115v.

of a Gregorian block of texts, complemented the materials relating to Martin, Bricius and Perpetuus contained elsewhere in the manuscript.

The scribe's particular interest in the history of the diocese of Tours is confirmed by one significant interpolation to the Paris manuscript: after Gregory's *explicit*, the same copyist added a two-column list of bishops of Tours down to his own time.

Latinus episcopus (<i>fl. c. 650</i>)	Raganbertus episcopus
Charegiselus episcopus	Austaldus episcopus
Medegiselus episcopus	Eusebius episcopus
Sigilaicus episcopus	Herlenus episcopus
Rigobertus episcopus	Joseph episcopus
Chrodovertus episcopus	Landramnus episcopus
Bertus episcopus	
Gunthramnus episcopus	
Ibbo episcopus	
Gauzbertus episcopus	
Dido episcopus	

The final entry in the list strongly suggests that the production of BnF, ms Lat. 10848 should be placed in the time of Bishop Landramnus (816–35/7).¹²¹ The manuscript was most likely copied at Saint-Martin's, but the unprecedented emphasis on episcopal succession suggests that the cathedral church – a short walk from the basilica – was the intended destination. A possible analogue can be found in the first instalment of the *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium* (composed between 872 and 875): two of Auxerre's cathedral canons wrote the *Gesta* with the help of Heiric, a monk based at the monastery of Saint-Germain, less than half a kilometre from the cathedral church.¹²² It is conceivable that a similar collaborative effort between Saint-Martin's and Landramnus gave rise to BnF, ms Lat. 10848.

While the list contained in the manuscript would patently have provided a useful record for the Tours clergy, it is worth considering whether it also had performative functions. The *Libri vitae* – the lists of names on whose behalf religious foundations performed prayers, which survive from the

¹²¹ Ibid. fo. 117v. The list is not entirely accurate: see Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, ii. 292–3, 304–7.

¹²² Sot ('Introduction', pp. x–xi) assuages doubts about the identity of this Heiric. On the Auxerre 'school' of which Heiric formed part see S. Shimahara, *Haymon d'Auxerre, exégète carolingien*, Turnhout 2013, 33–57, especially pp. 47–9 (for a biographical sketch).

mid-eighth century onwards – present a plausible parallel.¹²³ Religious foundations activated these books by placing them on the altar and reciting the names during mass. *Libri vitae* were understood as physical counterparts to the ‘Book of Life’ on which the names of the blessed were thought to be inscribed in Heaven: by integrating the names into their rituals, foundations promoted the well-being of the souls of those listed.¹²⁴ Although *Libri vitae* became a genre with distinct codicological features in the Carolingian period, informal lists can be found in various manuscript contexts: for instance, a copy of a sacramentary from Essen was rounded off with a commemorative list of names.¹²⁵ Indeed, other genres of writing could serve comparable purposes: Bishop Dado of Verdun (880–923) wrote a continuation of the episcopal history of his diocese ‘so that the memory of those prelates should be eternally with us – whose names we believe are eternally inscribed in Heaven’.¹²⁶ At Tours, the cathedral clergy may well have prayed on behalf of the bishops whose names were listed in the manuscript. This would hardly be surprising, given the transparently liturgical functions of the other texts contained in the manuscript.

Given the complex manuscript transmission of the *Histories*, it is worth asking how the scribes in Carolingian Tours had access to *Histories* x.31. After all, the epilogue features in none of the shortened (‘B’ or ‘C’) recensions of the *Histories* that were produced in the period between Gregory and Landramnus.¹²⁷ In fact, BnF, MS Lat. 10848 is the earliest surviving complete witness to Gregory’s concluding chapter.¹²⁸ Another early witness was also written in a Tours hand: in the late tenth or early eleventh century, a scribe copied *Histories* x.31 into a quire now bound into the composite manuscript Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, MS Vossiani latini Q 12.¹²⁹ The contents of the Leiden manuscript can in fact shine

¹²³ R. McKitterick, *History and memory in the Carolingian world*, Cambridge 2009, 162–72; F. Paxton, *Christianizing death: the creation of a ritual process in early medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY 1990, 134–8.

¹²⁴ McKitterick, *History and memory*, 162–3. For the wider context see M. De Jong, ‘Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer’, in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The new Cambridge medieval history*, II: c. 700–c. 900, Cambridge 1995, 622–53.

¹²⁵ McKitterick, *History and memory*, 167.

¹²⁶ ‘Idcirco etenim facta orthodoxorum praesulum litteris annotavi, ut eorum memoria sit nobiscum aeterna, quorum nomina in caelo credimus aeternaliter esse scripta’: *Gesta episcoporum virduensium*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, Scriptorum iv, Hanover 1841, 37.23–4, cited in Sot, ‘Historiographie épiscopale’, 439.

¹²⁷ For the chapters omitted from the ‘B’ recension see Reimitz, *History*, 145–54. Although the contents of the ‘C’ stemma vary, no ‘C’ manuscript includes *Hist.* x.31: see Bourgain and Heinzelmann, ‘L’Œuvre’, 283–9.

¹²⁸ BAV, MS Reg. lat. 1056 (the earliest ‘D’ manuscript, from the early tenth century) preserves most of the epilogue, but cuts off at ‘*permaneat*’, before Gregory’s admonition to future redactors. See Krusch, ‘Praefatio’, p. xxxi.

¹²⁹ Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, MS Vossiani latini Q 12. *Hist.* x.31 is found at fos 74r–77v (part 4). See Appendix, Table 2.

further light on the study of episcopal history at early medieval Tours. A slightly later scribe copied *Histories* 1.30 (in which Gregory had listed the names of the first bishops of Gaul, including Gatianus of Tours) beneath *Histories* x.31, indicating a continued concern to investigate the diocesan past.¹³⁰ Finally, a fragment containing a list of popes, copied at Tours in the second quarter of the ninth century, was folded into the Leiden manuscript at some point.¹³¹ Given that their first bishop had been dispatched from Rome, the Tours clerics could have used this papal list to clarify the early history of their own diocese.

There are minor variations in the wording of *Histories* x.31 between the Paris and Leiden manuscripts, suggesting the availability of two distinct exemplars for that excerpt in early medieval Tours.¹³² Furthermore, three manuscripts produced in tenth-century Iberia contain sequences of Martinian materials that include Gregory's epilogue in full. These manuscripts are augmented forms of the hagiographical collection that Valerius of Bierzo had compiled in the seventh century.¹³³ They distinguish themselves from the Martinelli by containing edifying materials relating to a variety of other saints, by including more extensive materials from Gregory of Tours's corpus, and by lacking the *Sylloge epigraphica*.¹³⁴ For our purposes, it is significant that the version of *Histories* x.31 transmitted in the Iberian manuscripts strongly suggests a common source with BnF, MS Lat. 10848, rather than with MS Vossiani latini Q 12 (see Appendix, Table 2).¹³⁵ The lost exemplar on which both the Paris manuscript and the Iberian manuscripts based their text of Gregory's epilogue is presumed to have been made at Tours sometime in the first quarter of the

¹³⁰ Ibid. fos 77r-v; Krusch, 'Praefatio', xxxiii: 'm. al. haud multo post additum est'. On the significance of *Hist.* 1.30 for Gregory's vision of Church history see Reimitz, *History*, 35.

¹³¹ Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden, MS Vossiani latini Q 12, fos 71r-72v (part 3). See McKitterick, 'Rome and the popes', 210-13, esp. p. 211 on the miscellany. In producing this episcopal list the scribes possibly worked from a *Liber pontificalis* manuscript copied at Tours sometime before 871: Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 5516.

¹³² See n. 135 below.

¹³³ Bourgain and Heinzelmann, 'L'Œuvre', 303-4.
¹³⁴ On the Valerius of Bierzo collection see R. Alexandre, 'La Compilation hagiographique de Valère du Bierzo', unpubl. PhD diss. L'École Pratique des Hautes Études 2024, and M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Valerio del Bierzo: su persona, su obra*, Léon 2006. For the manuscripts containing *Hist.* x.31 see Appendix, Table 2.

¹³⁵ BnF, MS Lat. 10848 and the three Iberian manuscripts (Group A) record that bishop Dinifius was appointed 'per electionem praefatae reginae' (*Hist.* x.31, p. 532.7-8); they also lack 'ego' at the start of Gregory's autobiographical statement (*Hist.* x.31, p. 534.11). The Leiden manuscript (Group B) has 'per electionem praefati regis' and omits 'ego'. Vatican, MS Reg. lat. 1056 preserves a third variant (Group C), in which Dinifius is said to have been appointed 'per electionem fratrum', and includes 'ego'. See Krusch, 'Grundlagen', 738-40.

ninth century.¹³⁶ The fact that a copy of this exemplar travelled to Iberia further underlines the integration of Saint-Martin's into regional networks of copying and export.

In short, at least two versions of *Histories* x.31 were known at Saint-Martin's in the period between c. 800 and c. 1000: one that formed the model for the Paris manuscript in the early ninth century (Group A), and another that formed the model for the Leiden manuscript at the turn of the tenth century (Group B). Given the lack of independent witnesses to Gregory's epilogue in early medieval Europe, it is likely that the Tours copyists were working from a full 'A' recension of the *Histories*, either when they made BnF, MS Lat. 10848 or when they produced the earlier exemplar that scholars have hypothesised. By the early eleventh century they had acquired an alternative text of *Histories* x.31, either in another 'A' manuscript of that text or in a codex containing fragments of Gregory's writings.

In summary, the copyist who produced BnF, MS Lat. 10848 was especially interested in using Gregory's writings to reconstruct the history of the diocese of Tours. I have posited that this interest stemmed from the fact that the cathedral church was his envisaged audience. By extending the episcopal list up to the ninth century, the scribe joined the city's Merovingian and pre-Merovingian past to its Carolingian present. This local history flowed from Rome, and hence formed part of a much larger story about the apostolic origins of the Church. This view of the past was far from idiosyncratic: it has been noted that Carolingian episcopal genealogies usually traced their origins to the Petrine city, a device that effectively elevated the diocesan past to the plane of universal Church history.¹³⁷ The local and the universal were two sides of the same coin.

In the preceding pages, the scale and diversity of the Martinelli copied in Carolingian Europe have been considered, with a particular focus on two manuscripts written in a Tours hand. Given the unwavering centrality of Gregory of Tours's writings within the manuscripts, there are strong reasons to question the regnant consensus that there was already a

¹³⁶ Alexandre, 'La Compilation hagiographique', 347–50: Alcuin's *Vita Martini* is found in the Iberian manuscripts, demonstrating that their exemplar cannot have been produced before c. 800; by contrast BnF, MS Lat. 10848 lacks Alcuin's *Vita Martini*, and so probably was not the model for the Iberian manuscripts. Alexandre also assumes that the Iberian scribes would have copied the list of extra bishops if the Paris manuscript had been their exemplar.

¹³⁷ On the interdependence of the local and universal in Carolingian historical thinking see R. McKitterick, *Perceptions of the past in the early Middle Ages*, Notre Dame, IN 2006 (including discussion of Rome at pp. 35–62, and brief treatment of *Gesta episcoporum* at p. 38). The exegetical anchorage of Carolingian history-writing is also demonstrated by G. Ward, *History, Scripture, and authority in the Carolingian empire: Frechulf of Lisieux*, Oxford 2022.

Martinellus in existence before Gregory's time. Instead, I have proposed that the first Martinellus was produced at Tours in the seventh or eighth century. Its compilation can be placed alongside other contemporaneous efforts to disseminate the cult of St Martin and to creatively rework Gregory's corpus. With respect to Carolingian Tours, the case study presented here strengthens the existing scholarly consensus that Saint-Martin's was an unusually productive centre during the ninth century. Most Martinelli were destined for export. MS Phillipps 1877 offers an example of an unusually ornate codex that was given to the cathedral-church of Metz early in its life. The surviving *incipits* strongly indicate the use of Martinellus manuscripts in the liturgy.

Despite the central place of Gregory of Tours's writings within the tradition, it is clear that most Martinelli suppress the authorship of the Gregorian extracts. Moreover, chapters from his hagiographical and historiographical corpus are presented side-by-side in these manuscripts, disregarding the narratological features that had distinguished the two genres in the sixth-century bishop's mind.¹³⁸ Given Gregory's insistence on the integrity of his writings, should the Martinelli be viewed as a violation of his legacy?¹³⁹ On the contrary, Gregory himself was an experienced redactor. His method of working was to stitch together self-contained units of text that he had either composed himself or extracted verbatim from existing documents.¹⁴⁰ It is also clear that Gregory sometimes hesitated over whether certain stories belonged in his hagiographical or historiographical works.¹⁴¹ Gregory's writings therefore lent themselves to being gutted and recomposed. Had he been able to foresee that future editors would mutilate them, he might have been disappointed, but hardly surprised.

BnF, MS Lat. 10848 presents an exception. In this instance, the copyist went to unprecedented lengths to transform the Martinellus into a living tradition. By adding an up-to-date episcopal list to the epilogue to the *Histories*, he produced a joined-up history of the diocese of Tours, beginning with Gatianus and ending with the then-current incumbent, Landramnus. Like Carolingian *Gesta episcoporum*, BnF, MS Lat. 10848 provided an account of the past that was at once local, but placed within a universal story emanating from Rome. Gregory's authority as a narrator of history was the underpinning of this story. In these terms, it is easy to understand why the scribe who produced the Paris manuscript introduced Gregory with the

¹³⁸ See Heinzlmann, 'La Réécriture', 53–68.

¹³⁹ See n. 81 above.

¹⁴⁰ On the *Miracula* see R. Shaw, 'Chronology, composition, and authorial conception in the *Miracula*', in Murray, *A companion to Gregory of Tours*, 102–40, esp. pp. 123–6. On the *Histories* see J. Merrington, 'The building projects and the *Histories* of Gregory of Tours', *Early Medieval Europe* xxx/2 (2022), 159–84 at pp. 167–8.

¹⁴¹ See Loseby and Ward-Perkins, 'Gregory of Tours and the boundaries of sainthood', 108–9. See also Shaw, 'Chronology', 133.

valorising epithet *dominus et episcopus* in the *incipit* to *Histories* 1.48. Indeed, the codicological evidence strongly suggests that Saint-Martin's had in its archives two copies of the complete *Histories* by about the year 1000. It was to the Touraine that Gregory had entrusted his writings, and it was here that his memory was best preserved in the centuries that followed.

APPENDIX

Table 1. *Martinelli dated to before c. 1000*

Manuscript	Date	Place of production	Contains <i>Sylloge epigraphica</i> ?	<i>Incipits</i> to Gregory of Tours passages consulted?	Gregory of Tours named?
Berlin, ms Phillippis 1877 ¹	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	no
Bloomington, IN, Poole, MS 27 ²	saec. IX	Regensburg	yes	yes	no
Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 1820-7 (3150) ³	saec. IX	Auxerre	yes	no	–
Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 828 ⁴	saec. IX/X		no	yes	yes (fos 17v, 66r, 109v)
Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.2.21 (a leaf) ⁵	saec. IX	Tours	n/a	yes	n/a
The Hague, Museum Meermannno, MS 10 B 6, fo. 1 ⁶	saec. IX		n/a	yes	n/a
The Hague, Museum Meermannno, MS 10 D 6 ⁷	saec. IX	Tours	yes	no	–
Halle, Quedlinburg, MS 79 ⁸	806–33	Tours	yes	yes	yes (fo. 175v)
Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. 238 ⁹	822–38	Saint-Denis	yes	yes	no

¹ <<https://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0003596200000000>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245. See also n. 1 above.

² <https://archives.iu.edu/catalog/InU-Li-VAD6915aspace_b417b4e1eb513e40e36a1086c81c4d3d>, accessed 7 August 2025; S. Krämer and M. Bernard, *Handschriftenerbe des deutschen Mittelalters*, ii, Munich 1989, 677.

³ Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, i, Wiesbaden 1998, 151, no. 703.

⁴ 'exécuté probablement à Tours ... au IX^e siècle': A Molinier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, xvii, Paris 1891, 313–14 at p. 313. By contrast Hellmann does not offer a provenance, and dates the manuscript to the ninth or tenth century: 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

⁵ S. F. Foot, 'A ninth-century flyleaf in Cambridge University Library MS Gg.2.21', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* viii/5 (1985), 593–7. The leaf contains the end of *Hist.* 1.48, the whole of *VM* 1.4 and the beginning of *VM* 1.5. It is hence possible that the scribe named Gregory in the incipit to *Hist.* 1.48.

⁶ P. C. Boeren, *Catalogus van de handschriften van het Rijksmuseum Meermannno-Westreenianum*, The Hague 1979, 32. The leaf contains *VM* 1.4–5, and *Hist.* II.1. It is hence possible that the scribe named Gregory of Tours in the incipit to *Hist.* 1.48.

⁷ Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245; Boeren, *Catalogus*, 99–100.

⁸ <<https://doi.org/10.25673/37811>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245; fo. 183v demonstrates that the manuscript was produced during the abbacy of Fridugisus.

⁹ <<https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/20572>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

Table 1. *Martinelli dated to before c. 1000*

Manuscript	Date	Place of production	Contains <i>Sylloge epigraphica</i> ?	Incipits to Gregory of Tours passages consulted?	Gregory of Tours named?
Merseburg, Domstiftsbibliothek, ms 103 ¹⁰	saec. IX	Lorsch	yes	no	–
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms Clm 6326 ¹¹	saec. X	Freising	yes	yes	no
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 2854 ¹²	saec. X		no	yes	yes (fos 64r, 65r, 65v, 66r, 69r)
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 5325 ¹³	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	no
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 5580 ¹⁴	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	no
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 5581 (fragmentary) ¹⁵	saec. IX/X	Tours	n/a	yes	n/a
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 5582 (fragmentary) ¹⁶	saec. IX	Tours	n/a	yes	no
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 5583 ¹⁷	saec. IX		yes	yes	yes (fo. 98r)
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 5584 ¹⁸	saec. X		yes	yes	no
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 10848 ¹⁹	816–35/7	Tours	yes	yes	yes (fos 102v, 115v)

¹⁰ Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

¹¹ <<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bs00006546>> (microfiche), accessed 7 August 2025) description by Günter Glaucher (2011), at <<https://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/HSP0005C5A000000000>>, accessed 7 August 2025.

¹² Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245; B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche studien*, i, Stuttgart 1966, 95. Manuscript at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85409631>>, accessed 7 August 2025.

¹³ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/view3if/ga/ark:/12148/btv1b9077796q/>> (microfiche), accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

¹⁴ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52520995b>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

¹⁵ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525205125>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Rand, *A survey of the manuscripts of Tours*, i, 94–5. Hellmann confirms the Tours provenance, but does not offer a date: 'Die Auszeichnung', 245. The fragment does not contain any of Gregory's writings.

¹⁶ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10037137r>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

¹⁷ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52520517d>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

¹⁸ M.-H. Jullien (ed.), *Clavis scriptorum latinorum medii aevii: auctores galliae, 735–987*, III: Indices, Turnhout 2010, 141. The first half of the manuscript (which concerns us) dates to the tenth century; the second half is fourteenth century. A low-quality microfiche can be viewed at <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90682805>>.

¹⁹ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84267798>>, accessed 7 August 2025. See n. 90 above.

Table 1. *Martinelli dated to before c. 1000*

Manuscript	Date	Place of production	Contains <i>Sylloge epigraphica</i> ?	<i>Incipits</i> to Gregory of Tours passages consulted?	Gregory of Tours named?
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 13759 ²⁰	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	no
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 18312 ²¹	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	no
Schaffhausen, Ministerialbibliothek, ms 58 ²²	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	no
Sélestat, Bibliothèque humaniste, ms 2 ²³	saec. IX	Bodensee?	–	no	–
Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, ms Cod. Hist. 4 ^o 36 ²⁴	saec. IX	Tours?	yes	no	–
Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 518 ²⁵	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	no
Vatican, BAV, ms Pal. lat. 845 ²⁶	saec. IX	Mainz	yes	yes	no
Vatican, BAV, ms Reg. lat. 495 ²⁷	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	yes (fo. 109r)
Vatican, BAV, ms Reg. lat. 586 ²⁸	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	no

²⁰ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078016k>> (microfiche), accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

²¹ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52508463f>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

²² R. Gamper, G. Knoch-Mund and M. Stähli, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Ministerialbibliothek Schaffhausen*, Dietikon-Zürich 1994, 153–4.

²³ 'saec. IX ca. ^{2/4}, Bondensegebiet?': R. Kottje, 'Einleitung', in R. Kottje and others (eds), *Paenitentia Franciae et Italiae saeculi VIII–XI: paenitentia minora Franciae et Italiae saeculi VIII–XI*, Turnhout 1994, p. xxxvii. See also Adam, *L'Humanisme à Sélestat*, 98–9. Neither Kottje's nor Adam's catalogues enable me to discern which texts are contained within the manuscript.

²⁴ 'im westfränkischen Raum, möglicherweise in Tours entstanden' (1647): R. Bergmann and others, *Katalog der althochdeutschen und altsächsischen Glossenhandschriften*, Berlin 2005, iv. 1647–8, no. 859 at p. 1647.

²⁵ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84526160>>, accessed 7 August 2025; B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, iii, Wiesbaden 2014, 401. Hellmann notes the Tours provenance, but does not suggest a date: 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

²⁶ <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.lat.845>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

²⁷ <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.495>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellman, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

²⁸ <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav_reg_lat_586>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellman, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

Table 1. *Martinelli dated to before c. 1000*

Manuscript	Date	Place of production	Contains <i>Sylloge epigraphica</i> ?	<i>Incipits</i> to Gregory of Tours passages consulted?	Gregory of Tours named?
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 468 ²⁹	saec. IX	Tours	no	yes	n/a
Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek, MS 5 (destroyed) ³⁰	saec. X	Schönau	yes?	no	–
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, MS Cod. Guelf. 581 Helmst. ³¹	saec. IX	north-west Germany/ north-east France	yes	yes	no
Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS Weiss. 82 ³²	saec. IX	Tours	yes	yes	no

²⁹ H. J. Hermann, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften des Abendlandes: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, I, Leipzig 1923, 63–6. According to Hermann, the first double leaf of a quaternion is missing between fo. 73 and fo. 74, which means that the *incipit* to *Hist.* I.48 is lost. It is hence unclear whether the scribe identified Gregory of Tours as the author of this first unit of text. The *incipit* to *Hist.* II.1 (fo. 77r) does not name Gregory of Tours.

³⁰ G. Zedler, *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt fuer Bibliothekswesen*, LXIII, Wiesbaden 1931, 20–1. This manuscript is now thought to have been destroyed (personal communication with David Ganz). It appears from Zedler's entry that the manuscript contained the *Sylloge epigraphica*, but it is not certain.

³¹ B. Lesser, *Die mittelalterlichen Helmstedter Handschriften der Herzog August Bibliothek*, III (forthcoming). Digitised manuscript and catalogue entry at <<https://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=581-helmst&catalog=Lesser>>, accessed 7 August 2025.

³² <<https://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=82-weiss>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Hellmann, 'Die Auszeichnung', 245.

Table 2. *Manuscripts containing Hist. x.31 dated to before c. 1000*

Manuscript	Date	Place of production	<i>Hist. x.31</i>	Transmission of <i>Hist. x.31</i>
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms 494 (formerly A 76) ¹	beginning of saec. x	Iberia (Arlanza?)	fos 76r–78v	Group A ('per electionem praefatae reginae')
Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, ms 13 ² (section A)	saec. x (second or third quarter)	Iberia (San Millán de la Cogolla?)	fos 119v–122v	Group A ('per electionem praefatae reginae')
Paris, BnF, ms Lat. 10848 ³	816–35/7	Tours	fos 110v–115v	Group A ('per electionem praefatae reginae')
Paris, BnF, ms N.A.L. 2178 ⁴	960–1000? saec. xi?	Iberia (Silos? Valeránica?)	fos 101r–104v	Group A ('per electionem praefatae reginae')
Leyden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms Vossiani latini Q 12 (part iv) ⁵	saec. x/xi	Tours	fos 74r–77v	Group B ('per electionem praefati regis')
Vatican, BAV, ms Reg. Lat. 1056 (incomplete) ⁶	beginning of saec. x	–	fos 158v–161v	Group C ('per electionem fratrum')

¹ <<http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000125639>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Alexandre, 'La Compilation hagiographique', 48–50; Diaz y Diaz, *Valerio*, 132–4.

² <<https://bibliotecadigital.rah.es/es/consulta/registro.do?id=52>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Alexandre, 'La Compilation hagiographique', 53–9; Diaz y Diaz, *Valerio*, 135–6. Section A (which concerns us) is mid-tenth century.

³ See above, n. 90.

⁴ <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10025463b>>, accessed 7 August 2025; Alexandre, 'La Compilation hagiographique', 60–7; Diaz y Diaz, *Valerio*, 136–9.

⁵ <<http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:4243570>>, accessed 7 August 2025. I follow Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften*, ii, 57, no. 2213. For a tenth-century dating, see K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani Latini*, ii, Leiden 1975, 35. For a ninth-century dating see Krusch, 'Praefatio', p. xxxiii (E2a).

⁶ <https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1056>, accessed 2 September 2025. Like most 'D' manuscripts, it only transmits *Hist. x.31* up to 'permaneat': Krusch, 'Praefatio', p. xxxi; Bourgain and Heinzemann, 'L'Œuvre', 291. This list does not include the (destroyed) Cluny ms, which is said to have been copied in the tenth century. I am unaware of any catalogue entry surviving for that manuscript: Krusch, 'Praefatio', p. xxxi (D3a).