

EARLY MEDIEVAL MISSIONARY TACTICS: THE EXAMPLE OF MARTIN AND CAESARIUS*

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Western Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries was still undergoing dramatic changes, due primarily to the settlement of «barbarians», particularly in Gaul and Spain, in what were once two of the most prosperous of the Roman Empire. The impact of these newcomers, as research continues to demonstrate, was multivariied¹. The church in the West at this juncture since the time of Constantine had become the only unified, stable, continuous institution that eased the transition from late antiquity to what is now designated, as the early Middle Ages. The theological controversies that seemingly tore apart the Church in the East had ceased to be a major concern as had those in the West, such as Pelagianism and Priscillianism. One of the great challenges the Church faced in the West was the evangelization of both German and Roman. Most of the germanic tribes had been converted to Arianism; those who were not were still pagan; both adhered to their religious persuasion quite tenaciously. Missionary efforts in Gaul and Spain targeted three distinct groups distinguished primarily by religious preference, not ethnicity. There were Hispano/Gallo-Romans and germanic peoples who were either Arian or pagan, and likewise those who were already converted to orthodoxy but maintained pagan rituals and beliefs as part of their daily religious experience. This latter group included the clergy as well.

There seems to have been a great effort to evangelize the Western Provinces; although this plan was not controlled by a single person or provincial church, it seems rather to have occurred with amazing spontaneity in the British Isles and the Continent. Two figures who have not been given due credit for their missionary activity have been St. Martin of Braga (520-79) and Caesarius of Arles (470-542). As for the bishop of Arles, there has been a steady stream of studies, primarily because a much larger corpus of his writings have survived, than of Martin's². Caesarius' place in late antique Gaul has yet to be fully explored. He usually takes a distant secondary place to Martin of

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1. Two recent interpretations are in: WALTER GOFFART, *Barbarians and Romans A.D. 418-584: The Techniques of Accommodation*, Princeton 1980; especially his insightful remarks on pp. 3-39; also, E. A. THOMPSON, *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire*, Wisconsin 1982.

2. The Caesarian corpus is in *Sancti Caesarii episcopi Arelatensis opera omnia nunc primum in unum collecta* (ed.) G. Morin, 2 vols. Maredsous, 1937-1942; His sermons are collected in, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones. Editio altera*; G. MORIN, 2 vols., *Corpus Christianorum. Series latina*, vols. 103-104, Turnholt 1953; The only English translation of the homiliary based on Morin's edition is that by MARY MAGDELEINE MUELLER, *Caesarius of Arles, Sermons 1-238*, 3 vols. *Fathers of the Church Series*, vols. 31, 47, 66, Washington, D.C., 1956-1973. The most complete bibliography on Caesarius is to be found in the forthcoming work by ALBERTO FERREIRO, *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain A.D. 418-711: a bibliography*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, in press.

Tours, and even more so to Gregory of Tours in most studies³. In some respects, Caesarius presents a distinctive view of late antique Gaul that differs in fundamental ways from that found in the works of Gregory of Tours. Although some scholars are beginning to pay greater attention to Caesarius, most focus on Gregory as if he is representative of the overall «worldview» of this era. Now recent studies astutely alert us to the very selective viewpoint Gregory of Tours represents⁴. One does not in any way wish to minimize Gregory; on the contrary, what we need is to supplement him with the works of Caesarius, who incidentally is scarcely mentioned in Gregory's *Decem libri historiarum*⁵. As for Martin of Braga, scholars need to view his activities in Galicia within the mainstream, not erroneously as a provincial man of the backwoods, an illusion of many modern researchers⁶. This alleged 'isolation' was especially not true of Galicia in the fifth and sixth centuries. In fact, parish priests in Hispania were no more isolated than their contemporaries anywhere else on the Continent, even Britain.

The principal purpose of this article is to offer suggestions to rectify some of these misconceptions. This brief study of Martin and Caesarius reveals several things: that both bishops adopted similar missionary tactics as their contemporaries; that they carried out in some ways innovative approaches to missions; and that they are part of that universal effort of the medieval Church to evangelize Western Europe.

Itinerant Missions

It has been firmly established that Martin of Braga was born in Pannonia, that he lived an unspecified time in the East and that by way of Tours he arrived at Galicia. The testimony found in Gregory of Tours, Isidore of Seville, and Martin's own epitaph is unanimous in this regard⁷. His knowledge of Greek offers strong evidence of his prolonged eastern experiences, especially since Greek in the West was virtually unknown, except perhaps amongst the merchants who frequented western Mediterranean ports. After his sojourn in the East, we are told by Gregory of Tours that Martin traveled to Gaul and visited the shrine of this namesake, Martin of Tours; who likewise had traveled from Pannonia to Gaul earlier in the fourth century⁸. Gregory of Tours is our principal source for this aspect of Martin's life and provides us with insightful information regarding the bishopric of Tours and the province of Galicia. In the early Middle Ages, Tours had frequent contacts with Braga, the major bishopric in Suevic Galicia, both in diplomatic and ecclesiastical terms. From the pages of Gregory's *Decem libri historiarum* emerges a province very much in contact with Gaul and with the Visigothic

3. RAYMOND VAN DAM, *Leadership and community in Late Antique Gaul*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 8, California 1985; PATRICK J. GEARY, *Before France and Germany. The creation of the Merovingian world*, Oxford 1988. I cite these two excellent works as only illustrative of scholarship on Late Antique Gaul and the overall neglect of Caesarius, both of these books are outstanding contributions and this author does not in any way wish to minimize that fact.

4. See the astute remarks by J. N. HILLGARTH in, «Modes of evangelization of Western Europe in the seventh century», *Ireland and Christendom: The Bible and the Missions* (ed. Pró Inséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter), Stuttgart 1987, pp. 315-17.

5. Gregorii episcopi turonensis, *Historiarum libri decem*, 2 volumen. (ed.) RUDOLPH BUCHNER, Darmstadt 1970-1974, vol. 2, IX-39 (p. 300); 40 (p. 304); 42 (p. 310, 312).

6. The place and role of Galicia within Spain has been the subject of some scholarship, but most of it is dated and in need of great revision. This author plans a future volume to fill this gap, in the meantime consult rather judiciously: WILHELM REINHART, *Historia general del reino hispánico de los suevos*, Madrid 1952; CASIMIRO TORRES RODRÍGUEZ, *Galicia Histórica. El reino de los suevos*, La Coruña 1977; Also the unpublished work by S. HAMANN, *Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Sueben in Spanien*, (Diss.) Regensburg 1971. The most extensive bibliography on the Sueves is forthcoming in *The Visigoths in Gaul and Spain A.D. 418-711; a bibliography*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, in press.

7. All of this testimony is conveniently located in *Martini Episcopi Bracaraensis. Opera Omnia* (ed.) CLAUDE W. BARLOW, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 12, New Haven 1950. Gregory's testimony pp. 298-300; Isidore, pp. 300-301; On Isidore consult: CARMEN CODOÑER MERINO, *El «De Viris Illustribus» de Isidoro de Sevilla, Estudio y edición crítica*, Salamanca 1964.

8. The event is in *Martini Episcopi*, pp. 298-300. Gregory fails to mention that both Martins were from Pannonia and subsequently found themselves at Tours. See E. VEIGA DE OLIVEIRA «Le culte de Saint Martin en Portugal. Saint Martin de Tours et Saint Martin de Dume», *Revista de Etnografia*, Porto 10, 1968, 313-28.

court at Toledo, too⁹. The cult of St. Martin of Tours was apparently quite popular in Galicia and pilgrims from that province paid homage to this Gallic saint by invoking his aid at his shrine at Tours. St. Martin's shrine became one of the first pilgrimage sites in the West to attain widespread recognition and notoriety. In Gregory's hagiographical work, the *De virtutibus s. Martini*, we are given further details concerning Martin's final arrival at Galicia and how events at Tours «providentially» led him there¹⁰.

According to Gregory, Martin happened to be at the shrine when pilgrims from Galicia, sent by a certain King Charraric (550?-559) of the Suevi, arrived to invoke St. Martin of Tours for a cure on behalf of the Suevic king's son. As is typical of the genre, the account is replete with references to the miraculous, emphasis on the providential nature of the meeting between Martin of Braga and the pilgrims, and God's final triumph over doubt, heresy (Charraric was an Arian), and a host of other obstacles instigated by the «Adversary»¹¹. We should not too hastily dismiss the account as altogether void of any historical value. In regard to hagiographical sources, J. N. Hillgarth points us, I believe, in the right direction: «We are just beginning to glimpse how, through these lives, we can hope to enter into the 'mental universe' of the time, how they can introduce us as no other source can do, to the religion (that is the interpretation of the world and of the place of God and man in it) which was available to seventh century man»¹². The same seems true of hagiographies prior to the seventh century, if not throughout the entire Middle Ages. If we set aside for a moment the miraculous sensationalism, the general framework of Gregory's narrative does not appear preposterous nor anomalous to the religious practices of the sixth century. Again, the frequent contacts between Braga and Tours made such a pilgrimage possible. It seems that Martin of Braga came to Tours as a pilgrim who, like others, was attracted to the shrine that had achieved popularity both in Gaul and Spain¹³. We are completely in the «dark» as to what exactly Martin of Braga intended to do after he left Tours, that is, before he was diverted by his timely «Providential» encounter with the Galician pilgrims. There is still another aspect of this story that needs further commentary, namely Martin as an itinerant monk.

Martin of Braga's itinerant missionary activity is all the more normative if we recall that he is a contemporary of Celtic Irish monasticism. Here lies a most interesting similarity, although only incidental, between Martin and the Celtic monks. It seems rash to posit that Martin was inspired or that he modeled himself after the Celtic monks, nor is there evidence that he encountered any of them while he was at Tours. Another similarity is that both Martin and the Celtic missionaries practiced a monasticism deeply rooted in the desert tradition, as was true of southern Gaul. Mutual influences between the Iberian and Celtic churches, as some research indicates, seems to have occurred via Italy, not by direct contacts between Galicia and Ireland, as many have previously believed¹⁴. Martin's 'similarity' with Celtic monasticism is not indicative of direct influences,

9. References to Galicia in Gregory of Tours are found in *Historiarum libri decem*, vol 1, V-37 (p. 348); V-41 (p. 356); vol. 2, VI-43 (pp. 76-78); VIII-35 (p. 212). See the remarks by JOSÉ ORLANDIS, *Historia de España: la España visigótica*, Madrid 1977, p. 99-100: Also fundamental by ORLANDIS, «Comunicaciones y comercio entre la España 'visigótica y la Francia merovingia'», in *Hispania y Zaragoza en la antigüedad tardía*, Zaragoza 1985, pp. 171-180.

10. This is found in GREGORY'S, *De virtutibus s. Martini*, in *Martini Episcopi*, pp. 298-300. See also the observations by STEPHEN MCKENNA, *Paganism and pagan survivals in Spain up to the fall of the Visigothic kingdom*, Washington, D.C., 1938, pp. 80-82.

11. *Ibid.*

12. HILLGARTH, *Ireland and Christendom*, p. 316.

13. See the remarks by HYDATIUS, *Chronica*, MGH. A.A. XI: 15; GREGORY'S, *De virtutibus s. Martini* MGH, SRM, tome I, pars II, pp. 584-661; Also the article by JOHN H. CORBETT «The Saint as patron in the works of Gregory of Tours», *Journal of Medieval History* 7, 1981, 1-13. In GREGORY'S, *Historiarum libri decem*, there are numerous references to Tours and alleged miracles, e.g. vol. 1, V-21, pp. 328-330; On the cult of Martin of Tours in Spain see, CARMEN GARCÍA RODRIGUEZ, *El culto de los santos en la España Romana y Visigoda*, Monografías de historia eclesiástica, 1, Madrid 1966, pp. 336-342; 362.

14. An early fundamental work on the subject is that by EDMUND BISHOP, «Spanish Symptoms», *Journal of Theological Studies* 8, 1907, 278-94; J. N. HILLGARTH has likewise made some useful contributions in this regard in, «The East, Visigothic Spain and the Irish», *Studia Patristica* 3, 1961, 442-56; «Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland»,

but rather emphasizes the European-wide missionary effort. The Celtic church, Gregory's Anglo-Saxon mission, and Martin's activity reveal that missionary work in the fifth and sixth centuries was lively, thriving, and very much a conscious policy of the Church¹⁵.

I have argued elsewhere that although the East attracted a steady stream of individuals, from simple pilgrims to the more scholarly, the West likewise had a certain attraction, but for the more missionary-minded¹⁶. The western provinces as perceived by those in the eastern empire were rustic provinces in the hands of pagans and heretics, thereby offering a most challenging adventure to missionaries. These attitudes were clearly present at the imperial court of Justinian, who, as is known, made an unsuccessful effort to reclaim the western provinces. Some have argued that Martin was part of that imperial policy in Spain, but as interesting as this theory may seem, the evidence simply does not support such speculation¹⁷. Justinian's intervention in Spain in the sixth century, almost to the date of Martin's arrival in Galicia, was primarily a military venture and remained so until their expulsion in the seventh century. The areas held by the Byzantines never became «bases» for missionary efforts to convert the Arian Visigoths or Sueves¹⁸. Any alleged connections between Martin in Galicia and the Byzantines in southern Spain simply did not exist. Martin's missionary work in the West does not seem to have been directed by any central authority. It seems that the primary mover was nothing more than to obey the 'Great Commission'.

Caesarius represents a distinct type of missionary especially since he does not fall, in the strictest sense, into the «itinerant monk» category. Caesarius practiced the most common form of missionary work, that is, working in a specific province. Caesarius did make himself «itinerant» through his collected homilies which he consciously intended for immediate widespread distribution. We have a legacy of approximately 238 sermons attributed to Caesarius' homiliary, some penned by him, others borrowed verbatim from elsewhere and still those others slightly edited by the bishop of Arles¹⁹. In the *Vita sancti caesarii*, we are told that the bishop ordered his monks to copy and distribute his sermons in «Francia, Germania, Italia et Hispania»²⁰. This aspect of the *Vita* is confirmed by the proliferation and presence of Caesarius' sermons in numerous homiliares, the most noteworthy being the *Homiliary of Toledo*, a collection from Visigothic

Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (C) 62, 1962, 167-94; «Old Ireland and Visigothic Spain» [Summary of this previous work] (ed.), ROBERT MCNALLY, *Old Ireland*, Dublin 1965, pp. 200-27. He has greatly updated his own views in the most recent study, «Ireland and Spain in the seventh century», *Peritia* 3, 1984, 1-16.

15. VENERABLE BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, (eds.) BERTRAM COLGRAVE and R. A. B. MYNORS, Oxford 1969, I-23, 24, 25, 30, pp. 68-76; 107-108, respectively.

16. CLAUDE W. BARLOW, «The Literary heritage of Spain, 350-600 A.D.», *Folia* 1 (1946) 101-113; ALBERTO FERREIRO, «The missionary labors of St. Martin of Braga in 6th century Galicia», *Studia monastica* 23, 1981, 11-13; *Ibid.*, «The westward journey of St. Martin of Braga», *Studia monastica* 22, 1980, 243-51; In Gregory of Tours', *Historiarum libri decem*, we find references to this aspect of pilgrimage to the East: Licinius of Tours, «Hic fertur in Oriente fuisse ac loca visitasse sanctorum ipsamque adisse Hierusolimam et loca passionis ac resurrectionis dominicae, quae in evangeliis legitur, saepe vidisse», II-39 (p. 134); Winnoc had plans to go to Jerusalem, «Tunc Winnocus Britto in summa abstinentia a Brittanis venit Toronus, Hierusolimam accedere cupiens...» V-21 (p. 328); Radegunda sent some clerics on a relic finding mission, «pro fide ac devotione Radegundis beata in partibus Orientis clericos distinat pro dominicae crucis ligno ac sanctorum apostolorum ceterorumque martyrum reliquiis», IX-40 (p. 302); On pilgrimages see, CASIMIRO TORRES RODRÍGUEZ, «Las peregrinaciones de Galicia a tierra santa en el siglo V», *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 10, 1955, pp. 313-360; *Ibid.*, «Peregrinos de oriente a Galicia en el siglo V», *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos* 12, 1957, 53-64.

17. FERREIRO, «Westward Journey», pp. 248-50.

18. ROGER COLLINS, *Early Medieval Spain: unity in diversity, 400-1000*, MacMillan 1983, p. 38-39; PAUL GOUBERT, «Byzance et l'Espagne wisigothique (554-711)», *Revue des études byzantines* 11, 1944, 5-78; WALTER GOFFART, «Byzantine policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice: the pretenders Hermenegild and Gundovald (579-585)», *Traditio* 13, 1957, 73-118.

19. See note 2 above for the edition of the *Sermones*.

20. *Vita S. Caesarii episcopi*, MPL 67: 1021; The remarks by MUELLER, *Caesarius of Arles*, 1: XXII; also ALBERTO FERREIRO, «St. Martin of Braga's policy toward heretics and pagan practices», *American Benedictine Review* 34: 4, 1983, 379, note 24.

Spain²¹. In this fashion Caesarius made himself «itinerant» without ever traveling as extensively as some of his contemporaries, or adopting the Celtic practice of «peregrinatio in exilio».

Monarchs and Monks

One of the most important developments in medieval missions was the frequent attempt by missionaries to convert firstly the court, which often led to somewhat stormy relationships between monarchs and the Church. James Thayer Addison reminds us that, in spite of such conflicts, it was crucial for the missionaries to effect the conversions from the «top» down²². This remained a somewhat standard policy in future missionary work, especially in the seventh century. Conversion of those in authority, at least in theory, certainly facilitated evangelization since the principal duty of a recently converted monarch would have been to protect the Church and encourage the conversion of unbelievers, both pagans and heretics. Undoubtedly, the monks were quick to remind these novice Christian monarchs of their God-given duties towards the Church. In more tangible ways this meant protection from internal or external enemies, active destruction of pagan shrines, and frequent participation in church councils. The precedent set by Constantine centuries earlier was not only well remembered by the Church, it encouraged the germanic kings to emulate him as a champion of 'orthodoxy'. John of Biclarum, for example, reminds readers of his *Chronica* that King Reccared at the Third Council of Toledo in 589, was acting as the «new» Constantine for the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. Gregory of Tours creates circumstances surrounding the conversion of Clovis similar to Constantine's earlier experience, but now in a Frankish context. It is clear that Gregory wanted to convey to his readers that Clovis was a latter-day 'Constantine' with all due privileges and obligations²³. In Suevic Galicia under Martin of Braga, the Suevic kings were quite active in church matters, especially at the councils. King Ariamir presided over the First Council of Braga in 561; then in 572 King Miro presided over the Second Council of Braga; lastly, King Theodomir (559-570) took the initiative to call a synod at Lugo in 561. One of the most significant elements that contributed to Martin's success in Galicia was his close collaboration with the Suevic kings²⁴. Isidore of Seville in his *De viris illustribus* informs us that Martin, «converted all the Suevic peoples in that place from the Arian impiety to the Catholic faith, establishing a rule of faith and holy religion, confirmed the Church and founded monasteries»²⁵. In his *Historia gothorum, vandalorum et suevorum*, he adds further that Martin, with the help of King Theodomir, effected all of the accomplishments mentioned in the *De viris illustribus*²⁶. Specific reference to King Theodomir by Isidore needs to be

21. *Ibid.* See also JOSÉ TARRÉ, «Sur les origines arlésiennes de la collection canonique dite 'Hispana'», *Mélanges Paul Fournier*, Paris 1929, pp. 705-24.

22. JAMES THAYER ADDISON, *The Medieval missionary: A study of the conversion of Northern Europe A.D. 500-1300*, Philadelphia 1976, p. 21; HILLGARTH, *Ireland and Christendom*, p. 314, 329. On Martin of Tours, see CLARE STANCLIFFE, *St. Martin and his hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus*, Oxford 1983, pp. 335-336.

23. JOHN OF BICLARUM, *Chronica*, MGH A.A. XI, p. 219. «Memoratus vero Reccaredus rex, ut diximus, sancto intererat concilio, renovans temporibus nostris antiquum principem Constantinum magnum sanctam synodum Nicaenam sua illustrasse praesentia». See the discussion by SUZANNE TEILLET, *Des Goths à la nation gothique. Les origines de l'idée de nation en Occident du Ve au VIIIe siècle*, Paris 1984, pp. 421-455; Gregorii episcopi turonensis, *Historiarum libri decem*, vol. 1, II-30 (p. 116); II-37 (pp. 128-134).

24. FERREIRO, «The missionary labors», pp. 14-15.

25. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *De viris illustribus*, in *Martini Episcopi*, p. 301, «ibique conversis ad Ariana impietate ad fidem Catholicam Suevorum populis, regulam fidei et sanctae religionis constituit ecclesias confirmavit, monasteria condidit».

26. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Historia gothorum in Martini Episcopi*, p. 301; «Multis deinde Suevorum regibus in Arriana heresi permanentibus tandem regni potestatem Theodimirus suscepit. Qui confestim Arrianae impietatis errore destructo Suevos catholicae fidei reddidit innitente Martino monasterii Dumiensis episcopo fide et scientia claro, cuius studio et pax ecclesiae ampliata est et multa in ecclesiasticis disciplinis Galliciae regionibus instituta».

clarified further since it seems to contradict the testimony of Gregory of Tours. Why does the bishop of Seville single out Theodomir, especially since Martin's pastoral activity was well established *before* Theodomir ascended the throne?

Relying primarily upon Isidore's testimony, some have conjectured that the Sueves were converted under King Theodomir, not under King Charraric, as Gregory of Tours would have us to believe²⁷. Isidore does not mention Charraric at all in his *Historia gothorum*. Isidore's *Historia gothorum* is but a bare outline of the germanic peoples in Spain, especially the material on the Vandals and Sueves. The *Historia* does not contain a large bulk of material on the Sueves that is found in some of the sources, especially Gregory of Tours²⁸. Isidore is still correct in emphasizing that real headway against Arianism in Galicia seems to have occurred under King Theodomir, but this does not necessitate outright rejection of an earlier «conversion» under King Charraric, as found in Gregory's account. One should bear in mind that Isidore was far removed from events of the mid-sixth century, so his knowledge of this era is limited to say the least. Gregory was by far better informed about the frequent contacts, both cultural and diplomatic, between Braga and Tours in the mid-sixth century, however. We should recall that King Charraric sent pilgrims to the shrine of Martin of Tours to seek a cure for his sickly son²⁹. In that same account it is made clear by Gregory that Charraric was an Arian, but that the king abandoned the heresy once his son was cured through the intercession of St. Martin of Tours³⁰. Isidore then informs us in the *De viris illustribus* that the Sueves were «converted» from «the Arian impiety», during King Theodomir's reign. Apparently Charraric or one of his successors lapsed into Arianism, until in due time the Sueves under Theodomir finally converted to orthodoxy (again) permanently with the aid of Martin of Braga as indicated above. It is not rash to believe that Isidore was unfamiliar with the testimony of Gregory about Charraric. If a lapse from orthodoxy did occur under Charraric, then Isidore correctly focused upon Theodomir, under whom a «final» conversion was effected. Isidore's testimony is thin and unclear on early Suevic history, especially the circumstance of that initial conversion, but he then properly focused on the collaborative work between Theodomir and Martin of Braga which yielded permanent results. Martin's collaborative efforts with the Suevic kings extended beyond Charraric and Theodomir. The bishop of Braga had the good fortune of being a pastor under a very cooperative Suevic king, Miro (570-583). The reign of Miro is most significant here since it yields much information on the close relationship Martin seems to have had with that monarch³¹.

The bishop of Braga dedicated to Miro the widely influential treatise titled *Formula vitae honestae*, where reference is made to other correspondence between them both, but that unfortunately has not survived to posterity. In the preface to the *Formula*,

27. This view is espoused by E. A. Thompson, «The conversion of the Spanish Suevi to Catholicism», *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches* (ed.) EDWARD JAMES, Oxford 1980, pp. 84-87.

28. The most striking omission in Isidore's account is the frequent contact between Galicia and Gaul, that Gregory of Tours so vividly recounts. See note 9 above on Galicia. Isidore mentions Gaul in one place only in his *Historia*, to inform us that a certain apostate from Gaul, Ajax, converted the Sueves to Arianism, «Hujus tempore Ajax, natione Galata, effectus apostata Arianus, inter Suevos, regis sui auxilio, hostis catholicae fidei et divinae Trinitatis emergit, de Gallicana Gothorum regione hos pestiferum virus afferens, et totam gentem Suevorum lethalis perfidiae tabe inficiens. Multis deinde Suevorum regibus in Ariana haeresi permanentibus» MPL 83: 1081-82.

29. GREGORII episcopi turonensis, *De virtutibus s. Martini*, in *Martini Episcopi*, p. 299. «Chararici cuiusdam regis Galliciae filius graviter aegrotabat, qui tale taedium incurrerat, ut solo spiritu palpitaret. Pater autem eius factidae se illius Arianae sectae una cum incolis loci subsiderat. Sed et regio illa plus solito, quam aliae provinciae, a lepra sordebat. Cumque rex videret, urgueri filium in extremis, dicit suis, 'Martinus ille, quem in Galliis dicunt multis virtutibus effulgere, cuius, quaeso, religionis vir fuerat, enarrate?'».

30. *Ibid.*

31. We find King Miro present at the Second Council of Braga in 572, in J. VIVES (et al.) *Concilios Visigóticos e Hispano-Romanos*, Madrid 1963, pp. 78-106; See also my «Missionary Labors», pp. 15-16; The reign of Miro is covered by John of Biclaro, but does not mention at all Martin's close rapport with this monarch. I have dealt with this latter aspect in my «The Sueves in the *Chronica* of John of Biclaro». *Latomus* 46 (1987) 201-203; more specifically in «The omission of St. Martin of Braga in John of Biclaro's *Chronica* and the Third Council of Toledo», *Los visigodos. Historia y Civilización, Antigüedad y Cristianismo*, 3, Murcia 1986, pp. 145-148.

Martin specifically points out Miro's favorable disposition to Catholicism and their correspondence: «You often write to my humble self and ask me to keep sending your worthiness some letter of advice or exhortation, whatever words I may have to offer»³². Nevertheless, this treatise gives us a glimpse of the collaborative efforts that the bishop and the king maintained in Galicia. We should not underestimate the bishop's rapport with the Suevic throne. This attempt to guide the secular powers to support the Church proved to be quite successful and explains in part the relative success of evangelization even at the local level.

Caesarius of Arles in Gaul likewise encouraged those in authority, especially landowners, to prohibit pagan practices or heretical doctrines in their estates. the bishop encouraged them:

Et ideo quicumque aut in agro suo, aut in villa, aut iuxta villam aliquas arbores aut aras vel quaelibet fana habuerit, ubi miseri homines solent aliqua vota reddere, si eas non destruxerit atque succiderit, in illis sacrilegiis, quae ibi facta fuerint, sine dubio particeps erit³³.

Actualization of these admonitions were inconsistent, as one might expect. Some ignored such bellicose activities, while others undoubtedly carried them out with ferocity. Even with such support, whether the king or landowner at the local level, the fight against paganism always remained a formidable one. Even though bishops in late antique Gaul occupied a powerful place in society, they were not immune to the whim of powerful secular authorities³⁴. On two separate occasions Caesarius was summoned to the courts of Alaric II (487-507) and Theodoric (475-526) to clear himself of charges of treason, which he did successfully³⁵. Despite these circumstances, it was imperative for Martin and Caesarius to cooperate with the secular rulers if they hoped to achieve any kind of success.

Martin's and Caesarius' contemporaries were well aware of the importance of the throne in conversion. One of the most well-known examples appears in the pages of Bede concerning the Augustinian mission sent by Pope Gregory the Great. Augustine had it as his priority to meet first with Ethelbert, King of Kent, even though at that juncture the king was still a pagan, yet married to a Catholic, and open-minded enough to grant the missionaries an audience³⁶. Granted that it was proper protocol to pay homage to the king first, it made sense for the missionaries to target the throne at the outset, rather than attempting to initiate a conversion first at the local level. An important element in these matters is that most monarchs perceived their realms not only as being in their care or custody, but as their own personal property; thus one would need the approval of such an «owner» to carry out any kind of missionary activity. The missionaries were aware that the difficult task of evangelization needed all the support that it could muster, especially since experience demonstrated that even under the best of circumstances their work remained an arduous one. Early medieval chronicles invariably record «official» conversions of peoples by the throne and do not really reflect

32. *Formula vitae honestae*, in *Martini Episcopi*, pp. 236-37; «Gloriosissimo ac tranquillissimo et insigni catholicae fidei praedito pietate Mironi rege Martinus humilis episcopus. Non ignoro, clementissime rex, flagrantissimam tui animi sitim sapientiae insatiabiliter poculis inhiare eaque te ardentem, quibus moralis scientiae rivuli manant, fuenta requirere et ob hoc humilitatem meam tuis saepius litteris admoneri ut dignationi tuae crebro aliquid per epistolam scribens aut consultationis aut exhortationis alicuius etsi qualicumque sint offeram dicta».

33. SANCTI CAESARII ARELATENSIS, *Sermo* 54 (5), vol. 103, p. 239.

34. GREGORII EPISCOPI TURONENSIS, *Historianum libri decem*, vol. 1. Desideratus, Bishop of Verdun, was persecuted by Theuderic, III-34 (p. 186); bishop Injuriosus refuses to pay tribute to Lothar, and departs [under pressure] IV-1 (p. 194); Palladius, son of Count Britanus persecutes and accuses falsely, Bishop Parthenius, IV-39 (pp. 248-50); references of this type are replete in most of the Merovingian sources. See also the works by K. F. STROHEKER, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien*, Tübingen 1948; ID., *Germanentum und Spätantike*, Zurich/Stuttgart 1965; F. PRINZ, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung*, 4. bis 8. Jahrhundert, Munich 1965.

35. MUELLER, *Caesarius of Arles*, p. VIII-XI; See also *Vita s. Caesarii episcopi*: MPL 67: 1008-1016.

36. VENERABLE BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*, I-23, 24, 25 (pp. 68-76).

the superficial nature of some at this level. The real challenge was to effect the conversion beyond the throne at all levels of society. Nevertheless, it was a start in the long road towards establishing a church—from king to peasant—true to orthodox teaching and practice.

One final example of an official conversion is closer to Martin's experience, the Visigothic throne at Toledo. The conversion of King Reccared to Catholicism in 587, later made public in 589 at the Third Council of Toledo, marked the end of Arianism³⁷. The little resistance Reccared encountered after this official declaration from the Arian bishops is indicative of the relative weakness of that heresy. Most of our sources, with the exception of Gregory of Tours, give strong evidence that Leander of Seville and Eutropius of Servitanum played a major role behind the scenes at the court of Toledo that resulted in the conversion of the Visigoths³⁸. Leander had already been active in «high places» during the reign of Leovigild, primarily seeking the support of the Byzantines for Hermenegild, Leovigild's rebellious son³⁹. Soon after the attempted coup by Hermenegild failed, he was executed for his treasonous acts⁴⁰. Leovigild died, then Hermenegild's brother Reccared assumed the Visigothic throne, presumably still an Arian. Leander continued to have a prominent place in spite of this change in leadership and played an active role persuading Reccared to adopt the orthodox faith, abjure Arianism, and call a council to make such a change of faith an official declaration. Leander was a prominent figure at the Third Council of Toledo, in which he gave the closing homily to that meeting⁴¹. The correspondence between Gregory the Great and Leander also emphasizes the prominent role that the bishop of Seville assumed during Reccared's reign, which led also to the king's conversion. John of Biclarum also singled out Leander and Eutropius as the principal clergy who made this momentous event a possibility⁴². All of the efforts to sway monarchs or landowners to favor orthodoxy were not perceived as a quick resolution to the problems of evangelization, but as a means to facilitate the demanding task of pastoral care. The real challenge was always to penetrate the deeply rooted paganism in the countryside; although usually the results here did not manifest themselves speedily⁴³.

Persistent Paganism

Martin and Caesarius were indefatigable warriors against paganism, but each maintained distinct views on how to deal with, or rectify, the persistent pagan practices in their respective provinces. Jeffrey Richards expresses the commonly held view in regard to both bishops that «Opinions on how to deal with the recalcitrant peasant varied.

37. VIVES, *Concilios*, pp. 107-145; See my article, «The Omission of St. Martin of Braga», pp. 147-148; TEILLET, *Des Goths*, pp. 446-455.

38. JOHN OF BICLARUM, *Chronica*, MGH A.A. XI: 219; «Summa tamen synodalis negotii penes sanctum Leandrum Hispalensis ecclesiae episcopum et beatissimum Eutropium monasterii Servitani abbatem fuit». See also ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *De viris illustribus* (ed.) Codoñer, pp. 149-150. Leander's role is not mentioned in Isidore's, *Historia gothorum*, nor in Gregory's, *Historiarum libri decem*, vol. 1, IV-38 (p. 248); V-38 (p. 348-352); vol. 2, VI-18 (p. 36); VI-40 (pp. 70-74); VI-43 (pp. 76-78); VIII-28 (p. 194).

39. See note 18 above.

40. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Historia gothorum*, MGH A.A. XI: 287; JOHN OF BICLARUM, *Chronica*, MGH A.A. XI: 215-17; and Gregorii episcopi turonensis, *Historiarum libri decem*, see citations above in note 38. Consult LUIS VÁZQUEZ DE PARGA, *San Hermengildo ante las fuentes históricas*, Madrid 1973; The most recent analysis by, BIAGIO SAITTA, «Un momento di disgregazione nel regno visigoto di spagna: La rivolta di Ermenegildo», *Quaderni Catanesi* (Catania) 1, 1, 1979, 81-134.

41. VIVES, *Concilios*, pp. 139-145.

42. JOHN OF BICLARUM, *Chronica*, MGH A.A. XI: 219; See also note 38 above. Gregory's letters are in, S. GREGORII MAGNI, *Opera: Registrum epistularum Libri VIII, XIV, Appendix*, Corpus Christianorum, series latina, CXLA, Turnholti 1982, pp. 802-811.

43. MCKENNA, *Paganism and pagan survivals*, pp. 75-151; FERREIRO, «St. Martin of Braga's policy», pp. 372-395; J. N. HILLGARTH, «Popular religion in Visigothic Spain», *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, (ed.) EDWARD JAMES, Oxford 1980, pp. 3-60; H. G. J. BECK, *The Pastoral care of souls in South-East France during the sixth century*, Rome 1950; JUSTO FERNÁNDEZ ALONSO, *La cura pastoral en la España romanovisigoda*, Roma-Madrid 1955; PIERRE RICHÉ, *Education and culture in the barbarian West* (trans. JOHN J. CONTRENI) University of South Carolina Press, 1976.

Caesarius wanted to beat it out of them... Martin believed in the use of persuasion and reasoned argument to win them over»⁴⁴. The one principle that both bishops concurred in was to be «rid of paganism» once and for all. In an earlier study I argued in favor of Martin's «pacifism», but in retrospect some of these views have to be qualified⁴⁵.

The primary problem we encounter in Martin's case is the paucity of evidence. We possess only one source that addresses at any length pagan practices, his *De castigatione rusticorum*. We also have the canons of the Second Council of Braga (572), but they do reflect not *only* Martin's view, but that of the bishops gathered together⁴⁶. It is primarily on this homily alone that modern scholars, including myself, have argued a case for Martin's «reasoned» approach to deal with paganism. Similar moderate pacifist or reasonable attitudes are to be found in Caesarius of Arles, too, but as we shall see this was only one of several attitudes held by this particular bishop. Even though we have only a *single* homily in Martin's case, there is room for a variety of attitudes to surface. Within the context of attitudes held by many of his contemporaries, Martin very likely would have *not* dissuaded the Suevic kings to use moderate repressive measures. Although pillaging of shrines would be heartily encouraged, for example, most of the missionaries resorted primarily to preaching. We have already demonstrated that secular rulers were expected to suppress unbelief in all of its forms. Martin undoubtedly would have concurred with them on this matter, yet at the same time he discouraged cruel physical punishment, especially death. Martin of Tours is an excellent example of one who heartily pillaged shrines, yet at once defended the heretic Priscillian from the machinations of Maximus. We should not equate pillaging of shrines with physical coercion of individuals; one could engage in the former without necessarily resorting to the latter⁴⁷.

Paucity of evidence is no problem at all with Caesarius. Rather, the voluminous correspondence of his that has survived requires an entire separate study. Here only a few general remarks can be made that are relevant to this initial inquiry. The bishop of Arles, similarly to Martin in several homilies, warns about the dangers of paganism and in a real sense «reasons» with them to abandon such beliefs and practices. The similarities between these particular sermons and the *De castigatione rusticorum* has led some to posit that perhaps Martin borrowed directly from Caesarius, but research has yet to demonstrate specific borrowings⁴⁸. Caesarius' homilies, in any case, yield a much broader sketch of his overall attitude in these matters; that is, in many instances he was not so «reasonable» in his approach. One can almost sense the frustration or taxed patience that Caesarius experienced when pagans or Christians who reverted to paganism did not heed his advice to shun pagan beliefs. In the moments, Caesarius abandoned

44. *Consul of God: Life and Times of Gregory the Great*, London 1980, p. 19. See my «St. Martin of Braga's policy», pp. 380-81; MCKENNA, *Paganism and pagan survivals*, pp. 84-107; especially, p. 104.

45. FERREIRO, «St. Martin of Braga's policy», pp. 372-395.

46. VIVES, *Concilios* (Braga II, 572) pp. 85-106; Numerous canons in this council address paganism; Canon 71 (p. 103). «Si quis paganorum consuetudinem sequens divinos et sortilegos in domo sua introduxerit, quasi ut malum foras mittant aut maleficia inveniant sequens divinos et sortilegos in domo sua introduxerit, quasi ut malum foras mittant aut maleficia inveniant vel lustrationes paganorum faciant, quinque annis poenitentiam agant». See also canons, 67, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, pp. 102-104.

47. SEE HYDATIUS, *Chronica*, MGH A.A. XI: 15; In GREGORII EPISCOPI TURONENSIS *Historiarum libri decem*, vol. 1, I-36 (p. 40); I-39 (p. 42); vol. 2, X-31, 3 (p. 400); The latter reads, on pagans, «Multos paganorum converti fecit, templa eorum statuasque confregit, fecitque multa signa in populos, ita ut ante episcopatum duos suscicaret mortuos, post episcopatum autem unum tantummodo suscitavit». On Priscillian the same chapter reads in part, «Hic prohibuit Maximum, ne gladium in Hispania ad interficiendos destinaret haereticos, quibus sufficeret statuit, quod a catholicorum ecclesiis erat vel communione remoti». Consult also the insightful remarks on these matters by CLARE STANCLIFFE, *St. Martin and his hagiographer*, on Priscillian, pp. 278-296; on paganism, pp. 328-340.

48. BARLOW, *Martini episcopi*, p. 164; The similarities between Martin's *De castigatione* and Caesarius seem much more pronounced in the latter's sermons, especially *Sermo* 54(5), vol. 103, pp. 238-239; and *Sermo* 193(4), vol. 104, p. 785, wherein references are made to rural superstitions and the alleged origin of various Greek gods.

a «reasonable» approach and rather, advocated corporal coercion as a remedy, he thundered,

Si vero ad vos pertinent, etiam flagellis caedite, ut vel plagam corporis timeant, qui de animae suae salute non cogitant⁴⁹.

He was very careful not to advocate anywhere mortal punishment⁵⁰. Those who administered physical punishment were the secular landowners, not the clergy. This does not absolve Caesarius or any of the clergymen. What we are witnessing in Caesarius, including the Church at large, is the actualization of the *Miles Christi* metaphor, which in later centuries will reach its somewhat dubious fruition in the Crusades and Military Orders. In either case, neither policy, whether reasoned persuasion or suppression, made much headway in eradicating paganism. The Church vacillated between both attitudes; noteworthy are Martin of Tours and Gregory the Great⁵¹. The problems pagan culture posed for the Church other than the pagan idol or ritual was the legacy of pagan literature.

Lectio pagana

The tension between pagan and divine knowledge is a dilemma the Church has had to deal with seemingly from its inception. Paul had asked, «Where is the philosopher and scholar of this Age?» (I Cor 1: 20), anticipating the negative response. Yet Paul, when he is on Mars' Hill, in the book of Acts (Acts 17: 16-34), seems to be much more open to the philosophy of the pagans. He points to the monument of the «Unknown God» and he says that «What you worship as something unknown I am going to proclaim to you», namely Jesus Christ. The clear implication here is that the pagans were on the right track; that is, had received some type of divine revelation—which Paul expounds upon in his letter to the Romans (1: 18-20)—and that now the fullness of revelation has arrived. This tension between pagan and divine truth was elaborated much more fully by the early Church Fathers, especially beginning with Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. Likewise, Tertullian asked what became of oft quoted rhetorical question, «What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?» obviously anticipating a negative response. Clement of Alexandria addressed this same issue but his response to Tertullian's position was in the affirmative; that both fonts of truth have plenty in common⁵². Martin and Caesarius had to address this same issue in which, in symbolic

49. *Sermo* 13 (5) vol. 1, p. 68; also *Sermo* 53, vol. 1, pp. 233-235; on paganism in Gaul see, in addition to the works already cited in note 43; E. MÂLE, *La fin du paganisme en Gaule et les plus anciennes basiliques chrétiennes*, Paris 1950; VACANDARD, E., «L'idolâtrie en Gaule au VIe et au VIIe siècle», *Revue des questions historiques* 65, 1899, 424-54; E. GRIFFE, «Une messe du Ve siècle en l'honneur de saint Saturnin de Toulouse», *Revue du moyen âge latin* 5, 1951, pp. 5-18; ID., *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine; la cité chrétienne*, Paris 1965; L. MAITRE, «Les débuts du christianisme en Gaule; Les martyrs et les monuments. Témoins de leur culte», *Revue d'histoire de la église de France* 4, 1913, pp. 5-27; J. GAUDEMET, «La discipline pénitentielle en Gaule du IVe au VIIe siècle», *Revue de droit canonique* 3, 1953, 233-238.

50. The church attempted to keep this volatile interaction between pagans and Christians under control, a good example is the Council of Elvira (c. 300/306) in canon 60; «Si quis idola fregerit et ibidem fuerit occisus, quatenus in evangelio scriptum non est neque invenietur sub apostolis umquam factum, placuit in numerum eum non recipi martyrum». In VIVES, *Concilios*, p. 12. See also the remarks by Hillgarth, 'Popular Religion', pp. 11-18; 48-49; STANCLIFFE, *St. Martin*, pp. 328-332.

51. GREGORII EPISCOPI TURONENSIS, *Historiarum libri decem*, vol. 1, I-39 (p. 42); vol. 2, X-31 (400); See the remarks of Gregory the Great in VENERABLE BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History*, I-30, pp. 30-31. «Cum ergo Deus omnipotens uos ad reuerentissimum uirum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractaui; uidelicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant, sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur, aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria constuantur, reliquiae ponantur. Quia, si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequi ueri Dei debeant commutari, ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non uidet destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum uerum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quae consuevit familiariter concurrat».

52. TERTULLIAN, *On prescription against heretics*, Chapter VII, p. 246. In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3, Michigan 1976; CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *The Stromata, or Miscellanies*, Chapters XIX-XXI, pp. 321-334. In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2, Michigan 1977.

manner, the spirit of Clement and Tertullian was made manifest, respectively. The bulk of the pagan population, both literate and unlettered, were at a different level making similar choices between «Athens and Jerusalem». In the same manner that many educated pagans who converted to Christianity attempted to integrate pagan philosophy, the uneducated pagans at the local level similarly selectively assimilated those practices which in their own minds were compatible with their faith. Whether it was a pagan altar or pagan literature, the bishops adopted attitudes that were polarized between the views of Tertullian and of Clement.

Caesarius of Arles maintained a stern uncompromising view of pagan literature. Caesarius did not adopt such an attitude until he had already been instructed in pagan learning. The *Vita sancti caesarii* provides us with valuable information on this matter. Early in his training, Caesarius was a pupil of an African rhetorician Pomerius, who instructed this young impressionable monk for a short time. The *Vita* goes on to relate that one night, in a dream, a dragon appeared to Caesarius which proceeded to devour his arm. The Lord then spoke to Caesarius to inform him that the «Dragon» represents the perfidious poison of pagan philosophy which leads to damnation, and that it should be shunned immediately. Caesarius naturally resolved to obey the Lord from that moment on⁵³. The story bears a striking resemblance to Jerome's vision, but unlike him, Caesarius seems to have remained steadfast in his rejection of pagan culture. Some are quick to point out that classical influences remained in his syntax and grammar, but clearly this position begs the question. In order to ascertain a clearer perception of Caesarius' position, it might be wise to consider the following questions: the audience to whom Caesarius directed his admonitions; and the nature and purpose of the *Vita sancti caesarii*.

The aim of the *Vita sancti caesarii*, as is true of most hagiographies, is to set forth paradigms to be emulated by its readers in order to lead lives that are pleasing to God. The fact that hagiographies engage in «model» making does not necessarily make them useless as historical sources, or more specifically, not at all reflecting actual events. To undervalue the significance of hagiographies would be rash, as J. N. Hillgarth has admonished us⁵⁴. This does not relieve the researcher of the difficult task of determining what aspects of the *Vita sancti caesarii* do or do not correspond to actual events. The one aspect we are interested in confirming here is Caesarius' rejection of pagan thought. One way to arrive at some kind of confirmation is to determine if we can find a consistent or divergent attitude on the part of the bishop, in works other than the *Vita*. Caesarius' uncompromising rejection of the pagans is clearly brought out in his volu-

53. *Vita Sancti Caesarii episcopi*, MPL 67: 1004-05; «Erat autem ipsis personis familiarissimus quidam Pomerius nomine, scientia rhetor, Aler genere, quem ibi singularem et clarum grammaticae artis doctrina reddebat. Sed eruditionis humanae figmenta non recepit, quem instruendum per se sibi divina gratia praeparavit. Librum itaque quem ei legendum doctor tradiderat, casu vigilia lassatus in lectulo sub scapula sua posuit: supra quem cum nihilominus obdormisset, mox divinus terribili visione percellitur; et in soporem aliquantulum resolutus, videt quasi scapulam in qua jacebat, brachiumque quo innixus fuerat codici, dracone colligante corrodi... Igitur contempsit haec protinus». Gregory of Tours makes mention of those who were educated in humane letters, *Historiarum libri decem*, vol. 1, III-33 (p. 186); IV-12 (pp. 206-210); V-37 (p. 348); vol. 2, VI-7 (p. 20); VI-9 (pp. 22-24); VI-24 (pp. 40-44); VI-36 (pp. 62-66); Gregory ends his *Historiarum* with a clear reference to humane letters, X-31 (p. 414), «Quod si te, o sacerdos Dei, quicumque es, Martianus noster septem disciplinis erudiit, id est, si te in grammaticis docuit legere, in dialecticis altercationum propositiones advertere, in rethoricis genera metrorum agnoscere, in geometricis terrarum linearumque mensuras colligere, in astrologiis cursus siderum contemplare, in arithmeticis numerorum partes colligere, in armoniis sonorum modulationes suavium accentuum carminibus concrepare; si in his omnibus ita fueris exercitatus, ut tibi stilus noster sit rusticus, nec sic quoque, deprecor, ut avellas quae scripsi. Sed si tibi in his quiddam placuerit, salvo opere nostro te scribere versu non abnuo. Hos enim libros in anno XXI, ordinationis nostrae perscripsimus»; See the remarks by RICÉ, *Education and Culture*, pp. 193-194; also his *Liber vitae patrum*, MGH SRM, tome I, Pars II. Gregorius of Langers, VII-1, p. 687, «igitur sanctus Gregorius ex senatoribus primis, bene litteris institutus, Agustidunensis civitatis comitatum ambivit...». Abbot Patroclus, mentions the education of brother Antonius, IX-I, p. 702. «Igitur beatissimus Patroclus, Biturigi territorii incola, Aetherio patre progenitus, cum decim esset annorum, pastor ovium destinature, Fratrem Antonio traditum ad studia litterarum». See the English edition by EDWARD JAMES, *Gregory of Tours. Life of the Fathers*, Translated texts for historians: Latin series 1, Liverpool 1985. PIERRE RICÉ points out that Gregory regretted not having studied profane letters in his youth, *Education and Culture*, p. 191, notes 96-97; See also pages 193-206.

minous *Sermones*, where he addressed this specific issue in numerous places. His warning against paganism was directed at two distinct groups: the educated and unlettered. Even so, for Caesarius, there was absolutely no distinction made whatsoever between the teaching of a rhetorician or a ritual at a sacred grove⁵⁵. This will come into sharper relief when we turn our attention shortly to Martin of Braga. Caesarius' attitude seemed most apropos within the milieu of rural pastoral missionary work.

The pervasive nature of pagan influence, in its literary or ritualistic form, cut across all social boundaries, influencing both the laity and clergy. A large bulk of homiletical/conciliar sources of this era devote an enormous amount of dialogue to this aspect of late antique culture⁵⁶. It was self-evident to the bishop of Arles that compromise was clearly out of the question, since it could only confuse what seemed to be an already inconsistent state of affairs; the intermingling of pagan culture with orthodoxy. The bishop of Arles was fully persuaded that pagan «high» culture or its rural pagan ritualistic manifestation stemmed from the same perfidious tree, whose fruit is damnation. Caesarius makes absolutely no distinction between what one might call «high» and «low» culture. The bishop, in his attempt to maintain a purist attitude to pagan culture, therefore would certainly not entertain any kind of synthesis or rapprochement. Caesarius' efforts to curb the fusion of pagan and Christian rituals were frustrated at every turn. In the final analysis rural pagans, like their more educated urban counterparts, determined to synthesize, whether consciously or not, their pagan beliefs and rituals with their newly found orthodoxy, and this may explain a great deal the «anxiety» that emerges in some of his homilies.

Some bishops did not maintain such a strong dualistic view of truth, but instead worked hard to formate a *via media* in which some distinctions are made in regard to pagan culture, with the goal of synthesizing the two without sacrificing orthodoxy at the altar of antiquity. Such is the attitude and effort that one encounters in St. Martin of Braga.

The bishop of Braga embodied «Clement's» view of pagan culture, which at once recognized its shortcomings, but likewise affirmed its value. Martin's attitude at one level is strikingly similar to that of Caesarius', wherein he also warns about the danger of paganism. He is also of the opinion that both pagan rituals and philosophy flow from the same font of error; he does differentiate the degree of error, which Caesarius obviously did not. Martin unhesitatingly condemns rural paganism in his *De castigatione rusticorum*, a sermon directed at the clergy, too. Again, we must also include both Councils of Braga (561, 572) in which he played a decisive role, and where one finds further condemnations and warnings against pagan beliefs⁵⁷. At this juncture, both bishops are in full accord, admonishing their flock (unlettered pagans) not even to consider compromise (synthesis) at this level. When Martin directs his attention to pagan «high culture», or the writings of those educated in *Letters*, he departs dramatically from Caesarius. Even though the Martinian «corpus» is rather brief in some of his other works, we are introduced to a most revealing «other» attitude. This is especially true in his treatise, the *Formula vitae honestae*, directed to King Miro, where the influence of Seneca is overwhelming. Additionally, Venantius Fortunatus (530-605)

55. Caesarius makes his view on philosophical writings known in several of his sermons, *Sermo* 1 (5-6) (20-21) vol. 103, pp. 4-5; 16-17; *Sermo* 4, vol. 103, pp. 21-25; *Sermo* 6, vol. 103, pp. 30-36; *Sermo* 7, vol. 103, pp. 36-40; *Sermo* 8, vol. 103, pp. 40-45. These are but a sample of the many other references and allusions that one finds in his homiliary. See the illuminating remarks by PIERRE RICHÉ, *Education and Culture*, pp. 86-95; Also useful the discussion on pp. 95-99; 113-116. Consult, P. AUDIN «Césaire d'Arles et le maintien de pratiques païennes dans la Provence du VI^e siècle», in *La Patrie Gauloise d'Aggiapa au VI^e siècle*. Actes du colloque Lyon 1981, Lyon 1983, pp. 327-340; S. FELICI, «La catechesi al popolo di S. Cesario di Arles», *Salesianum* 41, 1979, 375-392; E. GRIFFE, «A travers les paroisses rurales de la Gaule au VI^e siècle», *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 76, 1975, 3-26; ID., «L'idéal pastorale selon Saint Césaire d'Arles», *BLE* 81, 1980, 50-54.

56. See the works cited in note 43.

57. MARTIN OF BRAGA, *De castigatione rusticorum*, in *Martini Episcopi*, pp. 159-203; VIVES, *Concilios* (Braga I), pp. 65-77; (Braga II), pp. 78-106. See note 46 above.

mentions that Martin was not only familiar with the Church Fathers, but also with the Stoics, Peripatetics, and Plato. We do not have specific evidence to assess the level of Martin's acquaintance with these classical sources. His profound familiarity with Seneca is undisputed, however⁵⁸. In any case, Martin's knowledge of certain humane letters, even if some had been at a superficial level, may perhaps explain Gregory of Tours' remark that «he [Martin] was 'second to none in learning'»⁵⁹. Martin's reputation was based on both his pastoral/scholarly abilities; he did not feel pressured to abandon one for the other but instead managed to pursue both with remarkable results. The goal of Martin's attempted synthesis of things classical was to incorporate those teachings that were compatible with Christian ethics, or what is commonly known as the «safe classics».

Conclusion

In many respects, this study has attempted only to initiate a preliminary inquiry into certain aspects of Martin's and Caesarius' missionary pastoral work in Galicia and Gaul. Together both bishops are more than merely representative of missionary activities in general; for this paper has attempted to demonstrate that they also maintained some distinctive approaches and perspectives in their pastoral work. Undoubtedly the ave-

58. CLAUDE W. BARLOW notes this in his *Martini Episcopi*, pp. 61, note 8; 145; 205; There are also other works that have dealt with Martin's classical background; BAELOW, «A sixth-century epitome of Seneca, *de ira*», *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 68, 1937, 26-42; Sister MARY PETRONILLA FRANCOEUR, «The relationship in thought and language between Lucius Annaeus Seneca and Martin of Braga». Diss. University of Michigan 1944; A. DE MIRANDA E BARBOSA, «O senequismo dos opúsculos morais de S. Martinho Dumiense», *Bracara Augusta* 5, 1954, 259-71; BARLOW, «Seneca in the Middle Ages», *Classical World* 35, 1941-1942, 257; A. BRÁSIO, «S. Matinho de Dume, Missionário e moralista», *Anais* 28, 1982, 353-68; M. FERREIRA DE SOUSA, «O 'De ira' de Seneca e de S. Martinho de Dume», *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, Braga, 6, 1950, 388-97; A. FONTÁN, «Martín de Braga, un testigo de la tradición clásica y cristiana», *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 9, 1974-79, 331-41; K. A. BLÜHER, *Seneca in Spanien: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Seneca-Rezeption in Spanien vom 13 bis 17 Jahrhundert*, München 1969, pp. 22-31; A. LIEFOOGHE, «Les idées morales de Santi Martin de Braga», *Mélanges de science religieuse* 11, 1954, 133-46; A. DE MIRANDA E BARBOSA, «O senequismo medieval e o corpus Martinianum», *Biblos* 41, 1965, 181-191; J. L. MORALEJA ALVAREZ, «Los helenismos en el léxico de San Martín Dumiense», *Compostellanum* 12, 1967, 157-199; M. P. F. DE SOUSA, «A filosofia moral de S. Martinho de Dume em analogias senequistas», *Revista Portuguesa de filosofia*, Braga, 36, 1980, 20-59; S. TAVARES, «O senequismo de S. Martinho de Dume», *Revista Portuguesa de filosofia*, Braga, 6, 1950, 381-387; ALSO VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, *Carminum libri*, in *Martini Episcopi*, pp. 294-98; especially, «Nam quod refertis, in litteris post Stoicam Peripateticamque censuram me theologiae ac theoriae tirocinio mancipatum, agnosco quid amor faciat, cum et non merentes exornat. Cur tamen, bone pater, in me reflectis quod tuum est ac de me publice profers quod tibi privatum est? Cum prima sint vobis nota et secunda domestica; nam Plato Aristoteles Chrysippus vel Pittacus cum mihi vix opinione noti sin nec legenti Hilarius Gregorius Ambrosius Augustinusque vel, si visione noti fierent, dormitanti; et ego vere senserim (eo quod copiae artium apud vos velut in commune diversorium convenerunt) ipsa vobis tenacius quae sunt caelo propinquius, quia non oblectamini tam pompa dogmatum quam norma virtutum. Unde proculdubio caelestium clientela factus es cleantharum». Consult S. Blomgren, «In venantii Fortunati carmina adnotaciones novae», *Eranos* 69, 1971, 104-150; A. IGLESIAS ALVARIÑO, *Venancio Fortunato. Gallicense Carmen*, Pontevedra 1950; A. MORALEJO LASA, «Sobre el sentido de unos versos de Venancio Fortunato a San Martín dumiense en relación con la tradición jacobea», *Compostellanum* 3, 1958, 341-47. [Also in *Bracara Augusta* 9-10, 1958-1959, 18-24].

59. GREGORII episcopi turonesis, *Historiarum libri decem*, in *Martini Episcopi*, p. 300. «Hoc tempore et beatus Martinus Galliciensis Episcopus obiit, magnum populo illi faciens planctum (cf. Act., 8: 2) Nam hic Pannoniae ortus fuit, et exinde ad visitanda loca sancta in Oriente properans, in tantum se litteris inbuat, ut nulli secundus suis temporibus haberetur. Exinde Gallitiam venit, ubi, cum beati Martini reliquiae portarentur, episcopus ordinatur. In quo sacerdotio impletis plus minus triginta annis, plenus virtutibus migravit ad Dominum. Versiculos qui super ostium sunt a parte meridiana in Basilica sancti Martini, ipse composuit». ISIDORE OF SEVILLE in his *De viris illustribus* likewise points to Martin's learned background, *Martini Episcopi*, pp. 301. «Chapter 35. Martinus Dumiensis monasterii sanctissimus Pontifex, ex Orientis partibus navigans, in Gallaeciam venit, ibique conversis ab Ariana impietate ad fidem Catholicam Suevorum populus, regulam fidei et sanctae religionis constituit, ecclesias confirmavit, monasteria condidit, copiasque praecepta pia institutionis composuit. Cuis quidem ego ipse legi *librum de Differentiis quatuor virtutum*, et aliud *volumen Epistolarum*, in quibus hortatur vitae emendationem, et conversationem fidei, orationis instantiam et elemosynarum distributionem et super omnia cultum virtutum omnium et pietatem. Floruit, regnante Theodemiro Rege Suevorum, temporibus illis, quibus Iustinianus in republica et Athanagildus in Hispaniis imperium tenuerunt».

nues of inquiry yet to be tapped are legion. The following are representative only of those which further reflection and study will occupy my attention in future inquiries:

1. References to paganism/heresy are so numerous in the homilies of Caesarius that it merits a full study. Such a study will certainly illumine our understanding of Caesarius' perspective and will yield us greater insight concerning attitudes and practices at the local level, particularly in southern France.
2. Most research on late antique Gaul usually focuses exclusively on the work of Gregory of Tours. Inasmuch as this is desirable, the place and role of Caesarius has yet to be fully explored and appreciated. To explore through comparative analysis the respective «worldviews» that Caesarius and Gregory held would help us gain a clearer idea of the mindset of sixth-century Gaul, both in the North and South.
3. The proliferation of Martin's works in the Middle Ages has yet to be assessed fully, particularly the diffusion of his most popular treatise, the *Formula vitae honestae*⁶⁰.

60. There have been very few studies that have dealt with his aspect of Martin's works, among them are, H. HASELBACH, *Sèneque des VIII vertus la 'Formula vitae honestae' de Martin de Braga (pseudo-Sèneque) traduite et glosée par Jean Courtecuisse (1403); étude et édition critique*, Berne 1975; M. DE MARCO, «Per la storia della fortuna della 'Formula vitae honestae' di S. Martino di Braga», *Aevum* 34, 1960, 571-72; M. MARTINS, «A 'Formula vitae honestae' em Jean Courtecuisse e Cristina de Pisano», *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 12, Braga 1956, 125-137; ID., «A 'Formula vitae honestae' de S. Martino de Dume em disticos latinos», *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 20, Braga 1964, 314-321.