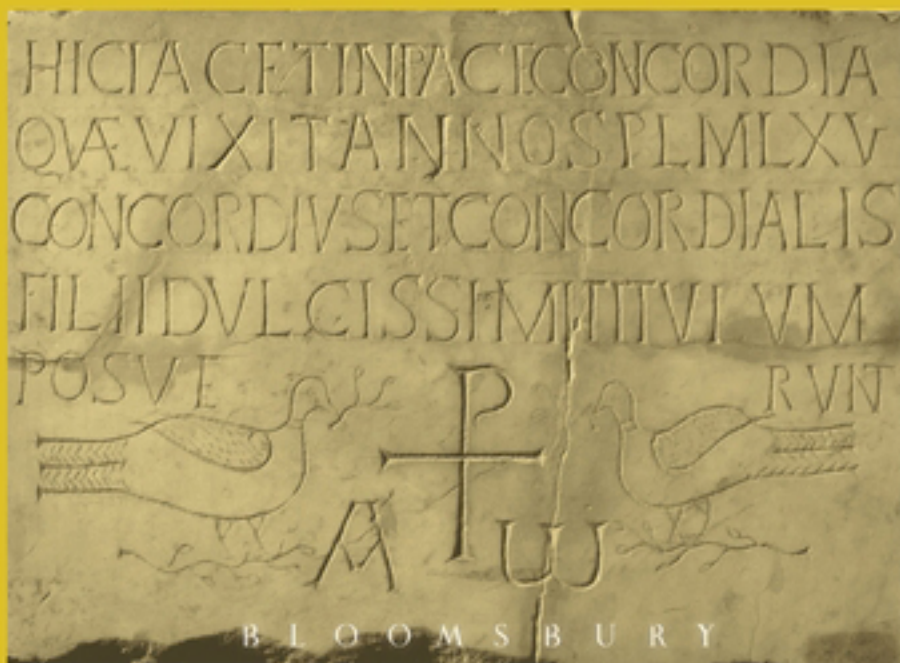


Lisa Kaaren Bailey

THE RELIGIOUS WORLDS
OF THE LAITY IN LATE
ANTIQUE GAUL



The Religious Worlds of the Laity in Late Antique Gaul

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Note on Translations

For the reader's convenience I have generally referred to published translations wherever these are available and suitable, although I have supplied my own versions where I felt that appropriate. Scriptural translations are those of the *Revised Standard Version* unless the primary source departs substantially from that text. Where no translator is noted, the translation is my own. Names of authors are given in Latin versions except where there is a widely accepted Anglicized alternative.

Abbreviations

AS	<i>Acta sanctorum</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus christianorum series latina</i>
GC	<i>Liber in gloria confessorum</i>
GM	<i>Liber in gloria martyrum</i>
FC	<i>Fathers of the Church</i>
LH	<i>Libri historiarum decem</i>
MGH AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Auctores antiquissimi</i>
MGH Leges	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Leges</i>
MGH SRM	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus series latina</i>
RICG	<i>Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule</i>
SC	<i>Sources chrétiennes</i>
VBM	<i>Libri de virtutibus sancti Martini episcopi</i>
VJ	<i>Liber de passione et virtutibus sancti Iuliani martyris</i>
VP	<i>Liber vitae patrum</i>

Introduction

Most Christians in late antique Gaul were lay. They were baptized members of the church, who had not been ordained and did not live in organized religious communities as monks or nuns.¹ This book explores the religious worlds of those lay Christians. It takes a two-pronged approach. First and foremost, it is an attempt to reconstruct the religious experiences and environments of that vast, yet largely silent and too often overlooked majority of the Christian population. To this end, it explores how religion was manifested in their physical worlds, how they engaged ritually with Christianity, how they behaved, what they knew about their religion and what they believed. It argues that lay people were active and important in the development of Christianity as a community religion.² However, the book also analyses how and why clergy and ascetics used the category 'lay'.³ The boundaries around the laity and definitions of what it meant to be lay changed according to the needs of those who deployed the term. Yet despite this artificial and constructed nature, the category had profound implications for all late antique Christians. As the Penitential of Finnian put it, the penance of a layman (*laicus*) was less than that of a cleric (*clericus*) even when they committed the same sin, because the layman is 'a man of this world (*homo seculi hujus*) and his guilt is lighter in this world and his reward less in the world to come'.⁴ There were different behavioural expectations for clergy and laity, different consequences for religious misbehaviour, and different rewards in the afterlife. Although these two prongs of constructions and lived realities require different approaches, and the posing of different questions, they must be considered together. How the church defined the laity as a category helped to determine what religious experiences lay people could and did have. Furthermore, since most of our evidence for the religious worlds of the laity comes from clerical sources, any analysis has to engage constantly with the question of how they were presented and distorted in our sources.

The term ‘religious worlds’ encompasses both of these aspects of the study. It includes the experiences and environments of Gallic lay Christians as well as the ways in which their worlds were shaped by the expectations and demands of the church as an institution. It is also particularly appropriate because clergy and ascetics frequently referred to the laity as the ‘people of the world’ – the *saeculares*. By this, they meant that lay Christians were those Christians who continued to engage in ‘worldly’ pursuits such as marriage, warfare, and economic activities. The clergy and ascetics, on the other hand, presented themselves as people who were ‘unworldly’ and who had devoted themselves to lives of religion instead of engaging in secular concerns. In practice, the distinction was seldom so straightforward – these were the ideals, not the realities. Nonetheless, ‘worldliness’ was central to the clerical definition of what it meant to be lay. My task is to examine what the worlds of these lay people may have looked like.

In order to address the big issues around the development of the Christian church and the experiences of the majority of its members, I have chosen to focus on a particular place and a particular time: Gaul, between c. 400 and c. 700.⁵ Several scholars have recently insisted that we cannot speak of a singular Christianity in this period, but must instead think in terms of local or micro-Christianities, a situation exacerbated by the loss of the imperial government as a unifying force.⁶ This study therefore does not attempt to survey the laity across the entire Mediterranean, or even just its Western half, but explores the situation within Gaul, and also draws attention to the very different religious environments of individual cities. Gaul represents an opportunity.⁷ Compared with other regions of the West, it offers a wealth of evidence relating to the laity: sermons, epitaphs, church council records, hagiographies, miracle collections, law codes, letters and more. The gaps remain immense, but the variety of genres permits a more diverse view than is available elsewhere. Gaul is also important because of its subsequent influence. The political and cultural power of the Carolingians ensured that Gallic models and Gallic structures were widely exported and copied. What happened in Gaul had broader implications.

The centuries between 400 and 700 were particularly important for establishing the place of the laity in the Gallic church. By 400, Christianity was dominant – the public practice of polytheism had received a series of fatal blows, the Roman emperors were fully and solely aligned with Christianity,

and were set on finding and supporting those versions of it which they deemed orthodox. The power of the centre, however, was rapidly dissipating. Already, in Gaul, local contexts shaped local religious forms. No central authority, emperor or Pope, would determine religious practice for centuries to come. The new barbarian rulers expressed only fitful interest. Local bishops had very limited powers. This situation created an opportunity for lay people, who were able to play a pivotal role in the development and transformation of Christianity, from a minority religion to the dominant cultural force of the middle ages. Christianity was not spread by force. It was not a worked-out system imposed from above upon a population below. On the contrary, lay Christians helped to shape Christianity. They made their own decisions about what being Christian meant in their daily lives. They were responsible, in part, for the formation of beliefs, institutions, rituals and environments. By 700, however, the situation was changing. The Carolingians, uniting political and religious concerns, mark the beginning of an emphasis on unity and central direction that would be the hallmark of the medieval church. This unity was never entirely achieved in practice, but both church and state began to develop more sophisticated mechanisms by which to impose control. A new stage in the history of the laity had begun, but by then it was already too late to undo those features of Christian belief, practice and environment that had put down deep roots. The Carolingians, and those who came after, were working with a palette already laid out for them.

My approach to the religious worlds of the laity in late antique Gaul is in the style of what Julia Smith has called 'new cultural history'.⁸ That is to say, I am interested in how the people of the past constructed their understandings of reality and organized their experiences, and I treat them as creatures with agency rather than as 'passive pawns in the grip of impersonal processes'.⁹ I give close attention to language and to the complex relationship between texts and the reality they purport to represent. I also emphasize the pluralism of historical experience more than grand narratives.¹⁰ The work of John Arnold and Sarah Hamilton has shown how much it is possible to say about the religion of the people when you take this approach, and when you have the relative riches of medieval source material at your disposal.¹¹ Both argue strongly that lay belief and behaviour were highly diverse and that the laity were engaged in complex, dynamic relationships with the institutions and

representatives of the church. It has proven much more difficult to do this kind of history in late antiquity and the early middle ages, where the evidence record is so much more sparse than that from later centuries. Nonetheless, the *People's History of Christianity* series has produced an excellent volume on the late ancient church, with a particular focus on lay piety.¹² Within this volume, David Frankfurter sets out a model of how scholarship on the laity (or on 'popular religion', to use his terminology) must proceed: by both examining the rhetoric of official denigration in our sources, and studying how people at the time integrated traditional practices within new schemes of authority.¹³ This is an immensely useful methodology to apply in late antique Gaul.

There has been a long scholarly tradition of pessimism that we can really know about the laity. André Vauchez insisted that it was not possible to write a history of popular religion before the year 1000.¹⁴ Richard Southern commented: 'we shall never know much about the religion of the ordinary man. What it was that the barbarians of Europe were converted to must remain a very dark mystery.'¹⁵ In contrast, I am fundamentally optimistic. I argue that we can know something about the laity, and that, given their importance, we should make the most of everything we have. In this I am not alone. There has been a recent swell of works determined to explore the religious worlds of ordinary people, despite the difficulties attendant on the task. Marilyn Dunn has advanced a thoughtful discussion of what it was the barbarians were converted to.¹⁶ Jaclyn Maxwell has been engaged in ongoing work to explore the religious worlds of the laity in the late antique East and Leslie Dossey has revealed the complex social and religious environments of the inhabitants of North Africa.¹⁷ Lucy Grig has been exploring the long roots and long futures of late antique cultural forms, with the religion of the people primary among these.¹⁸ All of these authors have attempted to move beyond an awareness of our evidential problems and have refused to let these reduce us to silence. The laity of late antique Gaul also deserve to have their voices heard.

The problem of definition

Part of the reason why they have not been heard often or loudly is that scholars have had great difficulty in defining the laity.¹⁹ The problem is revealed in

the treatment of ascetics: they were often not ordained (therefore lay) but lived lives dedicated to religion (therefore not secular), and fall in and out of different scholarly definitions of the laity depending on whether a particular author prioritizes technical or lifestyle criteria.²⁰ In some cases, scholars have treated minor clergy as effectively lay, because their lifestyle is considered indistinguishable from the lifestyle of their parishioners, whereas Neill and Weber have argued that anybody 'living in and from the Church', including missionaries, organists, choirmasters, teachers, sextons and church janitors, should *not* be considered lay, because 'their outlook is bound to be ecclesiastical in a variety of ways'.²¹ Anyone surveying this literature is bound to leave it feeling thoroughly confused. It should not, therefore, be surprising that some scholars reject the term 'lay' entirely, while others use it without trying to define it.²²

There is, of course, also a long tradition of approaching the laity from another angle: that of popular culture. In such works, the subject is seldom defined as 'lay people', but rather as 'ordinary Christians', 'non-elites', 'the people' or just 'popular religion', all terms with socio-economic implications.²³ The approaches and strategies of scholars working on popular culture have been very influential on my own work, as will become clear. I have chosen, however, to define my subject differently. This book is about religious experience. It is not a book about popular culture in general, or about the experience of non-elites. It is a book that looks closely at the specifically religious worlds of Christians living in late antique and early medieval Gaul. It examines both elite and non-elite members of the laity, because some religious practices cut across such sociological divisions. I am interested in kings, townspeople and the poor alike. Inevitably, elite lay people appear in our sources far more often and with far greater clarity and they threaten at times to subsume other voices. This is a risk: although both a queen and a serving girl could interact with the cult of St Martin, they did so in different ways and perhaps with different expectations. The challenge of this project is therefore to encompass the range of lay experiences without letting the elite perspectives dominate (insofar as this is possible).

The term lay was artificial, and its usage was messy, but it was a meaningful and important concept to late antique Christians. This book uses a basic definition of the laity as baptized members of the church, who had not been ordained and did not live in organized religious communities as monks or

nuns. It then explores the variety of ways in which the term lay was used in late antique Gaul, as well as when, where and why complications arose. The laity did not always accept the clerical constructions being placed upon them, but they did have to deal with them. And ultimately the clerics succeeded. By the middle ages, we can take the term 'lay' almost entirely for granted, and scholars generally have. Its meaning and implications, as a category, are deemed to be obvious. This book is in part a study of how things came to be that way. The messiness en route, however, is a central part of this story.²⁴

The negative trajectory

Many scholars who have worked on the laity in late antiquity have painted a negative picture of decline from a supposed paradisiacal early situation of Christian equality in which there was no distinction between the clergy and laity.²⁵ The creation of the laity as a category has therefore been depicted as a central part of the creation of hierarchy within the church. As Karen Jo Torjesen puts it, 'the distinction between clergy and laity in its most elemental form is a way of creating and setting apart an elite', and results in the creation of the 'dyad', which has been described as a defining (and decidedly negative) characteristic of the medieval church.²⁶ Scholars concerned with the problems of the modern Christian churches have therefore lamented 'the clear trajectory that renders the laity ever more passive and gives ever higher standing to the clergy'.²⁷

The 'negative trajectory' is not, however, confined to works with explicitly presentist concerns. Many scholars have argued that the clergy and laity grew gradually apart.²⁸ Others have lamented increased clerical interference in lay religiosity that resulted in the 'gradual but decisive marginalization of laymen and all women from sacred space'.²⁹ In other words, the differentiation of the laity as a category has been depicted as fundamental to the growth in power of the clergy and inimical to independent lay religious life. In this view, the laity were increasingly defined, confined and demeaned over the course of late antique and medieval history.

However, despite the ubiquity of this negative trajectory in scholarship on the laity, there is no agreement on when it begins. For example, Faivre

situates the crucial moment in the third century and Williams also argues for a decline in the role of the laity even before Constantine, to then be 'virtually extinguished' in the era of the great councils.³⁰ William Frend pushes the decline slightly later, after the conversion of Constantine, while Lakeland sees a slower development between the third and twelfth centuries, culminating in a situation where 'the laity are considered in a primarily negative fashion, as those who live in the world in a lower state of holiness than the clergy'.³¹ Other scholars have focused on the late Merovingian or, especially, the Carolingian period.³² Arnold Angenendt also sees the period after 800 as the moment of transition for the laity, with a change and reduction in their liturgical role, whereas Vauchez sees it happening later, as part of the Gregorian reforms of the tenth and eleventh centuries.³³ Torjesen picks out a series of important moments, between the fourth and the twelfth centuries.³⁴ In sum, the laity, like the Roman Empire, are always declining.

All of this chronological variation should raise doubts about the negative trajectory of the laity. The notion of decline becomes meaningless in such circumstances. Moreover, the desire of certain scholars to describe 'what went wrong' for the church, and propose ways to fix it, threatens to exaggerate both the early paradise and the later fall from it. It is even more difficult to believe in a clear negative trajectory when descriptions of its character are mutually contradictory: scholars cannot even agree on whether the problem is clergy and laity moving further apart, or becoming inappropriately intertwined. We need to find a new way to think about the history of the laity in late antiquity and the early middle ages.

The first step is to acknowledge that changes over this period were not unidirectional. Some clergy made efforts to separate, marginalize and degrade lay people. Others, however, insisted that clergy and laity should be subject to the same behavioural expectations, or worked hard to bring the laity into religious spaces and ceremonies, rather than exclude them. Many provided positive images of lay religiosity. Furthermore, there is evidence that lay people could be either resistant or indifferent to clerical efforts. At this stage in the development of the Gallic church, the clergy had very limited means to enforce their wishes or impose their views of the religious world. Negative clerical rhetoric about the laity is important, but it is only part of the story. This book puts the laity themselves back into the story.

The evidence

All scholars who work on the laity (or ordinary people, or popular culture) begin with the point that the project is hard, because the voices of these people are largely lost to us. As John Arnold puts it, “There is a kind of layperson-shaped hole in the middle of the evidence: we can feel our way all around the edges, and see where they were supposed to fit in, but for the most part we can not actually see *them*.”³⁵ Nonetheless, there is a great deal of evidence from late antique Gaul that can help us map these edges and even peer into the middle. Since different genres give us quite different perspectives, the result is a somewhat piecemeal portrait of lay religious worlds. Rather than generalize, simplify or smooth out these differences, I have chosen to explore them. Each chapter focuses on particular questions, and on the genres that can help us to answer those questions. Sometimes the evidence reveals the category ‘lay’ in the process of formation and use; sometimes the evidence helps us to see beyond the category to the lay people; sometimes it is possible to discuss these strands together. The final picture that emerges is not exhaustive, and not completely coherent. That is the point. Our sources do not create a singular picture for us. From this we can conclude that the lay religious experience was very far from singular, but also that the picture of the laity being formed by clergy and ascetics in their texts could vary just as much.

Although most of my evidence was produced by clergy, or by ascetic elites, it was not therefore self-contained. The texts were produced within a culture that took seriously the ideal of Christian *sermo humilis*, or humble speech. As Averil Cameron has noted, the inclusivity of Christianity was one of its major strengths, and authors were aware of this, able and willing to exploit the opportunity created.³⁶ If the faith was to spread, if people were to be convinced, if their souls were to be saved, if God’s plans were to play out, then the message needed to go to *all* Christians. The result was a ‘Christian populism, that flouted the culture of the governing classes and claimed to have brought, instead, simple words, endowed with divine authority, to the masses of the empire.’³⁷ Even highly educated men, engaged at times in elaborate literary references, intertextual allusions or in-jokes, therefore self-consciously stressed, where appropriate, the simplicity and accessibility of their words. Jean-Michel Carrié has described this as a form of democratization from above, as elites worked

hard to communicate complex Christian intellectual traditions to the masses of the faithful.³⁸ However, it went both ways – the worlds of elites were as shaped by these forces as the worlds of the laity – and Maxwell talks of democratization ascending and descending.³⁹ Because late antique authors absorbed the ideal that Christian culture should be shared and accessible to all the faithful, their texts were seldom wholly self-referential. The laity were present in many of them, as audiences, subjects, backgrounds or rhetorical constructs. My job is to look for the presence of the laity in whatever form it takes. From there I can decide how to interpret or approach the evidence.

I proceed on the principle that every text examined in this book had a communicative function. Some were forms of horizontal communication, between approximate peers, whereas others were vertical, between people who represented themselves as of different status.⁴⁰ Either way, they were acts in which intercommunication was essential. The author was required to imagine the audience, and to write with their reception in mind. The audience therefore played a role in shaping the text, along with the author. This emphasis on communication ensured that texts were central to Christian communities even though most members of the laity would not have been able to read them.⁴¹ Julia Smith has emphasized the high degree of ‘participatory literacy’ in the early middle ages, with people having access to texts in a variety of ways other than reading them directly.⁴² Christians did not have to be able to read in order to be acquainted with the scriptures, with exegesis, with the stories about saints’ lives and their miracles, or even with church council rulings. All of these were made available orally – scriptures were read in church and their interpretation expounded in sermons, stories about saints and their achievements formed part of their festivals, and church council rulings that affected communities appear to have been announced in public.⁴³ Scholars of literacy now argue, indeed, that we need to move away from a narrow focus on the ability to read or write, and to think instead about ‘literacy events’ and ‘communicative practices’, which privilege ‘study of socio-cultural practices over the emphasis on a specific technology or medium.’⁴⁴ Most of the texts examined in this book operated within such an environment. Although some of them were expressed in formal language, it was a version of the same language that lay people spoke – Latin only became incomprehensible to the uneducated after the pronunciation and orthographical reforms of the

Carolingians.⁴⁵ Therefore, even those texts that were not produced by lay people can be used to understand their religious experiences. They formed part of the environment in which lay people operated, and many were designed as acts of communication with lay people. Our evidence is not ideal, but we can and must work with what we have.

Records of the Gallic church councils

The church council records represent an invaluable resource for the history of the Gallic church in this period – no other area in the West can compare with Gaul for the scope and chronological range of the records that survive.⁴⁶ On the face of it, however, they have relatively little to say either to or about the laity. The laity are seldom the main focus of conciliar concern and numerous aspects of their lives or religious activities provoke no anxiety or legislative action. Instead, the attention of the canon authors is fixed squarely upon the clergy, with secondary glances paid to professional ascetics. Nonetheless, the church council records give us two types of evidence about the religious worlds of the laity. First, canon authors used the laity as a negative contradistinction to establish clerical identity and proper behaviour. They therefore show us how certain clergy forged, used and manipulated the category of ‘lay’ for their own ends. They also reveal how canon authors fit ascetics and other complicating groups into their otherwise bipartite division of the church into clergy and laity. Second, the canons do include the occasional ruling that demonstrates what kinds of behaviours they expected from the laity, and what kinds of problems lay people posed for them. More can be made of this than has been so far.

Part of the reason why this evidence has been relatively neglected is that the church council records present a number of challenges to interpretation and understanding. Although they represent a clerical perspective, it is not always clear whose perspective we are getting.⁴⁷ Councils were not regularly spaced over time or between regions, and attendance might be limited by political considerations or shifting territorial boundaries. There were many different types of councils, convened for different reasons, which makes it difficult to generalize about them.⁴⁸ Nor is the textual record uncomplicated.⁴⁹ These were

legalistic, idealized texts, attempting to forge institutions and identities, not snapshots of the Gallic church. Their canons were frequently repeated from previous councils, which raises the suspicion that they reiterated concerns or rulings more for reasons of tradition than because of responsiveness to actual problems. These issues have proved daunting to scholars.

However, none of them are insurmountable, and others even increase the interesting character of the records as historical sources. Even though they are legalistic in nature, the church council records were practical responses to the situation of the church in Gaul.⁵⁰ They both reveal divisions in practice and constitute attempts to draw those lines where they might not have existed before. The canons do not represent the perspective of any single individual, but of a very large and constantly changing group over a long period of time and spread across all of Gaul. The practice of collecting canons also testifies to the spread and influence of these rulings and the ideas encoded within them.⁵¹ The conclusions that emerge, contradictory though they may be, therefore reflect a much broader and more representative perspective than most texts could ever manage. Finally, the conservatism and repetition of the church council records was far from automatic. Each repetition was based on a revealing choice, as was each omission.⁵² I will chiefly use them to explore the clerical perspective on the laity and how they described and deployed the category of 'lay' in the process of their own clerical self-definition.

Secular legal sources

Secular legal sources are a valuable supplement to church council rulings. They contain less information about the laity as a religious category, but do provide information on the relations of lay people with religious institutions. In particular, they reveal a wide variety of people who were deemed to be 'of the church' but not clergy, indicating the grey zone between categories. The secular legal sources also indicate the range of ways in which the laity either supported the church and its clergy, or attempted to involve themselves in ecclesiastical activities. Moreover, the law codes that determined the legal framework for early medieval Gaul were commissioned by lay people – the barbarian kings – and despite the probable influence of religious institutions and scribal

practices upon their production, they represent a different perspective on the situation of the Christian laity.

The picture that they provide, however, is far from coherent. The inhabitants of post-Roman Gaul engaged with a number of different law codes, depending on their location and perhaps also their identity.⁵³ The Visigoths produced two law codes for the regions under their control. One produced by Euric in around 481, the *Codex Euriciani*, was intended to apply to Goths. The other was the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, also known as the *Breviarum Alarici*, produced in 506, which consisted of a summary of parts of the Theodosian Code and was intended to apply to Gallo-Romans.⁵⁴ The duplication of law codes can also be seen in Burgundian law production. They produced for their Burgundian population the *Lex Burgundionum* or *Lex Gundobada* in the late fifth/early sixth century, but also, in around 500, the *Lex Romana Burgundionum* for the Romans of the region.⁵⁵ When the Franks gained control of these areas, they complicated the picture still further – they kept the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* in the areas where it had applied, but continued also to allow Burgundian subjects to claim access to the *Lex Burgundionum*. Furthermore, they added to the mix, possibly as early as Clovis, the *Pactus legis Salicae*, a supposed compilation of the laws of the Franks, and the *Lex Ribuaria*, perhaps in the seventh century.⁵⁶ Finally, I have also considered, where relevant, the evidence from two mid-eighth-century law codes, the *Lex Alamannorum* and the *Leges Baiuvariorum*, from communities interacting with the Franks.⁵⁷ All of these law codes contain some rulings of relevance to the religious environments of lay people, but serious questions remain about how and where they may have applied in practice. I will draw on them on occasion to point out where their evidence either supports that of other texts, or looks interestingly divergent.

Different questions and opportunities emerge with the formularies – collections of legal models that appear to have been widely used in the later Merovingian and into the Carolingian periods. Of particular interest for this project are the *Formulae Andecauenses*, dating probably from the sixth or seventh century, and the very popular and influential *Formulae Marculfi*, which has been dated to the late seventh century.⁵⁸ These were based on real cases, and often involved lay people, including those of relatively low status.⁵⁹ They reveal a world of lay crimes against church property, problems in joining

the clergy or a monastery, legal complications around donations, and careful maintenance of relations between religious and secular authorities. However, in the process of compilation they were stripped of details and specifics, to make them generically applicable. This is frustrating, but does give them a 'broad applicability', and means that they represent 'a certain accepted way of doing things', as Alice Rio has put it.⁶⁰ They are an underexploited genre and offer a number of intriguing glimpses of the worlds in which lay people operated.

Hagiographies and miracle stories

Much more scholarly ink has been spilt on hagiography and on the related genre of miracle collections and these emerge frequently in discussions of lay religiosity and popular culture.⁶¹ A relatively large number of saints' lives survive from late antique Gaul, and although their heroes are usually clergy, or dedicated ascetics, their subjects often start out as lay, and have important interactions with lay people in the course of their adventures. Furthermore, these texts possess the rare advantage that they sometimes focus on female subjects or even boast female authors. Since the evidence is otherwise overwhelmingly dominated by male perspectives, I have focused in particular on the evidence provided by these texts. It is important to be cautious in using them, however, since some lives of late antique saints were written in the Carolingian period or even later. Although these may be based on earlier traditions, it is often difficult to disentangle the layers and stages of authorship. I have therefore avoided relying too heavily on those texts whose dating appears to be later or is uncertain. Many hagiographies contain miracle stories in which the laity also figure in large numbers, as the recipients of saintly assistance or admonition. These stories developed into a genre of their own, especially in the hands of Gregory of Tours. Miracle stories seem to evoke a world in which lay people were constantly exposed to and engaged with saintly power, even if they did not always show it due respect. Miracle stories appear, therefore, as invaluable sources of information about lay religious behaviours and beliefs.

Scholars now routinely observe the ways in which these texts were not only fictionalized but thoroughly manipulated and manipulative. They were

embedded in the efforts of their authors to promote themselves, their institutions or the cult of a particular saint, while the lay people in them usually took on one of a narrow range of set roles. Yet as Ian Wood has pointed out, the authors and audiences of these texts belonged to the same community of belief.⁶² This makes hagiographies and miracle stories part of the religious world in which the laity shared.⁶³ Furthermore, Marieke Van Acker has recently argued that the language of Merovingian hagiographies was designed to be comprehensible to non-elite lay audiences, and that these were indeed read aloud in churches and widely understood.⁶⁴ The authors of these works, she emphasizes, were not intellectuals isolated from the common people.⁶⁵ At the very least, therefore, these texts can help us perceive what their authors saw as models of lay behaviour, and as examples of problematic lay misbehaviour. We can see what kinds of ideas were being expressed to the laity about their proper role in Christian society, even if we cannot easily perceive how the laity received or responded to these.

However, it is possible to go beyond this. These texts are full of indirect evidence for lay religiosity. By this I mean evidence which is not explicitly setting out an idea of lay piety, or attacking lay misbehaviour, but in which the laity appeared in a manner incidental to the main purpose of the text or the story.⁶⁶ Saints and miracles both need to be set within a plausible normality.⁶⁷ The scholar can therefore, with due caution, treat the contextual elements in these stories as portraits of possible lay behaviour. In other words, pay close attention to the lay people who seem to be part of the furniture. These are the glimpses of ordinary lay religious activity that provide the normal setting for the extraordinary worlds of the saints.

Sermons

On the face of it, sermons are a more straightforward source of evidence for the lay religious environment.⁶⁸ Many of these were aimed directly and explicitly at lay people and contained detailed descriptions and denunciations of the behaviour of their audiences. They have therefore been repeatedly acclaimed as expressions of lay-clerical interaction.⁶⁹ We can glimpse, in sermons, the world to which preachers felt compelled to respond: problematic

lay religiosity, apathy, and alternative interpretations. We can also use sermons to assess what the clergy told lay people: what information they were given, and what behavioural expectations were laid out. But perhaps most importantly, because of their directly communicative function, sermons show us, more than any other text, democratization ascending and descending.⁷⁰ Preachers had to respond to audience needs, had to shape their style of address to suit the audience, and can be seen wrestling with the reception of their words.⁷¹ The laity were more immediately present in sermons than in any other genre of clerically produced literature.

As many scholars recognize, however, sermons require as much careful analysis and contextualization as any other late antique or early medieval text. In the process of engaging their audience, preachers were also shaping and manipulating them. They represented misbehaviours as pagan, in order to depict them as clearly beyond the pale. They decried widespread violation of ethical rules, in order to add drama and pathos to their denunciations, using Biblical models of themselves as prophets addressing sinful communities. They shaped lay concerns and anxieties into easily answerable questions, and they presented idealized portraits of lay engagement and deference, when that suited them. Furthermore, most sermons from this period survive as part of collections. This means that by the time we encounter them, they have already been edited, stripped of some detail, rendered generic and universally applicable. What we read, when we read Gallic sermons, are 'approved versions' – they provide a generalized picture of lay-clerical interactions, rather than specific ones. This does not decrease their value, it simply changes the nature of the evidence we have, and scholars need to be very aware of this when using them.

For this study, I focus in particular on two collections of sermons from late antique Gaul: the 238 sermons attributed to Caesarius of Arles and the 76 sermons now known as the Eusebius Gallicanus collection.⁷² These sermons were written in the late fifth and early sixth centuries, but were widely used after this time and survive now in hundreds of manuscripts, testifying to their popularity and influence as preaching models.⁷³ They therefore represent forms of preaching to which many lay people in Gaul would have been exposed. Furthermore, although they have much in common, they represent interestingly different pastoral styles. Comparison of their evidence therefore provides us

with a complex picture of lay–clerical interactions in late antique and early medieval Gaul.

Epitaphs

A form of evidence which offers us a chance of escaping the clerical-ascetic perspective is epitaphs – one of the few ways in which the laity represent themselves to us in a context that touches upon religion.⁷⁴ They give us an invaluable glimpse of lay piety, as lay people were praised for their particular religious virtues, or commendable religious behaviours, and they give us some sense of what aspects of religious belief were most comforting to lay people faced with bereavement. As with all sources, however, we need to be aware of their limitations.⁷⁵ In particular, scholars do not agree on how far down the social scale the epigraphic habit extended in late antiquity.⁷⁶ Where professions were given, individuals largely appeared to be of high status, although those of low status were less likely to boast of their roles in life.⁷⁷ What does seem clear is that only those with some disposable income to spend on commemoration, or who were part of an institution such as a church or monastery, were able to afford inscriptions. However, the quality of surviving examples indicates that there was wide variation even within this group.⁷⁸ Inscriptions were not, moreover, the sole preserve of the literate.⁷⁹ Although they do not give us the full social range, they provide access to ‘a much larger sampling of people’ than our limited literary evidence.⁸⁰ We can hear in inscriptions reflections of the lives of deacons and sub-deacons, religious women of various stripes, merchants, queens, even a door-keeper. These are not people from whom we often hear, so it is worth listening when the chance arises.

This leads into a further problem with inscriptions, however, in that epitaphs only rarely represent the planned words of the deceased person they describe. We cannot necessarily therefore assume that the epitaph of a merchant reflects a merchant’s piety. Furthermore, it is usually impossible to determine whether the repetitive pious phrases that adorned grave markers reflected the worldviews even of the family or other survivors who erected them, or whether they represented the expected formulations provided by the professional workshops that engraved them.⁸¹ Nonetheless, we can at least note how the

laity were described on their gravestones, or how they were happy to have others describe them. This in itself is interesting, and gives us a different perspective on how the laity saw themselves and their role within the Gallic church.

Although hundreds of Christian epitaphs survive from late antique and early medieval Gaul, the history of their publication has been patchy and scattered. LeBlant's 1856 edition has been important but it is now recognized as incomplete and on occasion inaccurate.⁸² It has been supplemented by a number of subsequent publications, invaluable summarized by Mark Handley, and is in the process of being superseded by the *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule* series.⁸³ This series is excellent, but so far only three of the planned twelve volumes have appeared, covering the provinces of Belgica I, Aquitania I and Vienne. Under these circumstances, I have not attempted an exhaustive survey of the epigraphic evidence, an important task that would have considerably altered the focus of this study. Instead, I have examined a sample of the surviving epitaphs, mostly those which are now well edited, to give a sense of their content and the kind of picture they provide. Even this limited exercise has revealed a wealth of fascinating material and perspectives and I hope that this will provide an impetus for future work.

Material evidence

The final important source for this study is material evidence. Physical environments were the basic site of lay religious experience, and a number of scholars who have explored lay religiosity have seen environments as the most appropriate means of approaching the topic.⁸⁴ Domestic spaces would have been primary sites of lay religious action. These spaces, however, are largely invisible to us in Gaul.⁸⁵ Instead, when we talk about the physical elements of the religious environment in Gaul, we are mostly talking about urban topography, which has been extensively mapped, the architecture of churches and other sacred sites, which is now being explored and, to a lesser extent, the images, furnishings and objects that filled those spaces, or had religious meaning to lay Christians. This means that even our material evidence is dominated by clerical and other elite perspectives. Most Christians had little

say in how their cities were laid out, where their churches were placed, what form they took and what images adorned them. However, they did have a say in how those spaces were used, and in how those images and furnishings were understood. Our material evidence is still shaped and manipulated, but it does not, and cannot, give the same message as a literary text. By examining this evidence, we can get some sense of how religion entered into the lives of lay Christians at a very basic level, and we get some glimpses of what it may have meant to them. All evidence is gold.

Chapter breakdown

This is far from being a thorough survey of the evidence that could be used to examine the lay religious experience, or even a complete list of the genres studied in this book. Letters, penitentials, histories, treatises, monastic rules and poems will also be brought into the mix when applicable. However, this book makes no claim to be an exhaustive survey of the laity in late antique Gaul: it is a series of case studies, focusing on different aspects of their religious worlds. This approach prioritizes in-depth analysis of particular issues or sources over a more complete but necessarily shallower survey. The book begins in Chapter 1 by laying out the contemporary conceptual framework, looking at how different authors and genres defined the laity, as well as the contrastive definitions of clergy and ascetics. It makes clear that although 'lay' was an important category in religious thought, its exact meaning and implications could vary. Furthermore, there was a large 'grey zone' of people who did not fit neatly into any of these religious divisions and who complicated the expectations the Christian church had for its lay members. After this conceptual discussion, Chapter 2 moves on to the physical framework, summarizing what we know about the spatial worlds of the late antique laity: their city-scapes, churches and religious landscapes. This is followed in Chapter 3 by case studies of a sample of Gallic cities, to establish in-depth portraits of particular environments. These varied widely – there was no uniform religious experience for Gallic laity, and an enormous amount depended on the specific circumstances of their local worlds. Chapter 4 explores the religious rituals that took place in these religious spaces, most

especially the Eucharistic mass and liturgical processions. It details what we know about how the laity were involved in these and how they interacted with them. Chapter 5 shifts focus to the religious behaviour of the laity outside these formal occasions, both in terms of what ideals and expectations the clergy had of them, and how they may have related to those. Finally, Chapter 6 tackles the thorny issue of what the laity may have known about Christianity and what they may have believed. These are difficult issues to engage with, but there is enough evidence to suggest that both knowledge and belief were central concerns for clergy and laity alike in late antique Gaul.

The picture that emerges is one of diversity. Clergy, ascetics and laity interacted in a variety of different ways and their religious worlds were shaped by the specificities of place, situation and need. Some clergy and ascetics demeaned 'worldly' forms of Christianity in order to elevate themselves and their roles, but others were deeply engaged with lay experiences and pastoral care. Moreover, the laity had far more agency than the 'negative trajectory' allows. Even the limited evidence we have suggests that they could interact with church institutions and ecclesiastical figures on their own terms. Their worlds are worth exploring.

Laity, Clergy and Ascetics

The bishops meeting at the Council of Mâcon in 585 felt compelled to resolve a problem of greeting etiquette between clergy and lay people. ‘We decree,’ they ruled:

that if any secular person of honourable rank should meet in their travels someone of any ecclesiastical grade including the minor orders then, as is proper for a Christian, he should bow his head reverently to the cleric, through whose offices and services he gains the rights of the Christian condition. And if indeed that secular person is travelling on a horse, and the cleric likewise, the secular person should doff their hat and give the cleric a sincere greeting; if the cleric is travelling by foot and the secular person travels by horse, he should dismount and show to the cleric the debt of sincere love which is his due, so that God, who is true love, is pleased with both of them and accepts both with his love.¹

The issue perhaps appears a minor one, but their ruling speaks volumes of a clerical worldview. They assumed a fundamental divide between men ‘of the church’ (*clerici*) and men ‘of the world’ (*saeculares*). Within this dyad, moreover, there was a clear hierarchy. Secular people should defer to clergy, bowing, doffing their hat or dismounting their horse, regardless of any other considerations of status such as wealth, power or birth. The special religious services performed by the clergy, in the eyes of the clergy, entitled them automatically to higher status than any lay person. Even more evocative is that the authors of the canon chose to refer to a ‘secular person’ (*saecularis*), rather than a lay person (*laicus*).² Secularity, or worldliness, was considered so definitive of the lay state that it could stand in for it. The man of the church, by implication, was therefore otherworldly, or defined by his separation from secularity. In this conflation, we can see clerical self-definition at work – it was precisely this claim of separation from the world that justified the ecclesiastical assertion of superiority and due deference.

This equation of 'lay' and 'secular' was fundamental to the clerical worldview, but it raised a number of potential complications. 'Lay' was a technical category meaning 'not ordained', whereas 'secular' was a judgement on lifestyle. Even though the church council records regularly equated *laici* and *saeculares*, in point of fact, all kinds of people who were not ordained as clerics could nonetheless claim to be 'otherworldly' and therefore not secular. Indeed, some of these people could claim to be more otherworldly than some clerics, especially than junior clerics who lived lives seldom distinguishable from those of their lay neighbours. If secularity was definitional of laity, then monks were not lay, regardless of whether or not they were ordained. If secularity was definitional of laity, then female ascetics who rejected marriage, or possessions, or food, or the world in general, were not lay, even if they had never taken any formal vows. By equating secularity and laity, therefore, the clerics at the Council of Mâcon were diminishing the force of their ordination as their key point of difference, even though they were at the same time attempting to privilege the clergy as a group, regardless of level (which implied that ordination was the main thing that mattered). This canon therefore captures the confusions within the definition of clergy and laity in late antique Gaul. The laity were essential to the clerical representation of themselves and the projection of their power and authority. But even in the process of using the laity in this way, the clergy who produced this ruling demonstrated the complications that surrounded their apparently neat definitional dyad.

This chapter is about how late antique and early medieval Christians defined the laity. Both clergy and ascetics talked about the laity in the context of their own self-definition: they depicted themselves as otherworldly, and separated from secularity, as part of a claim to superiority. Their Christian hierarchy was therefore based as much, if not more, on claims to religious lifestyle as on the technical status of being ordained. Indeed, our sources have relatively little to say about ordination.³ This approach also allowed ascetics to claim a status akin to or sometimes even superior to clergy, on the basis of their virtuous way of life. However, the lifestyle distinction carried the risk of complication and ambiguity. Our sources admitted and accommodated the existence of clergy who were still in many ways 'of the world', of ascetics who were not ordained but not secular, of laity who were seeking to separate themselves from aspects of the world even as they remained within it, and of laity who

became part of the economy of the church, either as necessary supporters of it, or as dependent upon it. This meant that it was never entirely possible, ideals aside, to present a neat, separated, hierarchical and morally justified bipartite view of the Gallic church. This chapter is therefore not only about how clergy and ascetics defined the laity, but also about how they struggled to do so with any clarity. It explores what these categories meant at the time, what our authors saw as the implication of being in one category or the other, where the boundaries between each group lay, how people moved from one category to another, and how they showed others that they had moved. More than any other part of this book, therefore, this chapter will address what it meant to be a cleric, or what it meant to be an ascetic, since both of these groups were defining themselves against the laity, the people of the world.

I have chosen to approach the question of definition, and the location of boundaries between categories, in three ways. The first section of this chapter examines how lay people were paired in various texts with either clergy, ascetics or both, and explores the implications of such pairings, as well as the people who disrupted them. It draws in particular on normative texts – church council records and secular law codes – which lay out a particular vision of the world as it should be. The second section centres on conversion – one of the mechanisms by which a person could move out of the category ‘lay’ and into another category. I investigate what conversion can tell us about what it meant to be lay and secular, and what some of the complications could be. The focus in this section is on hagiography and the ways in which authors describing ascetics in particular used ‘conversion’ as a moment of separation from secularity, so that their subjects could no longer be deemed ‘people of the world’ even before they took a formal vow or received ordination. However, I also consider in this section the evidence of people who have been described as *conversi* – that is, lay people who undertook some kind of ascetic renunciation while remaining within a secular environment. They appear to have constituted an important phenomenon of lay piety, which indirectly served to challenge any clerical or ascetic efforts at neat categorization and contrast. The third section of the chapter looks at the idea of service, and the ways in which lay people could become not only servants of the church but also servants of God, and therefore a part of the religious world. Various individuals who were not clergy, and not ascetics, nonetheless acted in ways which associated them with the church and

which therefore made them no longer wholly secular, in the eyes of our sources. The notion of service to the church encompassed people we would describe as servants, as bound workers, and as ecclesiastically supported paupers and disabled persons, but also extended all the way up the religious hierarchy to professed ascetics, bishops and even sainted abbess-queens. ‘Service’ cut across categories, even defied them. Thus although the terms ‘lay’, ‘cleric’ and ‘ascetic’ all mattered greatly, they were very unstable in practice and had blurred boundaries, which indicated a broad range of religious possibilities.

Categories and complications

The clearest categorization and demarcation of the laity comes in a group of texts that were actually far more interested in the clergy: the church council records. One of the key concerns of these texts, over a period of centuries, was to define the clergy as a distinct group, with particular behavioural obligations and entitled to the kind of deference described at the start of this chapter. The laity largely served in the canons, therefore, as the negative counterpoint to clerical self-definition – in order to be distinct, the clergy had to be definitively ‘not-lay’, and this consistently drove the definition of lay people in these canons, over a long period of time, and in multiple regions of Gaul.

Depending on context, the authors of the canons used a number of different terms to describe those members of the Christian community who were ‘not-clergy’. On two occasions, two centuries apart, the term ‘the faithful’ (*fideles*) appeared in the canons in contrast to the ministers of the church, with the ministers in each case enjoined to provide an example to the rest.⁴ In other instances of its use, however, *fideles* simply referred to baptized Christians in general.⁵ Canon authors also used ‘the populace’ (*populus*) to indicate particular Christian communities or congregations.⁶ ‘Citizens’ (*ciues*) appeared less commonly, but with even greater specificity to the city context.⁷ ‘The people’ (*plebs*), meanwhile, occurred on only four occasions, twice to indicate a congregation and twice in a non-religious context.⁸ None of these terms carried a strong contrastive implication with the clergy.

The terms which bore this contrastive implication most often, and most obviously, were ‘lay people’ (*laici*) and ‘secular people’ (*saeculares*) – they were

the people who were 'not clergy'. In the church council records, the terms *laici* and *saeculares* were used as synonyms. Both appeared frequently in a dyad with 'clerics' (*clerici*), to indicate that a given ruling was intended to apply to all members of the church, so that the pairing can be seen as expressing the gamut of Christian possibilities because everyone was deemed to fall into either one category or the other. For example, in 394–96 the Council of Nîmes prohibited bishops from allowing anyone, 'whether cleric or lay' (*siue clericum siue laicum*), into their communion if condemned by their own bishop.⁹ The *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* discussed dissident Christians, 'whether cleric or lay' (*siue clericos siue laicos*), and ordered that anyone who communicated with an excommunicate would themselves be excommunicated, 'whether cleric or lay' (*clericus uel laicus*).¹⁰ It also decreed that a bishop should be ordained with the consensus 'of the clerics and of the laity' (*consensu clericorum et laicorum*).¹¹ In 506, the Council of Agde noted that everyone, 'whether clerics or lay people' (*clerici siue laici*), should avoid the feast of the Jews and that whoever studied auguries, 'whether cleric or lay' (*clerici siue laici*), should be punished.¹² In 567, the Council of Tours decreed that 'no-one, whether of the clergy or of the laity' (*nullus clericorum uel laicorum*), should presume to write letters of recommendation except the bishop.¹³ The pairing of *clericus* with *saecularis* functioned in exactly the same way and was sometimes used by the same councils. The Council of Arles (442–506) condemned anyone who received an excommunicate, 'whether a cleric or a secular person' (*siue clericum, siue saecularem*), while in 506 the Council of Agde criticized those, 'whether clerics or secular people' (*clerici etiam uel saeculares*), who kept testaments for themselves, an injunction repeated at the Council of Clichy in 626–27.¹⁴ No Christian, ruled the Council of Mâcon in 581–83, 'either cleric or secular person' (*clericus aut saecularis*), was to allow others to attend the feasts of the Jews.¹⁵ These phrases expressed a bipartite view of the Christian community: all members were either clerics or lay/secular. They also demonstrate how the categories of 'lay' and 'secular' were conflated in the church council records. Occasionally, indeed, they appeared together. At the Council of Angers in 453, attendees denounced fellow clergy, 'who, leaving the clericate, had turned to secular service, and to the laity' (*qui relicto clero se ad saecularem militiam et ad laicos contulerint*).¹⁶ At the other end of the period, in 673–75 the Council of Losne insisted that 'lay people in secular clothing' (*laici homines in seculare*

habitu) should not be permitted to hold the honour of archpresbyter in their parish.¹⁷ According to this worldview, lay people were by definition secular – they were the people of the world (*saeculum*).¹⁸ They were the other side of the clerical coin.

Several church council rulings made clear that movement over the border between clergy and laity was a transition of serious and permanent import. In 511, the Council of Orléans ruled against secular people who aspired to clerical office improperly.¹⁹ No lay person, the Council of Épaone ruled in 517, was to be ordained without prior religious commitment, while a few years later the Council of Arles went into more detail: no lay person was to be ordained without prior ‘conversion’ or before the age of thirty.²⁰ These rulings were repeated at the Councils of Orléans in 538 and 549: no lay person was to become a cleric without proper preparation.²¹ The Council of Chalon (647–53) ruled that ‘secular people’ who had not yet converted ‘to the clericate’ should not have control of the parish’s goods.²² It went the other way as well. At the Council of Tours in 461, excommunication was prescribed for any cleric who relinquished the offices of his ordination and wished to live a ‘lay life.’²³ These were important boundaries and the participants at church councils sought to strengthen them.²⁴

The canon authors reinforced these boundaries and the distinction between clergy and laity by insisting that the clergy separate themselves from the secularity that was appropriate only to a lay person. Several councils reminded clergy that they were supposed to have renounced all secular things as part of their conversion to service of the church.²⁵ At Agde in 506, attendees denounced clerics who strove for ‘secular profits’ instead of attending to their clerical duties, while at Clermont in 535 a canon ordered clerics to avoid the polluting ‘secular luxuries’ of weddings.²⁶ The Council of Bordeaux (662–75) attacked clerics who condemned their bishops, wore secular clothing and did many destructive things, even worse than a ‘secular person.’²⁷ Clothing was important – a visible marker of difference. In 506, the Council of Agde deemed that clerical clothing should be fitting for religion, while according to the Councils of Mâcon (581–83) and Bordeaux (662–75), clerics were not to wear ‘secular clothing,’ shoes or a military cloak.²⁸ They were also not to bear arms or practise the hunt ‘in the secular custom.’²⁹ It is no accident that in such injunctions, the canon writers generally preferred to emphasize ‘secular’ rather

than 'lay'. They were making an argument here, that being a cleric required separation from the world, a world that was negatively labelled as polluting and incompatible with religious dedication. In an age when infant baptism was becoming the norm, ordination, or the expressed desire for it, was to be treated as the true moment of 'conversion', when the things of the world were left behind and a new, better life was embraced. Clergy were to free themselves of secular entanglements of any kind.

One of the most obvious expressions of this was in the repeated concern of councils over clerical contact with women. Women represented secularity *par excellence* and rare was the council that did not have something to say about them. Women were decisively 'laicized' by church council legislators and excluded from any clerical duties.³⁰ The *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* refused women the right to teach or to take roles in the running of the church and restricted their role in the baptism ceremony.³¹ The Councils of Épaone in 517 and Orléans in 533 attacked the category of 'deaconess', and attempted to eliminate this title.³² For the church council legislators, clergy were definitively male, and women were not to be considered as properly ordained within the church, despite the fact that the verb *ordinare* was used to describe the appointment of women to ministry roles in some late antique texts.³³ A number of councils attempted physically to separate clergy from women. Clergy of the major orders were not to live with any women aside from immediate family.³⁴ Women should not even be permitted into the inner quarters of episcopal residences.³⁵

In particular, however, church councils insisted that clerics should be marked as separate from the laity by their abstention from marriage, or from sexual relations within marriage. Higher clergy had long been commanded to separate from their wives, but this had proved difficult to enforce over the years.³⁶ The Second Council of Arles (442–506) decreed that married men were not to be ordained deacons unless they had made a profession of continence and that any cleric who was sexually active with his wife after accepting the levitical benediction was to be cast out of office.³⁷ In 461, the Council of Tours ruled against bishops and priests who had children after their election, and deemed them ineligible to offer the sacrifice or minister to the people.³⁸ At the Council of Clermont in 535, the rule of abstinence was extended also to deacons, specifically on the grounds that sexual activity was

secular.³⁹ In 538, the Council of Orléans excommunicated clergy who married after receiving the benediction and condemned high-level clerics who committed adultery to be deposed and confined to a monastery.⁴⁰ In 541, the Council of Orléans insisted that married clergy should physically separate from their wives in order to demonstrate their chastity. Then in 549, the Council of Orléans insisted that clerics should inform one another to stamp out sexual improprieties and forbade sexual relations within marriage for clerics of the upper orders.⁴¹ The legislation of the Council of Tours in 567, meanwhile, introduced an entire system of surveillance to ensure clerical chastity and to make sure that the laity had no grounds for suspicion regarding their activities.⁴² The Council of Mâcon (581–83) ordered higher clergy to renounce all secular acts and treat their wife as a sister.⁴³ The rulings against procreation and continued relations with wives were extended to subdeacons by the time of the Council of Auxerre in the late sixth century.⁴⁴

Robert Godding has noted the ‘extraordinary insistence’ on clerical chastity that characterizes the Merovingian church councils, as this became the chief legislative focus when it came to dividing clerics from secularity. He speculates that it was motivated by the feeling that sexual activity rendered one impure and unsuited for contact with the Eucharist. David Hunter likewise points to the importance of ritual purity in distinguishing the role of the priest from that of lay people.⁴⁵ Chélini notes, indeed, that *laici* and *saeculares* were deemed to be terms interchangeable with *conjugati* (married people) because marriage was regarded as a definitive characteristic of the lay state.⁴⁶ Women, even the honoured wives of bishops, *episcopae*, could therefore stand as the ultimate representation of the laity, and of secularity.⁴⁷ There are many reasons to doubt that reality was quite so neat. There is considerable evidence that clergy, even at the higher levels, continued to enjoy marital sex, and it would not be until the high middle ages that celibacy was effectively enforced as a clerical norm.⁴⁸ Women, moreover, continued to hold significant positions within the institutions of the church, both formally and informally.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, the legislative intention is very clear. Separation and distinction of clergy from laity was to be achieved by clerics either not marrying, or abstaining from sex if already married. This separation from secularity, then, would set the clergy apart from the laity and would be the basis of their claim to due deference.

We find a similarly strict categorization of laity and clergy in other normative texts. Secular rulers and their legal bureaucracy were not as interested as the church councils in a negative construction of secularity. However, they *were* interested in defining the clergy as a distinct group, because clerics had been entitled to legal rights and protections from the time of Constantine onwards.⁵⁰ In the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, the status of *clerici* was explicitly contrasted to that of *laici* or *plebs* and the clergy were marked as exempt from specific secular obligations, but also forbidden from engaging in secular activities such as trade.⁵¹ The clergy were here a distinct group, whose status entailed a range of legal rights and duties. The *Codex Euricianus* also sought to keep the group intact, legislating against those who tried to convert from the clergy back to lay life.⁵² Likewise in penitentials, tariffed penalties varied depending on whether the culprit was a cleric or lay person.⁵³ All of these 'legalistic' texts required neat separation of categories and therefore traded in clear contrasts between lay and cleric.

As these final examples suggest, the behavioural contrast between clergy and laity was an important part of the way these normative texts differentiated each category. As we saw in the penitential of Finnian, the lower penalty endured by a layman was explicitly tied to the lower behavioural expectations placed upon him.⁵⁴ More virtue was expected from clerics, since they had been constructed as 'otherworldly'. If abstinence is commanded to the laity, the Council of Tours concluded, how much more so to the clergy?⁵⁵ If even the laity are prohibited from attending the feasts of the Jews, the Council at Épaone ruled in 517, how much more so the clerics?⁵⁶ Caesarius of Arles repeatedly lamented in his sermons that the sins he described were being committed not just by the laity, but even by the clergy, who should be holding themselves to higher standards.⁵⁷ These complaints reveal an essential worldview: the laity were lesser in status for a reason – they had lower standards to meet. The clergy might not always live up to higher expectations, but those higher expectations were assumed to be valid. The differentiation was hierarchical and it was supposed to have manifest consequences for all who formed a part of it.

For the remainder of this section, I want to focus on two groups who complicated the categories of lay and clerical, albeit in different ways: minor clergy and ascetics. As I have already noted, not all clergy were equal, and not all were therefore equally distinguishable from the laity. The major orders, usually

understood as bishop, priest and deacon, were definitely ‘not-lay’. They were ordained, and they had the ability to dispense the Eucharist. However, the term *clerici* was used to describe a large number of other people, including subdeacons, lectors, exorcists and doorkeepers.⁵⁸ These clergy also underwent ordination or initiation ceremonies, but it is less clear what the exact significance of such ceremonies was.⁵⁹ They had undertaken a ritual which separated them from the laity, but did not have the right to dispense the Eucharist, and they appear in our sources as a delineated group: the junior or minor clergy, in contrast to the senior or major ones. In 517, for example, the Council of Épaone sentenced a ‘superior cleric’ who associated with heretics to excommunication for a year, whereas a ‘junior cleric’ was to be flogged.⁶⁰ The Synod of Auxerre in the late sixth century distinguished in one ruling between priests, deacons and ‘anyone from the clergy or the juniors,’ a condemnation repeated with only slight variation at the Council of Paris in 614.⁶¹ That same 614 council also ruled on the care to be given to the goods of the church in the event of the death of ‘a bishop, priest or deacon, or anyone from the junior clerical orders.’⁶² In 567, the Council of Tours ruled that in order to allay any suspicion of their chastity, senior clerics should be accompanied when travelling by a number of subdeacons, lectors or lay people, who, interestingly, are associated together here.⁶³

We find this same kind of distinction of clerical level in the secular law codes as well. As these laws make clear, the status of clergy was not an absolute one, and one’s privilege and protection depended on one’s particular rank. In the *Leges Alamannorum*, a bishop was treated at the same level as a *dux*, but priests, deacons and monks came further down the payment scale, and junior clerics were simply worth what their parents were – in other words, their status as minor clerics did not give them additional value.⁶⁴ Similarly, the *Lex Ribuaria* had a sliding scale from bishop down through priest, deacon, subdeacon and ‘free cleric’ (*clericum ingenuum*).⁶⁵ The *Leges Baiuvariorum* simply divided between minor and major clergy, with the cut-off between deacon and subdeacon.⁶⁶ The difference in status between them and the major clergy was made clear in an anecdote from Gregory of Tours where Riculf, attempting to take over the church in Tours, offered ‘valuable presents’ to the senior clergy, but beat the junior ones – their goodwill was not worth cultivating.⁶⁷

In various respects, therefore, the junior clergy were closer to the laity. They would certainly not have been separated from the world. The rules on chastity

and separation from one's wife only applied to bishops, priests, deacons and occasionally subdeacons, which meant that other clerics could be *conjugati*.⁶⁸ It is unclear whether they were visually distinguished by means of dress or hairstyle. They might reside near the church, but so did many lay people, for reasons I will explain below. They did not necessarily have to exercise any pastoral or liturgical function, they could be subject to secular justice, and their various titles and ranks were surprisingly variable.⁶⁹ The function of even the subdeacon, one of the more clearly established positions, is obscure to us.⁷⁰ They frequently appeared in the works of Gregory of Tours as part of the entourage of the bishop, carrying out his dirty work as required, but also guarding the church's sacred sites.⁷¹ They could even be attached to secular households.⁷² However, they were not treated exactly as lay people – special rules applied, and the widow of a subdeacon, exorcist or acolyte could not remarry.⁷³ They were sometimes viewed as 'major clergy in waiting', figures to whom the high behavioural standards of clergy in general should apply.⁷⁴ The minor clergy, therefore, occupied something of a grey zone. They were no longer lay, but not completely separated from secular things, nor did they enjoy the full privileges or obligations of major clergy. They had one foot in the world and one foot out of it.

The second group which complicated the clear division between lay and cleric was ascetics. As we have already noted, modern scholars have been unsure or inconsistent on whether ascetics should be considered lay people. In this, they reflect the confused situation in late antique sources. Occasionally, ascetics appear in our texts as a third group. In 511, for example, the Council of Orléans condemned anyone, whether cleric, monk or secular (*clericus, monachus, saecularis*), who believed in observing auguries or divination by lot.⁷⁵ In 567, the Council of Tours described the suspicion that lay people (*laici*) might have of the sexual activities of priests (*sacerdotes*) and monks (*monachi*), and the steps that should be taken to preserve good reputations.⁷⁶ This tripartite conception can also be found in Gregory the Great, who divided the Christian community into pastors, the continent and the married.⁷⁷ Professed ascetics, like clergy, were deemed to have undertaken a ritual, or vow, which separated them from secularity, and from an ordinary lay life. As Gary Macy points out, 'abbots, monks, and others entering the religious life were referred to as ordained throughout the early Middle Ages', women included.⁷⁸ Some ascetics

could be ordained as clergy, enabling them to offer the Eucharist to other members of their communities. The majority, however, would not have received this kind of ordination, and some actively resisted it.⁷⁹ Clergy and ascetics were therefore associated groups without being identical.

As far as law codes were concerned, ascetics were generally linked with clergy as another type of 'religious', and they received similar privileges. The *Lex Romana Visigothorum* grouped together a number of 'religious people' who should be subject to the same property regulations, including bishops, priests, deacons, deaconesses, subdeacons, clerics of 'any other rank', and monks and women dedicated to the solitary life, many of whom came under the heading of 'religious' (*religiosi vel religiosae*).⁸⁰ Similarly, the *Codex Euricianus* linked together clergy, monks and religious women.⁸¹ In the *Formulae Marculfi*, the transition from a lay state into either the clergy or a monastery was treated as interchangeable, with the same *formula* making do for either situation.⁸² As far as the state was concerned, therefore, people who lived a religious lifestyle were separated from secularity and were, by implication, no longer lay. When Clovis wrote to the bishops of Aquitaine, meanwhile, he declared that religious protections applied to an extraordinarily wide range of people. 'In the first place, we declare regarding the governance of the Church that no one may attempt to steal its property, either from those women performing holy functions, or from widows who have devoted themselves to the religious life, or from clerics or the children of clerics and widows who live with their parents; likewise, concerning ecclesiastical slaves, who are proven by episcopal oaths to have been taken from the church, they must not endure any violence or injury on our order.'⁸³ Here, therefore, we have a far wider concept of what it might mean to be 'of the church' than the clerical/lay pairing can possibly accommodate.

To add to this, we can note the complete lack of clarity around these categories in the sermons of Caesarius of Arles. Caesarius paired laity and clerics on a number of occasions as contrasting groups.⁸⁴ However, he also paired laity and religious, or contrasted laity to a range of clerical and ascetic roles.⁸⁵ Sometimes he separated junior clerics and laity on the one hand, from monks and higher clergy, on the other.⁸⁶ And sometimes he simply listed different categories in apparently random fashion, as in sermon 155 when he declared that his injunctions applied to 'all of us, brethren, whether clerics or

the laity or monks or religious or those in the married state.’⁸⁷ The neat pairings of the *Concilia Galliae* records are here in utter disarray.

Finally, we should note that our evidence reveals some clergy and ascetics who did not treat ordination or vows as a permanent separation from lay life. Gregory of Tours tells two intriguing stories of high-status clerics who treated their ordination as temporary. In one case an aristocrat who had had himself ordained and tonsured to save his life and even became bishop of Vannes, decided to give it all up once the danger was removed – he ‘renounced his vows, grew his hair again and took charge of both the wife whom he had deserted when he became a religious and his brother’s kingdom.’⁸⁸ Likewise Merovech, a member of the ruling Merovingian dynasty, was tonsured, ordained a priest against his will and packed off to a monastery to prevent him seeking royal power, but afterwards escaped and readopted ‘secular clothing’ (*veste saeculari*).⁸⁹ Gregory provides a number of examples of forcible ordination or claustration in a monastery as a means of getting rid of a political enemy.⁹⁰ It is unsurprising that the victims of these efforts preferred not to view it as a life sentence. Ecclesiastical legislation also transmitted great anxiety that religious men and, in particular, women, might change their minds and decide to marry.⁹¹ Some of these people may have always intended to do so, with the religious habit serving as a means to dissuade unwanted admirers or potential abductors.⁹² As Peter Hatlie points out, many young people would enter monasteries around the age of ten to receive an education and had an ambiguous status. Some would stay and become monks and nuns, others were there only temporarily, and then re-entered the world.⁹³ In 581–83, the Council of Mâcon dealt at length with the case of Agnes, who had left her monastery and subsequently used her wealth to obstruct any efforts to return her to it.⁹⁴ This fluidity further complicated the neat categories which church council records and other normative texts were seeking to create. Individuals in late antique and early medieval Gaul did not necessarily fit easily into one side of the lay/clerical or secular/religious divisions.

Conversion

The term ‘conversion’ has been used to describe a variety of types of religious change. In the modern era, it is usually used to indicate a change from one set

of religious beliefs to another, and this kind of conversion has dominated scholarly discussion of the topic in our period.⁹⁵ In late antique Gaul, however, the concept of conversion was more often used to indicate some kind of especial religious commitment within Christianity, and a separation from secularity. This type of conversion therefore reveals what it meant to people to separate from secularity, how one made such a change, what this involved, and how the converted person signalled their change to the outside world. Four important points emerge from this analysis. First, conversion mattered. It was treated as a moment of great import that should have visible consequences. The transition out of laity or secularity therefore received dramatic treatment in a number of late antique texts, especially hagiographies, which could depict this as an important moment in the character development of their hero-saint. Second, the important change that conversion involved was usually depicted as internal – this mattered far more than technical status. Third, external changes were frequently depicted as following on from this internal conversion, to signify to the world that a change had been made. These most typically involved differences in dress and hairstyle, to mark distinction in physical terms, although it could also mean a change in location, or rejection of family and sexuality. Fourth, however, some converted people (*conversi*) remained engaged with the world, exercising a kind of informal asceticism and engaging in some external markers of difference, without committing themselves wholly to a life of religion. These *conversi* were lay but had a complicated relationship with secularity. They therefore represent a particularly interesting group, indirectly challenging any neat clerical categorizations and definitions.

Ordination was treated by some late antique Gallic writers as a moment of conversion, requiring change.⁹⁶ Such a change is detailed in Constantius of Lyon's *Life of Germanus of Auxerre*, a particularly dramatic account because the hero was elected bishop directly from a lay state. His ordination was therefore presented as resulting in an immediate conversion: 'he was suddenly changed in all ways' (*repente mutatur ex omnibus*).⁹⁷ This kind of sudden change, however, was relatively unusual. More often, ordination was a planned step and the term 'conversion' could refer to the decision to undertake this step, and the period of preparation for it. For example, Faustus of Riez advised Ruricius of Limoges to live a life of prayer and repentance before his ordination, which Ruricius regarded as a proper path towards it.⁹⁸ This kind of conversion

was about internal commitment and in some hagiographies it was explicitly privileged as the important moment of change, over and above ordination or monastic profession. In his hagiography of Hilary of Arles, for example, the author Honoratus of Marseilles wrote that: 'He was consecrated into the priesthood, who had been consecrated a long time ago by the merits of his virtues; ... he was made a priest in name, who had already long since been decorated by the insignia of his virtues.'⁹⁹ In Hilary's own *Sermo sancti Honorati*, his subject's conversion from the world was shown as significantly predating his ordination. That served as institutional recognition of his virtue, not a spur to change his life.¹⁰⁰

Conversion could also mean formal entry to a religious community. We find this at the Council of Orléans in 511, which spoke of a monk as having 'converted' to a monastery.¹⁰¹ This is also the sense in which the word was used by Jonas in his *Vita Columbani*, where a virgin named Gibitruide 'asked to be accepted into [the] convent as a convert from the world (*conversa e saeculum*)' and where even an infant could be described as a *conversa* upon entering the religious community.¹⁰² The author of the *Vita Balthildis* likewise described Balthild as having a long-standing desire to convert (*conversare*) to the monastery at Chelles.¹⁰³ Benedict would use the term conversion to mean entry to the monastic life and by the middle ages this was the conventional sense of the term. 'Conversion' was not a singular concept in late antiquity – it described various types of changes, but all involved some kind of transition out of secularity and into a life of religious commitment.

Our fullest accounts of conversion as a moment of transition come in Gallic hagiographies. It is true that, as John Kitchen notes, many texts of this period present saints as 'not made but born', giving us portraits of men and women who were holy even in childhood or before their birth.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, many of these texts still included a conversion moment, the moment when the hero of the story was enabled or emboldened to adopt his or her chosen religious life openly, free of secular constraints. This transition was considered important enough to receive careful dramatic treatment by many Gallic hagiographers. In the *Sermo sancti Honorati*, for example, Hilary described his subject's long preparation for baptism and the opposition of his friends and family, which kept him from 'converting himself' for so long.¹⁰⁵ Eventually, however, not long after his baptism, he was consumed by the 'flame of conversion' and indicated

this by cutting his hair and adopting a severe style of dress, a decision that his elder brother soon emulated, likewise ‘called to conversion.’¹⁰⁶ This change, Hilary made clear, involved a rejection of the worldly ambitions and lives that their aristocratic family wished for them, and led them to embark on lives of asceticism. Even Austreberta, who was depicted as destined to the holy life before conception, was still given a conversion moment by the author of her *Vita*. In her case, she ran away from a planned marriage and threw herself at the feet of a holy man who consecrated her, upon which she took the veil. This did not result in an immediate change of locale (she still lived with her parents for a while), but did amount to a public declaration of her long-standing commitment.¹⁰⁷ This external signalling of her internal commitment was a crucial element in the hagiographic conversion moment. This is what marked the hero as separated from secularity.

The combination of internal decision followed by external markers is very clear in one of the most detailed conversion moment accounts in our period: the description by Venantius Fortunatus of the Frankish queen Radegund’s transition from a secular to a religious life. As in other hagiographies, Radegund was depicted as saintly even before this moment, but her conversion marked her ability to bring her external circumstances into full alignment with her internal state. In Venantius’s account, it was a moment of high drama that received extended and interesting attention.¹⁰⁸ According to the author, it was sparked by the traumatic death of her brother, after which Radegund left her husband the king and went directly to Medard, bishop of Noyon, to whom she begged that she might change her clothes and be consecrated to God. The bishop initially refused to garb her in the clothing of a religious woman (*monacha*) because he was frightened of what the king might do.¹⁰⁹ Radegund therefore took matters into her own hands and, according to Venantius, ‘sizing up the situation, entered the sacristy, put on monastic garb and proceeded straight to the altar, saying to the blessed Medard: “if you shrink from consecrating me, and fear man more than God, Pastor, He will require his sheep’s soul from your hand.” He was thunderstruck by that argument and, ‘laying his hands on her, he consecrated her as a deaconess (*diacona*).’¹¹⁰

Radegund did not immediately join a religious community as a result, but did, according to the text, separate herself physically and symbolically from the palace and from her husband. She also lived even more ascetically than

before, consuming humble food and drink, grinding flour, serving the poor and tending the sick. Eventually, she enclosed herself in a cell and gathered religious women around her.¹¹¹ Her activities were not greatly changed from her previous condition and Radegund engaged in many of the same kinds of charities and self-abasements. The difference was that she was able to act freely and did not need to hide her austerities. The conversion moment and veiling-consecration ceremony, in other words, *enabled* her and marked her as outwardly different. She was no longer a 'secular person'.

Radegund was also given a conversion moment in Baudonivia's version of her *Vita*, although she emphasized some slightly different elements. Baudonivia described Radegund's departure from the palace as a conversion (*conversio*), noting that 'moved by divine power, she parted from the earthly king, which her vows required'.¹¹² Medard did not appear in Baudonivia's account, there was no description of any consecration, nor was there any explanation of when and why she had made these vows. Nonetheless, like Venantius, Baudonivia saw this moment as enabling the queen to live openly as an ascetic – she required the conversion to move from a lay world in which she 'played the part of a wife', to an environment where her location and clothing were brought into accord with her inner state.¹¹³

In each of these hagiographic accounts, conversion marked the moment of transition out of secularity and it was envisaged as requiring change: in clothing, in lifestyle and in location. In some conversion stories there was a formal element of consecration ritual, whereas in others this went unstated or was de-emphasized. This points to the important informal element of conversion, as opposed to ordination, as a moment of transition: conversion did not necessarily require the involvement of a church official or holy figure. The converting person could undertake it themselves if they wished. It is striking, indeed, that even in the Radegund story, where her consecration was performed by a bishop, it was Radegund herself who put on monastic clothing and forced his hand.

'Conversion' is a useful way to think about these movements out of secularity, because they could take a variety of forms, or have different levels of formality, yet all amounted to an important transition from one category to another. The relative flexibility of conversion as a concept describes well the environment of late antique Gaul, where many ascetics experienced very little central direction

and where those who did not join a professed community were seldom subjected to much ecclesiastical oversight.¹¹⁴ Gregory of Tours' account of Monegund is instructive. Although married, Gregory described her as having a conversion experience after the death of her daughters, following which she decided to live as an ascetic. 'Despising the vanities of the world and having nothing more to do with her husband, she devoted herself entirely to God.'¹¹⁵ Initially, Monegund shut herself up in a small room at home, engaging in ascetic renunciation and prayer. Only after her family began to advertise and exploit her miraculous powers did she relocate to a small room in or near the basilica of St Martin in Tours, although her formal relationship to the church and its institutions remained entirely unclear. Her husband attempted to force her back home again, but she eventually managed to return, and gathered around her a small community of like-minded women. Monegund has often been considered a 'nun'.¹¹⁶ However, Gregory did not state that she made a vow, that she took the veil or that she followed any kind of rule. She was not guided by any authority figure, nor sanctioned by any formal ceremony or ritual. Technically, she was lay, but clearly she was not secular, and she was treated by contemporaries as a 'religious'. Gregory gave her a conversion experience to mark her transition out of secularity, and described her as changing her behaviour as a result. He shows both that the distinction between secular and religious was considered profoundly important, and that the boundary between them could be wholly informal.

The most informal group we need to consider here were those Harry Neff Waldron has termed *conversi*, and whom he describes as 'a vague class of laymen living without immediate ecclesiastical supervision while following some religious regimen'.¹¹⁷ This 'religious regimen' usually involved some kind of informal asceticism, but did not amount to withdrawal from the world – *conversi* were characterized, in Waldron's terms, by 'an internal resolve to adhere more closely to religion ... within a secular environment'.¹¹⁸ This group, in particular, demonstrates that it is more useful to think in terms of a spectrum of religious commitments and behaviours rather than strictly delineated categories.¹¹⁹ These were people who wished to mark their religious commitment in some way, yet were unwilling or unable to commit to it completely. *Conversi* who still needed to work to sustain themselves may have been in the latter group. Gregory of Tours mentioned in passing two servant

women who had made some religious gesture or decision, yet evidently were not able to withdraw from the world completely. One, Marcovefa, was seduced by King Charibert despite the fact that she 'wore the clothing of a religious'.¹²⁰ On another occasion, Gregory expressed outrage at the accusations against an earlier bishop of Tours levelled by a pregnant washerwoman who 'in the semblance of religion had changed her clothes'.¹²¹ Others seem not to have wanted to disengage entirely from family. Gregory told several stories about lay couples who lived ascetic lives together, such as the couple in Clermont who secretly agreed to abstain from sex but continued to reside in the world until old age, when they eventually made more formal commitments – he tonsured as a cleric and she 'putting on religious garments'.¹²² He also gave the example of Simplicianus, who had established a 'most chaste' relationship with his wife even before becoming a bishop.¹²³ Others had children together, like Helarius and his wife, but were deemed by Gregory to have established in their house 'such chastity and complete purity, as much of soul as of body, that no one would presume to engage in adultery there'.¹²⁴ Other *conversi* were described as leaving their households and residing at or near a church, as Monegund had. Gregory told the story of Guthedrud who, after receiving a cure for her blindness at the church of St Martin in Tours, abandoned her husband and children, changed her clothes and resided at the church.¹²⁵ We are reminded also of Clotild who, after the death of her husband, the Frankish king Clovis, 'served at the church of St Martin', and seems to have maintained a full household there.¹²⁶ Sometimes *conversi* chose to manifest their change of status by undertaking penance voluntarily, a phenomenon which Waldron and Galtier have studied at length.¹²⁷ Kevin Uhalde has also demonstrated how the category of penitents blurred with those in religious orders, and how penance could be an honourable state of religious dedication.¹²⁸

The boundaries between these people and more formal categories of religious were sometimes unclear. The *Vita Trudonis*, for example, notes that although its subject was a layman, 'on account of extreme abstinence and great cultivation of religion he appeared a monk'.¹²⁹ The author of the *Vita Anstrudis* described both the saint's mother and grandfather as *religiosi* even though both married, had children and never withdrew from the world.¹³⁰ Sidonius Apollinaris described the widow Eutropia as *sancta* even though she lived in the world: she earned this appellation through a life of abstention and charity.¹³¹

The ambiguity of such renunciation, in terms of categories, is vividly conveyed in a letter of Sidonius. Upon meeting an acquaintance, Maximus, Sidonius immediately noted the changes in him: 'his dress, his step, his modest air, his colour and his talk, all had a religious suggestion [*religiosus*]; moreover, his hair was short, his beard long' and his household frugal in furnishings and hospitality. Confused, Sidonius needed to ask: was he a monk, a clergyman or a penitent?¹³²

The external markers which each of these types of 'conversions' involved were fundamentally similar, accounting for Sidonius' confusion and reinforcing the idea that the change away from secularity was what mattered first. We have already noted the concern in the Gallic church council records that clergy should be marked as non-lay in their appearance, wearing clothing 'suitable for religion' rather than that which indicated secularity.¹³³ Indeed, Bonnie Effros has argued that the authority of clergy depended on appearing as a distinct group.¹³⁴ However, exactly what this clothing looked like is not clear.¹³⁵ Reynolds argues it was based on Roman dress, and Godding maintains that recommended clerical dress was derived from traditional Gallic costume, which may have become increasingly distinctive, as Frankish styles of dress became more common in the general population.¹³⁶ It was perhaps the case that clothing was expected to be simple, inexpensive and undecorated.¹³⁷ It is unclear how distinctive the clergy were, as a result, or how widely followed these prescriptions were.¹³⁸ Dress was not, however, the only visual clerical marker. Godding argues that tonsure also served this purpose perhaps as early as the first half of the sixth century, and that it took on a particular significance in a Frankish context where long hair was a marker either of royalty or of free status in general.¹³⁹ Interestingly, the church councils have relatively little to say on the subject of a distinctive clerical hairstyle, although growing your hair and shaving your beard were both deemed unseemly for clerics in two church council rulings.¹⁴⁰ Gregory of Tours wrote that when Patroclus fled an unwanted marriage, he begged the bishop of Bourges 'to cut off his hair and admit him into the ranks of the clergy'.¹⁴¹ By contrast, not being able to cut your hair, as a cleric, was a sign that one's clerical status was suspended. Gregory reported that when bishop Ursicinus of Cahors was excommunicated and forced to undertake penance for three years, he had to refrain from cutting his hair or beard, among other restrictions.¹⁴² Growing your hair also appeared as a sign that someone had left the clergy and returned to a lay life.¹⁴³

Dress and hairstyle therefore seem to be common external markers of a conversion to the clericate. However, there is plenty of evidence that ascetics adopted very similar visual gestures to mark their separation from secularity. According to his hagiographer, the first act of Honoratus, after deciding to live a religious life, was to cut his luxuriant hair, set aside splendid clothing and adopt a stiff cloak.¹⁴⁴ Likewise, when Gallus sought to join a monastery, he asked the abbot first to shave the hair of his head and Gregory praised the hermit Leobardus for imitating a clerical style in refusing to let his hair and beard grow too long.¹⁴⁵ In the *Formulae Marculfi*, hair cutting was presented interchangeably as the moment of transition into the state of either cleric or monk.¹⁴⁶ In the *Vita Geretrudis*, Gertrude's mother cut her daughter's hair to signal her dedication to a religious life and exemption, therefore, from the interest of predatory men who wished to pull her into 'the world' by force.¹⁴⁷ This was followed immediately after by the taking of the veil.¹⁴⁸

Clothing seems to have been especially important for ascetic women.¹⁴⁹ The church council canon recorded in *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* 99 urged any religious virgin (*sanctimonialis uirgo*) who was offering herself up for consecration to dress as was fitting for her profession, while the Council of Orange recommended that religious women wear widow's garb.¹⁵⁰ Because the commitments of ascetic women were variable and often informal, distinctive clothing was necessary to mark them as no longer available in the sexual or marriage market. This was the point of Gregory's anecdotes about the serving women in religious clothing: they might be still 'in the world' physically, but they were supposed to be marked as separated from it spiritually.¹⁵¹ Venantius presented clothing as central to Radegund's conversion story. While still living with her husband, Radegund expressed her desire for a religious life by wearing a hair shirt beneath her 'royal garment' (*veste regia*), and refusing a veil ornamented with gold and gems.¹⁵² Once she decided to make the break, however, as we have already noted, she did so by dressing herself in monastic garb. After this, Venantius gave four successive vignettes in which Radegund travelled to a church or monastic cell dressed in royal finery, then divested herself of garments and jewels and donated them to the altar. The 'change of clothing' ceremony, in other words, was repeatedly re-enacted, presumably for a variety of audiences.

Some texts downplayed the importance of clothing to a religious life. When Caesaria, abbess of St-Jean, wrote to Radegund, she emphasized that it was not

enough to 'change clothing,' since 'we can put off worldly clothes and assume religious ones in a minute or an hour'.¹⁵³ The *Vitae* of Austreberta and Eustadiola both presented their subjects as living religious lives, despite remaining in secular dress.¹⁵⁴ Nonetheless, for both of these women, their moment of freedom from secular ties, and true transition out of secularity, was marked by a change of clothing. For Austreberta, it was specifically the veil that signalled her commitment – she had visions of it around her head while still a child, and after she fled her planned marriage, she took it formally, to mark her consecration. Later on in the story, it was her veil which indicated her sacrosanct status – when threatened with a sword, she drew her veil around her neck, as though challenging her attacker to cut through it.¹⁵⁵

Even for informal ascetics remaining in the world, these same visual markers mattered. Tonsure appears so often as a marker for *conversi* that the Carolingians eventually had to restrict it to those in clerical or monastic orders, to reduce the resulting confusion of categories.¹⁵⁶ The Council of Agde noted that penitents were expected to mark themselves as a group, with a changed and humiliating clothing and hairstyle.¹⁵⁷ Caesarius even commented in his sermons that this could be a disincentive for some to undertake penance.¹⁵⁸ Waldron argues that by the second half of the sixth century, 'the change of garments was recognized as the constitutive act of lay *conversio* for women in Gaul, and it is highly probable that it was not necessary for them to seek ecclesiastical benediction in order to be bound by the obligation of continence while remaining in secular society'.¹⁵⁹ Changing your appearance was central to the act of conversion, and to moving yourself out of secularity, but it also lifted you into a grey zone where your exact status was not necessarily clear to others. All of these converts would have been externally marked as 'religious,' although they would have had a variety of technical positions and relationships with the world.

Nor was appearance the only thing which clergy, monks, ascetics, informal ascetics and penitents of various stripes had in common. All were increasingly expected to undertake similar renunciations, which separated them from secularity. The most obvious of these was chastity. Ability to marry was a defining characteristic of the laity, who were sometimes termed *conjugati* in the sources.¹⁶⁰ Renunciation of marriage, or of sex within marriage, was therefore a gesture of separation from the lay world. We have already reviewed

the increasingly strict regulations on the continence of higher clerical orders over this period, but these were in many ways a response to the ascetic insistence upon chastity as central to Christian virtue and purity. By renouncing sex, clerics were becoming more like monks. However, chastity was also a standard expectation for penitents and *conversi*. The first decision made by many saints in their hagiographies, long before they took any more formal steps, was to refuse marriage or sex within marriage. Penitents were also expected to be chaste and councils ruled in consequence that young people, who might struggle to honour this, should not be admitted to formal penance.¹⁶¹ This insistence on chastity once again served to blur boundaries between different types of people who had sought to separate themselves from secularity. As Waldron notes, 'One distinguishing characteristic of *conversio* which seems to have been invariable was the practice of total abstinence from sexual intercourse. Because such abstinence was a requisite for clerics and monks also, the practice helped to assimilate converts and penitents to the category of *religiosi*, and to mark them off from the world while remaining in lay society.'¹⁶²

Conversion mattered to these people. They felt a need to separate themselves from secularity in some visible and dramatic fashion. Some underwent rituals to mark their separation, but many did not. Most spent part or all of their lives continuing to reside in the secular world, even as they strove to distance themselves from it. The vocabulary to describe these people was very imprecise, which itself suggests that the various categories of renunciation were not clearly differentiated by contemporaries.¹⁶³ Did they think of themselves as lay? Did those around them consider them to be lay? The answers to these questions are not clear. What is clear, however, is that the neat canonical equation of laity with secularity disguised and distorted a complex range of behaviours, commitments and identities. Outside the normative texts, late antique authors treated religious and secular categories in a wide variety of ways.

Servants of the church, servants of God

The third angle from which I approach laity, clergy and ascetics in this chapter is that of service. Clergy and ascetics both employed the metaphor of service,

to the church or to God, to describe their positions. This displayed an appropriate humility and the inversion of social hierarchies. In doing so, however, they intersected with the large group of lay people who served the church and its representatives in less metaphorical ways: cleaning, providing food, washing linen, lighting lamps and so forth. The concept of service therefore cut across the categories of lay, clerical and ascetic and offered a means for understanding and representing a range of quite different relationships with religious institutions. However, there is also evidence that lay people who served the church in these ways were brought into the ambit of religious life in interesting ways and were considered, as a result, no longer wholly 'secular'. Service is therefore another way to think about the complications of religious categories in late antique and early medieval Gaul.

The image of the good Christian as a servant of God was founded in biblical passages celebrating Christian inversions and styling the apostles as servants of Jesus.¹⁶⁴ It was a common motif in hagiographies, with saints depicted as embracing the humiliating titles and roles of service to others as part of their self-abnegation. However, this rhetoric of service was about the inversion of hierarchies for symbolic purposes, not the actual destruction of them. For example, both versions of the *Vita Radegundis* depicted the former queen humbling herself by taking on the role of a servant: cooking, bringing food, cleaning, washing and drawing water.¹⁶⁵ Although born to be a Lady (*domina*), she became a handmaid of the Lord (*ancilla Domini*).¹⁶⁶ This chosen servitude, Baudonivia made clear, however, was not to be confused with actual servitude. When the housemaid Vinoberga dared to sit in Radegund's chair, she was miraculously punished.¹⁶⁷ The service model therefore co-existed with a strong social hierarchy and service was constructed by these authors as a voluntary meritorious act, much like the voluntary poverty of the formerly rich. Those who had no choice in their poverty or service were not supposed to take credit for it.

This model of service to God as a Christian ideal, however, extended far beyond hagiographies. Gallic epitaphs were filled with this language, with deceased individuals described in various ways as a servant of God: *famulus dei*, *famula dei*, *servus dei*, *servus christi*, *ancilla dei*, and *puella dei*.¹⁶⁸ Handley assumes that all people given such appellations in their epitaphs should be categorized as ecclesiastics rather than lay.¹⁶⁹ Certainly the term was

sometimes accompanied by indications of a formal religious role, suggesting that the deceased was a member of an ascetic community.¹⁷⁰ For example, the linked epitaphs of Hilaritas and Lea, who were described as servants of God (*puella Dei* and *sacra Deo puella* respectively), strongly suggest a religious community context, with the commemorations representing the bonds between members.¹⁷¹ Likewise Dulcitia, the ‘handmaid of God’ (*famola dei*) who was also described as *sanc[timonialis]*, was most likely a formal ascetic.¹⁷² However, we should be cautious in making this assumption about all instances of these terms. In a number of cases a description of the deceased as a ‘servant’ was not accompanied by any clear indication of ascetic or institutional commitment, and both Adolar Zumkeller and L.J. Van der Loft have argued that in some contexts the term can have a very general meaning of ‘good Christian’.¹⁷³ Van der Loft insists, indeed, that for Augustine, the various kinds of servants of God were originally lay people determined to live the full life of a Christian – he equates them to *conversi*.¹⁷⁴ For example, the epitaphs of Obtulfus (*famulus de[i]*) and Claudia (*famula d[e]i*) are among many which use such appellations without any sign that they lived in formal religious communities.¹⁷⁵ Given the wide range of forms of Christian life which could be lived within the world, we need to be open to the idea that such appellations could apply to lay people. The man described in an inscription from Ligugé as a ‘servant of the Lord Martin’ may have been a monk at a monastery dedicated to Martin, as Coquet argues, but he may also have been a lay person tied to Martin in some relationship of obligation or dependence.¹⁷⁶

Gregory of Tours provides us with some glimpses of what such service relationships may have looked like. He told the story, for example, of Aquilinus, who was attacked by demons and eventually brought to the church in Tours, where he received his cure. From that point, ‘forgetting his parents, he served in that place up to today in return for the favour he received’.¹⁷⁷ A young boy cured of his blindness during the funeral procession for Nicetius of Lyon was subsequently ‘assiduous in his service in the basilica at the tomb of the saint and in lighting lamps’.¹⁷⁸ In another case, Ursulf seems to have served at the church before receiving his cure from muteness, but was perhaps more formally ‘dedicated’ to the service of St Martin afterwards.¹⁷⁹ In this last case, Gregory might be implying that Ursulf was ordained, and it is clear that this did sometimes happen after a cure. A priest named Symon, Gregory recounted in

another story, promised that a slave of his would be freed, tonsured and 'transferred to [the saint's] service' if cured of his gout.¹⁸⁰ More often, however, Gregory did not feel compelled to specify what 'service' to the church meant. Ordination was clearly *not* implied when Gregory told the story of a woman who went blind because she baked on the Sabbath. After her cure at Martin's tomb she 'vowed . . . that each month she owed service for one week at the holy church.'¹⁸¹ Her commitment was not constant, but it was still considered permanent and binding. When she missed one week, after having served faithfully for a year, she was punished by being immediately struck blind. As already noted above, in the examples of Guthedrud and Clotild, lay people could 'serve' the church in some capacity, without being a cleric or even a dedicated ascetic. Aside from Clotild, most of these cases appear to be from the lower social classes. These people might not have been able to show their gratitude to the saint by building a shrine, dedicating an oratory or granting some land. All they had to offer was their labour. Such was apparently the case with the virgin mentioned in the *Vita* of Austreberta, who was 'undeservedly reduced to poverty' and therefore gave service to the saint by sweeping out her church every Saturday.¹⁸²

This service needs to be understood in the extensive but often invisible context of late antique unfree or barely free service labour.¹⁸³ As major landowners, property holders and members of the elite, churches, as well as monasteries and individual holy men and women, were supported by a vast network of servants and slaves. They appear only occasionally in our sources, intruding themselves upon the clerical mental map of the church and its operations. Most of them were anonymous, like 'one of the girls' (*una puellarum*) filling lamps with oil in the monastery of St Martin, the 'little girl' (*puellulam*) accompanying an old woman lighting lamps in a crypt in Bordeaux or the 'boy' (*puer*) who collected miraculous lamp oil from Martin's tomb and brought it to Gregory.¹⁸⁴ The *Vita Bertilae* talked of a crowd of servants of both sexes in the monastery, and the *Vita* of Aldegund made frequent reference to those who carried messages, lit lamps and candles, and brought water for the sisters.¹⁸⁵ We also hear incidentally about those who served the religious in more individual capacities.¹⁸⁶ It was considered a great hardship for a bishop to be restricted to only one servant, while the *Vita Radegundis* mentions it as a particular point of sanctity that the former queen would not let her maid serve her.¹⁸⁷ Caesarius'

Regula virginum had to insist that even the abbess should not be able to keep a personal servant, suggesting that this was an expectation for some of the aristocratic women who joined the community.¹⁸⁸ Sometimes, these servants were expected to follow a life of asceticism along with their master or mistress. When she withdrew into a small room, Monegund took her serving girl with her and relied upon this girl to bring her various necessities. When the girl rebelled and departed, stating: 'I would rather enjoy the world and consume food and drink in abundance', Monegund nearly starved to death and had to be saved by a miracle.¹⁸⁹ When Caluppa became a recluse he was accompanied by a serving boy who shared his abstinence.¹⁹⁰

Occasionally, these servants could move up to a higher level of status. For example, Gregory wrote of a young boy and girl who were servants of the cathedral in Tours, fell ill with a fever and were cured at Martin's tomb.¹⁹¹ Gregory viewed this as a sign that they should not remain servants – 'when news of these things reached us we admitted the boy to this monastery, with a tonsure, and we directed the girl, with changed clothing, to be joined to a community of religious women to serve God'.¹⁹² Others moved up under their own direction, as in the case of Agustus, a servant of Desideratus, bishop of Bourges. He used alms from the pious to build an oratory to St Martin, received a cure from his illness and began a monastic community there, complete with a rule.¹⁹³ Service to the church in one capacity could segue into service in another. This movement, however, was not always smooth. The list of miracles appended to the *Vita* of Austreberta tells of a girl who had repeatedly sought to become a nun in the convent where she served. After being refused again, she grabbed the pall from the saint's tomb, declaring she would not let go until she was admitted. The abbess responded by declaring 'You were born a servant in this monastery and you ought to do servile work as you would have to do outside. Do you dare to imagine that you can make yourself a lady by stealing the corpse of another nun?'¹⁹⁴ Only after the abbess fell gravely ill did she realize her mistake and command that the girl be admitted.

When a servant or slave was cured by the powers of a saint, the church sometimes bought their freedom. Gregory of Tours' *Virtutes sancti Martini* gave several accounts of this kind. There was, for example, the woman from Poitiers who came to Martin's tomb to be healed of a crippled arm, but whose injury returned as soon as she was once again subjected to slavery by her

masters. She returned to Tours, but her masters tried to abduct her, at which point they were bought off with a payment from the church's resources and the woman was given her freedom.¹⁹⁵ Elsewhere, Gregory gave a very brief account of a slave woman who was cured of muteness in the church at Tours and then redeemed to freedom, presumably by church representatives.¹⁹⁶ Another cured slave was freed for half her value.¹⁹⁷ It is likely that such people, indebted to the saint for their cure and their freedom, were expected to 'serve' the church in return.¹⁹⁸ Other slaves were manumitted to the church directly, while the *Lex Ribuaria* makes clear that a slave freed within a church was deemed to be under the protection of that church.¹⁹⁹ Such a freedman was called a *tabularius* of the church and the law decreed: 'let one and all descendants of him remain free and be under the church's protection and let the entire income of [their social] position remain with the church.'²⁰⁰ If he died without heirs, his inheritance would go to the church.²⁰¹ The position of these servants, who kept churches and monasteries functioning, separated them from ordinary secularity. They did not share in the status of the ordained, or the vowed, but they did share in some of their elevation above secularity.

Peter Sarris has drawn attention to the fact that as the church 'emerged as an increasingly significant landowner from the fourth to the sixth centuries', it became ever more involved in 'exploitative, and potentially highly antagonistic, economic and social relations'.²⁰² Secular legislation details for us how numerous and complex were these relationships.²⁰³ 'Servants of the church' (*servi ecclesiae*) appear throughout the secular laws, as a designated category, separate from other servants and slaves. The *Leges Alamannorum* listed *servi* and *ancillae* among the possessions of the church which were not to be stolen and decreed that a freewoman who had been manumitted in the church and afterwards married a slave, was to remain a servant of that church.²⁰⁴ The *Lex Ribuaria* has much to say about the *wergeld* (man price) of church servants of various kinds, described with terms such as: *homo ecclesiasticus*, *servus ecclesiasticus*, *femina ecclesiastica*, *ancilla ecclesiastica* and *ancilla tabularii*.²⁰⁵ A servant of the church who was killed was compensated for at the same rate as a servant of the king according to the *Leges Alamannorum*.²⁰⁶ Various other dependants of the church also appear in these laws; some are clearly tenants on church lands, others are dependent in an unspecified way, such as in *Formulae Andecauenses* twenty-six, which spoke simply of 'a man of that saint'.²⁰⁷ The

special position of ecclesiastical slaves was also laid out in the letter of Clovis to the bishops of Aquitaine.²⁰⁸

The meaning of the terminology is not always clear to us, and was probably anyway imprecise.²⁰⁹ What emerges is that there was a wide range of lay people who were judged, both legally and morally, to be bound to religious institutions. Some were clearly not there voluntarily, as in the case of the burglar who was made to work in the monastery he had robbed until such time as he could pay off his debt.²¹⁰ The laws also suggest, however, that some situations could be more complex than simple exploitation. The *Leges Alamannorum* ruled on the practice of handing over one's own person to the church, declaring that a Christian man was permitted to serve God of his own free will.²¹¹ Naturally it was the non-exploitative relationships which more often appeared in the clerical sources. However, lay people could also get something in return for their service – perhaps only payment of their debts, but perhaps a cure, or protection, or support of some kind. The power dynamic was not as wholly one-sided as Sarris suggests.²¹² Even the clerical perspective reveals that some laity could benefit from a relationship with the church which was not wholly on clerical terms.

The other group of lay people with a special status were those enrolled on the *matricula* (poor list), and who were entitled to financial support from the church. That a *matricula* was an expected element of a sacred site's apparatus is supported by *Formulae Marculfi* 2.1 which provided for the foundation of an oratory and lands supporting twelve paupers. Their status was declared by their title: 'holy paupers of God'.²¹³ These paupers sometimes resided on site in special accommodation provided by the church and could be quite organized and long term.²¹⁴ *Virtutes sancti Martini* 3.23 mentioned a mute man on the *matricula* for six years and those on the *matricula* appeared in the background of several of Gregory's miracle stories, as part of the community physically present at the church.²¹⁵ Occasionally, it seems, these paupers were expected to serve the church in some capacity in return for this support – for example Gregory told the story of a dead saint who appeared to one of these poor men in a dream and ordered him to clean an oratory, washing it with water and sprinkling it with herbs.²¹⁶

We come back, therefore, to the concept of service and the very wide range of ways in which lay people could engage in this, form part of the support

systems for the church, and themselves benefit from their engagement with it. These people were lay, but they were profoundly attached to or dependent upon the institutions of the church. They may have seemed, to outside observers, indistinguishable from the lower clergy.²¹⁷ For example, when sources refer to 'custodians' of tombs, it is seldom clear whether they were lay people or clerics of some kind.²¹⁸ The confusion is not solely ours. Gregory of Tours reported two disputes over the exact status and obligations of people who were within the ambit of the church in some way. In the first, the Frankish king Chilperic attempted to punish the 'paupers and juniors of Tours cathedral and Saint Martin's church' because they had not mustered for his army, as he believed they were obliged to do. Gregory insisted, however, that 'it was not customary for them to do public service', presumably because he deemed them exempt, just as the clergy were.²¹⁹ In the second instance, a decree was issued against anyone who had not joined in a military expedition, and the Count of Bourges sent his men into 'the house of the blessed Martin' to force the men who resided there to pay the fine. The steward of the house resisted, however, insisting that 'these are men of Saint Martin' and that it was not their custom to take part in military actions.²²⁰ Gregory did not explain exactly why they were exempt, or what their status was, but he clearly agreed, since the steward's argument was subsequently confirmed by a miracle.²²¹ A fourth-century law for the *Theodosian Code* had decreed that just as clergy were 'legally free from sordid and onerous services, so were their properties and the people on them.'²²² Gregory apparently felt that this still applied, and that the exemptions of the church extended to those dependent on the church. These were lay people, but they were not wholly secular. Their service to the church had also made them servants of God, separated from secularity to at least some degree.

To quote Joan Wallach Scott, 'Subjects are constituted discursively, but there are conflicts among discursive systems, contradictions within any one of them, multiple meanings possible for the concepts they deploy.'²²³ Clergy and ascetics sought to define themselves and their religious subjects in opposition to secularity and to laity. However, they did not do so in a constant or coherent fashion. It was not easy to create well-demarcated religious categories in late antique Gaul and various groups defied or disrupted the process of doing so. Moreover, clerical and ascetic ways of thinking about secularity created

opportunities for lay people to adopt their own religious behaviours and identities. To categorize people as lay was to create a restrictive language, but it did not determine identity, environment, behaviour or belief. Lay people had the possibility of agency, and I will explore what they may have done with it in the chapters which follow.

Environments

Preaching on the anniversary of a church's dedication, Caesarius spoke of it as a place which should be shining with cleanliness and light and which was the proper context for religious rituals. He urged his congregants to prepare themselves, physically and spiritually, before entering this sacred space. 'If it is wicked and disgraceful to approach the altar with dirty hands, how much worse is it to receive the Body and Blood of Christ into a soiled soul?'¹ Caesarius' sermon traded on his audience's expectations that a church should be a special environment, but did so in order to subordinate it in the Christian scheme of salvation. Indeed, he systematically undercut the importance of sacred space, insisting that the state of the souls of believers should be more cherished, nurtured and polished than the physical building they inhabited. 'Today we are celebrating with joy and exultation the feast day of this temple, dearly beloved, but it is we who ought to be the true, living temple of God.'²

A range of rather different attitudes to sacred space emerge in a passage from Gregory of Tours' miracle stories about Julian of Brioude. Faced with a marauding army, the inhabitants of Brioude had sought refuge, along with their possessions, in the church of their patron saint. However, the soldiers displayed no respect for sacrosanctity – they broke into the church and seized the possessions of the people. In Gregory's telling, the proper respect for sacred space was promptly reasserted by two different higher authorities. First, King Theuderic sentenced a number of these soldiers to death for their crime. Then, more dramatically, the instigator of the theft was 'devoured by fire from heaven', and denied even a proper burial, while his companions were possessed by a demon and ended their lives in various painful deaths.³ The story ended with a legal confirmation of the principles of sacrosanctity that had already been established. Theuderic returned all the goods that had been stolen and ordered

that no one was to use violence within seven miles of the church. Gregory made clear that an attack on a church was an act of sacrilege, and it would be punished by both secular justice and divine vengeance. The villagers of Brioude who sheltered in it clearly believed that the church would be a protected place, and King Theuderic reinforced this expectation by outlawing violence in a wide space around it. On the other hand, Gregory's description of the soldiers pillaging the church in Brioude suggests that at least some people refused to respect a church as sacred space, and treated it as they would any other structure: ripe for the picking in a time of war.

These conflicting attitudes to religious environments had a long history in the Christian tradition.⁴ Many early Christians saw sacred sites as a pagan phenomenon and saw themselves in contrast as part of a 'de-territorialized' religion with minimal connections to this world or its physical environment.⁵ Because God was omnipresent, and everything was a part of his creation, everywhere was, at least in potential, equally sacred.⁶ Clerical discomfort with locative approaches to religion can still be felt in Caesarius' sermon: he would prefer that his congregants think of 'the holy' in spiritual rather than physical terms.⁷

On the other hand, from an early point, some members of the Christian community had treated the sites of Jesus' life and death, the locations of martyrial self-sacrifice, and the tombs of those celebrated figures as places of particular importance. These were locations where the divine was deemed to be more accessible, or where a saint could be most effectively invoked.⁸ By late antiquity, Christians had developed a series of rituals to consecrate a site, while the presence of relics, of a holy person, or of a religious action, was felt to sacralize a location almost automatically.⁹ Markus has argued that this enthusiasm for holy places had its origins with the laity, and that clerical opinion played catch-up.¹⁰ This is difficult to trace in Gaul, given the sources we have, but it is nonetheless clear that lay attitudes to space were important to the clergy, and that they were not always what clerics wanted those attitudes to be. Religious environments served, in late antique Gaul, as sites of distinction between clergy and laity, as places of conflict between them, and as locations of both pious and impious lay behaviour. They were fundamental to the religious worlds of lay people.

The spatial turn has had a profound impact on how historians view the world of late antiquity, and questions around space have important implications

for the study of the laity.¹¹ This chapter explores different ways in which religion formed a part of the physical worlds of lay people, both through ideas about sacred space and, where we can access it, lay uses of sacred spaces. Although our evidence is overwhelmingly from non-lay sources, we can still establish how clergy and ascetics expected lay people to interact with religious environments, as well as how they tried to shape those interactions, and we can also occasionally trace lay conceptions of religious spaces as forces against which clergy might have to struggle, or with which they tried to work.

Lay people interacted with religious environments in a multitude of ways. Clergy and ascetics made various attempts to control sacred spaces: determining boundaries, restricting lay access, using buildings, artwork and objects to convey their own particular messages and hierarchies. However, these efforts were only occasionally successful, and there is evidence that some lay Christians resisted or subverted such controls. This chapter therefore begins by exploring the intentions of religious elites, focusing specifically upon the church as a religious environment which was ideally under clerical direction. Churches were sites where the clergy were, or could be, most separated from the laity – they conducted the rituals and they were demarcated in spatial terms. Even churches, however, were difficult to control completely – they could have multiple foci, and needed to serve important purposes other than the enforcement of hierarchy and distinction. The second section of the chapter therefore examines what evidence we have for lay usage of church spaces. This evidence is problematic, because it comes largely from clerical authors who were either endorsing or condemning particular lay behaviours. However, lay people were sufficiently present in these texts to suggest that they interacted with church environments in their own ways, and prioritized different spatial elements than some of the clergy. The third section of the chapter shifts focus to other religious environments, under less clerical direction. Private chapels proliferated in late antique and early medieval Gaul, particularly in the countryside, and were spaces where the clergy were not necessarily in charge. Ecclesiastical authorities recognized these spaces as legitimate, but tried to exert their influence within them as much as they could, to ensure that they did not become wholly lay-controlled. Lay people, meanwhile, also pressured to have access to ascetic sites such as monasteries and appear to have placed great importance on alternative sites of veneration, such as tombs. These provided

many opportunities for lay interaction with the divine on their own terms. Finally, this chapter briefly details some of the limited evidence we have for the role of religious objects in the lay experience. This issue has been explored by others in relation to the veneration of relics, but there are also interesting suggestions that religion entered lay experiences of their environments in a number of other material ways as well. Religion formed an important but highly variable element of the lay world.

Churches: clerical intentions

Our knowledge of the exact message which church structures conveyed in Gaul is limited by the nature of our evidence. As Doig puts it, 'there is precious little hard archaeological evidence giving us insights into the detail of Gallo-Roman ecclesiastical architecture'.¹² Lavan goes further, insisting that 'it is still not simple to reconstruct church interiors of this period. Regional variations in spatial organization are very great, and our evidence is far too patchy to describe them fully'.¹³ Despite the efforts of many scholars, our archaeological picture of the Gallic religious landscape is extremely scant. We can pinpoint the probable locations of many religious buildings, but know the structures of only some, can securely reconstruct the interior shapes of very few, and can establish a picture of a fully furnished and decorated church for none at all. Specificity is therefore difficult. Nonetheless, we can make some general comments about the probable internal spatial arrangements of Gallic churches and their intended impact.

We saw in the previous chapter how various members of the Gallic clergy attempted to separate themselves from the laity in terms of both behaviour and appearance, as part of an argument for their superiority within a spiritual hierarchy. These ideas also emerged in the organization of religious space.¹⁴ Clergy insisted that churches, as the premier religious environments, should be separated from secularity. Internal church spaces were also ideally organized around a hierarchy of sacredness, radiating out from a central point at the altar, over which clergy presided.¹⁵ This hierarchy of sacredness was articulated in architecture, artwork, furnishings, sound, smell and lighting.¹⁶ Several scholars have produced powerful imaginative reconstructions of the experience of

being in a late antique church, emphasizing the otherworldliness of the spaces and the impact upon the faithful of the multiple sensory elements a church could contain.¹⁷ All of this was intended to separate the church as a space from the ordinary secular world and to highlight the position of the clergy as those who presided over it. Churches were designed as statements of power.

The ideal of separation from secularity, and the importance of eliminating the pollution of the world, was articulated in a number of sources.¹⁸ The clergy at the Council of Auxerre refused to let lay people sing songs within a church, even religious ones, and they were prohibited to prepare feasts within the building.¹⁹ In the mid-seventh century, the Council of Chalon extended the prohibition on lay singing during the festivals of martyrs to the enclosures, porticoes and atria around the church.²⁰ Clergy were especially worried that the singing might be obscene, and could involve women. These were taints of secularity which they wished to banish from the church grounds. Law codes reinforced this idea of separation, providing severe penalties for anyone who committed crimes within a church or entered it bearing arms.²¹ The *Leges Alamannorum* specified that such acts 'polluted' (*polluit*) the church.²² The laws of sanctuary also relied upon the notion that a church was a protected zone and that those within it were therefore temporarily out of the secular world. The altar was the best place for a refugee to seek protection, but not the only 'safe' place – in the early fifth century, the protection of the church was extended to fifty steps from the door.²³ Later, the right of sanctuary extended to all the buildings belonging to the church.²⁴ This had the effect of creating a gravitational field of sacredness that radiated out from the centre and still had force at a surprising distance.²⁵ This sacredness did not mean that a church was necessarily a safe zone. Quite aside from the many violations of sanctuary, and the many acts of violence, both of which I will discuss below, churches could also be filled with demons or house evil spirits.²⁶ A church could even become so polluted that Avitus of Vienne worried about whether it could ever be made properly pure again.²⁷ These ideas of sacred space, therefore, were arguments for how a church should be treated. Sacred space was not assured, and clergy insisted that it had to be carefully maintained and worked at by all members of the Christian community.

Dominique Iogna-Prat emphasizes that church architecture developed at least in part in response to the need to differentiate sections of the Christian community in spatial terms. In particular, it served to divide clergy and laity,

and men and women, in ways which the house church never could, or perhaps never needed to.²⁸ Although by no means the only church form, the basilica was predominant in Gaul in this period, and the process of adapting this architecture to the needs of Christianity 'necessitated a strict separation between the area set aside for the altar and priest (presbytery) and the space occupied by the congregation.'²⁹ The transept, a feature of many Gallic churches, may have developed to solve problems of circulation, but served also to focus attention upon a central architectural point, and a concomitant hierarchy.³⁰ Yvon Thébert argues that the basilica structure 'singles out one place as special, as dominant over other spaces to which participants or spectators are confined . . . Onlookers are grouped together in the long naves, where they can do nothing but look straight ahead, into the apse.'³¹ This hierarchy, and distinction of clergy from laity, was articulated within the church in other ways as well. As Torjesen notes, the seating for the clergy in the apse 'signalled that the clergy were rulers over the laity', while the position of the bishop's throne, beneath the mosaic of the enthroned Christ, found in many churches, established him as Christ's representative.³² Within a basilica, there was a clear progression of sacredness up to the culminating point of the altar.³³

The altar, moreover, appears to have been demarcated as a clerical space. Although internal arrangements could vary, lay worshippers generally watched the Eucharistic rites from a distance, and were separated from the altar by some kind of visible marker or barrier.³⁴ In a sermon on the dedication of a church, Avitus of Vienne spoke of an altar, 'discretely separated from the nave by a slightly elevated platform.'³⁵ Gregory of Tours mentioned railings marking out an area where the clergy stood to sing psalms.³⁶ In 567, a canon from the Council of Tours decreed that 'the laity should not at all dare to stand at the altar, where the sacred mysteries are celebrated interiorly among the clergy either at vigils or at masses, but that part, which is divided by the chancel facing the altar, should be accessible only to the choirs of clerics singing psalms.'³⁷ This restriction was not absolute, however. The canon went on to state that: 'For prayer and communication the holy of holies (*sancta sanctorum*) should be accessible to laity and to women, as is the custom.'³⁸ In other words, the spatial restriction was only particularly strict when the rituals were under way, and it was the rituals, and the clergy who enacted them, which had to be kept apart from secularity most of all.³⁹

Exactly how much the lay people could see of those rites has proved a controversial question. Some scholars have argued for a substantive screen or curtains between the laity and the altar.⁴⁰ Joan Branham and Richard Kieckhefer see some archaeological evidence for screens, but emphasize that these were symbolic demarcations of space, rather than obstacles to vision.⁴¹ It would be misleading to project into the late antique and early medieval periods the far more elaborate screening of later ages, in both the East and West.⁴² Moreover, even in times and places where elaborate screening did exist, it did not necessarily serve as a mechanism of exclusion.⁴³ Nonetheless, it was important to those building and using a church that the most sacred area around the altar be symbolically marked by some kind of barrier. This was part of the physical and rhetorical separation of the laity and their secular world from the clergy and their sacred one.

The intended impact of the spatial arrangements within a church would likely have been bolstered by its decoration and artwork. Architectural decoration often highlighted the area around the sanctuary by the use of columns of different colour or capitals of a particular type. Sometimes images would follow the faithful to the sanctuary as they moved towards it, or would emphasize the way in which divine power emanated from this central point.⁴⁴ In many cases where we can reconstruct the artwork from this period, Christ was represented in the apse, 'to convince the worshipper that his God was truly present in the sanctuary'.⁴⁵ Indeed, the artwork within churches, now almost wholly lost to us, would have been a central part of the religious experience of the laity standing within them. Raymond Van Dam even argues that church buildings were primarily scaffolding for the paintings, frescoes and inscriptions which conveyed the most important messages to the laity.⁴⁶ This decoration also celebrated particular saints, and these images could become sacred sites in themselves. For example, Gregory of Tours told of the priest Fortunatus, who cured his eyes with oil from a lamp burning beneath a portrait of Saint Martin.⁴⁷ Christian images have been sometimes understood as the 'Bible of the illiterate', and Paulinus of Nola argued that they were essential to reach 'peasant people' who could not read, but could admire the works of Christ in the pictures around them.⁴⁸ Beat Brenk has expressed scepticism as to the practical persuasive power of these images, and indeed many of them seem to have required prior knowledge or careful interpretation.⁴⁹ However, we can view them as parts of

the whole effect created by a Gallic church, an impression that was emotive rather than directly didactic. They provided congregants, as Brenk himself notes, with 'a glimpse of heaven'.⁵⁰ The artwork served, just as the architecture and internal divisions of the church did, to mark it as a sacred space.

Contemporary clerical accounts of churches emphasized the intended powerful impact of all of these elements upon the faithful. These accounts are sparing in detail, to the frustration of modern scholars, but give a strong impression of sensory impact. In his account of a church in Clermont, Gregory described its fresco as 'wonderful' but did not even describe what it depicted, instead emphasizing its 'many different colours'. It was part of the impressive image evoked by his account of columns of Parian marble and Herclean stone.⁵¹ Similarly, when describing the church built by Namatius in Clermont-Ferrand, Gregory gave its measurements, number of windows, columns and doorways, noted the presence of mosaics and marbles, and gave a general description of its layout, which he said was 'elegant'. His emphasis, however, was on the impact created by all of these elements together: 'In it one is conscious of the fear of God and of a great brightness, and those at prayer are often aware of a most sweet and aromatic odour which is being wafted towards them.'⁵² For Avitus of Vienne, the architectural structure of the church and the ornamentation within it worked together to create the overall effect. Imagining the speeches at a church dedication he had been forced to miss, he predicted the speakers praising 'all parts of the lofty structure', but especially,

the elegance of its fittings, the sacrifice involved in its great cost, the harmonious proportions of its dimensions, its size, the height of its roof, the firm solidity of its foundation. They would be able to polish with praise the glory of the marble revetments [and] ... to praise the daylight collected somehow and enclosed by man's labour, alive with the light of so many precious shining metals.⁵³

However, this picture of a carefully controlled hierarchical church space, serving clerical needs and conveying clerical messages, is overly simplistic. Basilicas were by no means the only style of church design in this period. In some church layouts, the model was that the faithful were immediately surrounded by a sacred world upon entry – the dome was about spreading attention, not necessarily focusing it on one end of the building.⁵⁴ Moreover,

many of the Gallic churches described in our sources, or in the archaeological record, were not large, impressive buildings. They could be squeezed into small areas, or expanded as need required over time into somewhat incoherent, complicated structures.⁵⁵ Churches collapsed, were rebuilt, were restored, were extended, were formed out of pre-existing buildings, and generally followed no consistent pattern of design history.⁵⁶ Artwork and decorations were added at different times by different patrons and did not necessarily form a coherent overall programme. Lay people also paid for churches, for decorations, for additions and objects within them.⁵⁷ Their tastes and preferences inevitably intruded. It is a mistake to imagine churches as sites of controlled clerical message production.

Churches also had to serve needs and priorities other than the enforcement of hierarchy. Mathews emphasizes very strongly how church architecture responded to the needs of liturgy.⁵⁸ The design and organization of space therefore needed to allow for ceremonial entrances, processions, performance of ritual, singing and spectators. John Crook sees lay access to relics as a central element in where and how church buildings were formed, and there is evidence that they were altered to make this access possible, so that the laity were invited into some of the most sacred areas of the church, instead of being excluded.⁵⁹ The importance of access comes across in an anecdote. Two priests, Gregory of Tours recorded, were buried in adjacent sarcophagi, and 'it was not possible for the sarcophagus [in back] to be honoured because of the sarcophagus that was in front [of it]; that is, no shroud could be unfolded there, and no lamp could be lit'.⁶⁰ In this particular case, the problem was solved through the miraculous relocation of one sarcophagus, but we might suspect that more prosaic solutions were found in other cases.⁶¹ In his account of the *Vita* of Gregory of Langres, for example, Gregory noted that the bishop had been buried 'in a corner of the basilica, in a very narrow place, so that the people could not approach him as their devotion demanded'.⁶² The saint's son and successor therefore built an apse behind the altar, and translated his father's remains to this new site. In many of Gregory's miracle stories, he emphasized that lay people tried to get as close as possible to the centre of sacred power. In one case, he observed that people who swore oaths at the tomb of the martyr Pancratius approached 'all the way to the railings that are beneath the arch where the clerics usually stand and chant the psalms'.⁶³ In order to effect a cure, it might be necessary

to kiss or touch the shroud over relics on the altar, or covering a tomb.⁶⁴ Other lay people, Gregory recorded, would lie for a day between the altar and the holy tomb, perhaps trying to maximize the effect from the two centres of radiating sanctity.⁶⁵ Exclusion of the laity, and enforcement of a religious hierarchy, were clearly not the primary spatial considerations in these cases.

Furthermore, as these examples suggest, the central altar was not always the only or even the main focus of lay religious attention within a church. Churches could have multiple foci.⁶⁶ Burial places of saints could be the chief targets of pilgrims or those seeking a cure. The bishop's seat and the ambo were also both points to which architecture and liturgical movement drew attention.⁶⁷ By the late sixth century, we have the first clear reference to more than one altar within a single church.⁶⁸ By the mid-seventh century, it seems that extra altars inside church buildings were provided with settings and embellishments and served as places of private liturgy, of private prayer and of burial.⁶⁹ The proliferation of relic sites and chapels within churches was an important part of this. Vincent Michel points to the ways in which small chapels created a whole new constellation of focal points for the faithful.⁷⁰ The multiplicity of the church, its places of retreat, and its complex components, was a particular point of praise in Avitus' dedication sermon.⁷¹ The hierarchy of sacred space within a church could therefore be very far from clear and the laity could not be easily excluded from all of these sacred zones. These additional altars may have been screened, or marked, or they may have been accessible to the laity in ways which the central altar was not. As we have already seen, even the main altar of a church was accessible to the laity outside of services, while lay people may have been able to get direct access to, and clear vision of, the Eucharistic ceremonies when held outdoors, in domestic chapels, and in their own homes.⁷² It would have been very difficult for the clergy to control sacred space under these circumstances. Lay people had many opportunities to make their own uses of it.

Churches: evidence for lay uses

The previous section ended with some evidence that lay people had more access to sacred spaces than the clerical ideal permitted. Our evidence for

this still largely comes from clerical and ascetic texts, but even these offer interesting and suggestive accounts of how lay people may have used these religious environments, in ways both endorsed and critiqued by our authors. These can indicate significant gaps between clerical ideals and lay conceptions of sacred space. For example, our sources provide many examples of misbehaviour in churches, and of lay people acting as though they were in a secular environment. Caesarius of Arles complained repeatedly about the behaviour of his congregation in church, lamenting that they chattered among themselves, conducted business and quarrelled.⁷³ Caesarius emphasized that the sacred space made the sin more severe. 'I ask you brethren, if it is wrong for men to engage in idle conversation outside of church, what kind of a sin do you suppose it is to do so in church?'⁷⁴ Some sat in church when they should be standing.⁷⁵ Others arrived late, or left early, before the mass had even been celebrated.⁷⁶ Caesarius found it necessary to remind his congregants to bow or genuflect to show respect at the appropriate moments, and complained that 'most of the people frequently remain standing like straight columns.'⁷⁷

Other sources described more extreme lay disrespect for the sacred space. Churches could be the settings for brawls and violence, their sacred objects and decorations were the object of thieves, and clergy could be arrested mid-mass or killed at their altar.⁷⁸ Gregory of Tours recounted an argument which broke out after a man swore an oath at the tomb of Saint Denis and his enemies accused him of perjury: 'they all drew their swords, rushed at each other and started killing each other in front of the altar . . . Many received sword-wounds, the holy church was splattered with human blood, the portals were pierced with swords and javelins and weapons were drawn in senseless anger at the very tomb of Saint Denis.'⁷⁹ In another case, Gregory alleged that the bishop Praetextatus was murdered during a church service and 'as he prayed and gave thanks to God the hands which he stretched out over the altar dripped with blood.'⁸⁰ Gregory milked the contrast between sacred setting and appalling violence for all the pathos it could muster, but if his accounts are even half true, these anecdotes evoke little effective veneration for the sacredness of church space.⁸¹

Neither was sanctuary necessarily respected by those in pursuit of the asylum seeker.⁸² Although Gregory reported miracles indicating the punishment of those

who violated sanctuary, his many examples suggest a widespread disregard for the sacredness of the church or its status as a site exempt from secular violence.⁸³ A sermon in the Eusebius Gallicanus collection was less explicit, but likewise urged that Christians respect the right of sanctuary in a church, implying that it was not always respected.⁸⁴ Nor did those seeking sanctuary in the church necessarily treat it as sacred space, even though their action would appear to evoke its power as such. When Leudast sought sanctuary in the church of Hilary in Poitiers, Gregory of Tours claimed that he would emerge from the church periodically to rob people, and 'was even seen to interfere with women in the porchway of the church.'⁸⁵

One particular extended episode told by Gregory gives a good picture of these complex lay attitudes: the account of the refuge taken by Eberulf in the church of St Martin in Tours. Eberulf, the former treasurer to the Merovingian king Chilperic, had sought sanctuary in the church after falling out with Chilperic's widow and brother. Gregory set his account of Eberulf's activities very firmly against the various sacred spaces of the church, and his violation of those spaces both before and after seeking sanctuary therefore served, for Gregory, to explain why Saint Martin had not protected him. Eberulf had frequently attacked or appropriated the church's property, and 'often committed manslaughter in the very vestibule which led to the Saint's tomb, and ... behaved in there in a drunken and stupid way', including attacking a priest who had refused to serve him further wine when already drunk.⁸⁶ During his time in sanctuary, Eberulf took up residence in the sacristy and his retinue would abuse their physical position to enter the church after hours to gape at frescoes and pry at decorations, 'all of which was a desecration of religious feeling.'⁸⁷ When the clergy tried to secure the doors to prevent this, Eberulf complained that they had cut off his access to the tomb itself, the ultimate site to which he could cling for sanctuary. Indeed, Eberulf declared his intention, if threatened, to hold the altar-cloth with one hand, draw his sword with the other, and kill as many clerics as he could, before being taken. Although Eberulf expected his presence in church to exempt him from secular violence, he still failed, in Gregory's telling, to give it proper respect as a sacred space. According to Gregory, Claudius, the man sent to drag Eberulf out of the church, had far more fear of the consequences of enacting violence within it.⁸⁸ Supposedly, Claudius questioned a number of people as he approached, to discover whether

Martin was likely to enact a miraculous vengeance, requested Martin to keep him alive, and hesitated to perform his deed due to respect for the saint's powers. However, this did not prevent him from swearing falsely on the bishop's tomb that he would not harm Eberulf, oaths given 'in the church itself and in the portico and in the other venerated parts of the vestibule'.⁸⁹ He and Eberulf 'walked up and down the forecourt of the church-house', until Eberulf invited Claudius back to his lodging within the church.⁹⁰ There, Claudius' men graphically murdered him, and his brains were scattered.⁹¹ The appeal to and subsequent violation of sacred space, however, did not end there. Fearing retaliation, Claudius then sought sanctuary in the abbot's cell, along with the abbot himself, but Eberulf's men showed no respect for either place or person. They threw spears through the windows, killed Claudius, and left the abbot 'more dead than alive'.⁹² Finally, Gregory described a blood-soaked mêlée, in which the church's paupers, resident beggars and local possessed people also joined in, 'to avenge the violence done to their church' by enacting still more.⁹³ On the one hand, this story is resonant with the idea that the church *should* be a sacred space, and this is reflected in the behaviour of the many lay people in the story: Eberulf fled there in order to be safe from the violence of his royal rulers, and the men sent to extract him acted with caution and anxiety about sacrilege. Ultimately, however, the episode ended in a bloodbath enacted in various parts of the church complex. The sacredness of the site was not enough to stay the hands of secular actors when their motivations were strong enough.

This violence was an extreme and unusual example of apparent lay refusal to treat a church differently than they would a secular environment. Even here, however, lay attitudes were presented by Gregory as ambiguous. His point, after all, was the shocking contrast between what should be the case (recognized by the various players) and how they acted regardless. Gregory, and other sources, in fact provide us with extensive evidence suggesting that lay people regarded churches as non-ordinary spaces, even if they did not always treat those spaces as clergy thought they should. Many lay people, for example, resided at churches because they were sites of power, both monetary and thaumaturgical. Pilgrims, cure-seekers and ascetics, all might dwell in parts of the church complex, sometimes on a semi-permanent basis. Porticoes, cloisters and colonnades could be turned into residences with the use of curtains.⁹⁴

Some might even sleep in the church itself, incubating in hope of supernatural assistance.⁹⁵ Chapels within or around the church might also serve as places of retreat – Gillian Mackie speculates that this might have been especially appealing for upper-class pilgrims who wished to pray and contemplate during festivals apart from the noisy and often drunken masses.⁹⁶ On the other hand, major churches were also gathering places, or dumping grounds, for the sick, poor and demonically possessed – people without recourse other than to beg for support from church funds, and from the piety of visitors. This could make the great basilicas, as Peter Brown comments, into grim places: ‘A human refuse tip was piled up against their walls.’⁹⁷ From our literary accounts, it would seem that these people congregated particularly in the atria, porticoes, courtyards and other liminal areas around the church proper. For example, Gregory writes of the paralytic Foedamia, who slept on a couch in the colonnade of the church of Julian in Brioude, and of Anagild, thrown in front of the holy threshold to beg for support from believers, where he remained for a year before receiving his cure.⁹⁸ Other examples tell of possessed or paralysed people who slept in the forecourt of a church, in the courtyard, in a church colonnade or in a wagon in front of the church.⁹⁹

These areas just outside the church appear to have been considered as appropriate sites for conducting business or negotiations. They were zones that were somehow special, and under divine or saintly protection, while still being suitable for certain lay activities such as festivals and commerce.¹⁰⁰ Among the miracles connected to Julian’s tomb, for example, was the case of two men who met in the courtyard of the saint’s church to discuss a disputed loan, and the saint was able to enforce justice by punishing the perjurer.¹⁰¹ Gregory also recounted an anecdote during the festival of Eugenius, when much business apparently took place in the church courtyard, and a girl stole something from a merchant with a stall set up there, only to be miraculously punished.¹⁰² The nature of appropriate activity in this exterior zone, however, could be an apparent source of conflict between lay people and clergy. In one tale, lay people were warned not to eat grapes from a courtyard outside a church of St Martin, because ‘everything in this courtyard is dedicated to him.’¹⁰³ The boundaries between the sacred and the secular in the zone around churches were not necessarily clear, or agreed upon.

Private chapels and other religious spaces

So far, our attention has been focused on urban churches – these appear in our clerical sources as the centre of the religious environment, in part because they were the spaces most directly under clerical control. However, our sources also refer to buildings with names such as *sacrarium*, *oratorium*, *oraculum*, *memoria* or *confessio*, words usually translated into English as chapel, oratory or shrine, depending on context.¹⁰⁴ Sometimes these buildings formed parts of a church complex, and were therefore another aspect to the multiple foci of sacredness described in the previous section. Gregory recounted setting up an oratory with relics and an altar in a church storeroom, and described another oratory containing a cell for a recluse in front of a village church.¹⁰⁵ However, oratories could also be found in domestic contexts. It is perhaps not surprising to find an oratory in the bishop's house in Tours, but there are also multiple examples of oratories in the houses of lay people. Gregory mentioned in passing an oratory in his mother's house and noted that it contained relics.¹⁰⁶ The home of Nicetius of Lyon's mother also contained an oratory where the saint performed the divine office.¹⁰⁷ Gibitruide asked her parents to build an oratory for her in their home, so that she could show her Creator her devotion.¹⁰⁸

This kind of domestic devotional space had a long and respectable Christian history. The first Christian churches had been rooms in private houses, and this tradition of private religious space continued after the conversion of Constantine.¹⁰⁹ Even beyond this, moreover, domestic worship continued to be a major feature of the lives of women, who were anyway more confined and oriented to their own homes. Elite women might choose to mark the Sabbath in the respectable privacy of their own home rather than descend to the hurly-burly of the public church. This practice resulted, over time, in the development of domestic chapels, or other rooms set aside for quiet prayer.¹¹⁰ Ascetic women who did not have the option or desire to join a community could practise their privations in their own homes, with or without the support of their families.¹¹¹ These spaces within homes are difficult to identify in the archaeological record, but textual sources suggest their widespread existence.¹¹² Caesarius of Arles strongly encouraged domestic piety – in no way did he regard the lay home as an inappropriate space for religious practices – but this kind of practice could be controversial or bring lay people into conflict with clergy.¹¹³ Meier notes

that it was particularly associated with heresy, because it was out of public view, and therefore suspect.¹¹⁴ A sixth-century episcopal letter to some renegade Breton priests expressed great concern that they were conducting services in private houses, noting that this enabled all kinds of irregularities, including the involvement of women in the service.¹¹⁵ Domestic religious spaces were outside the direct control of bishops, and could be a source of some anxiety to them.

This lay independence from episcopal supervision was nowhere more obvious than in the religious spaces of the countryside. Bishops were still largely city-bound in late antiquity and into the early middle ages.¹¹⁶ The religious landscape outside cities, therefore, was much more directly influenced by lay interests, lay money and pre-existing lay social arrangements. Moreover, this religious landscape was not purely Christian. As Béatrice Caseau has noted, by the end of the fifth century, all pagan cult was private and imperial edicts probably had little impact on estate temples or rural house shrines.¹¹⁷ Winrich Löhr has argued for very slow and very gradual 'Christianization' of the Western rural world.¹¹⁸ Certainly, the sermons of Caesarius were full of complaints that the countryside was infested with pagan practices – even the landscape itself was viewed as problematic, with rivers, fountains and trees that had long been the site of non-Christian veneration.¹¹⁹ This picture may have been exaggerated by fretful city-bound bishops, but it reflects a very real sense that the countryside was a zone beyond their influence.

In this environment, villas, the aristocracy who built them and the society which formed around them, were of central importance. A number of scholars have noted that late antiquity was a period when villas and villa culture flourished in Gaul.¹²⁰ The imperial government feared that powerful aristocrats were building their own impenetrable spheres of power, perhaps a natural reaction as the central state became weakened. Many villas had at least the potential for self-sufficiency, and the disruptions of the fifth and sixth centuries had little obvious impact on occupation.¹²¹ After this period, however, Percival has traced a change in how villas were used, with evidence of luxury areas converted to practical purposes, signs of dilapidation, partition of rooms and cordoning off of collapsed areas.¹²² Villas continued to function, but by the early middle ages they were no longer sites of aristocratic display – they gathered other residences around them and became the centre of 'villages'.¹²³ Others became monasteries.¹²⁴ The presence

of a chapel in the villa may have actually speeded or eased these changes. They were already religious centres of the rural world.

Sometimes this manifested in a very direct lay control over space, in the phenomenon of the villa-church or oratory.¹²⁵ Kim Bowes suggests that at least some of these villa-churches could have accommodated processions and ‘a surprising degree of ritual sophistication’, although it is unclear what precisely these rituals were.¹²⁶ Some complexes included baptisteries.¹²⁷ These churches can be considered ‘private’ in the sense that they were built and paid for by lay individuals and were designed for the use of their own family, friends and dependants.¹²⁸ These arrangements were not necessarily antagonistic to the institutional church and clerical hierarchy; they simply existed quite separately from them, and often out of their practical power.¹²⁹ Clerics tried to keep them under some kind of supervision, but it is unclear how successful they were. At the Council of Épaone in 517, the assembled clerics determined that ‘the relics of saints shall not be placed in villa oratories, unless perhaps a cleric of some parish happens to be near, who can serve the sacred ashes with frequent psalm-singing’.¹³⁰ Church councils also insisted on the right of bishops to supervise clerical appointments in such chapels.¹³¹ In practice, however, any clergy serving at such establishments did so at the pleasure of the building’s owners, and would have considered themselves under their patronage, perhaps even as part of the family’s retinue. In the mid-seventh century, clerics at the Council of Chalon were still complaining about the independence of villa churches. In particular, they noted that the powerful lay people who controlled these oratories treated them as their own private concerns: ‘they oppose the bishops and do not permit those clerics which served at that oratory to be controlled by the archdeacon’.¹³² The assembled clergy insisted that the ordination of clerics in such places, the structure of the divine office and the dispensation of resources should all be in the purview of the local bishop, but the canon made clear that local landowners did not agree. Yet despite these anxieties, the villa-church or oratory was recognized as legitimate and supported in both legislation and in literary sources. For example, Gregory reported on the existence of an oratory in a villa in the territory of Tours and stated that Martin himself had often prayed in it. If that was not sufficient confirmation of its legitimacy, he followed it up with an anecdote of a bishop who was reluctant to stop and pray in it as he passed, and was miraculously compelled to do so.¹³³

Even outside of villas, Gregory of Tours' *miracula* collections suggest that the rural landscape was filled with oratories for saints, where lay people could pay reverence to relics, attend services or seek cures.¹³⁴ One was built by Patroclus, for example, in the village of Nérís and furnished by him with appropriate relics.¹³⁵ The church councils confirmed the legitimacy of these establishments, but tried to make sure that they did not become permanent alternatives to the episcopal church. In 506, the Council of Agde decreed that it was legitimate to build a rural oratory and hold masses there, but that the faithful should still travel to the city for major festivals.¹³⁶ For many rural dwellers, the churches of the city were distant monuments, both physically and psychologically. Their religious worlds may have centred on the estate church where they attended services, the monastery down the road or the oratory marking the site of a saint's former dwelling. These religious spaces were highly amenable to lay construction.

The other religious sites which drew significant lay attention were tombs of saints.¹³⁷ Perhaps building on Roman customs of dining at the gravesites of relatives, feasts at martyrs' graves became important events in their commemoration, drawing people to pray and to celebrate.¹³⁸ These tombs, often situated outside city walls, 'emerged as premier staging grounds for many of Christianity's public spectacles'.¹³⁹ The tombs were often in fact the initial point of Christian veneration – if a cult was sufficiently popular or successful, a church might follow after, on or near that site, or a larger building might be constructed to allow easier access to pilgrims and other visitors.¹⁴⁰ The tomb might then remain as a crypt or vault beneath the church, as an alternative central point from which power radiated.¹⁴¹ In other cases, tombs might be part of freestanding *hypogea*. Access to the relics could then be organized in other ways, such as through the provision of relic shafts or windows through which people could insert objects, offerings or prayers.¹⁴² The works of Gregory of Tours are filled with tombs, and anecdotes of Christian ritual, prayer or other action taking place at them.¹⁴³ Tombs were often appropriated by the clergy, as Gregory's stories made clear, but veneration of them could come from lay initiative, and they could be an alternative site for lay religious attention, beyond the episcopal church.

Monasteries were also buildings that received lay religious attention, although these were not spaces to which the laity had an automatic right or expectation of access. Barbara Rosenwein has traced the process by which

monastic spaces became increasingly inaccessible to the laity over time, which she links to developing ideas about sacrosanctity and enclosure.¹⁴⁴ The Synod of Auxerre, in the late sixth century, laid out punishments for any abbot who allowed women into a monastery in order to celebrate a festival.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, part of the resistance of bishop Maroveus to Radegund's acquisition of the relic of the Holy Cross may have been that it would have been inaccessible to most of the local population within the carefully enclosed female monastery at Poitiers, and Saint Romanus supposedly insisted that he be buried outside the monastery he had co-founded, since women would not otherwise be able to visit his tomb.¹⁴⁶ Lay access to monasteries was therefore a problematic issue.

Nonetheless, monasteries were still part of the religious landscape, and they were places to which lay people were apparently drawn, as centres of prayer, and as locations of relics. The *Regula Benedicti* insisted on the obligation of hospitality, and many late antique monastic communities do seem to have welcomed some lay presence, although the access levels of lay people could vary widely.¹⁴⁷ At Marmoutier and Ligugé, even women appear to have been permitted entry to parts of the monasteries to venerate relics or to pray, and the presence of women at the monastic graves of holy men was attested in Gregory of Tours.¹⁴⁸ Our sources provide examples of lay people using monasteries much as they did churches. In the *Vita* of Anstrude, for example, we hear of an ill matron and her daughters, who took up residence in a monastery, in hope of a cure.¹⁴⁹ The *Vita Romani* also spoke of lay people coming to the monastery to be cured, and in the *Vita* of Lupercinus we hear of lay people seeking food from the monastery in a time of need.¹⁵⁰ In Gregory of Tours' *Vita* of Abraham, the forecourt of the monastic church was treated as an appropriate place to offer refreshment to those attending a feast day. Among those reported to be present were the local bishop, duke and a number of citizens.¹⁵¹ The laity sought to enter any site they deemed a source of religious power and were often successful in doing so, despite the barriers.

Religious objects in the environment

Any consideration of religious spaces in late antiquity and the early middle ages should ideally also include some discussion of the objects within those

spaces. As the editors of a recent volume on material spatiality have noted, furnishings could alter the hierarchy of a space by controlling access to sacred foci within a church.¹⁵² Objects could therefore play a significant role in the lay experience of particular religious environments. Unfortunately, the furnishings of Gallic churches from this period are not well represented in the archaeological record. We have already noted the scholarly controversy over the possible existence of screens or curtains around the altar – other important features such as the placement of the pulpit and the seating arrangements for clergy and important laity have also proven very difficult to establish with any security.¹⁵³ We can be clearer, however, on the splendour and importance of liturgical vessels within the churches. Caseau's study of church inventories has revealed quite surprising wealth and opulence in even small and ordinary churches.¹⁵⁴ These objects displayed wealth and power very visibly and seem to have been a favourite donation by the powerful, as well as targets for thieves.¹⁵⁵ Gregory described a Gospel cover, paten and chalice, 'made from pure gold and precious gems', donated by the emperor Leo to the church at Lyon.¹⁵⁶ When Childebert attacked Barcelona, he carried off, among other treasures, 'sixty chalices, fifteen patens and twenty Gospel bindings, all made of pure gold and adorned with precious gems'. These were donated, Gregory asserted, to various churches and monastery chapels in Gaul.¹⁵⁷

Sacredness was not confined simply to religious spaces, or to liturgical objects – any object within churches could be marked with sacred power.¹⁵⁸ Many miracle stories referenced the curative power of objects, or scrapings from large objects, taken from a saint's tomb.¹⁵⁹ Since sacredness was represented in our sources as able to be spread by touch or ritual, almost any object could be made no longer secular. Bread, blessed by a priest, could save a man from an attack by demons.¹⁶⁰ A belt, once donated to a church, could bring punishment upon a sinner who appropriated it.¹⁶¹ Roses scattered in front of a saint's tomb could exorcise a demon.¹⁶² A saint's cloak, made into socks by a disrespectful successor, brought about demonic seizure and death.¹⁶³ A bed, once slept in by a saint, was thereafter a sacred object.¹⁶⁴ In the stories of Gregory of Tours, sacredness attached as strongly to objects as it did to places, and this provided plentiful opportunities for lay interaction and contact with divine power. There was no way that lay people could be excluded or separated from a sacredness so contagious.

We have also already noted how important physical access to relics could be within various sacred spaces. Touching them fulfilled, Crook argues, a 'mammalian need', and he emphasizes the lengths to which people would go to achieve this physical contact.¹⁶⁵ This desire extended to wearing relics on one's person.¹⁶⁶ Some contemporary authors expressed discomfort about this – such objects could seem dangerously similar to phylacteries, which were widely condemned.¹⁶⁷ They also clearly had an apotropaic function.¹⁶⁸ Caesarius of Arles preferred that people made the sign of the cross to ward off evil, and condemned the wearing of sacred writings, but the view of ecclesiastical authorities was far from consistently negative.¹⁶⁹ Gregory's stories contained many examples of people wearing relics on their person and Gregory himself testified that he did this as a young man.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, many ordinary objects could be marked with some kind of religious sign, especially crosses. There are crosses on hairpins, rings and spoons and in the form of brooches, other rings with the alpha and omega, belt buckles emblazoned with various Christian markers, or images of Daniel in the lions' den, pitchers with Gospel scenes and oil lamps with the Chi-Rho.¹⁷¹ It is wholly unclear whether these markings were intended as statements of Christian identity, as reminders of religious centrality or as apotropaic devices.¹⁷² Christian imagery was by no means ubiquitous. Most ordinary objects were not marked as religious, and many ornaments and decorations were produced in pre-Christian styles. Nonetheless, these objects demonstrate the normalization of Christianity within the physical environment of lay people. It was a part of their world, part of their surroundings.

In conclusion, clergy did not and could not control the religious environments of the laity. Lay people interacted with sacredness in private homes and in rural landscapes. They made their own uses of churches, chapels and tombs, and they brought religious imagery into their worlds through a variety of mundane objects. Although we can document various clerical efforts to separate sacred from secular spaces, it was not feasible to exclude lay people from such spaces completely. Within each local material environment, there would have been many opportunities for lay people to engage with the sacred.

Urban Case-Studies

Simon Esmonde Cleary has argued that Roman cities in Gaul were machines for producing Roman citizens.¹ The shape, nature, amenities and purposes of cities inculcated in their inhabitants particular Roman lifestyles and views on the world. The changes which Gallic cities underwent in the late Roman period, and in particular the new prominence of Christianity within them, therefore inevitably reshaped the experiences of their inhabitants, giving rise to ‘a very different type of citizen and of civic political and communal life.’² The goal of this chapter is to paint a picture of the changing urban landscapes in four Gallic cities, with an especial focus on the impact of these changes on the laity. Whereas the previous chapter looked at religious spaces in general terms, this one will ask what we can know about how the laity interacted with the specific environments of Arles, Lyon, Trier and Tours. This will require a schematic reconstruction of the landscape of each example, and an understanding of its position within Gaul as a whole, as well as the sacred sites that emerged within the individual cities. As a number of scholars have recently emphasized, late antique Christianity was a regionally diverse phenomenon.³ Local concerns and local pressures acted strongly on religious communities, despite the universalist claims of Christianity. This chapter therefore explores how these very different cities worked to create different kinds of religious citizens. What specific opportunities and limitations did lay people face in each place, and how might these have shaped their religious worlds?

These cities have been chosen to represent a range of geographical locales. Scholars have long recognized the very different historical experiences of those in northern and southern Gaul, but there were significant variations even within each of these regions, as these case-studies make clear.⁴ They were also chosen because each offers enough evidence to say at least something illuminating about the lay experience. In some cases, this evidence is largely

archaeological; in others, it is largely literary; and in one case, the epigraphic record is substantial enough to offer some interesting insights. Since the evidence bases are different for each city, I have generally avoided making comparisons. The case-studies are more like discrete portraits: pictures of what we know in each instance. For each of the cities, moreover, substantial questions remain and cannot be answered with current evidence. Nonetheless, each represents an opportunity, and gives some sense of the worlds of the lay people living in late antique Gallic cities. This in itself makes the exercise worthwhile.

The impact of Christianity on urban environments has been the subject of significant scholarly interest in recent decades. The changes in city- and townscapes had already long been seen as a primary signifier for the end of the ancient world, and the imprint of Christianity upon the urban landscape as central to the transition to the medieval world. The work of the scholars involved in the *Premiers monuments* and *Topographie chrétienne* projects has stimulated and made possible extensive work on the shifting monumental environments of cities in Gaul, work that now provides us with a complex and highly variegated picture of change, evolution and continuity on a local level.⁵ This has been combined with detailed studies of how Christian bishops laid claim to landscapes that had previously been key markers of classical civilization and its accompanying civic religious traditions.⁶ This chapter draws extensively on both of these approaches. However, it will strive, as far as is possible, to consider these issues from the perspective of lay people rather than religious elites. These elites still provide a significant proportion of our evidence. However, we can contemplate how lay people may have perceived and interacted with the religious buildings in each city, and we can speculate about the impact of topography on the experience of living in and moving through these places.

Before we consider each case-study, however, we need to establish the macro-level changes and developments of late antiquity to which every urban centre in Gaul was responding, at their own rate and in their own ways. As Gauthier has pointed out, although the ancient city looms large in our consciousness and sense of antiquity, 'it required exceptional prosperity produced by a not less exceptional *pax romana*'.⁷ The classical Roman city was very much a product of the high empire and when that began to change, the ancient city changed with it. These changes can be traced in the archaeological

record: public buildings were stripped or left to disintegrate; private housing was more basic and technically inferior; water supply and sewage disposal systems were poorly maintained and eventually abandoned; the planned and controlled ancient urban landscape dissolved into the messy and incoherent medieval landscape.⁸ This did not mean that cities were no longer important. These changes took place even in Gallic cities whose status and administrative role were on the rise. Nor did it mean dramatic changes for all. Esmonde Cleary has recently argued that cities south of the Loire had a surprisingly high degree of continuity in urban life, with the persistence of established forms, which in turn enabled persistence in institutional, cultural and economic forms at least until the end of the fifth century.⁹ Cities continued to be nodes of government for as long as there was an imperial presence in Gaul, and played the same role for the Visigoths, Burgundians and Franks who came after. But despite this, and despite remarkable continuity of occupation on urban sites, 'it is indisputable that during late Antiquity cities all over Gaul were tending to become both smaller and, in various respects, simpler.'¹⁰ This process was under way before the end of the second century, but is particularly detectable in the architectural record of the fifth century, when we see 'major, structural changes' to the form of Gallic cities.¹¹

Both Nancy Gauthier and Simon Loseby connect this to change in the *idea* of the town or city in late antiquity, or, as Loseby puts it, to a 'more utilitarian conception of urbanism'.¹² We can see this pragmatism in the use and reuse of public monuments in particular – these fill with private housing, are cannibalized for building materials or are repurposed as churches.¹³ They were reused with a 'curious indifference', given how central these buildings had been not long before to the ideological meaning and identity of an urban centre.¹⁴ We also see the construction of walls, which excluded forums and public monuments – the ancient heart of the Gallic city was now sometimes quite literally cut off from the centre.¹⁵ Public streets filled up with shops and residences.¹⁶ In their descriptions of the cities of Gaul in the fourth century, neither Ammianus Marcellinus nor Ausonius of Bordeaux mentions their *fora*, spaces which would previously have been at the heart of urban life.¹⁷ If cities were 'arguments in stone', a different argument was being made in late antiquity.¹⁸ Ausonius' *Ordo urbium nobilium* emphasized above all the economic function of a city.¹⁹ As Lavan puts it, 'civic life becomes a space for

the enactment of economic success, the city as market, rather than as cultural centre.²⁰

One of the other major players in this change was Christianity.²¹ The initial impact of Christianity on public space was minimal. In the fourth century, Christian churches and martyr shrines were largely a peripheral phenomenon, clustered in extra-mural cemetery areas, or built on available land on the outskirts of towns. Only slowly and gradually did Christian buildings begin to appear in what had been the centres of the ancient cities, and in some places this did not happen at all.²² Once these buildings began to appear, however, they multiplied. Increasingly elaborate shrines, chapels, basilicas and pilgrimage centres appeared over the tombs of saints. Ascetic dwellings – both small-scale and large – mushroomed across the landscape. Cathedrals became complexes surrounded by baptisteries, residences for the bishop and other clergy, official reception areas, dining rooms, libraries, archives, dormitories, courtyards, chapels, *xenodochia* and more.²³ It soon became the norm for cities to have large numbers of religious buildings. By the end of the seventh century, Le Mans had 20 churches and Auxerre had 29; by the middle of the eighth century, Metz had more than 40.²⁴ These various buildings formed new foci for civic life, scattered through the urban landscape.²⁵ They did not create a central gravitational pull as the forum once had, drawing in the political, religious, cultural and social life of the city. Christian Gallic cities were instead multi-focal and rambling. This had a profound impact on the experiences of inhabitants.

These Christian sites have a particular prominence for us, and in maps of late antique Gallic cities, such as those in the *Topographie chrétienne* series, they stand alongside Roman-era public monuments as the primary markers of the city landscape. However, sometimes they were hard up against rival religious sites. Esmonde Cleary has recently emphasized that many pagan sites demonstrate continued use through the fourth and fifth centuries.²⁶ In the late sixth century, Gregory of Tours tells a story of two young men quarrelling at a pagan sanctuary in Vienne, and the loser seeking refuge in the church of Julian right next door.²⁷ These structures were largely excised from the textual record and have not received systematic treatment by modern archaeologists.²⁸ They would, however, have remained a part of the religious topography for lay Christians and mitigated the Christian reinterpretation of spaces. Each of the

case-studies below, therefore, establishes what we can know about the Christian buildings of late antiquity, but then also places them in their overall settings, to get a picture of how they fit into the landscape. The physical worlds that lay people inhabited are now largely gone. It is possible, however, to imagine something of their spaces, and this helps us to understand more fully their experiences of the world.

Arles

Arles is one of the better known cities of late antique Gaul, in part because its Roman past remains so visible today. A number of its monuments still loom over the modern citizens, much as they must have loomed over the late antique ones. The enormous amphitheatre, the impressive theatre, the baths of Constantine and the imposing walls, all attest even now to the wealth of the city and the resources that were poured into making it a prestige site.²⁹ The remaining traces of the circus, of the forum and of a recently discovered basilica, which may have served as an audience hall, hint at how much more there once was.³⁰ Arles was an imperial city, a seat of the praetorian prefecture, the location of the mint, an occasional residence of emperors.³¹ It was also a centre for trade, for commerce and for movement between the Mediterranean and the interior of Gaul.³² This had brought its inhabitants great wealth, a wealth reflected in the ornate villas of the Trinquetaille region, and in the expensively decorated sarcophagi in which they deposited their dead.³³ The nodal position of Arles within Roman transport networks kept the money flowing in and the goods flowing through despite the times of economic difficulty elsewhere.³⁴ Furthermore, as a city with important imperial connections, Arles remained linked to wider networks of power.³⁵ Although some peripheral housing areas were abandoned in the third century, it was not really until the late fifth and sixth centuries that we find signs of economic contraction – the warfare of the region finally caught up with Arles.³⁶ It was repeatedly besieged, transport routes were damaged, and trade destinations belonged now to different barbarian kingdoms.³⁷ In the period of Frankish rule, the literary and archaeological record went quiet.³⁸ Arles' heyday was over.

Even before this, however, we can see signs that the interaction between the people of Arles and their urban spaces was changing. Just as the city reached its peak of political importance, the forum was being cannibalized for building materials and housing was being built into the walls of the circus.³⁹ This was not evidence of 'decline', but of something else: more pragmatic attitudes to monuments, and a shift in the style of elite display, away from public space and towards more private, or restricted, audiences, such as visitors to one's elaborate villa.⁴⁰ Monumentality was no longer tied to prestige.⁴¹ Quite how this changed inhabitants' views of their city is unclear. In the 460s, Sidonius Apollinaris wrote about how after a visit to the emperor in Arles he walked down to the forum, while some people hid behind statues or columns in order to avoid meeting him.⁴² Archaeologists, however, assure us that there was no longer a forum to speak of in Arles by the time Sidonius wrote.⁴³ Perhaps he was projecting the image of the city as he imagined it still should be, or the 'forum' meant something different in the mid-fifth century than it had meant before.

Christianity would always have faced a challenge to impose itself visibly upon a city marked so overtly by monuments to a non-Christian history.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the site of the first cathedral was prominent – just inside the city walls, close to one of the main gates, on a raised area, looking down over the city.⁴⁵ Recent excavations have uncovered an enormous basilica in this area, which may be the remains of this original church.⁴⁶ A church was also built in the centre of the city, near the forum, perhaps in the fifth century.⁴⁷ This would eventually become the cathedral, although the timing of that transition is unclear. These would have been impressive statements of Christian presence in the city, but Arles also boasted a number of other Christian sites. There were many smaller churches, a baptistery, a clerical house, a residence for the sick, a monastery for men built before the end of the fifth century, and a monastery for women built by Caesarius on the site of the former cathedral in the early sixth century.⁴⁸

More peripheral areas of the city were marked by spaces deemed sacred to Saint Genesius. Legend had it that Genesius was a catechumen, serving as a notary in the imperial administration in Arles during the persecution of Diocletian. When called upon to transcribe the sentences passed upon Christians he refused, declared his faith and fled pursuit by flinging himself into the Rhône and swimming across, so that the river baptized him like the

River Jordan, according to his *Passio*.⁴⁹ Unfortunately for Genesius, however, he was apprehended and beheaded on the far bank.⁵⁰ Genesius was buried in the Alyscamps cemetery, on the south bank of the river, beyond the city's walls and he eventually received a church over his tomb, dedicated to his memory. The site of his martyrdom, however, was on the north bank, and this too became a venerated sacred site.⁵¹ Gregory of Tours tells us that there was a mulberry tree there, from which pilgrims used to scrape or pull pieces of bark, so that by his time it was already in poor condition.⁵² On Genesius' festival, pilgrims and locals would process from the church in Alyscamps, across the river, to pay respects at the site of his death.⁵³ The journey between these sites was a long one, and it wound its way through the city. As a number of scholars have observed, however, the distance between these two sites may have helped to maintain an extended but also unified sense of what the city was.⁵⁴ Arles had always been divided by the river that ran through it: Ausonius called it *duplex Arelate*, 'divided by the streams of headlong Rhône'.⁵⁵ One bank of the Rhône was marked by industry and commerce, the ports and warehouses of the city's lifeblood. The other bank was the site of imperial display and magnificence.⁵⁶ Genesius, and the pilgrimage between his two sacred sites, however, brought the two parts together.⁵⁷ Hilary of Arles matched it all up, calling Genesius' two sites a 'two-fold honour' for a two-fold city.⁵⁸ 'The saint sanctifies that bank with his triumph, this with his tomb; he illuminates that with his blood, this with his body.'⁵⁹ The journey of the pilgrims imitated Genesius' own unifying movement and Arles was always perceived as stretching as far as each of his sacred sites.⁶⁰

Simon Loseby has described the impact of Christianity on the landscape of Arles as 'topographically conservative and conceptually radical'.⁶¹ Despite the number of new Christian buildings that proliferated in the town in late antiquity, they do not seem to have had a dramatic impact on the topography of the city and how its inhabitants would have experienced it. The fundamental markers of urban life remained the same. What Loseby points to, however, is that a number of clerical texts from Arles indicate a strong desire to shape the lay view of their urban landscape in religious terms or to dictate their interaction with urban spaces. The sermon on Genesius, which was probably written by Hilary of Arles, emphasized the connection between the martyr and the physical environment that would have surrounded the lay audience, with

frequent reference to the walls, to the river and to the tomb located in 'the most fortunate city'.⁶² A sermon on a miracle on Genesius' festival, which may also have been a work of Hilary, likewise emphasized the familiar geography of the Arlesian setting, and the flow of crowds through the urban spaces on this popular occasion. The preacher told of how the boat bridge had collapsed as the festival goers had been progressing from one of Genesius' sites to the other. The Rhône river, in this text, appeared as a threatening natural force, tamed by the power of the saint. It was the 'terrible Rhône' with 'immense raging waters', yet it could not triumph over the piety of the people of Arles, and the 'native and familiar bank sustained everyone safe and unharmed'.⁶³ He then described the disaster as if it were a continuation of the procession – through the waters and out the other side. 'The procession of all came out, just as it had gone in'.⁶⁴ The preacher ended with a note of affirmation, as diverse sections of the city's population were united by the miracle set in their very own cityscape. When Hilary wrote the *Vita* of his predecessor Honoratus, he also emphasized the importance of physical location and proximity in making the most of the saint's power: 'It gives us no little confidence to be privileged to have his tomb; for we who treasure his bones here may assuredly count on his blessings in heaven'.⁶⁵ In the *Vita* of Hilary himself, the city's basilica was the site of some of his more dramatic acts of sanctity.⁶⁶ In each of these fifth-century texts, the author tried to 'convert' the landscape of Arles so that its lay people would experience it as imbued with Christian meaning. They fought against the physical persistence of classical monuments with a conceptual reinterpretation.

This was not the only possible Christian response to the urban landscape, however, and quite a different approach is demonstrated in the sermons of Caesarius, preached over half a century later. Caesarius treated the landscape of Arles with suspicion because it was, for him, emblematic of secularity, of sinful leisure activities and of materialism. The circus and amphitheatre lured people into sin. The forum, marketplaces and basilicas were sites of idle conversations, lawsuits and business. People rushed back 'down into the streets both in body and in heart' as soon as the lessons had been read in church.⁶⁷ Caesarius appeared more sceptical than Hilary that the spaces of the city could be Christianized. He instead urged his congregants to lift their minds away from the physical and to focus on the homeland they would reach after their deaths.⁶⁸ 'Let no one deceive himself, beloved brethren, the *patria* of Christians

is in heaven, not here.’⁶⁹ These differences in approach in part reflected each preacher’s pastoral style. However, the circumstances of the city had also changed. When Hilary preached in the early to mid-fifth century, Arles was booming. It made sense to tie Christianity to the streets and river of a flourishing city. As Caesarius preached in the early to mid-sixth century, however, barbarians encamped beyond the city’s walls. Arles had become an unstable, impermanent place, vulnerable to forces beyond its control, stripped of its former distinction. Perhaps this atmosphere induced Caesarius to think beyond its urban landscape and urge his lay congregation to emphasize that which was ever-lasting.

The lay response to these efforts is difficult to trace, and many aspects of their lives remain beyond our grasp. We can, however, note the centrality of religion in the ornate sarcophagi characteristic of elite burial practice in Arles. These were filled with images from scripture, and suggest a world imbued with these stories.⁷⁰ Many of them were discovered near the site of Genesius’ tomb, which may indicate *ad sanctos* burial and popular enthusiasm for his cult.⁷¹ This is supported by the relative popularity of the name Genesius in this region.⁷² However, when a certain Peter built a church in the Alyscamps cemetery in the mid-sixth century, he dedicated it to the universal saints Peter and Paul, not to the local one buried nearby.⁷³ Perhaps this indicated Peter’s personal sense of connection to these saints. Unfortunately, funerary inscriptions from Arles are sparse in detail and do not provide much evidence to explore lay reactions to the sacred topography of the city.⁷⁴ Overall, the picture that emerges of the religious environment of Arles is one of duality: not so much that of the two parts of the city, divided by the river, but the duality of a strong Christian presence sitting alongside the still very visible and impressive monuments of a non-Christian past. This duality, a constant presence in the lives of the lay inhabitants, was central to the bishops’ struggles to present a Christian vision of the city.

Lyon

Lyon presents a different challenge. It is a city for which there is a range of interesting and potentially informative types of evidence, but none are detailed

or substantive. Although there are descriptions of churches in Lyon in a letter of Sidonius and in a sermon of Avitus, scholars have been unable even to agree on what churches they relate to, so vague and generalized are the accounts. Although a number of Christian monuments from the city have been mapped, many others are lost, destroyed or buried beneath modern developments. Although we have sermons preached and miracle stories set in the city, none provide us with specific environmental descriptions. As a result, the picture of Lyon's development in late antiquity is patchy, yet also interesting and suggestive.⁷⁵ In particular, the sources create an impression of a city without a single centre or focus, dominated by the presence of trade and commerce. These would both have been important elements in the lay experience of the city, so it is worth sketching out what we can know, and assessing the value and nature of the picture that emerges.

Lyon was established at the confluence of two rivers, the Rhône and the Saône. This ensured its importance as a meeting point and centre of travel, but it also created a number of challenges for the city's inhabitants. The low-lying area between the rivers was subject to frequent flooding, and the confluence was otherwise ringed by forbiddingly steep hills with minimal access to fresh water.⁷⁶ Roman aqueducts and reclamation techniques were necessary to make large-scale settlement possible.⁷⁷ A colony was founded in Lugdunum in 43 BCE. Soon after Agrippa added major road arteries to complement the rivers, making the city a transportation hub. In 26 BCE Augustus made it an imperial capital, and in 12 BCE Drusus dedicated here an altar designed as a meeting place for delegates of the three Gauls, a symbolic statement of the unity and loyalty of the new province. All of this construction was accompanied by a series of monumental buildings, which archaeologists now date largely to the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius and Claudius: forum, theatre, amphitheatre, baths, temples, an odeon and an extensive servicing network of aqueducts. Unsurprisingly, Lyon quickly drew a large number of inhabitants: imperial officials, merchants and tradespeople. Houses, shops, warehouses, workshops and port facilities proliferated.⁷⁸ The community established here was very international: inscriptions attest to the presence of substantial Greek, Syrian and Jewish communities as well as a small group of Christians, largely also of Eastern extraction.⁷⁹ Lyon was a place of movement and travel, defined by the rivers and roads that ran through it.

From an early point, however, geography ensured that all this development was fractured. The monumental heart of the city was on the Fourvière hill, and the wealthiest inhabitants of the city seem to have made their homes here, but this region was separated from the commercial district located on the banks of the rivers, where merchants who grew rich plying the rivers and roads built some substantial and impressive homes of their own. Both districts were distinct from the Croix-Rousse, where another cluster of residences and service establishments emerged around the altar and amphitheatre.⁸⁰ From the outset, therefore, geography gave the city an 'original physiognomy': divided and difficult to traverse.⁸¹

The inconvenience that this caused may have been one reason why, already by the late second century, archaeologists have traced a population movement down from the Fourvière hill towards the increasingly reclaimed and stabilized river banks.⁸² This movement was intensified by subsequent events. Trade seems to have suffered during the economic and political turmoils of the third century, and in the administrative reforms of Diocletian, the city lost much of its pre-eminence to its neighbour and rival, Vienne.⁸³ Substantial houses and tombs from this period indicate that at least some residents continued to enjoy prosperity, but there seems little doubt that Lyon had taken a hit, both in political and economic terms.⁸⁴ The third and fourth centuries saw the high city progressively abandoned, perhaps reflecting a new focus on commercial enterprise, perhaps reflecting the difficulty of maintaining the necessary water supply, or perhaps reflecting the new desirability of riverside residences, as the imperial monuments became less relevant.⁸⁵ Just as in Arles, the late Roman phase of the city appears to be characterized by pragmatic attitudes to the urban landscape. The Burgundians who took control of the region in the mid-fifth century made it a royal residence, and the mint continued to operate, but this brief and partial revival proved temporary.⁸⁶ After the Franks conquered the region in 532, Lyon played no further significant role in Gallic politics or administration.⁸⁷

The Christian landscape of Lyon intersected with these economic and political developments in several interesting ways. Lyon had a claim to Christian fame as the site of Gaul's most famous martyrial bloodbath, when forty-eight Christians were killed there in 177.⁸⁸ These events were recorded by Eusebius of Caesarea, and circulated widely through Gaul in the rather loose

translation of Rufinus of Aquileia.⁸⁹ This story was firmly located in the topography of Lyon, set against the houses, baths and streets of the city where the mob raged, the forum in which the Christians were tried, the amphitheatre in which the citizens gathered to watch their deaths, and the river into which their ashes were scattered to avoid future commemoration.⁹⁰ The claiming of 'secular' monuments for a set of Christian memories thus began at an early stage in Lyon. Furthermore, the economic and political decline seems to have had little impact on the enthusiasm for Christian building, although Reynaud speculates that it did have an impact on the quality of church construction.⁹¹ Religion continued to be a spending priority, and by 600 Lyon had at least 14 substantial religious buildings.⁹²

These buildings were spread through most of the city, except in its ancient centre. Although the modern cathedral of Lyon sits prominently above the city on the former site of the forum, no late antique churches were constructed in this monumental heart of the city. Instead, the episcopal group emerged on the bank of the Saône, with the earliest Christian buildings here probably emerging in the mid-fourth century. On this site gradually developed a complex of buildings which came to include a cathedral dedicated to John the Baptist, as well as churches dedicated to St Stephen and the Holy Cross, an episcopal residence and various service buildings.⁹³ This complex was not, however, the only religious focus of the town. On the hill above it, in areas that had previously been cemeteries, were two funerary churches. One, dating to the late fourth or early fifth century, had originally been dedicated to the Maccabees, but later took the name of St Justus, after an early bishop of Lyon who was buried there.⁹⁴ The originally small church on this site was expanded in the fifth century, but retained a funerary aspect, surrounded as it was by burial zones.⁹⁵ Not far from it was another fifth-century funerary zone church, now dedicated to St Irenaeus, whose body it housed, along with the martyrs Epipodius and Alexander, but originally dedicated to St John. The fourth major church in Lyon was also a cemetery church, and located in a small flat area between the hills and river, in a region that may have been outside the late antique walls of the city. This church, which was dedicated to St Lawrence and dates to the fifth or possibly early sixth century, was constructed in the middle of a necropolis and was filled with tombs. Other churches are mentioned in our sources: a basilica dedicated to the forty-eight martyrs, another to Nicetius,

bishop of Lyon, a church dedicated to Mary, another dedicated to Peter, a xenodochium, a couple of monasteries and crypts.⁹⁶

This was therefore very much a city with multiple religious centres. The cathedral does not seem to have dominated the religious landscape or to have become a single focus – the funerary churches remained important throughout this period and received frequent mention in textual sources, as well as being our major source for grave inscriptions. Moreover, the four most important churches occupied quite distinct locales, in fragmented parts of the city. Even today, it is difficult to move between the cathedral and the high churches, and between the high churches and St Lawrence – the hills are steep and hard to traverse. There is no evidence in our sources that movement between these churches formed a part of the religious life of the city – we do not have accounts of processions, of pilgrimage routes or of liturgical events that connected these diverse locales.⁹⁷ Christianity therefore did not work to overcome the fractured geography of the city – one could argue that it exacerbated it by providing multiple distinct foci.

Yet the geography of the city also ensured that the Christian topography followed a different path from what we generally observe in some other late antique Gallic cities. Although both St Justus and St Irenaeus occupied physically prominent locations, with high visibility and commanding views over the city, they resided in a zone which was peripheral even when the high city dominated Lyon, and which became only more so as the focus and weight of the city moved down towards the river.⁹⁸ In this sense, the city came to the cathedral complex, and made it more centrally located than it probably initially was, the opposite of the late antique movement more commonly observed, whereby churches slowly invaded urban monumental centres. On the other hand, the presence of two important and apparently still frequently attended churches on the high hills above Lyon proved a force for conservative geographical continuity.⁹⁹ They ensured that these regions remained, both conceptually and physically, a part of the city, and led at least some of the population to continue to reside there – clergy and monks among them.¹⁰⁰ Given the range of activities that Sidonius describes around the church of St Justus during a break in festivities, the ‘realm of the dead’ (as Reynaud has it) would have come alive.¹⁰¹ The ‘organic’ development of the city towards the river, in other words, was counteracted by the pull of the Christian sacred zones in the high city areas.

Unfortunately, none of these churches survive in anything like their late antique form, and it has been difficult to reconstruct much more than their basic shapes and sizes.¹⁰² This means that there is limited evidence for actual lay use of and movement within the buildings themselves. There is, however, no evidence of restrictions on lay access to relics. Important relics in Lyon were held in churches, rather than monasteries or private chapels to which access might be limited. Textual sources appear to confirm that the laity of Lyon were able to get close to the tombs and precious artefacts of their saints, and nothing within the archaeological record negates this.¹⁰³

None of the churches were particularly large – even the cathedral, which was part of an eventual complex of three different churches.¹⁰⁴ Either no single church acted as a central meeting place for large sections of the population on any regular basis, or additional areas around the churches, including porticoes, were also used during large gatherings. Sidonius Apollinaris commented on the crowds and pressure, spilling over outside the main building, in a letter describing a festival in the church of St Justus.¹⁰⁵ The churches seem to have had quite distinct usages, with St Justus and St Irenaeus serving as martyrial commemorative sites, where the pious sought healing and might hope to be buried *ad sanctos*, while St Lawrence served fundamentally as a funerary church for much larger numbers.¹⁰⁶ It is not clear whether the different churches that formed part of the episcopal complex also had distinct roles and purposes, but this is a plausible explanation.¹⁰⁷

To say anything about the lay experience of being in these churches, therefore, we are forced to turn to the textual record. Here Lyon provides a few fascinating, if frustratingly unspecific, descriptions. The most famous comes in a letter from Sidonius Apollinaris, providing the text of an inscription he had written at the request of bishop Patiens of Lyon, to adorn a newly built church.¹⁰⁸

All you who here admire the work of Patiens, our bishop and father, may you by effectual supplication obtain the boon you ask for! The lofty temple sparkles and does not incline to right or left, but with its towering front faces the sunrise of the equinox. Within it the light flashes and the sunshine is so tempted to the gilded ceiling that it travels over the tawny metal, matching its hue. Marble diversified by various shining hints pervades the vaulting, the floor, the windows; forming designs of diverse colour, a verdant grass-green

encrustation brings winding lines of sapphire-hued stones over the leek-green glass. Attached to this edifice is a triple colonnade rising proudly on columns of the marble of Aquitania. A second colonnade on the same plan closes the atrium at the farther end, and a stone forest clothes the middle area with columns standing well apart. On one side is the noisy high road, on the other the echoing Arar; on the first the traveller on foot or on horse and the drivers of creaking carriages turn round; on the other, the company of bargemen, their backs bent to their work, raise a boatmen's shout to Christ, and the banks echo their alleluia. Sing, traveller, thus; sing, boatman, thus; for towards this place all should make their way, since through it runs the road which leads to salvation.

This may have been the church of St Justus, but the cathedral of St John seems a more likely candidate.¹⁰⁹ The inscription gives us an invaluable account of the sensory experience of being in the church, and tells us about the intended effects of its architecture and decorative schemes, creating an impression of light, colour and spaciousness. There was no mention of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, of any relics, liturgy or services conducted within the church. In fact, there was little in this inscription to indicate that this was a monument to religion or location for Christian rituals. What Sidonius saw as most worthy of celebrating was the wealth and impressiveness of the display that this building constituted. The geography and personality of the city also intruded however, with the church surrounded by what made Lyon what it was: the river and the roads – a place of movement and transport and bustle and commerce. We gain, therefore, some brief glimpse of what mattered to at least one lay Christian about this church and about this city. It was not religious power built on miracles or relics or sanctity, but power built on wealth and industry, a statement of what the church had become and its place in a new society.

Similarly, a dedication sermon by Avitus of Vienne, generally held to be for a church in Lyon, also emphasized the building itself rather than the events that took place there. This sermon is unfortunately partially damaged, and Avitus' Latin is quite obscure in places, so the overall effect is difficult to reconstruct. Nor is it clear which church he is describing, although St Irenaeus seems the most plausible candidate.¹¹⁰ In it we see Avitus describing a spacious church, with different areas developed for different functions. The preacher's

emphasis in this text is upon the complexity of the building – it is a *multiplex templum* with diverse elements, including an atrium, cloisters, galleries and crypt, while the altar was described as separated from the nave by an elevated platform.¹¹¹ Lyon again made its presence indirectly felt, through the references to walls, gates and roads. This was a city that needed defending, but according to Avitus, the basilicas on the city's outskirts took on this task. There was less here than in Sidonius' text about the ornamentation of the church, or the sensory experience of being in it, but the emphasis was still, despite the slightly more pious tone, on the architectural achievement of the building. The audience for this sermon, which would have included many members of the elite, but perhaps extended to some ordinary citizens of Lyon as well, were encouraged to marvel at the statement of power and position that this church represented.¹¹² The saints and their relics, buried in the crypt below, received only oblique reference.¹¹³ What these descriptions of the spaces in Lyon emphasized above all was the impact of the architecture of these buildings upon the Christian faithful. They created an impression of churches as civic monuments. If the lay people of the city felt insecure about their position in a time of change and urban diminution, here was an opportunity to reorient their civic pride around a new, Christian identity, dramatically marked upon the landscape.

These accounts contrast with the impressions of space and of lay activities provided by miracle stories and hagiography. It was the relics, the miracles they brought about and the ceremonies that surrounded them which formed the focus of Gregory of Tours' stories set in Lyon – the architectural settings were always merely incidental.¹¹⁴ Gregory revealed almost nothing about what the church dedicated to the forty-eight martyrs was like, except that it was of astounding size, nothing about the crypt under St Irenaeus aside from the location of the bodies in it and its great brightness, and nothing about the nature of the tomb of the woman who picked up the sandal of the saint Epipodius, aside from the fact that 'often people suffering from chills and other ill people are healed' there.¹¹⁵ The *Vita* of Nicetius of Lyon likewise used the churches of Lyon as backdrop, but said little about what they looked like. These texts did, however, make broad claims for lay participation in the religious life of Lyon. They described lay people scratching dust from saintly tombs in hopes of cures or protection from bad weather, and leaving herbs there as offerings.¹¹⁶

At the tomb of Nicetius, the *Vita* claimed that numerous high-profile public miracles were performed for the pious laity.¹¹⁷ Gregory wrote that his deacon saw there crowds of people buzzing around the tomb like bees in a hive.¹¹⁸ Agiulf supposedly examined 'the famous register of the various miracles which had been done there', and Gregory provides almost our only suggestions that Lyon might have been a pilgrimage site.¹¹⁹ He described Agiulf's visit there on his return from Rome and also the visit of John, a priest involved in some kind of commercial business who stopped in at the shrines of Lyon on his way back to Geneva from Marseilles. It is perhaps not a coincidence, however, that both figures were passing through. The same was true of the possessed people who were on their way to see St Martin, but stopped in Lyon en route and received a cure.¹²⁰ Lyon was a place of transition, not a religious destination in itself.

Naturally, we need to be sceptical of the claims for lay enthusiasm made in these texts. They suggest some possible modes of lay interaction with religious buildings, but are so standardized as to raise our suspicions. It is noticeable that merchants and travellers appear in these stories with relative frequency – the particular character of the population in Lyon does seem to be reflected here.¹²¹ The mercantile focus of the culture and perhaps also piety of Lyon is reflected finally in the fascinating epitaph of Agapus, a merchant (*negotiator*), who died in 601.¹²² Agapus was described as the 'bay of the afflicted and the port of the needy' (*stacio miseris et portus egenis*), a charitable metaphor that echoes the travel and movement required of a businessman who very likely made his money from trade. Agapus' commemorators deliberately chose to depict his religious world as intertwined with his commercial activities. The lay people of Lyon lived in a world that was fractured and divided, where trade no longer brought prosperity and importance to their city. However, even at the start of the seventh century, economic activity could still characterize Lyon and could be the metaphor Agapus' commemorators turned to when they wished to show that he was a good Christian, and a pious man.

Trier

The situation of our next case-study, Trier, was unique in a number of respects. Right from the start, Trier was established as an important centre, due in large

part to its strategic location near (but not too near) to the Rhine, with the Moselle river serving as a convenient means of moving goods and people to and from the frontier zone.¹²³ Even in its early stages in the first century, it was conceived on a large scale, anticipating further growth.¹²⁴ By the second century it was the seat of the procurator of the province of Belgica.¹²⁵ When the walls were built, perhaps as early as the late second century, they stretched an extraordinary six kilometres, and enclosed 285 hectares.¹²⁶ The land inside was not yet all populated, but the anticipation and expectation would have been palpable.¹²⁷ Trier was all about forward planning. The city was quickly populated with a range of the usual monumental elements – forum, baths, amphitheatre, circus, grand temples, a stone bridge over the Moselle – but also governmental buildings suitable for the leading city in the region.¹²⁸

However, the high empire was not to be Trier's peak. This came after Diocletian's reorganization of the empire, making Trier one of the four imperial capitals and one of the great cities of the empire, after only Rome, Constantinople and Alexandria.¹²⁹ Diocletian, and Constantine after him, kick-started a remarkable series of imperial constructions that dominated the landscape of even as large a city as this: imperial residences, sites of governance including the imposing basilica and another set of splendid baths.¹³⁰ This 'imperial zone' eventually stretched all the way along the eastern side of the city, and made the city a backdrop for the display and enactment of imperial power on a level unprecedented for Gaul.¹³¹ Even when the emperor was not himself present, Trier was the centre of power in Gaul – the base for the praetorian prefect and the governor of Belgica I. The attending staff of these figures alone would have brought enormous wealth into the city in the form of their salaries.¹³² The political and administrative position of Trier was intertwined with its economy in other ways as well. Ausonius emphasized in particular Trier's role in feeding, clothing and arming the soldiers: the Moselle, he wrote, 'glides past with peaceful stream, carrying the far-brought merchandise of all races of the earth'.¹³³ Trier was a distribution point for the annona, and the site of a state granary.¹³⁴ The roads of Trier were paved in the fourth century with paving stones instead of the usual gravel, and the city appears to have been densely occupied.¹³⁵ It was flourishing. This was a city that was self-consciously a centre of empire.

This imperial role also had an impact on the city's religious landscape. In 326, Constantine began the construction of what would become an enormous cathedral complex, suitable in size and scale for an imperial city.¹³⁶ Although it is not clear how much of the complex was planned right from the start, on this site eventually emerged two large basilica-style churches with colonnaded courts, connected by a baptistery, and accompanied by a range of supplementary buildings.¹³⁷ Clearly, those who planned the complex did not feel the need to create a single focus for sacred space, even in the episcopal church – they were comfortable with a multiplicity that we can find baffling.

Our literary sources do not say much about the religious world of this cathedral complex. As a result of the literary silence, scholars have sometimes assumed that the city's more peripheral churches were the true focus of lay religious activity.¹³⁸ However, Mark Handley's work on the inscriptions of Trier has demonstrated that the cathedral complex was a popular destination for pilgrims who left graffiti recording their presence and their pious wishes to 'Live in God'.¹³⁹ An internal aedicule in the north basilica may have been intended to hold a precious relic, perhaps even something brought from the East by Constantine's mother Helena.¹⁴⁰ Specific evidence is lacking, but this could explain the interest of pilgrims.¹⁴¹ There are intriguing suggestions here of a lay religious enthusiasm which does not otherwise emerge in our literary record, but its form – pilgrimage to a site of religious power – matches descriptions of such religious interest elsewhere.

The literary record focuses more on the churches that emerged in the cemetery zones outside the city and the martyrial cults connected to these. These churches included ones dedicated to Paulinus, a fourth-century bishop of Trier, and to Maximinus, both to the north of the city, beyond the Porta Nigra gate. To the south was a church with the tombs of bishops Eucherius and Valerius, perhaps built by their fifth-century successor Cyril of Trier.¹⁴² Gregory of Tours described these saints as protecting the city, stationed at the gates, while the bishop resided in the centre, and talked of Nicetius travelling between them, doing the rounds of the city's holy locales.¹⁴³ Gregory also described a number of lay activities in these churches, claiming that miracles were often witnessed at the tomb of Maximinus, 'an effective advocate with God on behalf of the people of the city'.¹⁴⁴ According to Gregory's evidence, possessed people also slept in the forecourt of Maximinus' church.¹⁴⁵ He detailed the impact on

a perjurious priest who descended through three doors to enter the sanctum of the tomb and swear an oath.¹⁴⁶ Excavations have largely confirmed Gregory's account, finding a crypt beneath the church where Maximinus' tomb may indeed have lain.¹⁴⁷ It was accessible at least to the clergy – we hear also of the bishop Magneric lying down and praying next to it.¹⁴⁸ Lay access can probably be presumed as well. Many sarcophagi were found around this church, although it is not clear whether this reflects burial *ad sanctos* or simply the position of the church in the midst of a popular graveyard.¹⁴⁹ Nicetius of Trier was buried in this church in the sixth century and Gregory recorded people accessing his tomb to swear oaths.¹⁵⁰ Gregory had little to say about the cult of Eucherius, but here the epigraphic record again provides some invaluable evidence. The large number of inscriptions found near this church demonstrates Eucherius' popularity, and the promotion of the cult by bishop Cyril.¹⁵¹ Eucherius seems to have attracted the most interest in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. As the fifth century moved on, however, lay focus shifted to the cults of Paulinus and Maximinus, again based on the evidence of the inscriptional record.¹⁵² Even these peripheral churches appear to have benefitted from Trier's fourth-century boom – they were enlarged, and the wealth of their patrons was reflected in the carved stone sarcophagi that surrounded them.¹⁵³ They were important sites of local lay religious interest, alongside the pilgrimage centre at the city's cathedral.

All of these Christian elements in the landscape are striking. However, it is important to note that a pagan presence persisted within the city.¹⁵⁴ The enormous complex of the Altbachtal, with its agglomeration of tiny shrines, many of them little more than housings for cult statues, remained a lively and active force in the heart of the city, at least until Gratian drove a road through it around 380.¹⁵⁵ The sanctuary dedicated to Lenus Mars, across the Moselle, also seems to have been active through this period.¹⁵⁶ When Vulfoliac was setting up his column on a hillside just outside Trier in the late sixth century, he claimed that there were still pagan practices going on in the area.¹⁵⁷ Christianity was not completely dominant, even in this imperial city.

By the time of Vulfoliac, however, Trier was already past its heyday. Its peak, however impressive, was brief. After about 380 it never again served as imperial residence, and by the early fifth century it may have already seen the departure of the praetorian prefect to a safer locale in the south.¹⁵⁸ When barbarians

seeking land and leverage crossed the Rhine in 406–407, Trier was in the direct line of fire.¹⁵⁹ It was captured by the Franks around 411, and by the middle of the fifth century Salvian was claiming that it had been sacked four times.¹⁶⁰ According to an eighth-century source, it was destroyed by the Huns in 451.¹⁶¹ The accuracy of these literary accounts has long been doubted, and the mint in fact remained active until the 450s, but there can be no doubt that a city so tied to imperial power was diminished by the gradual withdrawal of Roman armies, governance and interest. Trier did not recover its role as a capital under Frankish rule, and there is archaeological evidence of economic contraction in this period as well.¹⁶² The cathedral complex was damaged at some point in the fifth century and the north basilica was for a long time abandoned – it was only eventually restored in the episcopate of Nicetius in the early sixth century.¹⁶³ Although reduced in importance, and in power, the monuments remained. Trier never built a second lot of smaller walls to reflect its reduced scope – its inhabitants continued to dwell in a city surrounded by reminders of past glory.¹⁶⁴ Excavations of one bath complex, the Barbarathermen, have revealed evidence of the disuse or destruction of this complex around the middle of the fifth century.¹⁶⁵ It may have been used as housing for barbarian soldiers and their families, while another bath complex, the Kaiserthermen, became the base for the Frankish count.¹⁶⁶ The amphitheatre became a citadel.¹⁶⁷ ‘The aura of her former greatness’, however, as Wightman has remarked, ‘never completely disappeared’.¹⁶⁸ One can sense it in the scale of the monuments even today.

Trier therefore provides a particularly interesting case-study. Its inscriptional record is unusually extensive, reflecting the presence of many officials and aristocrats who wished to record and display family achievements. This record gives us a glimpse of lay *ad sanctos* burial practices that do not necessarily match the picture provided by our literary evidence. The lay population of Trier clearly had their own ideas about which saints were most powerful, quite distinct from clerical promotion efforts. However, the bigger picture – of lay confidence in the efficacy of the saints, and belief in the benefit of physical proximity to them – is consistent with the picture that we get from Gregory of Tours and other clerical authors. Trier is therefore a useful corroboration of the general forms which lay piety might take, and the ways in which lay people might interact with sacred space, even in a city not otherwise renowned as a religious centre.

Tours

In Tours we have the rather different situation that almost no traces of the late antique city remain in the archaeological record, yet we have extensive and detailed descriptions of the main Christian monuments in the city in the works of Gregory of Tours, and even some indication of the decorations on the walls of the churches, from the inscriptional record.¹⁶⁹ No late antique churches survive to any level in Tours, and the locations of many of the places mentioned by Gregory are quite uncertain.¹⁷⁰ Archaeologists have been able to establish the location of the wall circuit, the amphitheatre and some housing areas, but little else besides.¹⁷¹ Yet the accounts we have of the cathedral and, in particular, of the church dedicated to Martin outside the city walls, have enabled scholars to produce evocative and powerful recreations of what it may have been like to be present in these sacred spaces. We can use the sources we have to evoke a particular time and place, and see how the lay people who lived in Tours, or went on pilgrimage there, experienced the religious topography of the city.

All Roman cities were artificial creations, but some perpetuated themselves as a result of clear economic or political functions – they made sense as centres of activity and would continue to function so long as those activities did. Tours was never an important centre of trade or travel, and only briefly a political centre of any significance.¹⁷² Although it acquired the standard set of Roman monumental buildings (forum, temples, amphitheatre, baths), and reached a peak of spread and population in the second century, by the end of this century it was already shrinking in scope, and only the north-eastern sector remained occupied.¹⁷³ This area was eventually enclosed by a wall, completed by the late fourth century, comprising a total of only nine hectares, making it one of the smallest enclosed settlements in Gaul.¹⁷⁴ This area probably did not indicate the limits of residential housing – the walled area (the *castrum*) instead enclosed an ecclesiastical and political administration centre; some traces of late Roman housing have been found in the suburban areas beyond the walls.¹⁷⁵ Nonetheless, this small walled area would have redefined the sense of Tours as a city and the experience of its citizens and visitors. Previously, there had been no clear boundary between urban and rural at Tours, and only the cemetery areas marked the conceptual limits of urban space.¹⁷⁶ Now the urban was

clearly marked and constricted. A number of formerly residential sites outside the *castrum* were given over to agriculture around this time.¹⁷⁷

The Christian conception of Tours would be forever marked by its most famous bishop, Martin (371–97). Martin had presided over the liturgy in the cathedral within the *castrum*, perhaps built by his predecessor, Litorius, had slept in an attached cell and had spent time also in his monastery Marmoutiers, on the other side of the Loire.¹⁷⁸ The chief location of Martin-veneration, however, quickly became the site of his tomb in the cemetery area to the west of the city. Martin's successor, Bricius, had built a small shrine over his burial place, but this was replaced with a much larger building in the late fifth century, under the episcopate of Perpetuus, an energetic promoter of the Martinian cult.¹⁷⁹ Around this church gradually grew a large complex of buildings, 'almost a small village', as Van Dam describes it: two courtyards, housing for individual ascetics, a convent, a poor house, two baptisteries and a bell tower.¹⁸⁰ In the near vicinity sprang up monasteries, other churches and oratories, and residences for the clergy and monks who served all these sacred locales.¹⁸¹ Given the pressure on space within the walled section of Tours, the services to feed, house and exploit pilgrims may also have been located here. The result was an alternative city, Martin's city, 800 m down the road from the *castrum*.¹⁸² It, and Marmoutiers, was the main site visited by pilgrims seeking Martin's assistance.¹⁸³ Van Dam speculates that by the sixth century few travellers may have bothered going into the old walled city.¹⁸⁴ When the cathedral was destroyed by fire in 558, it lay in ruins for a long time before restorations were complete and it came back into service.¹⁸⁵ In the Christian topography of Tours, the *castrum* was not a centre.

However, as bishop, Gregory of Tours worked hard to overcome this separation. It was he who repaired the cathedral in the *castrum*, 'bigger and higher than before', and had it decorated with paintings depicting some of Martin's most important miracles, complete with poetic legends composed by his friend Venantius Fortunatus.¹⁸⁶ These included an image of Martin officiating at the altar, with flames over his head, which Brian Brennan argues was placed on the apse wall behind or in the half-dome above the altar itself – a reminder that the miracle had taken place in that very spot.¹⁸⁷ He also commissioned an inscription for the cell next to the cathedral where Martin had slept, commemorating a miracle performed there.¹⁸⁸ Perhaps in order to

secure the cathedral's place on the pilgrimage route, Gregory placed in the cathedral, and in Martin's cell, the relics of a number of martyrs that he had found in the treasury of St Martin's church, as well as relics of Martin himself.¹⁸⁹ Gregory's emphasis on Martin has often been interpreted as an attempt to bolster his authority by presenting himself as Martin's successor, and undoubtedly this was one of his motives.¹⁹⁰ However, it was also an attempt to ensure that the cult of Martin remained connected to the episcopate, and to the clerical institutions of Tours, located primarily in the *castrum*. Gregory wanted the faithful to experience *all* of Tours as Martin's city.

We cannot know if the lay people who lived in Tours and the many lay pilgrims who visited it did indeed experience the city as Gregory, or any of the other bishops, hoped they would. We can, however, reconstruct something of the spaces they moved in. Venantius Fortunatus' poem praising Gregory's reconstruction of the cathedral in the *castrum* picked out for praise its size, large windows and use of artificial light.¹⁹¹ His description of the images on its walls and the poetic pieces he wrote to accompany them, meanwhile, give us further valuable details.¹⁹² Venantius gives us a list of what the images depicted: Martin purging a leper, dividing his cloak, giving away his tunic, reviving the dead, cutting down the pine tree, overthrowing the idols, exposing the false martyr. They were so vivid, he claimed, as to be like 'living figures'.¹⁹³ All of these episodes would have been immediately recognizable to anyone familiar with the *Vita* of Martin and the miracle stories associated with him, stories which themselves would have been read in the cathedral on particular occasions.¹⁹⁴ For the elite faithful, there were also Venantius' accompanying 'intricate elegiac distiches', which alluded to allegorical readings, and were packed with classical and theological references.¹⁹⁵ Brennan saw the key message of the images as being about Gregory's association with Martin, but for most lay viewers, the miraculous power of Martin would surely have been the most vivid impression. It was, after all, in search of that miraculous power that so many of them had come to Tours in the first place.

The church of St Martin which contained his tomb appears even more vividly in Gregory's accounts. Gregory described the church over Martin's tomb with a number of specific details, although its exact layout is not clear.¹⁹⁶ It was, he wrote, 160 feet long by 60 feet across, with a height of 45 feet to the vaulting. It had thirty-two windows in the sanctuary and twenty in the nave,

while there were a total of 120 columns in the building and eight doorways.¹⁹⁷ Noël Duval emphasizes how light the building would have been with this number of windows, and the effect of this on the brightly coloured paintings and mosaics.¹⁹⁸ Sidonius Apollinaris described it in an inscription in its apse as rivalling Solomon's temple – indicating ambition, perhaps, rather than accuracy.¹⁹⁹ The inscription over the west doors served to set up what the proper relationship between saint and believer should be: 'The person who makes just requests returns after gaining his vows' – a reciprocal and binding relationship of service.²⁰⁰ Indeed, the inscriptions gave a number of instructions to the faithful – how to contemplate an image, how to properly compose your heart to the correct attitude – and a number of 'lessons' about the connections between heaven and earth, or the power of the saint.²⁰¹ The images also fitted the surroundings – for example, an image of Jesus walking on water over the door facing towards the Loire river.²⁰² Along the walls were pictures from the *Vita* of Martin, accompanied by inscriptions from Paulinus of Périgueux.²⁰³ These served to ratchet up the sense of sanctity as the faithful progressed through the church, culminating in a sense of awe near the tomb itself, echoed in the inscription on the arch of the apse over the altar: 'How this place must be feared! Indeed it is the temple of God and the gateway to heaven.'²⁰⁴ Luce Pietri calls them 'a sort of pilgrim's guide', which would enable visitors to progress, stage by stage, following a spiritual itinerary from terrestrial realities to celestial certainties.²⁰⁵

The church had two sites of particular holiness: the tomb itself and the altar. The altar contained relics of the martyrs of Agaune and sat in front of Martin's tomb, with the choir in between, perhaps set off with a chancel of wood.²⁰⁶ This most sacred zone was accessible to the laity when services were not being held: they scraped dust from the tomb, kissed it and pressed its covering to their eyes.²⁰⁷ Others could approach from behind, gathering in the courtyard outside the eastern apse where the tomb was located, 'at the feet of St Martin.'²⁰⁸ Beyond the nave, a complex of rooms catered to the needs of clerics, but even these could be penetrated by the laity, as we have already seen in the account of Eberulf's sanctuary.²⁰⁹ This was a church designed for use by lay people; designed so that they could access sanctity.

It was very much a cult centre. The experience of entering it would have been marked vividly by the approach through courtyards filled with the sick

and possessed, and by ascetics of varying sanctity or madness.²¹⁰ In the surrounding buildings resided women who had fled their husbands, servants who had fled their masters and retainers who had fled the wrath of their king.²¹¹ There were former queens and crippled children abandoned by their parents.²¹² Some of them stayed around the church of Martin for extended periods of time, or even lived there permanently. Others might spend a night or two sleeping before the tomb itself.²¹³ Those who journeyed to the tomb of St Martin did so with an expectation of miraculous intervention. Sceptics or the doubtful would have been thin on the ground here – instead the atmosphere would have been one of anticipation. On the occasions of Martin's festivals, the entire area would have been packed with revellers of all social classes, drinking and celebrating their saint.²¹⁴

The organic growth of Tours sat at the opposite end of the spectrum from carefully planned Trier. It had never been intended as a major centre and its growth and importance developed as a result of the unpredictable popularity of Martin's cult. Its split and in many ways impractical topography reflected this. The experience of lay people in Tours would have been defined by the need to interact with two very different spaces. The world of many permanent residents would have revolved around the *castrum*, the cathedral, and its regular provision of services. The experiences of others, however, would have centred on Martin's tomb and the complex around it, a world that was marked more by extreme and unusual religious expressions. In both cases, however, the shadow of Martin would have loomed large, thanks to the efforts of Gregory and others. Whatever the locals thought of their famous patron, he would have been an inescapable part of their religious environments.

* * *

The overall theme that emerges from these case-studies is multiplicity. There was significant variety in the histories of Gallic cities in late antiquity and very different religious topographies emerged as a result. The religious environments of lay people would have therefore depended a great deal on where they lived and they would have had very different opportunities for interaction with the sacred, whether through processions, relic veneration, festivals, *ad sanctos* burial, or the regular enactment of Christian rituals. The case-studies also demonstrate that many cities had multiple religious *foci*. It was seldom the case

that lay religious attention was drawn towards a single centre – more often it was spread across many locales of different natures and forms. This meant that the lay religious experience could not be easily controlled. There were many opportunities here for lay people to find the religious environments that suited them, or to shape those environments in order to suit them. Even within churches, as we have seen, there could be multiple *foci*. The clergy could not easily direct the forms of lay piety, or impiety, under those circumstances. Finally, these cities demonstrate that there are multiple sources with which historians have to grapple, and a range of different types of evidence, each providing a particular perspective. Ultimately, each picture is partial, and some are frustratingly difficult to see. Nonetheless, the evidence we have is invaluable – it gives us something of the physical world that surrounded the urban lay people of late antique Gaul. If we take on Esmonde Cleary's idea of the city making a particular type of citizen, then the lay people of Arles, Lyon, Trier and Tours all must have become different kinds of religious citizens, based in large part on the ways in which religion shaped the landscapes of their cities.

Rituals

Jonathan Smith has defined ritual as ‘above all, an assertion of difference’.¹ Rituals in late antique Gaul asserted difference in several ways. They were part of the process by which space could be designated as sacred – the means by which it was made different from secular space.² Ritualization of action made it distinct from ordinary movement, so that baptism was, for example, not the same thing as bathing. Ritual also asserted difference between people. The distinction between clergy and laity centred on their roles in the Eucharistic ritual, one group offering, the other receiving, so this was the moment when the difference between lay and cleric most mattered, and when it was enacted for all to see. This was when the lay experience of being ‘lay’ would have been most acute. Rituals are therefore central to the analysis of how clergy sought to create and enact differences between lay people and themselves, as well as between sacred and secular spaces and between religious and ordinary actions. Rituals were one of the ways in which the categories ‘lay’ and ‘secular’ were constructed.

They were also a basic element of a lay person’s religious environment. Many lay interactions with their religion would have been shaped by ritual, whether in services at church, at regular festivals and processions, or in engagement with divine power through pilgrimage, prayers or acts of penitence. Some of these aspects will be reserved for discussion in the next chapter on religious behaviours. Here I will concentrate on reconstructing what we can know about the ritual world of the Gallic laity, focusing in particular on the nature and form of the Eucharistic liturgy and on the character and use of processions, either during festivals or as part of communal penance, such as the Rogations. In both cases, clergy attempted to assert control over rituals in the service of hierarchical differentiation; however, they also sought to use them to build the unity of Christian communities through joint solemnized

action. These dual goals – differentiation and unity – might seem to be in tension, yet they consistently characterized accounts of ritualized acts.

Rituals have been seen by scholars as mechanisms of both inclusion and exclusion. Robin Jensen has placed great emphasis on the role of ritual in the religious worlds of ordinary Christians. ‘Christian identity’, she recently argued, ‘is claimed, developed, and reinforced through ritual practice as much as – or perhaps more than – by the doctrines articulated by theologians.’³ On the other hand, Torjesen has seen them largely as cleric-centred actions. In particular, she argues that the sacralization of the Eucharistic ceremony, and the exclusion of the laity from it, was one of the key moments of lay differentiation and subordination by the clergy.⁴ Certainly, liturgical rituals seem to be an ideal mechanism for controlling space and for enacting hierarchy. Nonetheless, in practice they were defined, in the Gallic context, by a diversity and multiplicity that mitigated any such clerical intentions. Moreover, there are suggestions in our evidence that ritual did not always do what clergy thought it should do, or was doing. Our sources made clear that clergy struggled to maintain control over the rituals of the faith. There were many spaces and opportunities for the laity to claim them as their own.

Ritual and ritualization

Before examining the late antique evidence for Christian ritual in Gaul, I need to explain what I mean by ‘ritual’ and how I am using the concept, since it has been a subject of some contention among scholars. Phillipe Buc has argued against the use of ritual as a concept in the early middle ages, pointing out that the textual descriptions we have of events and processes often do not match the social-scientific models of ritual that have been used to analyse them.⁵ Any overly rigid model of what a ritual is and what it does risks misrepresenting far more than it explains.⁶ Catherine Bell has tried to address the issue by talking instead of ‘ritualization’, arguing that this focuses attention on what the actors were doing and how they were setting their acts apart from the ordinary, rather than assuming that ritual was something concrete and specific. In this chapter, I use both terms, although with caution. They are useful to describe something that would have been an important part of the worlds of lay people: formal

religious acts that deliberately evoked separation from secularity. When lay people attended church and either observed or participated in the Eucharistic mass, they were part of a series of actions that were fixed, repeated and formalized in order to distinguish and privilege them over more quotidian activities.⁷ When lay people joined a procession through the city on the anniversary of a saint's death, they were assisting in the process of marking the landscape as sacred by virtue of focusing their attention upon it.⁸ In both cases, the actions of those involved were deliberately differentiated from the normal processes of eating a meal or walking through the streets of the city. I find the ideas of ritual and ritualization useful to describe what was different.

I also emphasize, however, that such events were difficult to control. As Bell puts it: 'ritualized practices afford a great diversity of interpretation in exchange for little more than consent to the form of the activities.'⁹ The clergy might have been aiming at consensus and unity, two of the goals often claimed for ritual acts, but ritual was an *argument* for such consensus, not an enactment of it.¹⁰ The laity might not always have taken from such rituals what the clergy wanted them to. The case-study of the Rogations, considered at the end of the chapter, provides one possible example of this. I therefore use the terms 'ritual' and 'ritualization' while giving as much attention as possible to the specificities of our texts, their authors and their situations.

The Eucharistic liturgy¹¹

The Eucharistic liturgy is manifestly important to any history of late antique Christianity – the sacrifice of bread and wine upon an altar and their subsequent consumption constituted the central ritual action of Christianity and participation in it marked membership of the church.¹² It was an enactment of the community's special relationship with God and the obligations which each had to the other.¹³ It was also an idealized expression of the consensus and fellowship of the Christian community, since it is 'of necessity and by intention a *corporate action*'.¹⁴ At the same time, however, the Eucharistic liturgy was also the chief ritual which enshrined the difference between clergy and laity. It was therefore simultaneously an expression of Christian unity and of hierarchy within the community. All parts of the Eucharistic liturgy were ritualized to

express their difference from the ordinary, to privilege the moment as sacred and as relating to a higher, cosmic reality.¹⁵ It was intended to be a highly sensual experience. Every action was slow and deliberate, accompanied by prayer or music.¹⁶ For many lay people, it may have been an intense and emotive religious experience.

For something so important, however, the Gallic Eucharistic liturgy has proved frustratingly difficult to reconstruct. Very few written sources describe it before the Carolingian period, and those we do have are fragmentary or difficult to date.¹⁷ Louis Duchesne based his reconstruction of the Eucharistic service on descriptions in a text attributed to Germanus of Paris in the late sixth century, but this attribution and the date of his evidence are very controversial.¹⁸ Of the few liturgical compositions to survive from Merovingian Gaul, none are earlier than the late seventh century, and none can answer all the questions scholars have about the shape and structure of the liturgy.¹⁹ But even if we had the complete written texts we desire, we would still not have a full picture of the liturgical experience, which was about so much more than the words spoken. To understand them fully, we would have to place them in the context of the places, persons, objects, music, aromas, lights and images that were so much a part of the experience.²⁰ Liturgy is not just prayer formulae, as Mathews points out, it is 'an enormously complex symbol whose message is carried in gesture, motion and display as much as in words.'²¹ Finally, to complicate the picture, the one thing on which scholars seem to agree is that the liturgy in Gaul was very diverse and that regional experience would have varied widely.²² Each of the liturgical manuscripts which survives contains a different number of masses, commemorates different saints, and lists different reading passages and prayers for the same occasions.²³ Bishops were in a position to be quite creative in their construction of some elements of the service.²⁴ Priests in smaller churches, often at great distance from their bishops, could become quite independent.²⁵ It was even possible for lay people to contribute – King Chilperic, for example, was reported to have composed hymns and masses of his own accord.²⁶ There were numerous outside influences on liturgy and very few attempts to impose any kind of uniformity.²⁷ The result was the 'fruitful confusion so characteristic of Frankish liturgy'.²⁸

Given all of this, reconstructing the liturgical experience of the laity appears a daunting task. However, the church councils did seek to standardize the acts

and gestures that constituted the structure of the Eucharistic mass, so that although there may have been a perfectly acceptable diversity of texts used and words spoken, 'no part of the essential rite would be neglected or even missed out by the celebrant'.²⁹ We can therefore outline these standard elements, which existed at least as an ideal model.³⁰ The celebrant would enter while an antiphon was sung, would greet the congregation and they would reply. According to Germanus, canticles would then be sung and the celebrant would say a prayer. This would be followed by readings, which were usually from the scriptures, although they may have also included readings from the biographies of saints on their particular festivals. These were interspersed with singing by choirs, and the books might also be brought in with a solemn procession. All of this would be followed by the sermon, which was often based on the reading, but might also be an unrelated moral exhortation. There were then some prayers, uttered by the faithful and by the celebrant, which seemingly could vary widely in character. If there were catechumens, public penitents or excommunicants present, they would be dismissed. The elements of the offering were brought in and placed upon the altar, accompanied by prayers and possibly singing. This would be followed by the recital of the names of the dead as well as prayer for them, and the kiss of peace. There was then a sequence of Eucharistic prayers and responses, the fraction of the host, its mixing with the wine and the actual communion. The congregation sang the Pater Noster during the final preparations for this. During the taking of communion, there would have been further singing by the choir. Afterwards, the celebrant thanked God, gave the benediction and dismissed the congregation. This process may have taken between one and two hours, depending on the occasion and degree of elaboration.³¹

There were also many other, small-scale services going on throughout the day and week, which the laity could attend, and they were indeed sometimes encouraged to do so. Caesarius instituted daily observance of the canonical hours in Arles in the hope of attracting lay attendance and encouraged lay people to join in the singing of this daily office.³² He also urged his congregation during Lent to attend not only the vigils, but also terce, sext and none.³³ Henry Beck argues that there was a night office every week to prepare for the Sunday, that there were solemn vigils before the feasts of Epiphany and Pentecost, and that 'the daily observance of the Divine Office was the normal practice' in the

south of France at least, but Hen has disagreed with him on this.³⁴ Following the evidence of Caesarius, these offices could also include a sermon.³⁵ Certainly, such daily offices were not always or even regularly attended by lay people – although some did, this would have been very unusual.³⁶ More standard, perhaps, was attendance at the office during Lent – Caesarius emphasized this as part of ideal lay pious practice.³⁷ By the end of the sixth century, it had become the custom to offer public masses in the afternoons several days a week during Advent.³⁸ Requiem and anniversary masses were also offered on a variety of occasions.³⁹ These Christian markers of time therefore could, at least in potential, provide the rhythm of the days and weeks in a lay person's life, especially if they chose to attend services on a regular basis.

It is not clear, however, how often most lay people did choose to attend services. The obligation to attend church on Sundays was emphasized by church councils, by secular law codes and by miracle stories that described punishments for those who worked when they should have been at church.⁴⁰ Regular attendance was expected, but the reiterated penalties in legal texts suggest this was not always observed in practice. What is clear is that by the fifth century, actually taking communion when one attended church was less common than it had once been.⁴¹ A combination of factors including the enormous increase in the numbers of the faithful, the practice of child baptism, and increasing reverence for the host, with subsequent emphasis on needing to be pure and worthy in order to consume it, had ensured that communion had become relatively infrequent for many laity.⁴² In 506, the Council of Agde had to dictate that it be taken at least three times a year.⁴³ Otherwise, receiving communion was not an act of lay piety that clergy especially emphasized or promoted.⁴⁴ In many Gallic cities, it would in fact have been impossible to accommodate the entire baptized community if they had all communicated every Sunday.⁴⁵ This gradual development changed the nature of the Eucharistic liturgy and the experience of lay people attending it. Many came to church as spectators rather than participants, and the ceremony began to be something done by the clergy, rather than something shared with the whole Christian community.⁴⁶ We should not project back the situation of the high middle ages – the process of lay exclusion was only just beginning in the fifth century, and the laity still participated actively in the service in many other ways, even if they did not always take communion.⁴⁷ Venantius Fortunatus could still in the

sixth century urge Christians to receive the Eucharist every day where possible and Beck argues that this would indeed have been possible in some areas.⁴⁸ However, the change from the lay experience in the earliest centuries of the church would have been marked.

Scholars generally agree with Mathews that over time 'the liturgy was gradually made ever more remote, untouchable, inaccessible, invisible'.⁴⁹ In the eighth century, some prayers were whispered. After 800, the laity could no longer offer the bread and wine for the Eucharist with their own hands, and bread from lay households was no longer deemed appropriate.⁵⁰ By 1000, clerics faced away from the congregation and 'the laity were expected to observe from a distance what were now essentially clerical mysteries'.⁵¹ What is not clear is what stage this process had reached in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries in Gaul, and in Chapter 2 I raised the question of how much the laity could see of the ceremonies when they attended church. Certainly, many aspects of the drama seem to require an audience which sees and a congregation which is engaged.⁵² Moreover, although they did not communicate and therefore participate as often as they once had, the laity were not wholly passive during the Eucharistic liturgy. They had to exchange the kiss of peace. They had to respond and sing at various points during the service.⁵³ They were also addressed, engaged and exhorted directly during the sermon. Hen has argued, indeed, that the mass 'required the full attention, cooperation and participation of the congregation'.⁵⁴ Given the many clerical complaints about lay inattention, I find this rather optimistic, but certainly it reflects the ideal. A sermon in the Eusebius Gallicanus collection makes clear that the laity were expected both to participate and to listen quietly, at the appropriate moments. 'It is a serious sin both of lukewarmness and infidelity, standing in the holy place before the presence of majesty, either not to respond, when the psalm is sung, or, not to be silent when the reading is poured into your ears.'⁵⁵ A number of scholars have recently emphasized the dramatic and performative elements of the mass and the intended impact of these on all participants and spectators alike.⁵⁶ The singing that accompanied the important moments would have been a central part of this experience, working both to impress and to incorporate the laity at various different points. Add in the other elements of the experience – movement in processions, elaborate dress, incense, light and ritualized action – and the impact upon the laity was potentially profound.⁵⁷

Furthermore, the liturgy, or elements of it, could be co-opted by the laity in various different ways, demonstrating the difficulty the clergy had in controlling it. One of the most obvious ways in which this happened was through Eucharistic reservation, which was permitted for the sick, but may have been far more widespread.⁵⁸ This practice took control of the Eucharist quite literally out of the hands of the clergy and made it available for use in private rituals and domestic expressions of piety.⁵⁹ Indeed, although many members of the clergy insisted loudly that the church was the only authorized site for Eucharistic celebration, domestic celebrations continued in a variety of contexts. Two Breton priests, Lovocatus and Catihernus, were accused of using a portable altar to conduct the mass in the cottages (*capanas*) of their fellow citizens.⁶⁰ As we have already seen, the wealthy could have chapels within their homes, where they took communion from clergy who were effectively in their own employ. Each of these examples of 'private' religious service created the possibility that sacred rites might be accessed inappropriately by secular people. The laity also took the models of the Eucharistic mass, and of the daily office, and appropriated them in their own personal devotions, imitating clergy and implicitly undermining some of the category distinctions that lay at the heart of the formalized church ceremony.⁶¹ The Eucharistic liturgy was therefore important, and looms large in our picture of Gallic religious worlds, but was also a potentially fraught event – the centre of some struggles between clergy and laity over issues of access and control.

The Christian reconstruction of the larger cycles of time may have had even greater impact on the lives of lay people, in the long run. Yitzhak Hen has demonstrated very clearly how the religious calendar developed in a series of cycles: the temporal cycle commemorating the events of Christ's life, the sanctoral cycle marking the festivals of saints, and the personal cycle marking the major events of an individual's life in religious terms.⁶² These cycles expanded enormously over the period we are interested in and each of them involved the laity directly. The number of festivals for saints, both local and 'universal', multiplied through late antiquity and into the early middle ages, and these were presented to lay people as a proper focus for their local patriotism and as a basis for their sense of community.⁶³ Furthermore, both birth and death were increasingly marked as Christian moments. By 600, infant baptism had become the norm, and we also see the development of

death-bed rituals and votive masses for the dead.⁶⁴ These rituals made an argument for the centrality of religion to the conception of community – entrance should be marked through a Christian rite, and Christian rites should ensure that one remained a member of the community even after death.⁶⁵ Any adult catechumens, or the parents of children to be baptized, were supposed to prepare themselves for the ceremony with fasting and regular church attendance for instruction.⁶⁶ Adult catechumens were taught an outline of the principal doctrines of the faith, while god-parents were obliged to teach baptized children the fundamentals of the Christian virtues as well as the Creed and Pater Noster.⁶⁷ Baptism ceremonies were moments to remind the entire community of their obligations as Christians, and to enrol them in the ongoing effort to maintain the virtues upon which clergy insisted. The temporal cycle determined times when the laity had to fast, when they could feast, when they had to abstain from sexual relations, when they had to attend church and when they could work. The importance of these behavioural dictates is clear in sermons, which sought to explain to the laity the reasons for the controls upon them and urged the spiritual rewards that would follow from observance. These also provided opportunities for preachers, who adapted their messages to the laity according to the season, stressing particular virtues or mental attitudes in times of joyous celebration or of mournful commemoration. All of these, together with the Eucharistic liturgy, therefore took a central place in the religious worlds of the laity in late antique Gaul, both as a reminder of their position within the church and as an opportunity for pious action.

Processions

Scholars have recently become very interested in processions as moments when ritual and urban space particularly connected. Cecelia Feldman-Weiss has argued that processions were integral to the creation of the ancient city as a 'place', while historians working on Christian pilgrimage have emphasized how processions, along with other types of ritualized movement, served to sacralize urban topography.⁶⁸ Palazzo argues that a procession which moved through a city could be a way of compensating for the fact that it was impossible

for the inhabitants of a city to congregate in a single church – this was in fact the best way to express their sense of themselves as a unified community.⁶⁹ A procession enabled the participation of a wide range of community members; indeed, this ‘representativeness’ appears as an ideal feature of a religious procession in a number of texts.⁷⁰ An idealized penitential procession described by Gregory of Tours consisted of clergy from different parts of the city, together with abbots and monks, abbesses and nuns, children, laymen, widows and married women.⁷¹ In the account of the procession through Arles on the occasion of the festival of Genesius, the preacher emphasized the joint action of the faithful and described how everyone was equally struck by terror as the bridge collapsed, sending their fellow citizens into the waters of the Rhône. Saved by the power of the martyr, however, they all emerged safe on the other side. ‘The procession of all came out, just as it had gone in’: mothers, virgins and children, differentiated but now together.⁷² The ritualized procession could therefore be an expression of communal piety that united all its members, even as the clerical texts insisted on the careful distinction of roles within the faith community.

Processions could be regular events as part of a particular festival, as was the case in Arles. In Tours, likewise, the inhabitants would process from the cathedral to the church of St Martin, as part of his celebrations. Other processions were responses to specific situations. When the plague threatened to hit Reims, Gregory described its inhabitants taking the shroud from the tomb of the former bishop Remigius. Then ‘with candleholders and candles burning above the crosses, they joined voices in chants and journeyed around the city as well as its villages.’⁷³ They could even be initiated by an individual. For example, Gregory of Tours tells of how Bricius, bishop of Tours, was falsely accused of unchastity. ‘To justify himself to the people, he placed burning coals in his cassock and pressed them against his body and went in procession with the whole mob to the tomb of Saint Martin.’⁷⁴ In each of these cases, lay participation was paramount. They needed to walk, in a ritualized fashion, and they needed to undertake particular acts both to prepare themselves and as they went. When Childebert besieged Saragossa, Gregory reported that the inhabitants of that city ‘dressed themselves in hair-shirts, abstained from eating and drinking, and marched around the city walls singing psalms and carrying the tunic of Saint Vincent the martyr. Their women-folk followed them,

weeping and wailing, dressed in black garments, with their hair blowing free and with ashes on their heads.⁷⁵ Processions were ideally ritualized moments of time and motion, exempt from the normal secular pattern of events. When the saints entered heaven, one Eusebius Gallicanus preacher insisted, they did so in a procession.⁷⁶ This was sacred movement. In Reims, Gregory reported that the plague did not advance beyond the boundary set out by the procession.⁷⁷ In the case of Saragossa, meanwhile, the besieging troops were reputedly so terrified by the procession that they withdrew from the city. 'It was quite unimaginable', Gregory commented, 'that God in His compassion would not be swayed by the prayers of these people.'⁷⁸ The ritualized movement of the procession was depicted as warding off evil.

Rogations

As Catherine Bell points out, 'most symbolic action, even the basic symbols of a community's ritual life, can be very unclear to participants or interpreted by them in very dissimilar ways.'⁷⁹ Rituals in late antique Gaul could be interpreted and used in a variety of ways, making them difficult to control. To illustrate this, the final section of this chapter takes a close look at the Rogations. These rituals began as an emergency response to danger, when Mamertus, bishop of Vienne, instituted them in the 450s.⁸⁰ After this time, however, the Rogations were adopted elsewhere in Gaul and became regularized as an annual occurrence. They involved a three-day long sequence of prayer, fasting, almsgiving, vigils and processions through the city.⁸¹ The Rogations were supposed to involve *all* members of the Christian community.⁸² The whole enterprise, however, was organized by and focused on the bishop, as the orchestrator of his community's penitence. Unity and hierarchy were therefore ideally both in evidence.

These themes emerge strongly in several of our accounts of the Rogations. In a letter in his collection, Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, invited a friend to return to the city to take part in this relatively new ritual, as a demonstration of piety.⁸³ In praising the Rogations, Sidonius contrastingly characterized previous public prayers as insufficiently ritualized and therefore ineffective. They were, he claimed, 'irregular, lukewarm, sparsely attended and,

so to speak, full of yawns; their purpose was frequently obscured by the disturbing interruptions for meals, and they tended to become for the most part petitions for rain or for fine weather.' The new ritual, however, had brought 'prayer and fasting, psalmody and lamentation', it had become 'a festival of humbly bowed heads' and a 'fellowship of sighing suppliants'.⁸⁴ In another letter on the Rogations, written to the bishop who had first instituted them, Sidonius presented them as enormously popular, and as uniting a previously divided community in an act of ritualized unity, a model also evoked by Avitus of Vienne in his sermon on the Rogations.⁸⁵ In a Eusebius Gallicanus sermon that was probably preached just after the Rogation period, the congregation was described as 'one soul, equal, in consensus'.⁸⁶ Caesarius ordered that no one in the community should leave the church on these days, because this would be equivalent to deserting an army.⁸⁷ For Geoffrey Nathan, therefore, the ritual of the Rogations was an enactment of community consensus, with the bishop at its forefront. 'The inclusion of the whole population was paramount – success required totality. The bishop, as a leader, a symbol, and a guide, trained the physical ablutions of the community upon a spiritual purification.'⁸⁸

However, the only evidence we have for how the ritual elevated the bishop and created consensus around him is the evidence of the bishops themselves. We do not know whether the laity found the previous public prayers as inadequate as Sidonius declared them to be, and we cannot assume that they were approaching these new prayers and processions any differently. Our sources suggest a complex picture. For example, the 'petitions for rain or fine weather', derided by Sidonius Apollinaris, appeared central to the Rogations in some other accounts. In a sermon in the Eusebius Gallicanus collection, the preacher assured his congregants that 'we are about to obtain through prayer that the lord forbids infirmities, plagues, tribulations; he drives away the evil of pestilence, of hostility, of hail, of drought; he brings together the proper mixture of weather for the safety of the body, for the fertility of the earth, he concedes peace of the elements and tranquillity of the times, he dismisses sins, he withdraws the scourges'.⁸⁹ Caesarius once used the occasion of the Rogations to lead the congregation in prayers to end a threatening drought, and another time to seek relief from excessive floods.⁹⁰ Gregory of Tours told of how during their Rogations the people of Rodez petitioned their bishop, Quintianus, to intone a particular prayer in a time of drought: 'Blessed pontiff, if you devoutly

intone the antiphon, we trust so much in your sanctity that we believe that the Lord will immediately deign to grant us an abundant rain.⁹¹ Sure enough, after the bishop had chanted, the people had sung, and they had all processed to the gate of the town, ‘a heavy rain fell upon the whole land, so that they were lost in admiration, and said that it was due to the prayers of this holy man.’⁹² This was still a story, told by a bishop, which placed a bishop at the centre of the action, but it puts Sidonius’ view of the purpose of the Rogations in a different perspective. Nor did the Rogations always appear as sacrosanct, or enforcing reverence for the bishop. In other tales told by Gregory, a bishop feared attack during a Rogations procession, and ended up breaking away from it to flee for his life, while another bishop had his authority publicly challenged during the Rogations and on one occasion a king led the Rogations instead of a bishop.⁹³ In the Eusebius Gallicanus sermon, meanwhile, the preacher complained specifically that some members of the community were not buying into the ideal of consensus – they were refusing to engage in the general abstinence, and were sceptical about what it would achieve.⁹⁴ My point is that even clerical elites did not have a single interpretation, response to or image of what this ritual was for, or what it achieved. Our default assumption should be diversity in the lay experience as well.

* * *

Rituals were one way in which the clergy asserted difference between the sacred and the secular, marking the laity as a distinct group and delineating spaces in religious terms, at the level of both individual buildings and entire cities. Rituals were, however, only assertions. As we have seen in previous chapters, lay people did not always concur with clerical perspectives and a multiplicity of interpretations and responses were possible even within a pious Christian framework.

Behaviours

Sidonius Apollinaris presented the nobleman Vettius as an exemplary layman. Vettius, Sidonius wrote, kept a pure home, with efficient slaves and an open table. The man himself, meanwhile, was sober, skilled in training the animals of the hunt, dignified and self-controlled. To these ancient virtues, however, Sidonius added a number of Christian elements. ‘He is a frequent reader of the sacred books, by which means on many occasions he absorbs food for the soul while at meals. He often reads the Psalms and still oftener chants them, and by his novel manner of life he acts the monk, although wearing not the habit of an order but the habiliment of a general.’¹ Vettius practised his religion ‘discretely and sensitively’ (*occulte et delicateque*) so as not to impose his asceticism on his guests, but he was no less serious about his faith as a result and Sidonius presented him as an example even to the clergy, since ‘I feel bound to admire a priest-like man more than a man in the priesthood.’² Sidonius, writing by this time as a bishop, appeared perfectly comfortable with the notion that a lay person could be virtuous while still residing within and taking an active part in the secular world. His expectations of lay piety were quite simple and achievable: live morally within the world, and do some sacred reading. Despite this, however, the value of Vettius’ conduct as a lay person resided for Sidonius in its approximation to monastic and clerical models – he ‘acts the monk’ and is ‘a priest-like man’. For Sidonius, a good lay life could be admired, but it could not somehow represent a stand-alone ideal.

The commemorator of Agapus, merchant of Lyon, felt no such tension. On his tombstone, dated to 601, Agapus was described as a good lay Christian: ‘the bay of the afflicted and the port of the needy, loved by all, he assiduously visited the places of the saints and practised almsgiving and prayer.’³ This is a slightly different picture of an ideal lay life. There was no need for reference to any external criteria – Agapus stood on his own merits. Instead of Vettius’ Christian

aristocratic *otium*, we get an image of active civic engagement with the needy and of participation in the cult of the saints. Both pictures are models, on display to others, but the authors, audiences and genres are very different. They hint at the diversity of lay religious behaviours, even at the level of ideals.

This chapter is about these multiple ideals of lay behaviour but also whether we can move beyond the level of ideal. I use David Frankfurter's model of a two-pronged approach: first, to examine the rhetoric, both of idealization and denigration, and to detail when and why clergy and lay people praised or attacked particular religious behaviours.⁴ Second, I explore, where possible, the role of religion in the lives of the faithful, looking especially for ways in which lay people integrated their practices with Christian schemes of authority.⁵ From this we get a complex picture of the relationship between clerical and lay views on religious behaviour. Clerical ideals undoubtedly had a powerful effect on those around them, but there was also considerable space for autonomous lay action.⁶

Previous chapters in this book have already explored some aspects of lay religious behaviour. Chapter 1 examined the phenomenon of *conversi*, lay people who adopted some ascetic practices while remaining in the secular world. Chapters 2 and 3 detailed how lay people engaged with secular spaces, while Chapter 4 looked at their involvement in the rituals of the church. Chapter 6 will discuss the relationship between belief and behaviour and the implications that each had for the other. This current chapter is therefore one part of a larger picture of lay religious behaviour which emerges from the book as a whole. It is an opportunity, however, to explore three specific aspects that are not covered elsewhere. The first sections of the chapter address ideals of lay behaviour through the perspectives found in three very different types of evidence: hagiographies, sermons and epitaphs. This analysis reveals that these ideals depended in large part on genre but that there are nonetheless some common expectations of lay piety. The chapter then moves to the inverse of this picture: clerical attacks on lay misbehaviour, what they mean, and what we can take from them as historians. The negative portraits of lay behaviour were just as rhetorically constructed as the positive ones, but still provide a series of intriguing suggestions about what lay people may have been up to. Finally, the chapter looks at a few examples of indirect evidence for lay behaviour: instances where the lay people lurked in the background of the main action, and where the attention of the author was not focused on them at all. In such cases, the

drive to distort lay behaviour was considerably less strong, and we get some interesting depictions of how lay people may have interacted with religious institutions and figures.

Ideals: Hagiographies

Hagiography initially appears to be an unpromising source for information on ideals of lay behaviour. In late antique Gaul, the heroes of saints' lives were almost exclusively bishops, monks, nuns and other dedicated ascetics. However, hagiography did provide models of lay religious behaviour in several ways. First, almost all Gallic saints' lives included an account of them as a lay person. As we saw in Chapter 1, hagiographies celebrated conversion moments, when a saint transitioned out of the secular world and into a committed state of religious life, whether as a cleric or as a dedicated ascetic. The authors therefore usually devoted at least some time and attention to the period before. There were very few examples in Gallic hagiographies of subjects who spent their early life as a sinner, and were converted or transformed into a saint. What they provided instead were models of how to be an ideally virtuous lay person, in the secular world, and they are fascinating to us as examples of what their ascetic and clerical authors thought was both admirable and possible.

The *Vitae* of Gallic female saints are especially interesting because they were often depicted as having less power over their destinies and struggling with pressure from parents or spouses, meaning that it was harder for them to escape from secularity. The two *Vitae* of Radegund, for example, both spent significant time on the period before her conversion when she was forced by circumstance to live in 'the world'. Both authors presented her as undertaking idealized behaviour throughout this period. Venantius Fortunatus described Radegund as a little girl, conversing with other children about her desire to be a martyr if the chance came in her time and he modelled her as one by describing her 'enduring persecution from her own household'.⁷ She was shown polishing the pavement of the oratory with her dress, dispensing leftover food to other children, and leading them in a religious procession, carrying a wooden cross and singing psalms. Even after she became an adult and undertook that defining lay act, marriage, Radegund behaved in an idealized

religious way. She married an 'earthly prince' (*terreno principi*) but was not separated from her heavenly one.⁸ In Lent, Venantius wrote, she was a penitent, wearing a hair shirt under her royal robes, and when the king asked for her at his table, she was busy praying elsewhere.⁹ Radegund the queen patronized monasteries and religious figures, dispensed charity, served the poor, ate ascetically, prayed long hours and refused fine clothing.¹⁰ In his account, Venantius demonstrated therefore that it was possible, even heroic, to live an ascetic life as a married lay person.

The account of her life by Baudonivia made the same point. The author described the saint as modelling an ideal lay way of life, separating herself mentally and spiritually from the world, even while in it. 'Religion', Baudonivia wrote, 'was adopted as an example of the monastic life while she was still in a secular habit.'¹¹ In other words, Radegund was already looking forward to her future moment of conversion to the religious life and adopting its behavioural standards before she adopted the formal clothing. As Baudonivia put it, 'When she was still with the king wearing worldly garb, her mind was intent on Christ.'¹² Radegund was 'more celestial than earthly' and 'played the part of a wife . . . acting as a model laywoman whom she herself might wish to imitate'.¹³ Radegund, at this stage of her life, was presented as the ideal lay person, and an example to others.

We find the same model in other *Vitae* from this period. For example, readers were informed by her biographer that Queen Balthild harboured a desire for a 'spiritual and heavenly spouse' (*spiritalem caelestemque sponsum*), but was married to an earthly one and managed, despite this, to serve Christ 'in secular clothing' (*sub seculari habitu*).¹⁴ The author of Balthild's *Vita*, although probably a nun herself, nonetheless did not shy away from Balthild's ability to be virtuous in the world. She depicted the queen as ministering to the poor, supporting the religious, founding and patronizing monasteries, fighting simony and infanticide and ransoming Christians.¹⁵ In the *Vita Bertilae*, Balthild was described as a religious woman (*religiosa*) while still ruling her kingdom, because she was 'much devoted to God and took care of paupers and churches'.¹⁶ Eustadiola likewise lived the life of a religious woman (*religiosa*) despite being 'in secular dress' (*in saeculari habitu*).¹⁷ Marriage and motherhood did not prevent this, but her conversion moment came when widowhood allowed her to act on her wishes. She then 'put off her secular garments' (*abjecto seculari habitu*), gave away her possessions and built a monastery in which to reside.¹⁸

Inevitably, given the nature of the genre, the model of ideal lay piety presented here was an ascetic one. The principle was to behave as a nun, even before you became one. We find the same principle at work in the hagiography of male saints. Honoratus of Arles and his brother were described by Hilary as exercising a 'private episcopate' (*priuatus episcopatus*).¹⁹ They led an 'angelic life' (*angelica vita*) while still 'on earth' (*in terris*).²⁰ In his brief *Vita* of Gregory of Langres, Gregory of Tours gave some attention to his subject's virtuous life before ordination. Gregory was, according to the text, a just, rigorous and severe count of the city of Autun, he had sex with his wife only for purposes of procreation, was rewarded with sons, and never lusted after another woman. Only after his wife's death was he 'converted to the Lord' (*ad Dominem convertitur*) and consecrated as bishop.²¹ Even though their heroes fled secularity, therefore, hagiographies still presented a model of how to be a good lay person, living in the world. It was hard, but it was possible.

The second way hagiographies presented ideals of lay behaviour consisted in their portraits of virtuous supporting characters. Although saints' parents were often presented as obstacles, in some cases they appeared as models of ideal lay religiosity, and here the emphasis was far more upon worldly virtues, and far less upon ascetic or clerical emulations. For example, Aldegund's mother and father married, had children, worked and lived in the world. According to the author, however, despite being 'married in the flesh ... burning with divine radiance, they chose the spiritual life imitating Paul's example'.²² Anstrude's mother and grandfather were both described in her *Vita* as religious people (*religiosi*) despite their marriages and evident fertility.²³ Austreberta's father was termed 'a man of honest life and venerable customs', her mother was 'elegant in her sanctity', and both were acclaimed for their 'holy probity of mind, firm faith, great charity, renowned justice, long-suffering hope, almsgiving, and solicitous hospitality for the poor. Adorned with such flowers of virtue, they deserved to be called temples of the Holy Spirit as was manifested afterwards by abundant signs'.²⁴

The final way in which hagiography modelled idealized lay piety was in the expectations laid out in the texts for lay responses to the saints. One important role of the laity within hagiography was to act as the 'crowd' – pressuring a saint into becoming their bishop, welcoming a saint to town, being led by the saint in an act of common penance, lamenting at the saint's death and so forth.

The *Vita* of Rusticula provided a classic example of the saint's arrival in a city: 'When it was announced that the venerable handmaid of God was on her way back and was near the city, a great crowd of all ages and sexes ran out, religious, laity, nobles and commoners, rich and poor, natives and strangers.'²⁵ The *Vita* of Germanus gave a very similar account of the saint's ordination, describing him as elected bishop by the consensus of all (*consensus uniuersitati*) and listing clergy, nobility, townspeople and countryfolk.²⁶ At the funeral of Hilary of Arles, his hagiographer assured his readers, the entire city gathered together and wept, the whole population cried out in tears with one voice, and the people were so inflamed with grief that they almost tore his holy limbs apart.²⁷ These were standard motifs repeated in numerous hagiographical texts. In each case, the laity's behaviour was idealized to show them playing the appropriate role in the crowd around the central hero.

Hagiographies also provide innumerable examples of idealized individual lay acts in veneration of a saint – requesting assistance and showing proper gratitude. Venantius' *Vita* of Radegund, for example, told of a noble matron named Bella who was blind, and who made her way to the saint's presence where she prostrated herself and received a cure.²⁸ Florius, 'one of the saint's men', was fishing at sea when his ship was overturned in the wind. He called out to the saint and he was saved.²⁹ A tribune of the fisc named Domnolenus had a vision of Radegund on the day of her death, in which she instructed him to build an oratory for Martin and to release his prisoners, commands which he immediately obeyed.³⁰ The role of the lay person in these tales was to act as a vehicle for an expression of saintly power, but they also modelled the correct pious response to a holy person: respect, obedience and trust in his or her power. These models would have been presented to lay people when saints' lives were read at festivals. They also demonstrate for us more broadly what their clerical and ascetic authors fantasized as the ideal forms of a lay Christian life, and these ideals helped shape the religious worlds of Gallic lay people.

Ideals: Sermons

The ideals of lay behaviour found in hagiographies emerged indirectly in texts that were not about them. In sermons, however, we see preachers deliberately

constructing such ideals and presenting them to their lay congregations in the hope of effecting a direct impact on their actions. Although still idealized, the models in sermons were far more precise and practical than those in saints' lives, and they generally assumed that lay people would continue to live in and engage with the secular world. They therefore emphasized rather different forms of religious behaviour and found virtue in the lay life in different ways.

The Gallic preacher with the most to say about ideal lay behaviour was Caesarius of Arles. For him, good behaviour, as he made clear in sermon 13, was essential to being a good Christian in the world. 'We ought to know that it is not enough for us that we have received the name of Christian, if we do not perform the works of a Christian.'³¹ Caesarius went on then to detail these works: give alms, avoid falsehood, present offerings at the altar, remember the creed and the Lord's prayer and teach both to your children, be honest in your dealings, stay sober, go to church every Sunday, pay tithes, renounce your sins, take communion, be chaste, be a good example to others, do not commit theft or perjury, do not engage in quarrels or consult soothsayers or sing dissolute songs during religious festivals or shout at the moon during an eclipse or hang herbs and charms on yourself and your family.³² Other instructions were added to the list in other sermons: read the scriptures, be hospitable to strangers, visit the sick, bestow honour upon elders, recall to harmony those who are in dissent.³³ If you are married, do not commit adultery, and follow the rules on when you can have sex.³⁴ If you are not yet married, remain a virgin until you wed.³⁵ Caesarius made very little reference to the varieties of lay piety that have most occupied modern scholars: the cult of saints and use of relics, pilgrimage and festival. His focus was on ordinary, everyday ways of being a good lay Christian in the world.

These principles were informed by Caesarius' own ascetic training and inclinations, but he was not simply imposing ascetic ideals upon lay Christians. In sermon 168, he assured his lay congregation that there were many levels of Christian virtue:

Men who are not able to give rather abundant alms should at least with a good intention dispense a little something according to their strength. Those who are unable to retain the glory of virginity should at least, with God's help, strive to observe chastity with their own wives ... Now these and similar actions, dearly beloved, are proven not to be excessively difficult or insupportable.³⁶

Caesarius repeatedly emphasized that God did not expect more from anyone than they were capable of giving – if you cannot fast, or keep vigils, you can love your enemies and give charity.³⁷ If you cannot give charity, give wise counsel, or a cup of cold water.³⁸ As a result, married lay people could also find their path to heaven. ‘Married people who have observed mutual fidelity . . . if they continually give alms and observe God’s precepts as well as they can, will merit happily to be associated with holy Job, Sara, and Susanna, along with the patriarchs and prophets.’³⁹

As all of this makes clear, Caesarius did not expect the same from all Christians. He was explicit that the expectations upon clergy and ascetics were significantly higher than upon lay Christians. Marriage, he explained, was the lowest of the three professions within the church available to women, the higher two being widowhood and virginity.⁴⁰ As an ascetic and a cleric, Caesarius still thoroughly endorsed a hierarchy within Christian communities. Nonetheless, in sermon 135 he made it clear that commitments at every level had to be taken seriously. ‘There is, indeed, a common standard for all men. Not to commit adultery is a precept for married people (*nuptae*) as well as for religious (*sanctimoniali*) . . . Not to steal is a precept for all men.’⁴¹ The same, he went on to point out, was true for drunkenness, pride and murder. The ascetic path was not the only way to virtue. Perhaps, he worried, when he was preaching, someone would reflect and say: ‘I am young and married, how can I cut my hair or assume the religious habit?’ Caesarius hastened to assure such an anxious person that this would not be required. ‘How can a married man be harmed if he is willing to change his evil habits to good and noble works, and if by almsgiving, fasting and prayer he is anxious to restore the wounds of his sins to their former healthy condition? For such a man it is enough to have a true conversion without any change of garments.’⁴² Living entirely without sin was impossible even for saints.⁴³ Lay people, in Caesarius’ mind, should simply strive to do the best they could, and hope that God would judge them kindly.

Caesarius’ approach to lay virtue was to provide lists of ideal behaviours, but not all preachers took the same tack. The sermons in the Eusebius Gallicanus collection offered very few lists of approved behaviours or sets of moral instructions. On the whole, the tone of this collection was far more meditative and vague, with sermons extolling general principles of common decency, rather than prescriptions for heaven. The closest this collection got to a Caesarian-style list was sermon 21, which informed congregants that ‘we’ (the first person plural is typical of the collection):

should adorn the celebrated triumph of the Lord's passion and resurrection by the preservation of faith; we should show compassion to the poor; we should imitate God to whom no physical form is comparable; we should hold onto the image of his goodness and patience in all things; we should emend errors; we should pray for our enemies; we should make supplication on behalf of our detractors . . . we should wash the filth of sinners with the oil of almsgiving; the bonds of captives should seem to bind us and we should beseech God for mercy to them.⁴⁴

Insofar as any particular lay behaviour got attention, it was fasting. Fasting was urged upon the laity by a number of preachers in the collection, far more so than almsgiving or chastity, the favourite virtues of Caesarius, although the emphasis was still upon the reasons why it was important, and what it would achieve, rather than the practicalities of when and how a lay person ought to fast.⁴⁵ The Eusebian preachers (or perhaps compiler) also placed far more emphasis than Caesarius did on the importance of acts in order to receive one's eternal reward.⁴⁶ Virtue was something you had to work at, hard, and throughout your life. Nonetheless, the Eusebian preachers shared Caesarius' optimism about the possibility of lay success in this venture. 'We can all have within ourselves the keys to the kingdom of heaven.'⁴⁷ Indeed, in at least one sermon, the Eusebian preacher presented virtue as the easier path. 'I do not know, dearly beloved, why the rough and uneven ways of sins and pride are more pleasing to us, when the road of humility is more pleasant, level and direct.'⁴⁸ If you find the yoke of Christ a heavy burden, the preacher went on to claim, you have made it so yourself, and need only turn from your previous ways to make it light and pleasant.⁴⁹ Despite their different approaches to the challenge of inculcating good behaviour, therefore, and their emphasis on different aspects of lay virtue, both Caesarius and the Eusebius Gallicanus preachers agreed in presenting ideals which, they argued, were practical and achievable. It was perfectly possible, according to these preachers, to live a good Christian life in the secular world.

Ideals: Epitaphs

This final part on ideals shifts attention from clerical and ascetic perspectives to the ideals of pious lay behaviour found in epitaphs. Many bereaved family

members and other commemorators wished to depict the deceased as models of piety. These ideals did not stand apart from the clerical and ascetic ones already explored: many members of the laity accepted, shared or internalized the ideals they would have heard being preached to them or presented in hagiographies. However, there are some different emphases and some interesting silences. The laity had particular ideals in mind at the moment of commemoration.

The tombstone of Epaefanius, who died in 563 and was buried at the church of St Justus in Lyon, described him as the possessor of a number of idealized virtues. He was 'of the best morals, good to his parents, excellent in faith, dear to the citizens, pious to the poor'.⁵⁰ These were all motifs which recurred in a number of grave inscriptions. Many, for instance, began with reference to good morals as a particular point of praise. Innocentius was described as blessed in morals (*beatus in morebus*), Auspicius as having distinguished merits (*egregiis meritis*), another anonymous subject as having the best morals (*optimis moribus*).⁵¹ This merit was not necessarily reflective of piety, but many inscriptions went on to specify religious behaviours. One of these was generosity in almsgiving and support of the poor, which was mentioned in a number of lay epitaphs. An anonymous woman who died in 566–67 was termed, like Epaefanius, pious to the poor (*pauperebus pia*) and Sofroniola's charity was one of her central virtues.⁵² Viliaric was given the title 'father of the poor' (*pater pauperum*), the Burgundian queen Caratena was the nourisher of the poor (*fovis pauperibus*) and Agapus, as we have already seen, was also praised for his charity.⁵³ Faithfulness and fear of God was another common theme of inscriptions, as with the widow from Lyon, 'strong in her faith and piety' (*fide pietaq(u)e potens*), Sofroniola, who was likewise praised for her faith and piety, and a penitent who was described as a 'god-fearing woman' (*temens Deum femena*).⁵⁴

All of these were standard Christian virtues, and not specific to the laity. Indeed, there was significant crossover between the praise given in epitaphs to clerics and ascetics and that given to the lay deceased, indicating a common sense of virtuous ideals and general expectations.⁵⁵ However, when lay inscriptions went into detail on virtues, they often included more civic or familial qualities on the list. Epaefanius, as we saw, was acclaimed as good to his parents. The anonymous subject of one sixth-century epitaph, as well as

being excellent in faith and pious to the poor, was also dear to all and kind to her servants.⁵⁶ Lau[rentius] was ‘loved [by all?], of benevolent spirit, full of humanity, strenuous in fighting’, as well as being religious (*relegiosus in fide*).⁵⁷ The sons of Riculf and Guntello, meanwhile, painted an evocative picture of their parents: remarkable for their merits, united by a constant love, loved by all, sensible, patient, sweet, capable, generous, honourable and helpful, as well as pious in heart and mind.⁵⁸ Religiosity, in other words, was only one, perhaps quite small, part of the overall picture of a good person to be established in their epitaph.

Only very rarely did epitaphs go into detail about religious behaviour. We have already seen one example, at the start of this chapter, where Agapus was praised for frequenting the holy places.⁵⁹ Caratene was noted for her castigation of her body, sobriety and fasting, while another inscription alludes to the practice of chanting hymns.⁶⁰ Occasional inscriptions reference the fact that the deceased undertook penance, although it is unclear what this meant in practice.⁶¹ Even though the placement of epitaphs indicates the practice of *ad sanctos* burial in many places, they were generally silent on any connection to the saint. There is little we can say from epitaphs about what the veneration of these figures might have meant to lay people. Moreover, the virtuous behaviour emphasized in epitaphs was not especially ascetic in nature. The ideals found here were ones that celebrated proper engagement with the world, not withdrawal from it.

Some people in late antique Gaul appear to have worried that an idealized lay religious life was not possible, or that there was no true Christian virtue in it. Gregory of Tours reported that a woman named Berthegund left her husband and children to join a nunnery, saying: ‘No one who has sex with their spouse will ever see the Kingdom of Heaven.’⁶² Although he was himself a cleric, and a man who celebrated ascetics, Gregory of Tours did not endorse this attitude. He reminded Berthegund of her obligations to her husband, threatened her with excommunication and sent her back home.⁶³ The Gallic church was not going to insist that all Christians should be ascetics, nor even allow this to everyone who wanted it. Neither did clerics always present the world as inherently sinful and contaminating, despite the rhetoric we saw in Chapter 1. When addressing the laity, they took care to present models of idealized virtue and instructions on how to achieve it. Epitaphs suggest that lay

people also thought virtue was possible in the midst of secularity and that it should be celebrated and advocated. These ideals helped to form the religious worlds of the laity in late antique Gaul.

Misbehaviour

Our clerical sources had a great deal to say about lay misbehaviour of various kinds and this evidence has attracted scholarly attention, especially when the misbehaviour was framed in the texts as ‘pagan’.⁶⁴ Attacks on lay misbehaviour were just as deliberate and distorting as the inverse accounts of idealized lay virtue. Both were calculated to change lay behaviour and set up models that the laity should either follow, to get rewards, or avoid, in the face of threatened consequences. However, they also suggest something of the nature of the behaviour beyond the rhetoric, and we get some indication of what it was lay people were doing that the clergy wanted to change. In this section, I focus on just two attacks: those on Christian lay people who continued to engage in ‘pagan’ activities, and tales of misbehaviour on the Sabbath and holy days. Although the labels applied to this misbehaviour by the authors of these texts tell us little about the self-conception of the people they describe, there is still value and interest in exploring these portraits of the laity.

The accounts of apparent paganism in sermons and church council records have been very controversial. Historians have debated whether the accusations of pagan activities among the laity represent the survival of ancient traditions, resistance to the dominant Christian culture, independent religious formations or essentially empty rhetorical tropes.⁶⁵ For our purposes here, the most interesting aspect of these attacks is how many of them placed the ‘pagan’ behaviours within a Christian framework. In other words, although clerics labelled the problematic *behaviours* as pagan, they acknowledged that the people performing them identified as Christian. The clerical attacks therefore focused on arguing that these behaviours were incompatible with Christian identity and had to be changed. The labelling served to make this argument. For example, in sermon 33, Caesarius outlined at length the proper preparation and observances for the feast of John the Baptist. He then condemned a series of improper devotions. ‘Let no one on the feast of St John dare to bathe in the

fountains or marshes or rivers either at night or early in the morning; that wretched custom still remains from pagan observances . . . We likewise admonish you, brethren, not to allow your household to sing shameful, dissolute songs which are opposed to chastity and upright living.⁶⁶ We do not have to accept Caesarius' categorization of this behaviour as pagan. We do not even have to accept his view that these practices 'remain' from former times. We can more comfortably, however, accept the notion that lay people were behaving in ways that Caesarius found inappropriate on the festival of John the Baptist.⁶⁷ Caesarius made very similar accusations about lay behaviour at 'holy festivals' in sermon 13, where he condemned those who led a chorus, sang, danced and pantomimed. 'Even if they come to church as Christians', Caesarius fulminated, they 'return from it as pagans, because that kind of dancing has carried over from pagan practice'.⁶⁸ There are some people, he bemoaned in another sermon, 'who come to the birthday festivals of martyrs for this sole purpose, that they may destroy themselves and ruin others by intoxication, dancing, singing shameful songs, leading the choral dances, and pantomiming in a devilish fashion'.⁶⁹ These practices, Caesarius insisted, 'have remained from the profane customs of the pagans' and anyone engaging in them would lose the sacrament of baptism and be judged by the Lord to be among pagans rather than among Christians.⁷⁰

In each of these cases, Caesarius' complaint was that some members of his lay congregation did not share his views on what behaviour was acceptable and unacceptable in a Christian. He responded to this by trying to make particular actions beyond the pale by labelling them as pagan. Caesarius used the same technique to attack a range of other lay activities as pagan, accusing his congregants of engaging in masquerades, shouting at the darkened moon, fulfilling vows to trees and fountains, hanging phylacteries, magic signs, herbs or charms on themselves or their family members, and refusing to work on a Thursday.⁷¹ Caesarius did not suggest, however, that these lay people operated outside a Christian framework. Sermon 53 made clear the preacher's frustration with those who blurred the strict boundaries he perceived, and attempted to enforce. 'We have heard that some of you make vows to trees, pray to fountains, and practise diabolical augury . . . Why then did these miserable people come to church? Why did they receive the sacrament of baptism – if afterwards they intended to return to the profanation of idols?'⁷² Christian actions and pagan

actions, Caesarius argued, could not co-exist. This was all part of Caesarius' 'rhetoric of separation between pagan and Christian'.⁷³ His attempts to ensure separation and categorization, however, are our best evidence that some lay people did not share his views on separation and categorization. The very structure of his attacks, clearly designed to persuade, and to change behaviour, suggests that some lay behaviours blurred boundaries in ways Caesarius found problematic.

The picture provided by Caesarius was echoed in the *Concilia Galliae*. Various councils also condemned practices which they described as pagan, and which they pinned on both laity and clergy. The councils made clear that the problematic festival practices, and the reading of auguries, were undertaken by Christians.⁷⁴

If any Christian, in the custom of pagans, should swear on the head of some wild animal or other beast and invoke over it the gods of the pagans, and if, having been admonished, he does not want to be prohibited from this superstition, he should be expelled from the community of the faithful and the communion of the church until he should emend this fault.⁷⁵

At the Council of Auxerre in 561–605, clergy prohibited vows to trees or fountains unless whoever made the vow kept a vigil in the church and acquitted their vows to the benefit of those on the church poor list.⁷⁶ It was not permitted, the same council went on, to make use of lots or auguries, unless it was done in the name of the Lord.⁷⁷ In other words, even those complaining about this misbehaviour recognized that it took place within a Christian framework, and that lay people were making different decisions about which behaviours were appropriate.

Accounts of lay misbehaviour on the Sabbath and other holy days represent a slightly different and less rhetorically charged situation. Church council records and secular law codes alike both repeatedly insisted that the laity should not work on a Sunday.⁷⁸ A canon from the Council of Orléans in 538 specified that agricultural labour was prohibited on the Sabbath, so that all Christians could be free to come to church, and this was repeated at the Council of Chalon in the mid-seventh century.⁷⁹ A decree of King Childebert permitted food preparation on Sundays but outlawed other kinds of servile work.⁸⁰ In miracle stories, the ban was presented as more extensive

and lay people got into trouble for baking bread or combing hair. Miracle stories also applied these prohibitions to other holy days such as saints' festivals, Easter and parts of Lent.⁸¹ Pious observance of these days was therefore treated in each of these genres as a key element of proper lay behaviour.

At the Council of Mâcon in 585, however, the clergy present complained that these rules were being disregarded. 'For we see that the Christian people hold the Lord's day in contempt through their thoughtless ways and behave just as they do on private days.'⁸² The participants at the council were therefore directed to admonish their congregants upon their return home and the laity were instructed to spend the whole Sabbath focused on worship of God.⁸³ Numerous miracle stories likewise reported lay failures to observe the holy days, although this was always punished and corrected, as the genre would require. Often they presented a neat morality tale, such as the example in the miracles of St Martin, in which a slave repaired a fence on a Sunday and suffered a crippled hand as a result. Eventually, he prayed at Martin's church and was healed.⁸⁴ In the course of their accounts of this misbehaviour, however, the stories also suggested possible reasons for it. Repairing a fence was a job that sometimes could not wait until Monday, and the slave may anyway not have had much choice about whether or not to undertake this work. In another miracle story, a layman named Ursulf was forced by his master to find and repair a gap in a fence where cattle were entering, but was punished by being blinded, because it was the first day of Lent.⁸⁵ In another tale told by Gregory of Tours, the misbehaving lay person was on his way to church on Easter Sunday when he saw a herd of animals ruining his crops. 'He groaned, and said, "Woe on me, for the work of my whole year is being wasted and nothing will remain." And he took an axe and began to cut branches to block the opening in the hedge. Immediately, of its own accord, his hand gripped itself so that it could not release what it had grasped.'⁸⁶ Only intervention by the local saint could restore his hand to its normal state. In *Gloria confessorum* 97, a citizen of Orléans who tended his garden on the day of Saint Avitus' festival defended his action by claiming that Avitus was also a working man, and therefore presumably would understand.⁸⁷ Each of these stories indicated a more complex lay attitude to the work prohibition than the surface interpretation presented by its clerical author. A general lay respect for Sabbath, or for Lent,

or for a saint's festival, was tempered by a knowledge of agricultural realities and/or a desire to present their behaviour in the most sympathetic light possible. The laity may have regarded the observation of these days as an ideal, but faced with the loss of one's crops, or the immediate power of one's master, other priorities could prevail.

Furthermore, we need to balance these clerical complaints against the intriguing canon from the Council of Orléans in 538, which condemned *excessive* observation of the Sabbath.

Because the people were persuaded that they should not travel on the Lord's day by horse or oxen and by carriage and that no food should be prepared or labours performed in the house or for people, all of which pertains more to Jewish than to Christian observances, we decree that on the Lord's day, that which was permitted previously should [still] be permitted.⁸⁸

Significantly, the canon concluded by insisting that those who broke the rules were to be subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not to lay judgement. The clergy were clearly seeking to exert their own control over the nature and extent of Sunday observances. We cannot conclude on the basis of one canon that there was widespread lay over-observance of the Sabbath. It does, however, suggest an environment in which lay religiosity did not accord neatly with clerical ideals, and it provides another example of how attacks on lay misbehaviour can hint at the world of action and interpretation beyond.

Indirect evidence

The final section of this chapter tackles indirect evidence for lay religious behaviour. This is evidence where the laity were in the background of the main story, or were assumed to be acting in a particular way, provoking a response from the clergy or from ascetics. In examples of this type of evidence, the author was not especially interested either in promoting a model of lay behaviour or in condemning it. The laity were, in fact, largely incidental, and provided a plausible context for the author's actual concerns. In these cases, the laity appear less carefully constructed and the glimpses of lay behaviour that emerge are therefore particularly valuable.

An episode from the *Vita* of Radegund by Venantius Fortunatus illustrates this well. One evening at twilight, Venantius wrote, 'the layfolk were singing noisy songs near Radegund's monastery as they danced around accompanied by musicians with citharas'.⁸⁹ One of the nuns, to her apparent surprise, recognized one of her own songs, 'being preached by the dancers.' Indeed, the nun went on to insist that two or three of her own religious songs had been mingled, as Venantius put it, with 'the odour of the world'.⁹⁰ Radegund, however, could not hear the worldly elements of the songs, but could only perceive the properly spiritual words, something which demonstrated, Venantius concluded, 'that though her flesh remained in the world, her spirit was already in Heaven'.⁹¹ Venantius' purpose, in this story, was to convince his audience of Radegund's holiness. She was presented as exemplifying an idealized separation of saintly and secular. The lay people were simply present as contrast, acting to blend and blur boundaries in ways that Venantius depicted as inferior. We cannot know if Venantius was providing us with an image of actual lay behaviour in this anecdote, or whether he constructed an appropriate foil, the better to set off his heroine. Nonetheless, their behaviour had to be credible to those who read the story, so that the reader's attention would be drawn to the extraordinary saint. Furthermore, this evidence fits with the picture we have begun to build up of lay people interacting with and valuing religious traditions and institutions, but using them in their own ways, not completely under clerical control.

Gregory of Tours gave another good example. He was once chatting, he wrote, with a boatman contracted to take him and some clerical companions across the Loire river, and asked him about the best places to fish. The boatman, Gregory reported, pointed out a particular spot and added: 'May the blessed Martin assist you'.⁹² Apparently, Gregory's companions were annoyed, and retorted that the great St Martin did not stoop to helping people catch fish. The boatman, however, insisted that the saint did exactly that and went on to tell a story of his own. Earlier that year, he claimed, on the day of Epiphany, he had discovered that he had nothing to drink, so he prayed to Martin to give him some wine, that he might celebrate the holy festival in proper style. When he was next crossing the river, an enormous fish was thrown from a whirlpool and fell into his boat. The boatman then sold the fish, bought some wine and was able to celebrate Epiphany, along with everyone else. 'Hence you will know', the boatman concluded, according to Gregory, 'how quickly Martin will appear on

behalf of something for which he has been invoked, if the request is made piously.⁹³ Gregory gave no further comment on this tale, but concluded by stating: ‘I call God as a witness that I heard this story from the mouth of this boatman.’⁹⁴

Here we seem to have a picture of lay religious behaviour: petitioning prayer to a saint, based on confidence that the saint cared about and was involved in the ordinary activities of secular life. In the background, moreover, we catch a glimpse of the social pressure to celebrate a religious festival in appropriate style, with alcohol. The anecdote even seems to reveal some of the tensions between lay and clerical approaches, as Gregory’s companions derided the boatman’s rusticity. We also know that plenty of sermons attacked drunken revelries on feast days as disrespectful and impious, whereas the boatman insisted that Martin had enabled such celebration. But the clerical–lay division in the story was not absolute. Gregory, himself a bishop, had no compunction about citing this tale as further evidence for the power of his favourite saint, and implicitly endorsed the boatman’s account, in contrast to the apparent scepticism of his companions. The anecdote therefore suggests a complex religious world, where lay people participated fully in a religious culture, but also used it to their own ends and interpreted it in their own ways – ways connected to, but not always identical with, the religious understandings of the Gallic clergy, who themselves had a variety of perspectives and reactions. In this story, Gregory’s purpose was simply to accumulate more evidence of Martin’s power – the details of the events were there to provide veracity, not a model. I argue, therefore, that we can place more weight upon them. The boatman might not have summed up the lesson of his tale quite as neatly as Gregory had him do, but the essential elements of the story, and the outline of the boatman’s behaviour and beliefs, are possible and plausible.

Gregory also provided indirect evidence of lay religious behaviour when he talked about how lay people sometimes got their piety wrong. For example, in *Gloria martyrum* he told a story of a count who suffered from painful feet.⁹⁵ One of his servants suggested that he try washing his feet in one of the liturgical vessels from the altar of the local church, but once he had done so, the count was completely crippled in punishment for his impiety. Gregory treated the count and his servant with derision. They were idiots (*stulti*), he said, who did not know that the sacred vessels of God should not be adapted to human use.

Gregory, of course, wanted to be the arbiter of what was permitted and what was not, and he shaped his tale to make this point. However, the actions of the count and his servant are plausible. Gregory's works are full of stories of saintly body parts being used in exactly this sort of way. It would be no great stretch to imagine lay people extending this to the sacred vessels of the church. The count and the servant both appeared to believe in the healing power of religious objects and they acted according to that logic. Gregory objected to their agency but shared the same basic worldview.

Gregory also told numerous stories about lay people using relics incorrectly. In one tale he gave an account of a man who took a reliquary into his storeroom. According to Gregory, this was a miscalculation, because the storeroom was thereby sanctified and rendered no longer suitable for secular use. Eventually the man had to tear down the storeroom and build an oratory in its place, to compensate for his rusticity.⁹⁶ In his account of the miracles of St Martin, Gregory told of how one of his servants had brought home a piece of wood from the railing around Martin's bed and 'kept it in his cottage for protection'. Eventually a vision informed him that this was impious, and the rail was relocated by the bishop to an 'appropriate place'.⁹⁷ The line between improper appropriation and laudable lay piety, however, was a very thin one, and depended on Gregory's point in any given tale. In the same collection on St Martin, Gregory actually condoned the theft of a relic for purposes of healing. One man was so filled with faith, Gregory reported, that he attempted secretly to remove a relic from Martin's tomb, and eventually came at night with a knife, to cut a section from the rope that rang the saint's bell, which thereafter bestowed health on many ill people. Gregory used this story to illustrate the sheer number of miracles Martin worked, and the extent of his powers.⁹⁸ Other examples of lay agency were likewise presented to further a point about saintly power, not to make an argument for clerical authority. For example, Gregory claimed that lay people living near Bordeaux went to an oratory of Martin when their horses were afflicted with a disease. Obtaining the key to this oratory, they made it into a brand and marked the animals, effecting their cure.⁹⁹ In none of these cases was there any visible presence of clergy. The point of the stories, for Gregory, was an illustration of the extensive power of holy men. The interesting feature of the stories for us is the behaviour of the laity in responding to their own religious needs. They were

not necessarily acting in tension with the wishes of the church, but they were not acting under any ecclesial direction either. Gregory's position on lay religious agency clearly shifted according to his rhetorical purpose. However, the actions he described are essentially constant, and suggest a particular kind of lay approach to the religious, walking a fine line between clerical approval and disapproval.

Another place to look for indirect evidence is in the legal literature from the period. To take just one example of this, many sources make reference to the practice of wealthy lay people donating property to the church. Since few charters from this period survive, we largely learn about the practice from the laws and formularies designed to avoid disputes. The pious practice was therefore not here the central point of the source, it was the assumption from which the law proceeded, and a behaviour to which it was responding. Incidentally, however, we find out a great deal about donation practices because the legal sources make clear what they expected the problems to be. In particular, the barbarian law codes and collections of *formulae* from this period acted to protect donations against subsequent interference or claims by the family. They often insisted that the local bishop was to have full power over the gift, and that the individual or family lost any rights over it, even when they still resided on site.¹⁰⁰ The church councils likewise expressed great anxiety about lay people attempting to withdraw gifts given either by themselves or by their family members.¹⁰¹ In 506, for example, the Council of Agde declared that any *clerici* or *saeculares* who attempted to regain control over any gifts given by their parents to a church or monastery were to be considered murderers of the poor (*necatores pauperum*), and excluded from the church.¹⁰² But not all the laws gave full control to the clerical establishment. The *Formulae Marculfi* contained a fascinating model for someone who wished to build an oratory out of a large property and provide for the support of twelve paupers as well as the clerics who would serve there.¹⁰³ After signing over various lands and incomes to sustain this establishment, the donator decreed that the local bishop would have the power to replace clergy as necessary but not to 'give, claim or diminish' any part of the grant, and provided for exactly the sort of continuing family involvement that other laws sought to deny. Many suggestive points can be drawn out of this evidence. The existence of *formulae* and laws in large numbers indicates that such donations were becoming routine, but

also that the church was anxious to control them. In particular, they appeared worried that property, once donated, might be withdrawn by heirs, or that donating families might be able to exercise power over the institutions they funded. All of this anxiety and care reflects the very real problem that many powerful lay people who gave to religious institutions expected some continuing influence to derive from that. Given the central role that church institutions played in their lives and in their eternal prospects, it would have been natural for the powerful to try to exert control over this aspect of their world as well. Indirect evidence therefore confirms the ideal model of lay piety and respect for the church, but also suggests that it could operate in practice in more complicated ways, and with more lay agency than was comfortable for some clergy.

* * *

This chapter has explored a range of lay behaviours: idealized, iniquitous and incidentally revealed. These behaviours were very diverse: preachers and hagiographers did not emphasize the same pious acts, and epitaphs show that while lay people may have absorbed certain clerical expectations, they placed them within the context of their own behavioural ideals. Attacks on lay misbehaviour also demonstrate a mismatch between clerical interpretations of lay activities and the meanings that lay people may have placed upon them. Finally, indirect evidence has revealed lay people lurking in the background of a range of genres, interacting with church institutions on their own terms and in their own ways. There was plenty of scope for the laity of late antique Gaul to formulate their own views on how a good Christian should behave in the secular world.

Knowledge and Belief

In a number of his sermons, Caesarius of Arles made a straightforward correlation: since anyone who believes in heaven and hell will behave, misbehaviour must therefore be a sign of unbelief. About Christians who neither avoided sin nor did good works he mused: ‘what remains but to suppose that they do not believe rewards will be repaid to the good and punishments meted out to the wicked by the just judgement of God?’¹ If you claim to believe in God and yet continue to sin, he concluded in another sermon, ‘there is no faith at all in you.’² If Caesarius’ reasoning were correct, our task would be relatively straightforward. Having explored what we can know about the behaviours of the laity in the previous chapter, we could extrapolate their beliefs from these. Evidence of lay people adopting ascetic models could then be taken as a sign of belief in God, while evidence of people offering vows to trees, or violating the Sabbath, could be taken as a sign of unbelief.

Clearly, belief and behaviour are connected. As Caesarius’ lament demonstrated, however, they did not always correlate as the church’s representatives thought they should. He did not treat these misbehaving Christians as atheists – his argument was precisely about bringing home to them the behavioural implications of their belief in God, and he used the assumption that they did in fact believe in heaven and hell as the motivating force. The result for us, however, is opacity. What did these lay people believe, and how can we access it if it bore no straightforward relation to how they behaved?

This difficulty has been one of the reasons why the beliefs of the laity, and even their knowledge of religion, have been seldom discussed.³ In some work, furthermore, there has been a sense that belief is an inappropriate subject for historical discussion, or that it has been given too much weight in past scholarship.⁴ A number of recent scholars have argued that it is both more

appropriate and more feasible to study what ordinary Christians did rather than what they believed, and even that theology should be explicitly avoided.⁵ This recent desire to emphasize practice has dovetailed with a more established scholarly view that belief was anyway unimportant to the laity, that they knew relatively little about their own religion and that little information about theology was provided to them.⁶ However, this pessimistic attitude towards the importance of belief or possibility of theological knowledge among the laity has been contested by scholars who have insisted on its centrality both to the laity and to the clergy who communicated it to them.⁷

I share the optimistic view of the importance of belief and religious knowledge for late antique lay people. Some of the pessimism expressed by other scholars, indeed, appears to be based in a fundamental condescension towards the intellectual interests and capabilities of 'ordinary people'.⁸ Yet the burden of proof lies upon those who would argue that the laity were not interested in knowing how their religion worked, what they had to believe to get to heaven, why bad things happened to good people, how a virgin could give birth, how a God could be both three and one, how to understand the scriptures and much more besides. These were issues which preachers addressed repeatedly in their sermons, and which they presented as being concerns of their congregations. These were issues that have been perennial matters of anxiety and concern through Christian history, throughout the social and educational spectrum.⁹ These questions were basic to religious thought and experience.¹⁰ Although the process of doctrinal explanation and canon formation over the early centuries had made the faith increasingly precise and dependent upon semantics, there is no evidence of lay alienation or disengagement from this process. The stakes for correct belief and understanding were extremely high. This explains the vehement emphasis on *sermo humilis* in preaching and the importance of using accessible language when addressing the laity. Caesarius made the reason for this perfectly clear. The pastor was obliged to save souls. He was obliged to give his congregation the information they needed to get to heaven, both in terms of behavioural instructions and in terms of elements of belief and knowledge of their religion. This obligation was the animating force behind all of the important collections of late antique sermons.

Preaching was therefore at the heart of the 'democratization of culture' in late antiquity. This is a phenomenon first identified by Santo Mazzarino, and

which was the shaping force in both Peter Brown's reinterpretation of the cult of the saints, and in Averil Cameron's analysis of Christian discourse.¹¹ The work of each of these scholars, and of many others, has served to break down previous distinctions between 'high' and 'low' levels of Christian culture, through their exploration of how, as Cameron puts it, 'new lines of communication were opened up' between different social and intellectual groups in this period.¹² Carrié agrees in seeing a unification of late antique Christian culture around a common core, facilitated by the democratization of modes of cultural communication that permitted access for all.¹³ For him, as for many others, preaching was the prime example, and it will be a major focus of attention in this chapter.

There are important and obvious limitations to what we can say about lay religious knowledge and belief. However, there is much we can still know, or about which we can offer informed speculation. Most straightforwardly, we can trace what the clergy thought it was important for the laity to know. What did they teach them? What did they emphasize in sermons and in other genres directed at the laity? How did they present theology and other forms of religious knowledge to the laity? How did they imagine the laity would learn about their religion? What did the clergy think the laity believed about it? What were their expectations of lay belief? We can start with these questions, and they in themselves will tell us a great deal about the lay religious environment, in terms of what they were exposed to. However, we can and should also ask questions beyond this. Can we see through the sermons, to the cares, anxieties and questions to which they were responding? Can we trace the impact of beliefs about the afterlife in lay epitaphs? Can we, indeed, ever interpret lay behaviours in terms of the beliefs that might have lain behind them? These are more difficult questions to answer, but they are worth posing.¹⁴ We may not be able to see belief itself, but as Arnold contends, we can trace its passage.¹⁵ This chapter is an exercise in laying out what we can know.

Knowledge

Scholars have provided widely differing estimates of education levels among the 'ordinary people' of antiquity and into the middle ages.¹⁶ What education

they did receive by the early middle ages, however, was primarily religious in character and meant that many lay Christians did at least have some basic knowledge of their faith.¹⁷ Children recited the Psalms aloud to remember them, and basic reading and writing was also taught through these same texts. Gregory of Tours wrote that Nicetius of Lyons, while still residing at home, 'busied himself in the task of making sure that all the children born in his house . . . were instructed in reading and taught the psalms, so that when they entered the oratory for the divine office they so could join in the singing.'¹⁸ The *Vita Geretrudis* told of how she obtained books from Rome in order to teach divine song (*carmina divina*) to ignorant folk (*ignaros*).¹⁹ The *Vita Hilarii* depicted its hero encouraging congregants to accompany their meals with sacred readings.²⁰ A wide range of Christians were thereby exposed to the Bible, to its language, to its way of constructing the world.²¹

Caesarius of Arles, meanwhile, is well known for not relying on his preaching to convey the elements of faith to his congregation – he wanted them to read the scriptures for themselves.²² Caesarius accepted no excuses for failing to do so: not illiteracy, not lack of time, not lack of memory.²³ If you cannot read the scriptures yourself, listen while someone else reads them, even if you have to pay them, or exchange services.²⁴ During long nights, you should have plenty of spare time for scriptural reading.²⁵ If you are too busy, withdraw from worldly preoccupations to make time to read at home.²⁶ Caesarius even went so far, in one sermon, as to assert that the scriptural readings in church were redundant, since congregants could perform these for themselves.²⁷ Caesarius was unusual in his vehemence and in the apparently wide applicability of his instructions. Augustine had also encouraged private scripture reading circles, but was clearly envisaging a more elite endeavour.²⁸ Nonetheless, Caesarius was simply taking to its logical conclusion a widely stated and accepted ideal of lay education in the elements of the faith.

All of these educational efforts represent idealized pictures. All make clear, however, that religious elites regarded the education of the laity as a fundamental part of their pastoral duties. 'It is necessary, and very much so,' Caesarius of Arles insisted, 'that not only the clergy but also the laity *know* the Catholic faith well.'²⁹ Indeed, Caesarius placed responsibility for seeking this knowledge upon the laity. You should, he instructed them, be as hungry for the word of God as you are for food – if there is a delay in the supply, you should 'demand

what is rightly your due . . . the Christian people should continually appeal to their priests, as the udders of holy church, by devout questions. Thus they may acquire the good of salvation and provide for themselves the necessary nourishment of their souls.³⁰

In the Eusebius Gallicanus collection, congregational doubt even emerged as a force for good. The preacher of Eusebian sermon 22 used the story of doubting Thomas to paint a picture of 'good ignorance' (*bona ignorantia*). 'This voice is inquiring, not denying . . . he wants to be taught, he desires to be confirmed.'³¹ In sermon 23, Thomas and the congregation, preacher included, were all linked together as sharing a common doubt and seeking a common reassurance. 'We explore with him the wounds of the Lord, with the hand of our hearts.'³² Doubt was not here stigmatized as problematic or sinful, but embraced with apparent sympathy. The point the preacher made was not that the congregation should not doubt, but that there were right and wrong ways to respond to theological concerns. As the preacher of Eusebian sermon 76 put it: 'You should not come against your faith, nor should you say: "How can this be?"'³³ You should respond to God with admiration (*admiratio*), not reason (*ratio*).³⁴ Indeed, this sympathetic approach was especially marked in the Eusebius Gallicanus collection, whose preachers treated questions even about fundamental issues as natural and expected. Both the Eusebian preachers and Caesarius of Arles went to great effort to instil in their congregations knowledge of scripture and basic theological issues.³⁵

Despite this apparent engagement with their audiences, and their interest in encouraging questioning and dialogue, both Caesarius and the Eusebius Gallicanus collection represent efforts at the standardization of preaching, so that prepared sermons could be read aloud, rather than relying upon original composition and prowess. This has been interpreted as the death-knell of preaching, as it became 'more and more conventionalized'.³⁶ It also, however, meant that preaching was far more accessible than ever before. The sermon collections of Caesarius and the Eusebius Gallicanus were distributed widely throughout Gaul.³⁷ Congregations everywhere could hear preaching, so long as their bishop or priests could read. They no longer relied upon the lucky chance of having a trained rhetorician or scriptural exegete. As far as exposure to and knowledge of theology was concerned, the 'death of originality' in preaching was probably good news. The models of interpretation that the

church advocated could now be rolled out on a large scale and to much more extensive audiences. The words of Caesarius and the Eusebius Gallicanus preachers therefore do not just represent to us the pastoral experience of a single congregation, but the potential exposure of communities across Gaul, through much of the period with which we are concerned.

Clerical efforts to inculcate belief

What did late antique clergy think that the laity should believe, and how did they try to ensure that they believed the right things? Can we gauge how successful they were? The clergy of late antique Gaul expended much energy on inculcating belief. The miracle stories of Gregory of Tours, for example, could be read as repeated demonstrations of the power of saints and relics, designed to combat disbelief. He even occasionally extended to inculcating belief in elements of Christian doctrine, as with the story of the fused gem, which was presented as proof of trinitarian theology.³⁸ My central focus in this section, however, is once again on the genre of sermons. This is where we find explanations, directed to the laity, of the key elements of Christian doctrine: the creed, the trinity, the incarnation, the virgin birth, grace, the nature of the afterlife and much more besides. As I have noted elsewhere, in many respects, sermons are not ideal vehicles for explaining and thereby instilling belief because they were highly formalized.³⁹ And yet, despite these restrictions, preachers clearly strove to explain. It mattered to them to persuade, not merely to utter the right phrases.⁴⁰ Because they had to engage, preaching could never be a closed system – preachers had to acknowledge the minds they sought to reach and they had to adopt strategies and techniques for reaching, and perhaps changing, those minds. They wanted people not only to know, but to believe.

To do this, Caesarius and the Eusebius Gallicanus preachers used very similar strategies. Often, they would begin explanations by giving apparent voice to congregational doubt and anxiety over the issue. Perhaps there are some of ‘little learning,’ the preacher of Eusebius Gallicanus sermon 16 commented, who worry when they hear that the son was generated *ex deo* and say in their hearts, ‘How did God generate a son?’⁴¹ Caesarius focused on congregational concern about Jesus’ body post-crucifixion.

Some men are wont to ask . . . how our Lord and Saviour could appear to His disciples when the doors were closed . . . For thus they argue: If there was a body, there was also flesh, and if flesh, bones too. If what hung on the cross arose from the grave, how could it enter through closed doors? If it was not possible, they say, it was not done, and if it could, how could it?⁴²

By framing their explanations as answers to questions coming from the congregation themselves, the preachers gave themselves a number of advantages. They attempted to win over their audiences by appearing sympathetic rather than condemning doubt – the late antique equivalent of ‘I hear you’. This technique also, however, served to appropriate the voice of their congregants and enabled preachers to shape the ‘questions’ as they saw fit, in easily answerable terms. This was an ancient rhetorical technique – the *adversarius* who, as the creation of the author, ‘is made to ask the questions the author wants to answer, and can enunciate whatever alternative opinions the author wants to project on to him.’⁴³ The preachers were, as Murray Edelman would have it, staging a drama of problem solving.⁴⁴ They seemed to meet congregational needs for explanation and understanding, but made sure that the dialogue was tightly scripted and the conclusions foreordained.

The second strategy was to respond to the ‘question’ by using natural analogies that normalized the miraculous and presented it as part of the expected functioning of the universe. To explain how God could generate a son, a Eusebian preacher advanced the standard metaphor of a lamp that could light another, without suffering any diminution of its own force or requiring assistance from any other.⁴⁵ Caesarius used a more general example of something which might appear inexplicable – a giant fig tree growing from a tiny seed.⁴⁶ He presented his conclusion from within the circle of faith: ‘Nothing is impossible for God.’⁴⁷

Both of these strategies were in evidence when the Eusebius Gallicanus preachers tried to inculcate belief in the trinity and particularly the proper interpretation of the nature of Christ. The very first sermon in the collection was an extended explanation and justification of trinitarian theology around the nature of Christ, adopting a number of rhetorical strategies to persuade and to inculcate belief. The preacher began by offering extended explanation of how Christ could be both human and divine at the same time, and what the implications would be if either element was prioritized over the other. ‘For if

you were to say Christ is “only man”, you would deny the power by which you were created; if you were to say Christ is “only God”, you would deny the mercy by which you are blessed.⁴⁸ As the quote makes clear, this explanation was framed as an answer to the congregation, or a member thereof. Although the sermon had begun with the first person plural, in a statement of common identity: ‘We heard the prophet . . .’, it very soon after switched to the second person singular. This device was used in the sermon, and indeed through much of the collection, to voice the questions that the preacher could answer. ‘You may ask: “what was the reason why he had to take on a form with all the properties of our bodies?”’ The answer is then presented in the unifying first person plural: ‘This is the reason: so that through him, who achieved victory over the enemy of the world in our flesh, he could glorify nature and strengthen our fragile condition . . .’⁴⁹ This question is neither condemned nor presented as inappropriate, but it stood as an articulation of uncertainty that could be addressed, and the questioner thereby reintegrated with the religious community.

The Eusebian preacher also made extensive use of natural or familiar analogies to explain the nature of Christ and the structure of the trinity. Just as the forearm is inseparable from the shoulder, and cannot be moved without it, so the saviour is inseparable from the substance of the father and was able to descend to earth without relinquishing heaven.⁵⁰ ‘For just as the words which you speak both go out of you and are with you . . . so also our Lord Jesus Christ . . . came forth to us from the father without leaving him, was present there and yet proceeded here.’⁵¹ The paradox of Christ’s nature was, the preacher clearly hoped, thereby rendered explicable, even normal.

Any alternative explanations that lay Christians might harbour were preemptively demonized as inappropriate and unacceptable. They were associated with heretics, people ‘deceived by a recent error and newly pierced by the teeth of the ancient serpent.’⁵² These heretics, the preacher made clear, were not *us*. They were twice described as ‘easterners’ (*orientales*), whose view that Christ could move through the virgin’s body without taking anything from it could be presented as ridiculous and unnatural. Their views were stated baldly, refuted even more bluntly: ‘But it is not so’ (*sed non ita est*).⁵³ The questioning congregants were not these heretics. The congregants’ concerns were carefully distinguished, and the preacher ended on another moment of integration and

uplift: 'We flee anger, cruelty, dishonesty, *we* cleanse our hearts of malice, luxury and iniquity. *We* faithfully receive the lord Christ, and *we* do all this because Christ has shown *us* that it is possible to do so in *our* bodies.'⁵⁴ The incarnation was recast as the source of hope, not of confusion.

In summary, this sermon represented a multi-pronged effort to inculcate belief, working at both the rational and the emotive levels. It concerned an aspect of Christian doctrine which many modern scholars would consider highly technical and which is not normally treated as an area of lay religious interest. Yet the preacher took great care to explain it to his congregation, and behaved as though it was a matter of great import that they believed and understood. Indeed, the trinity was a frequent subject of explanation and inculcation by the Eusebian preachers. There were different approaches to this effort even within the same collection. In sermon 9, on the creed, the sentence 'I believe in God the Father omnipotent' was the launchpad for an extended discussion of the trinity. Although both Arians and Jews can utter this phrase, the preacher emphasized, neither group *believes* in it correctly, because they do not properly understand the son.⁵⁵ How could he be a father, the preacher queried, using natural analogy, unless he had a son.⁵⁶ Even more emphatically, however, this sermon appealed to the mystery of it all and emphasized belief even over understanding. 'Therefore whoever among you pries into the hidden depths not with faith but with curiosity, instead hold this in your heart: that however difficult you see the divine dispensations are, so much more reverently you should admire them.'⁵⁷ Our job, the preacher emphasized, switching back to the first person plural, is to believe. It is not for us to wonder how these things are done, any more than we should wonder how life entered into the inviolate womb of a virgin or how he was resurrected on the third day. 'One should not discuss divine things, but one should believe them.'⁵⁸ This did not mean that the preacher did not explain. Indeed, this sermon contained an extensive passage explicating the different elements of the trinity and their relation to each other. However, belief was the primary goal, here approached in a slightly different fashion than in sermon 1. Elsewhere in the collection, preachers explicated the trinity through scriptural symbolism, demonization of alternative understandings and careful linguistic dissection.⁵⁹ They took enormous care to communicate with their lay audiences in order to inculcate belief. The popularity of these sermons with later copyists and preachers

indicates, moreover, that other clergy endorsed and repeated these strategies. They saw in them the key to success in instilling belief – our problem lies in assessing whether they did indeed succeed.

Doubt and irreligiosity

For the rest of this chapter, we move to a far more challenging question: can we know anything about what the laity did believe? Is there any way to track the success of these clerical efforts at explaining, persuading and inculcating belief? It is natural for historians, in thinking about this, to begin with the evidence for lay doubt or disbelief. Our own scepticism about the portraits of piety found in clerical and monastic texts leads us to look for signs of subversion and resistance to the propagated ideals. For example, Ian Wood quite rightly emphasizes the amount of inappropriate and irreverent behaviour catalogued in the works of Gregory of Tours, including failure to respond to saintly visions, treating saints as intercessors only of last resort, doubt about whether particular individuals had saintly powers, working on Sundays and feast days, perjury, breaking of sanctuary, and theft from churches. Wood reads these accounts as evidence for insufficient belief.⁶⁰ As Wood admits, however, these portraits of lay unbelief demand as much scepticism from the historian as portraits of piety. Gregory needed to set up dramatic failures in belief, so that they could be punished and corrected. It is no coincidence, for example, that visions or warnings often come in threes, or that people are at death's door before they turn to the saint and receive a last-minute cure. It was a part of Gregory's humble self-construction that he presented his own failures of belief as object lessons to his readers. Doubt and error had to be articulated before they could be properly quashed.

Nonetheless, Gregory's tales of rusticity and scepticism indicate what seemed to him to be plausible areas of lay unbelief. His stories can therefore be parsed as representing archetypal doubts that required clerical responses. In *Gloria confessorum*, for example, a layman expressed doubt that the anniversary of the death of a local holy man should be treated as a festival or indeed that he should be honoured as a saint. His disbelief, of course, was suitably punished, as his entire house burnt to the ground. The anecdote is perfectly shaped so

that Gregory could then draw out the necessary lesson: 'If someone thinks that this happened by chance, let him wonder that the fire harmed none of the surrounding neighbourhoods. What do you do now, o coarse rusticity? Because you always murmur against God and his friends, you receive catastrophe upon yourself.'⁶¹ Among his miracles of St Martin, Gregory told of how the bishop Baudinus prayed to Martin, when his ship seemed about to go down in a storm. One of the 'unbelievers' (*unus ex . . . perfidis*) rebuked him, stating that Martin would not help, but the other occupants of the boat joined the prayers, and the storm was calmed, replaced with the fragrance of incense. 'Let no one doubt', Gregory concluded, 'that this storm was calmed by the arrival of the blessed man.'⁶² Gregory was clearly concerned that lay Christians sometimes doubted the power of the saints. His miracle stories were designed to address that doubt, again and again and again.

Indeed, although Gregory's world was one of constant religious intervention and action, he portrayed as much impiety as he did piety: 'the faith of Christ burns bright in many men, but it remains lukewarm in others; no sooner are the church-buildings endowed by the faithful than they are stripped bare again by those who have no faith.'⁶³ He wrote as though to insist on the reality of divine action in the world, in the face of disregard or doubt. In his collection of miracles performed by Martin, for example, Gregory described his work as a refutation of 'those disgusting men' who had claimed that Sulpicius Severus' *Vita* had been filled with lies. He himself, Gregory claimed, had heard a man express doubt that the miracles in that account really happened. 'Therefore, by producing many stories as evidence I will demonstrate that this recently happened [again].'⁶⁴ Although these anecdotes of lay scepticism were carefully shaped, their force and urgency appear to derive from genuine clerical anxiety about the belief of their lay congregations.

The same is true for expressions of apparent lay doubt in sermons, some of which I have already detailed. When faced with accounts of the virgin birth, for example, the preacher of Eusebian sermon 10 claimed congregants responded: 'That is impossible, that cannot be done.'⁶⁵ When facing the realities of injustice all around them, the author of Eusebian sermon 55 claimed that his congregants despaired of God's interest in them: 'It is certain that the Lord does not have regard for our affairs, that he neglects humans and does not care for the earth.'⁶⁶ 'Either he ignores sins if he does not damn them, or he promotes sins if he

pretends to damn them.⁶⁷ The author of Eusebian sermon 23 attacked apparent scepticism among his congregants about the doctrine of bodily resurrection.⁶⁸ These were rhetorical devices designed to frame questions which the preachers knew they could answer. They were not the recorded voices of lay disbelief.

Nonetheless, I argue that we can take these as indirect reflections of lay anxieties, and areas of lay theological concern. The preachers framed the questions, but they would not have bothered to do so unless they needed to respond to something. They were not uttering rote phrases. The sermons reek of effort, of anxiety, of persuasive intent. And these were plausible areas of lay concern. They were the doctrinal issues to which preachers, teachers and theologians had to respond repeatedly through Christian history.⁶⁹ It seems perverse to assume, therefore, that the questions and difficulties which bedevilled Christian believers throughout the history of the faith did not occur to the lay people of late antique Gaul. These concerns were not the equivalent of late antique atheism. Clerics were more concerned about what Cannuyer calls *irreligiosité* – a practical scepticism which does not accept the prescriptions of the church, or at least not in every particular.⁷⁰ Or, as Arnold puts it, ‘a sense in which, while God probably exists, he is clearly a long way off and little concerned in the practicalities of human affairs.’⁷¹ This scepticism appears as an important element of the lay religious experience. We cannot hear their voices, but here, with Arnold, we can feel our way around the edges of the lay-person-shaped hole.⁷²

Reciprocity

Another important element was the principle of reciprocity that characterized many accounts of lay belief in this period. The clerical evidence for this is problematic, since it sometimes comes as part of a critique of inappropriate lay religiosity and therefore arouses a proper suspicion in historians. However, we also encounter reciprocal understandings in positive accounts of lay belief, which suggests it was more than just a symbol of impiety. Obviously there are limits to this method. The clergy could misperceive and misread even when they were not attempting to distort. Nonetheless, given the paucity of our evidence for lay belief, we need to make the most of what we have.

It should not be surprising to find the principle of reciprocity in lay belief; indeed, this is a fundamental element of many religious traditions.⁷³ In a number of ancient religions, this principle was expressed through the making of offerings where ‘the offerer wishes to make contact and expects an answer to be given or a request to be met.’⁷⁴ In the Roman context, this was particularly manifest in vows – the texts of those which survive are often ‘very specific and precise undertakings, made to named gods, laying down the conditions under which the vow will be fulfilled and the nature of the gift or ritual action with which the help of the god will be rewarded.’⁷⁵ North emphasizes that these Roman vows were not strictly contractual, since the gods were not laid under obligation by the taking of the vow and Price describes the system as ‘a set of reciprocal relationships.’⁷⁶ In the Jewish context, meanwhile, offerings and sacrifice could be a way of honouring God, correcting sin, effecting purification, communicating thanksgiving, fulfilling vows and eliciting blessings. Vows could be given in exchange for the deity’s fulfilment of a request, or could be given in exchange for nothing at all.⁷⁷ Both Roman and Jewish vows, Price argues, however, had conditional elements – if the deity did not provide the desired benevolence, the giver was freed from their obligations in return.⁷⁸

Christianity therefore emerged into a world in which reciprocity between God and believer was inherent to many religious interactions. However, the Christian approach consciously broke with these principles in three important respects. First, divine benevolence would usually come not in this world, but in the next. Second, after Augustine, the benevolence of grace was not held to be dependent on human action. Grace was a gift that could be neither earned nor deserved. Third, the proper Christian attitude to God was prayer and acceptance, not negotiation, and not conditionality. ‘Christians were expected to offer praise and thanks to God without obligation and without expecting anything in return.’⁷⁹ We can see this principle at work in Gregory of Tours’ account of the woman with fingers bent into her palm who came to the festival of Martin but left without a cure. ‘I came with a pure heart to request the assistance of the blessed [Martin], but because my sins were an obstacle, I did not deserve to receive what I sought.’⁸⁰ Since this was a miracle story, her pious attitude soon after got her the cure she needed, but the clerically approved posture was clear: pray, and hope, but do not bargain. Be passive, and accept

what is given (or not). It should be sufficient, as Gregory emphasized, that the laity came to the saints and offered 'nothing other than . . . prayers'.⁸¹

However, Gregory also told a number of stories about how lay people attempted to 'buy' cures, making clear that he regarded this as an inappropriately contractual approach to a relationship with a saint. In one, for example, a man named Maurus cursed St Lupus of Troyes and was driven mad as a consequence. 'His wife', Gregory reported, 'presented many gifts to the church, but on the third day he ended his life in extreme pain. After his death, his wife took back what she had given.'⁸² Gregory's point was that such an approach was impious, but the woman's perspective is perfectly comprehensible within a reciprocal understanding of divine relationships. In another story, an abbot was depicted as intervening to prevent a gift-based reconciliation between sinner and saint. A man who had occupied some land given to the church and refused to part with it suffered an apopleptic stroke. Realizing that this was divine punishment, he repented and said: 'Carry me to the church of the saint and throw on his tomb however much gold I have. For I have sinned by stealing his property.' The abbot, seeing him coming, implored St Remigius, whose church it was: 'I ask you, do not look at his gifts that you never used to accept.' Sure enough, 'although the [other] man presented gifts, upon returning home he lost his spirit and the church recovered its properties.'⁸³

Gregory's stance was complicated, however, by the fact that he could regard reciprocity as appropriate when handled properly, by the right person. In one story, he related another conflict over church property, this time between bishop Franco of Aix and Childeric, an important man at the court of King Sigibert. The bishop lost his case against Childeric in a royal court, and so instead attempted to force, or humiliate, the local saint into action: he threw briars on the saint's tomb, closed the doors, and put more briars over the entrance, announcing: 'Most glorious saint, no more lights will be lit here, no more melodies of psalms will be sung, until you first avenge your servants from their enemies and restore to the holy church the properties that have been violently taken from you.'⁸⁴ As Patrick Geary has noted, such 'humiliation' of a saint was in fact an attempted act of coercion.⁸⁵ Immediately, Childeric was struck ill. After a year of suffering, he decided to attempt his own negotiation with the saint, instructing his men to 'go as quickly as possible and, after restoring the villa, place six hundred gold pieces on the tomb of the saint.

For I hope that after the property has been returned he might grant a cure to a sick man.⁸⁶ This lay effort at reciprocity, however, was unsuccessful. Childeric died and the bishop obtained his revenge, thanks to the saint. In this case, the negotiation appeared to be legitimate in Gregory's eyes, if undertaken by a cleric, and illegitimate if undertaken by a lay person. However, it was perfectly appropriate, Gregory made clear, for lay people to make vows to be tonsured, to serve at a tomb, or never again to work on a Sunday, if they received a cure.⁸⁷ It was also acceptable to give objects – when a poor woman brought chickens to the church in fulfilment of a vow, Gregory presented this as an act of proper piety.⁸⁸ As Gregory summarized in relation to one particular saint: 'the martyr Sergius also worked many miracles for people by healing illnesses and curing the weaknesses of those who faithfully prayed to him. As a result it happened that thereafter people either made vows or brought gifts to his large church.'⁸⁹ Sometimes the lay people in these stories refused to leave the church or tomb until they received that cure, or until the saint granted them a relic.⁹⁰ This came close to an act of attempted coercion.

The picture provided by Gregory was thus not a consistent one and, indeed, the structure of many of his miracle stories was inherently reciprocal. The sick person must undertake correct action (prayer, prostration, vigil, fasting, candle-lighting, making contact with relic) and adopt a correct attitude (faith in God or saint) before receiving their cure. It was otherwise not a demonstration of divine power. The implication, although not spelt out, was that the cure was the reward. One story, for example, told of a man who was instructed in a vision to build an oratory over the tomb of the virgin Criscentia – once he did so, 'immediately he was cured'.⁹¹ In other cases, however, the laity were depicted as withholding their promise until they received what they sought. In *Gloria confessorum*, for example, Gregory stated that King Childebert vowed that he would build a church for St Euscicus 'if the Lord through his grace led him back from his expedition'. When he came back safely, 'he fulfilled this vow'.⁹² Likewise, a woman whose husband had been imprisoned 'vowed that if she received her husband back alive, she would cover the martyr's [Julian's] tomb with a stone'. He was freed, and 'with lavish gifts she fulfilled the vow she had promised'.⁹³ This was not only a strategy for the wealthy who could afford to construct religious buildings – Gregory described a man named Caelestis who was having trouble capturing a swarm of bees and prayed to Martin of Tours

for help. 'Most blessed confessor, if your power wishes to guide this swarm and restore it to my possession, then, with regard to what these bees produce in the future, I will take the honey for my use but I will send all the wax for the lights in your church.'⁹⁴ In *De virtutibus sancti Martini*, a man placed consecrated bread and wine in a church before travelling, to ensure his safe passage.⁹⁵ Sometimes, Gregory even deemed it appropriate to gift money, such as when a man sent a gold coin to a church and received a cure.⁹⁶ Gregory did not depict this as 'buying' a cure, but the interaction is structurally indistinguishable. The only difference was the attitude of the cured man, projected by Gregory.

In his discussion of early medieval blessings, Rivard argued that they revealed a 'fundamentally contractual' understanding of a relationship with God, in defiance of theological teachings.⁹⁷ Gregory's miracle stories evoke a similar worldview.⁹⁸ Even though Gregory himself presented a 'contractual' approach to God or the saints as evidence of an inappropriate attitude, many of his stories still depicted the Gallic laity behaving as though they believed in a reciprocal divine economy. Our evidence does not come from the laity themselves, but the picture of their belief systems is plausible.

Afterlife

The laity appear to speak of their religious beliefs more directly, however, through inscriptions. Epitaphs are identifiable as Christian, in late antiquity and the middle ages, precisely due to the statements or symbols of belief which they contain.⁹⁹ We have, therefore, hundreds of lay belief statements from Gaul in the period with which we are concerned. As already indicated, these belief statements were not unmediated.¹⁰⁰ It is impossible to judge whether these formulations reflected genuine beliefs and sentiments on the part of either the deceased or their commemorators, or whether these were simply the conventional statements that the community expected. However, we can at least accept that the statements of belief on lay tombstones must have been ones to which family members did not object. If people sincerely rejected the idea of the bodily resurrection, they were unlikely to agree to put 'he will rise again with Christ' on the tombstone of their loved one. If they did not accept the role of the saints, they would not have agreed to commend them 'to the

bosom of the saints.' There is evidence here, therefore, for the passive acceptance of certain Christian ideas, at the very minimum.

It may even be possible to extend our confidence beyond this. Christianity was a religion much focused on death and what happened after it. It is therefore unsurprising that we would find statements of religious belief in the documents that marked the death of the believers. This was the moment of reiteration and reminder – the deceased individual might be gone from this earthly realm, but they were not gone completely. It was also a moment when those left behind needed reassurance. Death was frightening and traumatic, even to those who believed that their loved ones would go to heaven.¹⁰¹ The ubiquitous statements that the deceased were resting peacefully in their graves, had travelled to God, or were enjoying eternal life among the elect, 'must have been designed to provide comfort to the grieving.'¹⁰² Sometimes this was explicit. In a sixth-century inscription from Vienne, for example, the parents of a dead child were addressed directly: 'Do not grieve father, cease your tears, mother: your child has the joy of eternal life.'¹⁰³ These sentiments were commonplace.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, for this comfort to be effective, those left behind must have believed that these formulations were plausible, must have wanted to think them true. The language of comfort around death had shifted to take place on Christian terms, not just at high levels of discourse, but in the most everyday representations of rhetoric around death which are still available to us.

The record of Christian inscriptions emphasizes powerfully a belief that the dead were resting in their graves, awaiting the resurrection. Many contain a version of a word connoting rest, such as *requiescit*, *quiescit*, *iacet*, *dormit* or *recessit*.¹⁰⁵ Often the character of this rest was made explicit by the addition of 'in peace' (*in pace*). Geronius, for example, concluded his epitaph for his 'very dear spouse' with the phrase 'rest in peace' (*quiesce in pace*).¹⁰⁶ Mauricius, a three-year-old boy described in his epitaph as a *fidelis*, was said to be resting 'in Christ and in peace'.¹⁰⁷ These formulations expressed belief in the salvation of the deceased, since it was commonly held that the sinful would be dragged to hell immediately upon their death.¹⁰⁸ Some inscriptions also reflected the idea that the deceased might be already receiving their eternal reward in heaven. For example, an inscription from Trier stated that the deceased had travelled to the Lord; another described the deceased as 'among the elect' (*inter electus*); the epitaph of Eufemia assured readers that she loved the author of life, and

was united to him in heaven; somewhat more poetically, the dead child in the inscription already cited above was described as being ‘among the stars’ (*inter astra*).¹⁰⁹ These formulations might not have been doctrinally correct, but they reflected the comforting idea that the deceased was happy and comfortable, an extension of the peacefulness more commonly evoked.

Many phrases in epitaphs also evoked the idea that the earth was a place of transient residence, and that true comfort and belonging came in the hereafter. This was a theme of great importance in Christian preaching, and we can see it reflected back in a series of different ways. Deceased people were described as resting in the eternal seat, withdrawing from the world, passing over to the Lord, returning to God, leaving their earthly limbs on earth, and returning the soul to its author.¹¹⁰ An anonymous epitaph from Parnans praised its subject for almsgiving, fasting and penitence, and spoke of her migrating from this light (*de haec luce megrauit*).¹¹¹ The same idea may lie behind phrases that gave the deceased’s age by reference to how long they had lived ‘in this world’.¹¹² A mid-sixth century epitaph for Gundiisclus combined many elements of faith in his brief memorial: ‘Here rests in peace Gundiisclus of good memory, in hope of the resurrection and compassion of Christ, who lived in this world sixty-nine years.’¹¹³

Finally, as we see in this example, the inscriptions contained numerous evocations of belief in the coming resurrection, the idea that the death just experienced was not final, but that eternity awaited in another place. Epitaphs were full of confidence that the deceased would be resurrected in Christ, would rise again, would be resurrected in peace, would rise up on the heavenly day when the Author comes, or were waiting in hope of the resurrection of the mercy of Christ.¹¹⁴ An inscription from Vienne, probably early sixth century, expressed the confident hope that Lupicinus ‘will be resurrected with the saints’ (*resurrecturus cum sanctis*).¹¹⁵ One for the *famulus Dei* Vranus, meanwhile, stated that he would ‘rise in Christ’ (*resurgit in Cristo*).¹¹⁶ Handley emphasizes that we cannot be sure that everyone with such a formulation on their gravestone believed in the bodily resurrection.¹¹⁷ Nonetheless, the very ubiquity of these phrases demonstrates how ordinary the idea had become in this period, for the people of Gaul. This was exactly the element of Christian doctrine that people would want to evoke at a moment of loss – a reminder of the hopeful future moment of revival and reunion.

* * *

Despite the difficulty of accessing what the laity knew and believed about their religion, therefore, there is much that we can say. We can trace what the clergy thought the laity should know and establish some techniques for conveying that knowledge. Sermons provide evidence of how clergy went about inculcating belief in some of Christianity's more esoteric teachings. It is more difficult to establish what the laity made of any of this or how much they absorbed. Evidence for lay irreligiosity, however, suggests the possibility of independent reasoning and expressions of doubt, while the reciprocal elements to lay behaviour in many miracle stories provide a picture of the implications of belief in practice. Epitaphs, meanwhile, show how ingrained and ubiquitous Christian beliefs in the afterlife had become within the epigraphic record and perhaps in the process of comforting the bereaved. The worlds of the late antique laity were not just shaped by what they did and where they did it, but also by what they knew and believed about their religion.

Conclusion

Gratian, writing in the mid-twelfth century, divided the church into two kinds of Christians:

There is one kind which, being devoted to God's business and given up to contemplation and prayer, should refrain from all activity in worldly affairs. These are the clergy, and those devoted to God, that is the *conversi* . . . There is also another kind of Christian, laymen. For *laos* means people. These are allowed to possess temporal goods . . . They are allowed to take a wife, to till land, to judge between man and man, to conduct lawsuits, to place obligations upon the altar, to pay tithes, and thus can be saved if they avoid sin by well-doing.¹

This division was a clear and hierarchical one. Some late antique and early medieval clerics and ascetics also strove to define and differentiate themselves from the laity in this way and this book has analysed a range of ways they did so. They established a rhetorical separation of Christendom into 'cleric and lay' or 'religious and secular', and imposed different requirements, punishments and rewards upon each group. They divided spaces into sacred and secular and tried to control access to and use of these spaces accordingly. They conducted rituals from which the laity were increasingly excluded and argued that lay people could not be expected to meet the same levels of pious behaviour and religious knowledge as clerics and ascetics should. All of these actions were movements towards the world that Gratian described.

Even in the high middle ages, however, the division was not as neat as Gratian presents it, and in late antiquity and the early middle ages it was even less so.² The ambiguous situation of minor clerics, ascetics and lay *conversi* complicated any efforts to create a neat 'dyad'.³ Clerical and ascetic writers acknowledged that it was possible to live a lay life without being given over to 'secularity', and set out models of how to do so. Some preachers devoted considerable effort to

making sure lay people knew correct doctrine and could interpret the scriptures. Gallic lay people, meanwhile, still had significant agency in determining their own position within the church and their relationship with its institutions. They made their own uses of religious buildings and sacred objects, laid their own claims to urban and rural landscapes, and interpreted and used rituals to their own ends. They celebrated their own ideals of good behaviour and raised their own questions about Christian teachings. Sometimes they acted in defiance or subversion of clerical expectations; other times they absorbed and appropriated what the church gave them.⁴ These were important counter-tendencies to division and hierarchy-formation. The late antique Gallic church was not a monolith and it was not moving in one clear direction.

This book has taken an optimistic approach to the history of the Gallic laity. It is optimistic that we can understand or glimpse some details of their religious worlds, enough to ensure that they are not consigned to complete silence. It is also optimistic that the laity remained active and important in the Gallic church throughout late antiquity and the early middle ages. The scholarly construction of a late antique 'negative trajectory', which focuses on increasing separation between clergy and laity, and on lay exclusion from sacred spaces and acts, does not supply the whole picture. Instead, the image we get is complicated and messy, but full of vitality. The religious worlds of the laity were multiple and diverse, regionally specific, but also interacting with long-established traditions of belief and behaviour. This made lay people very difficult to control. Much greater efforts to exert such control were made by both the church and the state in the age of the Carolingians and after, but they only ever had limited success. The laity would continue to have a role in shaping their own religious worlds.

Notes

Introduction

- 1 For accounts of the origins of the term *laikos*, see Alexandre Faivre, *The Emergence of the Laity in the Early Church* (New York: Paulist, 1990), 15; Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1965), 1–2; Karen Jo Torjesen, ‘Clergy and Laity’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, ed. David Hunter and Susan A. Harvey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 390.
- 2 See William Klingshirn on the definition of a community religion in *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.
- 3 For the purposes of this project, I distinguish between lay people who practised ascetic behaviours but remained largely engaged with the secular world, and people who lived lives wholly dedicated to religion and an ascetic lifestyle. When I use the term ‘ascetics’ in this work, I am referring to this latter group.
- 4 ‘Si autem laicus fuerit, ebdomadam dierum peniteat, quia homo seculi huius est et culpa levior in hoc mundo et praemium minus in futuro’, *Poenitentiale Vinniai* 6–7, ed. H.J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche* I (Mainz: Verlag von Franz Kirchheim, 1883), 502. Translated by H.M. Gamer and J.T. McNeill, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales and Selections from Related Documents* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 88. This penitential was produced in sixth-century Ireland but it was used on the Continent at least by the Carolingian period, and probably earlier.
- 5 By ‘Gaul’ I mean that region which the Romans called Gaul, approximately bordered by the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees and the Atlantic. The time frame given here is approximate – I consider some relevant evidence before and after these dates.
- 6 Peter Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity AD 200–1000* (Oxford: Blackwell-Wiley, 2013), 355–79; Julia Smith, *Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History, 500–1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 223–24.
- 7 For works which explore aspects of the lay experience in Gaul, see Georgia Frank, ‘From Antioch to Arles: Lay Devotion in Context’, in *The Cambridge History of*

- Christianity, volume 2: Constantine to c. 600*, ed. Augustine Casiday and Frederick W. Norris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 531–47; Lucy Grig, ed., *Popular Culture in the Ancient World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming); Bernadette Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005).
- 8 Smith, *Europe After Rome*, 6–7.
 - 9 Smith, *Europe After Rome*, 6.
 - 10 Smith, *Europe After Rome*, 6–7.
 - 11 John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005); Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900–1200* (London: Routledge, 2013).
 - 12 Virginia Burrus and Rebecca Lyman, 'Introduction: Shifting the Focus of History', in *Late Ancient Christianity: A People's History of Christianity, volume 2*, ed. Virginia Burrus (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 13.
 - 13 David Frankfurter, 'Beyond Magic and Superstition', in Burrus, ed., 255–84.
 - 14 André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, ed. Daniel Bornstein, trans. Margery J. Schneider (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), 28.
 - 15 Richard W. Southern, 'The Church of the Dark Ages, 600–1000', in *The Layman in Christian History*, ed. Stephen Neill and Hans-Ruedi Weber (London: SCM Press, 1963), 88.
 - 16 Marilyn Dunn, *Belief and Religion in Barbarian Europe c. 350–700* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
 - 17 Jaclyn Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Jaclyn Maxwell, 'Lay Piety in the Sermons of John Chrysostom', in *Byzantine Christianity: A People's History of Christianity, volume 3*, ed. Derek Krueger (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 19–38; Jaclyn Maxwell, 'Popular Theology in Late Antiquity', forthcoming in Grig, ed.; Leslie Dossey, *Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010).
 - 18 Lucy Grig, 'Approaching Popular Culture: Singing in the Sermons of Caesarius of Arles', *Studia Patristica* 69 (2013): 197–204.
 - 19 Compare, for example, Alexandre Faivre's narrowly technical definition of the laity as the baptized male heads of families, with Yves Congar's broad philosophical definition of the laity as those 'for whom their truth is not as it were swallowed up and destroyed by a higher reference'. Faivre, *Emergence of the Laity*, 51, 160; and Alexandre Faivre, 'Clerc/Laïc: histoire d'une frontière', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 57 (1983): 195–220; Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, 21. Faivre's approach has

- been thoroughly critiqued by Malcolm Choat, in an unpublished piece: 'The Limits of Laity: Religious Boundaries in the Fourth Century'.
- 20 Ann W. Astell, 'Introduction', in *Lay Sanctity: A Search for Models*, ed. Ann W. Astell (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 9; George E. Demacopoulos, *Five Models of Spiritual Direction in the Early Church* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 2; Torjesen, 'Clergy and Laity', 401; Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, 4–8.
- 21 Stephen Neill and Hans-Ruedi Weber, 'Preface', in *The Layman in Christian History*, ed. Neill and Weber (London: SCM Press), 17. For examples where minor clergy were treated as lay, see Jacqueline Murray, 'Masculinizing the Religious Life: Sexual Prowess, the Battle for Chastity and Monastic Identity', in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Patricia H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 25; Mary S. Skinner, 'Lay Sanctity and Church Reform in Early Medieval France', in Astell, ed., 30; Daniel E. Bornstein, 'Living Christianity', in *Medieval Christianity: A People's History of Christianity, volume 4*, ed. Daniel E. Bornstein (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2009), 3–5.
- 22 Michel-Yves Perrin, for example, prefers the term *fidelis*, which has some inscriptional and legal basis. This term does not, however, appear anywhere near as frequently in the sources as *laicus* does. Perrin, 'À propos de la participation des fidèles aux controverses doctrinales dans l'antiquité tardive: considérations introductives', *Antiquité Tardive* 9 (2001): 182, n. 21. For examples of scholars who talk about the laity, but do not define the term, see Dunn, *Belief and Religion*; Hamilton, *Church and People*; Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*; Derek Krueger, 'Introduction: The Practice of Christianity in Byzantium', in Krueger, ed., 1–15; Derek Rivard, *Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009); Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages*. For scholars who use the term, but reject strict definitions, see Burrus and Lyman, 'Introduction', in Burrus, ed., 1–23; Richard Abels, 'Concluding', in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. Patrick Wormald and Janet Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 246–54.
- 23 For examples, see Hamilton, *Church and People*, 1; Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 6; Bornstein, 'Living Christianity', in Bornstein, ed., 3; Frankfurter, 'Beyond Magic and Superstition', in Burrus, ed., 256; Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages*, 28; Frank, 'From Antioch to Arles', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 531; Grig, ed., *Popular Culture*; H.J. Carpenter, 'Popular Christianity and the Theologians in the Early Centuries', *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 14 (1963): 294; Ramsey MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200–400* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), xi; Timothy E. Gregory, *Vox Populi: Popular Opinion and Violence in the Religious*

- Controversies of the Fifth Century AD* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1979); Allen Jones, *Social Mobility in Late Antique Gaul: Strategies and Opportunities for the Non-Elite* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 15; Krueger, 'Introduction: Christianity in Byzantium', in Krueger, ed., 3; Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 26.
- 24 Hamilton, *Church and People*, 236; Kimberley Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 7; Jean Chélini, 'Les laïcs dans la société ecclésiastique carolingienne', in *I laici nella 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII* (Milan: Società Editrice Vita e Pensiero, 1968), 23.
- 25 For examples, see Faivre, *The Emergence of the Laity*, 8; Paul Lakeland, *The Liberation of the Laity: In Search of an Accountable Church* (New York: Continuum, 2003), 8; George Huntston Williams, 'The Ancient Church, AD 30–313', in Neill and Weber, ed., 28–29.
- 26 Torjesen, 'Clergy and Laity', 389.
- 27 Torjesen, 'Clergy and Laity', 401. For statements of the desire by confessional scholars to use the history of the laity to address modern problems within their churches, see Neill and Weber, 'Preface', in Neill and Weber, ed., 12–14; Lakeland, *Liberation of the Laity*, 1; Astell, 'Introduction', 3.
- 28 Chélini, 'Les laïcs', 48; Demacopoulos, *Five Models*, 1; Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages*, 10.
- 29 Lynda L. Coon, *Sacred Fictions: Holy Women and Hagiography in Late Antiquity* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 64. For other 'increased interference' trajectories, see Frank, 'From Antioch to Arles', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 544–45; Julia M.H. Smith, 'Religion and Lay Society', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, volume 2: c.700–c.900*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 678; Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 199, 226.
- 30 Faivre, *The Emergence of the Laity*, 69; Williams, 'The Ancient Church', in Neill and Weber, ed., 40–41.
- 31 William H.C. Frend, 'The Church of the Roman Empire', in Neill and Weber, ed., 65; Lakeland, *Liberation of the Laity*, 10.
- 32 Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, trans. John J. Contreni (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1976), 494; Hamilton, *Church and People*, 105; Chélini, 'Les laïcs', 48.
- 33 Arnold Angenendt, 'Sacrifice, Gifts and Prayers in Latin Christianity', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities*, ed. Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M.H. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 459; Vauchez, *Laity in the Middle Ages*, 43.

- 34 Torjesen, 'Clergy and Laity', 401.
- 35 Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 22. Emphasis in original.
- 36 Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 8.
- 37 Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 74.
- 38 Jean-Michel Carrié, 'Antiquité tardive et «démocratisation de la culture»: Un paradigme à géométrie variable', *Antiquité Tardive* 9 (2001): 43–44.
- 39 Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication*, 171; Perrin, 'À propos de la participation', 199.
- 40 On horizontal and vertical: Michel Banniard, *Viva voce: Communication écrite et communication orale du IV^e au IX^e siècle en Occident latin* (Paris: Institut des Études Augustiniennes, 1992), 38–39; Marieke Van Acker, *Ut quique rustici et inlitterati hec audierunt intellegant: Hagiographie et communication verticale au temps des Mérovingiens (VII^e–VIII^e siècles)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 13, 34–35.
- 41 Harry Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 5–8. On the education of the clergy in this period, see Robert Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2001), 51–71.
- 42 Smith, *Europe After Rome*, 42.
- 43 Gamble, *Books and Readers*, 8–9; Van Acker, *Ut quique rustici et inlitterati*, 39–41; Gregory I. Halfond, *The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils, AD 511–768* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 95, 134.
- 44 William A. Johnson, *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 10.
- 45 Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 10–11; Van Acker, *Ut quique rustici et inlitterati*, 13–14, 35.
- 46 Nevertheless, we know that some of the records are missing – Halfond estimates that a total of 79 councils were held in the period considered here. *Frankish Church Councils*, 15.
- 47 Halfond, *Frankish Church Councils*, 3, 57–60, 93.
- 48 Halfond, *Frankish Church Councils*, 14–15; Odette Pontal, *Histoire des conciles mérovingiens* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989).
- 49 For a summary of the issues, see Halfond, *Frankish Church Councils*, 132.
- 50 Halfond, *Frankish Church Councils*, 28, 99.
- 51 Jacques Champagne and Romuald Szramkiewicz, 'Recherches sur les conciles des temps mérovingiens', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 49 (1971): 43; Halfond, *Frankish Church Councils*, 155–81.

- 52 Halfond, *Frankish Church Councils*, 100.
- 53 For a neat summary of the law codes from this period, see ‘The Barbarian Kings as Lawgivers and Judges’, in Katherine F. Drew, *Law and Society in Early Medieval Europe: Studies in Legal History* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988).
- 54 On the Visigothic laws, see Theodore J. Rivers, *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 20–21. On the identity issues in the application of these laws, see Patrick Amory, ‘The Meaning and Purpose of Ethnic Terminology in the Burgundian Laws’, *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993): 1–28.
- 55 On these codes, see Rivers, *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians*, 20.
- 56 Alice Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae, c. 500–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 201–2; Theodore J. Rivers, *Laws of the Salian and Riparian Franks* (New York: AMS Press, 1986), 2–3, 8–11.
- 57 Rivers, *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians*, 24–25.
- 58 Rio, *Legal Practice*, 67–101.
- 59 Rio, *Legal Practice*, 22.
- 60 Alice Rio, ‘Charters, Law Codes and Formulae: The Franks between Theory and Practice’, in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, ed. Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 20.
- 61 The literature on Gallic hagiography is extensive, but the most important works include Jamie Kreiner, *The Social Life of Hagiography in the Merovingian Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); John Kitchen, *Saints’ Lives and the Rhetoric of Gender: Male and Female in Merovingian Hagiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993). Less has been written on miracle collections, but see Danuta Shanzer, ‘So Many Saints – So Little Time . . . the *Libri Miraculorum* of Gregory of Tours’, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 13 (2013): 19–60; Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*; Lisa K. Bailey, ‘Within and Without: Lay People and the Church in Gregory of Tours’ Miracle Stories’, *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5, no. 1 (2012): 119–44; Martin Heinzelmann, ‘Une source de base de la littérature hagiographique latine: Le recueil de miracles’, in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés IV^e–XII^e siècles, Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2–5 mai 1979)* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1981), 235–59.
- 62 Ian Wood, ‘How Popular was Early Medieval Devotion?’ in *Popular Piety: Prayer, Devotion and Cult, Essays in Medieval Studies. Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval*

- Association 14*, ed. Allen J. Frantzen and Thomas. N. Hall (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University Press, 1997) [<http://www.illinoismedieval.org/ems/VOL14/wood.html>]. Wood is building here on Peter Brown's analysis in *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
- 63 Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 62.
- 64 Van Acker, *Ut quique rustici et inlitterati*, 15–19, 34–39.
- 65 Van Acker, *Ut quique rustici et inlitterati*, 541. See also Marc Van Uytfganghe, 'L'hagiographie et son public à l'époque mérovingienne', *Studia Patristica* 16 (1985): 54–62.
- 66 For more on the use of this evidence, see Bailey, 'Within and Without'.
- 67 Hamilton, *Church and People*, 262.
- 68 Lisa K. Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010). A number of sermons were aimed at monks, or fellow clergy, but these are usually identifiable.
- 69 Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 9; Frank, 'From Antioch to Arles', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 532; Beverly M. Kienzle, 'Introduction', in *The Sermon, Typologie de sources des moyen âge occidental, fascicules*, ed. Beverly M. Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 143; Perrin, 'À propos de la participation des fidèles', 195.
- 70 Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication*, 171.
- 71 Kienzle, 'Introduction', 155.
- 72 On the history of Caesarius' sermons, see Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*. Conrad Leyser raised some very important issues around the attribution of the whole collection to Caesarius in an oral presentation to a conference in Edinburgh in 2013 on 'Caesarius and his World' and will hopefully publish his thoughts on this soon. On the Eusebius Gallicanus sermons, see Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, 29–38.
- 73 Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, 131–43.
- 74 On the importance of this evidence, see Perrin, 'À propos de la participation', 192.
- 75 Mark Handley, *Death, Society and Culture: Inscriptions and Epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, A.D. 300–750* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003), 2.
- 76 Compare, for example, the relatively optimistic views of Carlos R. Galvao-Sobrinho, 'Funerary Epigraphy and the Spread of Christianity in the West', *Athenaeum* 83 (1995): 436, and Brent D. Shaw, 'Latin Funerary Epigraphy and Family Life in the Later Roman Empire', *Historia* 33, no. 4 (1984): 462, with the more pessimistic views expressed by John C. Mann, 'Epigraphic Consciousness', *Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985): 204 and Handley, *Death*, 37.

- 77 Handley, *Death*, 40.
- 78 Handley, *Death*, 6, 37–40.
- 79 Handley, *Death*, 34.
- 80 Galvao-Sobrinho, ‘Funerary Epigraphy’, 435.
- 81 Handley, *Death*, 26–29.
- 82 Edmond LeBlant, ed., *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII^e siècle, volume I: Provinces Gallicanes* (Paris: Imprimé par ordre de l’empereur à l’imprimerie impériale, 1856).
- 83 Handley, *Death*, 195–99. *RICG* volumes 1, 8 and 15 are the only ones to have appeared to date.
- 84 See, for example, the work of Frank, ‘From Antioch to Arles’, in Casiday and Norris, ed., 532; Harry O. Maier, ‘Heresy, Households, and the Disciplining of Diversity’, in Burrus, ed., 214; MacMullen, *Second Church*; Christina Shepardson, *Controlling Contested Places: Late Antique Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014).
- 85 Kim Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values*; John Percival, *Roman Villa: A Historical Introduction* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976); John Percival, ‘Villas and Monasteries in Late Roman Gaul’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 1–21.

Chapter 1

- 1 ‘Statuimus, ut, si quis saecularium honoratorum in itinere obuiam habuerit aliquem ecclesiasticorum graduum usque ad inferiorem gradum honoris, ueneranter, sicut condecet christianum, illi colla subdat, per cuius officia et obsequie fidelissima christianitatis iura promeruit. Et si quidem ille secularis equo uehitur clericusque similiter, secularis galerum de capite auferat et clerico sinceræ salutationis munus adhibeat; si vero clericus pedes graditur et secularis uehitur equo, ilico ad terram defluat et debitum honorum sepe dicto clerico sinceræ caritatis exhibeat, ut Deus, qui uera caritas est, in utrisque laetetur et dilectioni suae utrumque ascisat’, Mâcon a. 585, c. 15, ed. Jean Gaudemet and Brigitte Basdevant, *Les canons de conciles mérovingiens (Vie–VIIe siècles)*, SC 354 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989), 474. By preference, I have used the SC editions of the Gallic church councils from the sixth and seventh centuries (volumes 353 and 354). However, since the SC edition of the fifth-century councils has not appeared, for these I have used the CCSL edition by Charles Munier, *Concilia Galliae a. 314–a. 506*, CCSL 148 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963).

- 2 The translation of *saecularis* into English is awkward, but I want to be precise about what the Latin is showing us. The French translators of the canons decided instead to go for what they deemed the obvious meaning, and translated *saecularis* as *laïque*, Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 354, 475.
- 3 On the meanings of *ordinare* in this period, see Gary Macy, *The Hidden History of Women's Ordination: Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 20; Susan Loftus, 'The Construction of Episcopal Authority in Late Antique Gaul: A Case-study of the Role of Canon Law from the Sixth Century' (PhD thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney, NSW, 2016), 55–94.
- 4 Tours a. 461, c. 1; Bordeaux a. 662–a. 675, c. 4.
- 5 *Fideles* used in contrast to pagans: Orléans a. 541, c. 16; Arles a. 442–a. 506, c. 23; used to indicate obligations of all Christians: Arles a. 314, c. 4; Mâcon a. 585, c. 11; Vaison a. 442, c. 4; Orléans a. 441, c. 19.
- 6 Orléans a. 533, c. 7; Losne a. 673–a. 675, c. 5; Eauze a. 551, c. 5; Épaone a. 517, preface; Orléans a. 541, c. 6; Agde a. 506, c. 47; Tours a. 567, c. 20; Mâcon a. 585, c. 1. See also *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* c. 58; Agde a. 506, c. 25 and discussion of the term in Luce Pietri, Yvette Duval and Charles Pietri, 'Peuple chrétien ou *plebs*: le rôle des laïcs dans les élections ecclésiastiques en Occident', in *Christiana respublica: Éléments d'une enquête sur le christianisme antique 2* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1992), 1060.
- 7 Agde a. 506, c. 21; Orléans a. 511, c. 25; Orléans a. 541, c. 3; *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* c. 10; Clermont a. 535, c. 2; Orléans a. 538, c. 3; Chalon a. 647–a. 653, c. 10.
- 8 Orléans a. 549, c. 10; Losne a. 673–a. 675, c. 18; Orléans a. 511, c. 27; Tours a. 567: *Epistula episcoporum prouinciae Turonensis ad plebem*; Pietri et al., 'Peuple chrétien ou *plebs*'.
- 9 Nîmes a. 394–a. 396, c. 3, ed. Munier, CCSL 148 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1963), 50.
- 10 *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* c. 40 and 54, ed. Munier, CCSL 148, 173 and 175. See also *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* c. 89: 'si clerico uel laico', ed. Munier, CCSL 148, 180.
- 11 *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, prologue, ed. Munier, CCSL 148, 165.
- 12 Agde a. 506, c. 40, 42, ed. Munier, CCSL 148, 210, 211.
- 13 Tours a. 567, c. 6, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 354, 354. See also 'Laicis contra cuiuslibet gradus clericum', Épaone a. 517, c. 24, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 353, 122.
- 14 Arles a. 442–a. 506, c. 8, ed. Munier, CCSL 148, 115; Agde a. 506, c. 4, ed. Munier, CCSL 148, 194; Clichy a. 626–a. 627, c. 12.
- 15 Mâcon a. 581–a. 583, c. 15, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 354, 436.
- 16 Angers a. 453, c. 7, ed. Munier, CCSL 148, 138.
- 17 Losne a. 673–a. 675, c. 9, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 354, 578.

- 18 Note also the uses of *saecularis* where it clearly stands in for *laicus* in Mâcon a. 585, c. 15; Agde a. 506, c. 18, 25; Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 9.
- 19 Orléans a. 511, c. 4.
- 20 Épaone a. 517, c. 37, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 353, 118; Arles a. 524, c. 1–2.
- 21 Orléans a. 538, c. 6; Orléans a. 549, c. 9.
- 22 ‘Saeculares uero, qui necdum sunt ad clericatum conuersi’, Chalon a. 647–a. 653, c. 5, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 354, 552.
- 23 Tours a. 461, c. 5, ed. Munier, CCSL 148, 145: ‘Si quis uero clericus, relicto officii sui ordine, laicam uoluerit agere uitam . . . excommunicationis poena feriat.’
- 24 On the concern of the Gallic church councils to police this boundary and the rituals surrounding movement over it, see Loftus, ‘Construction’.
- 25 Clermont a. 535, c. 13; Mâcon a. 581–a. 583, c. 11; Bordeaux 662–a. 675, c. 4.
- 26 Agde a. 506, c. 17; Clermont a. 535, c. 8.
- 27 Bordeaux a. 662–a. 675, preface: ‘clerici per contumacia propriis episcopis dispicerint et secularem abitum et adhuc, quod peius est, amplius quam secularis diuersa contraria agerent’, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 354, 568.
- 28 Agde a. 506, c. 20; Mâcon a. 581–a. 583, c. 5; Bordeaux a. 662–a. 675.
- 29 Losne a. 673–a. 675, c. 2.
- 30 Macy, *Women’s Ordination*, 40.
- 31 Statuta ecclesiae antiqua c. 37, 41.
- 32 Épaone 517, c. 21; Orléans 533, c. 17.
- 33 Macy, *Women’s Ordination*, 27–49.
- 34 Arles II a. 442–a. 450, c. 3 and 4; Anjou a. 453, c. 4; Tours a. 567, c. 11, 13, 14; Mâcon a. 581–a. 583, c. 1, 3; Losne a. 673–a. 675, c. 4.
- 35 Orléans a. 549, c. 3.
- 36 Godding, *Prêtres*, 112–15; Arles II a. 442–a. 506, c. 3. Note also earlier rulings disqualifying from ordination anyone who had married more than once, or who had married a widow: Arles a. 314, c. 25 and Valence a. 374, c. 1. At the Council of Orange a. 441, c. 24, those who had married twice were prohibited to rise above subdeacon, repeated at Arles II a. 442–a. 506, c. 45, Épaone a. 517, c. 2. Widows of priests, deacons and subdeacons were prohibited from remarrying at Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 22.
- 37 Arles a. 442–a. 506, c. 43, 44.
- 38 Tours a. 461, c. 2.
- 39 Clermont a. 535, c. 13.
- 40 Orléans a. 538, c. 8.
- 41 Orléans a. 549, c. 3, 4.
- 42 Tours a. 567, c. 13, 14, 15. Godding, *Prêtres*, 123 calls this council’s legislation ‘obsessive’.

- 43 Mâcon a. 581–a. 583, c. 11.
- 44 Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 20, 21.
- 45 Godding, *Prêtres*, 111, 114–15; David Hunter, ‘Clerical Celibacy and the Veiling of Virgins: New Boundaries in Late Ancient Christianity’, in *The Limits of Ancient Christianity: Essays on Late Antique Thought and Culture in Honor of R.A. Markus*, ed. William Klingshirm and Mark Vessey (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 142.
- 46 Chélini, ‘Les laïcs’, 25–26, 48.
- 47 On bishops’ wives, see the evidence in Brian Brennan, “‘Episcopae’: Bishops’ Wives Viewed in Sixth-Century Gaul”, *Church History* 54 (1985): 311–23.
- 48 Godding notes the probable ineffectiveness of council rulings, and an eventual change in their focus: *Prêtres*, 128, 131–35, 154. Georg Scheibelreiter argues that a bishop without a wife was rare in Gaul up until the late sixth century at least, and probably later: ‘Church Structure and Organization’, in *The New Cambridge Medieval History, volume 1: c. 500–c.700*, ed. Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 693. On the sexual activities of Gallic clergy, and the failed efforts to enforce celibacy rulings, see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 110–12, 150–51; Jo Ann McNamara, ‘Chaste Marriage and Clerical Celibacy’, in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1994), 22–33.
- 49 Macy, *Women’s Ordination*, 61–83; Kevin Madigan and Carolyn Osiek, *Ordained Women in the Early Church: A Documentary History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 3–7.
- 50 Faivre, *Emergence of the Laity*, 158; Godding, *Prêtres*, 14; Sabine Hübner, *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft des spätantiken Kleinasien* (Munich: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 155–56.
- 51 *Lex Romana Visigothorum* 16.1.
- 52 *Codex Euriciani* 306, but note that the term *laicos* has been restored here to the fragmentary text – it is clear from the context that a contrast with clergy is meant, but the exact term used is not confirmable; see ed. K. Zeumer, *MGH Leges* 1.1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1902), 17.
- 53 *Poenitentiale Columbani* B 1–4 and 14–16.
- 54 *Poenitentiale Vinniai* 6–7.
- 55 Tours a. 461, c. 1.
- 56 Épaone a. 517, c. 15.
- 57 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 1.12, 47.4, 55.5, 61.1, 157.4.
- 58 In a treatise that Germain Morin attributes to Faustus of Riez, he described seven orders: gravediggers, porters, lectors, subdeacons, deacons, priests and bishops:

- ‘Hiérarchie et liturgie dans l’église gallicane au V^e siècle d’après un écrit restitué à Fauste de Riez’, *Revue Bénédictine* 8 (1891): 99.
- 59 Macy, *Women’s Ordination*, 28. Jones, *Social Mobility*, 245, summarizes the texts that suggest that minor clergy underwent ordination or initiation ceremonies. See also Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The Organization, Law and Liturgy of the Western Church, 700–900’, in McKitterick, ed., 610; Godding, *Prêtres*, 158.
- 60 Épaone a. 517, c. 15. See also Tours a. 567, c. 20.
- 61 Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 43, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 354, 500: ‘aut saecularis presbyterum aut diaconum aut quemlibet de clero aut de iunioribus’ Paris a. 614, c. 6.
- 62 ‘presbytero uel diacono uel quemquam ex iunioris ordine clericum’, Paris a. 614, c. 9, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 354, 512.
- 63 Tours a. 567, c. 20.
- 64 *Leges Alamannorum* 11–15.
- 65 *Lex Ribuaria* 40 (36), ed. Franz Beyerle and Rudolf Buchner, *MGH Leges* 3.2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1951), 93.
- 66 *Leges Baiuvariorum* 1.8–1.9.
- 67 *LH* 5.49.
- 68 Orléans a. 538, c. 2; Tours a. 567 c. 11, 20; Lyon a. 583, c. 1; Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 20, 21.
- 69 Scheibelreiter, ‘Church Structure’, 689, 694; Reynolds, ‘Organisation’, in McKitterick, ed., 605–6; Jones, *Social Mobility*, 233–36; Macy, *Women’s Ordination*, 25–6; Hübner, *Klerus*, 26–27.
- 70 Scheibelreiter, ‘Church Structure’, 690.
- 71 Jones, *Social Mobility*, 234–38, 241.
- 72 See *LH* 7.20 where Fredegund sends to spy on Brunhild a ‘cleric of her household’ and 8.29 where Fredegund attempts to use clerics as assassins.
- 73 Mâcon a. 585, c. 16. Hübner, *Klerus*, 34–5, notes the clerical privileges accorded even to gravediggers.
- 74 On the training that might have been offered to junior clerics, see Godding, *Prêtres*, 60–67.
- 75 ‘Si quis clericus, monachus, saecularis diuinationem uel auguria crediderit obseruanda’, Orléans a. 511, c. 30, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 353, 88.
- 76 Tours a. 567, c. 15.
- 77 Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job* 1.14.
- 78 Macy, *Women’s Ordination*, 33.
- 79 See, for example, *LH* 5.7; *Vita Romani* 20–21; *Vita Eugendi* 132–34; *Vita Martini* 7.
- 80 *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, extract from *Codex Theodosianus* 5.3. See also the extract from the *Novellae Marciani* 5, which groups together widows, deaconesses,

maidens consecrated to God, holy women or a woman ‘called by any other name of religious honour or dignity’, *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, 304.

81 *Codex Euriciani* 335.

82 *Formulae Marculfi* 1.19.

83 ‘In primo quoque de ministerio ecclesiarum omnium praecipimus, ut nullus ad subripiendum in aliquo conaretur, neque de sanctimunalibus neque de viduis que se in religione domini devotas esse probarentur; simili condicione et de clericis vel filiis supradictorum, tam clericorum quam viduarum, qui cum illis in domu ipsorum consistere videbantur; idem et de servis ecclesiarum, quos de ecclesiis tractos per episcoporum sacramenta constiterit, praeceptum est observare, ut nullus ex ipsis aliqua violentia vel damnum pateretur’, *Epistola ad Episcopos*, in *Capitularia Regum Francorum* 1, ed. A. Boretius, *MGH Leges* 2.1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1883), 1; trans. Halfond, *Frankish Church Councils*, 127.

84 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 2.47.4, 55.5, 55A.4, 101.1, 185.5.

85 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 1.12, 64.4, 157.4.

86 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 61.5.

87 ‘si et clerici et laici et monachi et sanctaemoniales et in coniugiis positi’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 155.4, ed. Germain Morin, *CCSL* 104, *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis sermones* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953), 634. Translated by Mary Magdeleine Mueller, *Fathers of the Church* 47, *Saint Caesarius of Arles: Sermons* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1956–73), 347.

88 ‘Hic apostatavit, et dimissis capillis, uxorem, quam post clericatum reliquerat, cum regno fratris simul accepit’, *LH* 4.4, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis libri historiarum X* (Hanover: Hahn, 1951), 138. Translated by Lewis Thorpe, *The History of the Franks* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), 199.

89 *LH* 5.14, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 208.

90 See, for example, *LH* 4.26, 6.16, 6.43, 9.33.

91 Valence a. 374, c. 2; Orléans a. 511, c. 21.

92 See, for example, the story of Basina, placed in a nunnery by her father, who later sought to marry her off, *LH* 6.34.

93 Peter Hatlie, ‘The Religious Lives of Children and Adolescents’, in Krueger, ed., 189; Godding, *Prêtres*, 66; Harry Neff Waldron, ‘Expressions of Religious Conversion among Laymen remaining within Secular Society in Gaul, 400–800 A.D.’ (PhD thesis, Ohio State University, 1976), 61.

94 Mâcon a. 581–a. 583, c. 20.

95 Paul Aubin, *Le problème de la «conversion»: Étude sur un terme commun a l'hellénisme et au christianisme des trois premiers siècles* (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, 1962); James Muldoon, ed., *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*

- (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997); Karl F. Morrison, *Conversion and Text: The Cases of Augustine of Hippo, Herman-Judah, and Constantine Tsatsos* (Charlotte, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1992).
- 96 For example, at the Council of Chalons, a. 647–a. 653, c. 5. After Sidonius Apollinaris was ordained bishop, he largely stopped writing secular verses, describing this as no longer appropriate: Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 9.12.
- 97 Constantius of Lyon, *Vita Germani* 2, ed. René Borius, SC 112, *Constance de Lyon: Vie de saint Germain d'Auxerre* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965), 124.
- 98 Faustus of Riez, *Epistulae ad Ruriciu* 2(9), 3(10); Paul Galtier, 'Pénitents et «convertis»: De la pénitence latine à la pénitence celtique', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 33 (1937): 19. See here also Kevin Uhalde, 'Judicial Administration in the Church and Pastoral Care in Late Antiquity', in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 99. It was this kind of preparation for ordination that was referred to at the Council of Orange a. 441, c. 15, 21.
- 99 'Consecratur in sacerdotio, iam diu virtutum meritis consecratus; amplectendum consecrationis ministerium, quod auxit merita consecrantum; effectus nomine sacerdos, qui iam pridem erat virtutum decoratus insignibus', Honoratus of Marseilles, *Vita Hilarii* 10, PL 50, *S. Hilarii Arelatensis vita* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), 1228D.
- 100 *Sermo sancti Honorati* 5–14.
- 101 Orléans a. 511, c. 21.
- 102 'ad supradictum coenubium conversa e saeculum petiit', Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani* 12, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM 4 (Hanover: Hahn, 1902), 131; 'puella intra infantiae . . . in supradictum monasterium conversa introiit', Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani* 13, ed. Krusch, MGH SRM 4, 133; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 163–64. See also *Vita Columbani* 17 and 21 for similar usages.
- 103 *Vita Balthildis* 10.
- 104 Kitchen, *Saints' Lives*, 25. On the motif of the *puer senex*, see Ernst R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1953), 98–105.
- 105 Hilary of Arles, *Sermo sancti Honorati* 5, ed. Marie-Denise Valentin, SC 235, *Hilaire d'Arles: Vie de saint Honorat* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1977), 80, 'tot a conuersione uinculis retrahebatur'.
- 106 'flamam conuersionis . . . ad conuersionem uocatus', Hilary of Arles, *Sermo sancti Honorati* 8–9, ed. Valentin, SC 235, 88–90.
- 107 *De sancta Austreberta virgine* 7–8.
- 108 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 12–13.
- 109 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 12.

- 110 “Si me consecrare distuleris et plus hominem quam Deum timueris, de manu tua, pastor, ovis anima requiratur” . . . manu superposita, consecravit diaconam, Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 12, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 368; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 75.
- 111 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 15–20.
- 112 ‘operante divina potentia, a rege terreno discessit, quod sua vota poscebant’, Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 3, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 380; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 87.
- 113 ‘se sub coniugis specie nupta tractavit’, Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 1, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 380; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 87.
- 114 On the development of monasticism in Gaul in this period, see Conrad Leyser, “‘This Sainted Isle’: Panegyric, Nostalgia and the Invention of a “Lerinian Monasticism””, in Klingshirn and Vessey, ed., 188–206; Stephen Lake, ‘Monastic Rules and Monastic Tradition in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages’, unpublished paper; Friedrich Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankenreich: Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1965); Rosemarie Nürnberg, *Askese als sozialer Impuls: Monastisch-asketische Spiritualität als Wurzel und Triebfeder sozialer Ideen und Aktivitäten der Kirche in Südgallien im 5. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Borengässer, 1988); Adalbert De Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l’antiquité* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997); Christian Courtois, ‘L’évolution du monachisme en Gaule de St Martin à St Columban’, in *Il monachesimo nell’alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà occidentale* (Spoleto: Presso La Sede Del Centro, 1957), 47–72.
- 115 ‘contemptu mundi ambitu, spreto viri consortio, soli Deo, in quo erat confisa, vacabat’, *VP* 19.1, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 286; trans. Edward James, *Gregory of Tours: Life of the Fathers* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1985), 119.
- 116 In their translations of *VP* 19, both James, *Gregory of Tours*, 127–28 and McNamara, *Sainted*, 58 choose the term ‘nuns’ to refer to Monegund’s community, and Allen E. Jones, *Social Mobility*, 137, also uses this term of Monegund herself. May Viellard-Troiekouroff refers to a community of *moniales* under Monegund and associates her with a *monastère* found near the location of her residence, although that institution is not attested in any sources for some centuries after. *Les monuments religieux de la Gaule d’après les oeuvres de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1976), 328–29. Monegund is also associated with this later monastery by Luce Pietri, *La ville de Tours du IV^e au VI^e siècle: Naissance d’une cité chrétienne* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1983), 411–13 and Nancy Gauthier and Jean-Charles Picard, ed., *Topographie chrétienne des*

- cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIII^e siècle*, volume 5 (Paris: De Boccard, 1987), 36.
- 117 Waldron, 'Expressions', 14.
- 118 Waldron, 'Expressions', 1.
- 119 Demacopoulous, *Five Models*, 44–45 insists on important differences between *conversi* and formal ascetics, but the lines between these groups were not clear at the time. I do not agree with him in seeing the ascetic disciplines of these *conversi* as 'temporary' – many constituted commitments for life.
- 120 'relegiosa veste habens', *LH* 4.26, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 157.
- 121 'quae sub specie religionis erat veste mutata', *LH* 2.1, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 37.
- 122 'ex consensu pari vir tonsoratur ad clericatum, puella vero religiosum induit vestimentum', *GC* 31, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 317.
- 123 *GC* 75.
- 124 'Sed omnem domum suam ita in castitate atque omni puritate tam animi quam corporis excolebat, ut nullus ibi adulterium exercere praesumeret', *GC* 41, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 324; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 53. See also *GC* 108 on the chaste marriage of Paulinus.
- 125 *VBM* 2.9.
- 126 'ad basilica beati Martini deserviens', *LH* 2.43, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 94.
- 127 Waldron, 'Expressions', especially chapter 3; Galtier, 'Pénitents', 5–26. See also Cyrille Vogel, *La discipline pénitentielle en Gaule des origines à la fin du VII^e siècle* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1952).
- 128 Uhalde, 'Judicial Administration', 100. Note that the Council of Angers in 453 described those entering public penance as *conversi*, c. 12. See also Waldron, 'Expressions', 121 on the phrase *convertere ad paenitentiam*.
- 129 *Vita Trudonis* 4; Waldron, 'Expressions', 47.
- 130 *Vita Anstrudis* 1.
- 131 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 4.2.
- 132 'habitus viro, gradus pudor, color sermo religiosus, tum coma brevis barba prolixa', Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 4.24.3–4, ed. and trans. William B. Anderson, Loeb Classical Library 420, *Sidonius: Poems and Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 158–60.
- 133 *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* c. 26; Agde a. 506, c. 20, ed. Munier, *CCSL* 148, 202: 'uestimenta uel calcamenta religionem deceant'; Mâcon a. 581–a. 583, c. 5; Bordeaux a. 662–a. 675, preface.
- 134 Bonnie Effros, 'Appearance and Ideology: Creating Distinctions between Clerics and Lay Persons in Early Medieval Gaul', in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and*

- Dress, ed. Désirée G. Koslin and Janet E. Snyder (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 8. Also Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 63.
- 135 On the significance of clerical dress in general, see Dyan Elliott, although her focus is largely on later periods: 'Dressing and Undressing the Clergy: Rites of Ordination and Degradation', in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. E. Jane Burns (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 55–69.
- 136 Roger E. Reynolds, 'Clerical Liturgical Vestments', in *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Godding, *Prêtres*, 28–29.
- 137 Contrast this, however, with the view of Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 59, who sees a process of embellishment of clerical clothing as central to marking clergy as distinct.
- 138 Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 61, seems rather to overstate the evidence when she says that: 'Such distinctions had become so elaborate by the fourth and fifth centuries that differences between the consecrated and non-consecrated were vividly conveyed by ecclesiastical vestments.'
- 139 Godding, *Prêtres*, 23. On Frankish attitudes to hair, see Averil Cameron, 'How did Merovingians Wear their Hair?', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 43 (1965): 1203–16 and Conrad Leyser, 'Long-haired Kings and Short-haired Nuns: Writing on the Body in Caesarius of Arles', *Studia Patristica* 24 (1993): 143–50. Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 62, likewise sees the tonsure as the 'ultimate distinction between the ordained and the ordinary'. On the tonsure in general, see Robert Mills, 'The Signification of the Tonsure', in Cullum and Lewis, ed., 109–26; Jo Ann McNamara, 'Chastity as a Third Gender in the History and Hagiography of Gregory of Tours', in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 205.
- 140 *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* c. 25; *Agde* a. 506, c. 20.
- 141 'comam capitis tondi adscirique se in ordine clericorum', *VP* 9.1, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 253; trans. James, *Gregory*, 66.
- 142 *LH* 8.20. See discussion of this episode in McNamara, 'Chastity', 205.
- 143 *LH* 4.4.
- 144 *Sermo sancti Honorati* 8.
- 145 *VP* 6.1, 20.3.
- 146 *Formulae Marculfi* 1.19. Congar, *Lay People*, 5, argues that tonsure was a token for both monks and clerics by the fourth century.
- 147 'ad mundi vi raperent', *Vita Geretrudis* 2, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 456; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 224.
- 148 *Vita Geretrudis* 2. On veiling in general, see Hunter, 'Clerical', in Klingshirn and Vessey, ed.; A.-M. Helvétius, 'Virgo et virago: Réflexions sur le pouvoir du voile

- consacré d'après les sources hagiographiques de la Gaule du Nord', in *Femmes et pouvoir des femmes à Byzance et en Occident (VI^e–XI^e siècles)*, ed. S. Lebecq, A. Dierkins, R. LeJan and J.-M. Sansterre (Lille: Université Charles de Gaulle, 1999), 189–203.
- 149 Helvétius, 'Virgo et virago', 196.
- 150 Statuta ecclesiae antiqua 99; Orange a. 441, c. 26.
- 151 *LH* 2.1, 4.26.
- 152 Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 6 and 9, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 367–68.
- 153 Caesaria, *Dominabus Sanctis Richilde et Radegundi Caesaria Exigua*: 'Sunt aliquante neglegentes vel tepide, que putant, quod illis sufficiat vestem mutasse. Vestes enim seculare deponere et religiosas assumere, unius hore momento possumus; mores vero bonorum iugiter retinere, quamdiu vivimus, Christo adiutore, laborare debemus.' *MGH* 7, *Epistolae Aevi Merovingici Collectae*, 452, esp. 11.
- 154 *De sancta Austreberta virgine* 6 and *De sancta Eustadiola* 1.
- 155 *De sancta Austreberta virgine* 6.
- 156 Waldron, 'Expressions', 207–16.
- 157 Agde a. 506, c. 15. On head shaving as an act of purification, see Coon, *Sacred Fictions*, 32.
- 158 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 56.3.
- 159 Waldron, 'Expressions', 225.
- 160 Chélini, 'Les laïcs', 25–26.
- 161 Agde a. 506, c. 15; Orléans a. 538, c. 27. For strict rulings, see Eauze a. 551, c. 1; Arles a. 442–a. 506, c. 21. See discussion in Waldron, 'Expressions', 22–23.
- 162 Waldron, 'Expressions', 21.
- 163 Cyrille Vogel, 'La discipline pénitentielle dans les inscriptions paléochrétiennes', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 42 (1966): 325; Waldron, 'Expressions', 120.
- 164 For example, Matt. 20.27, Romans 1.1, Phil. 1.1, James 1.1.
- 165 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 8, 16–17, 19, 23–24. Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 8.
- 166 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 4.
- 167 Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 12.
- 168 See the summary in Handley, *Death*, 40.
- 169 Handley, *Death*, 53–55.
- 170 *RICG* 1.106, 1.256, 8.9, 8.22, 15.5, 15.30, 15.45, 15.62, 15.77, 15.82, 15.98B, 15.147, 15.173, 15.231, 15.237, 15.239, 15.240, 15.251, 15.282; *Inscriptions* 31, 57, 58, 65, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions chrétiennes*, 68–71, 117–34, 142–44. This is not an exhaustive list by any means. On these terms, see Hartmut Atsma, 'Die Christlichen Inschriften Galliens als Quelle für Klosterbewohner bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts', *Francia* 4 (1976): 42 and 51.

- 171 *RICG* 1.219 and 1.220.
- 172 *RICG* 15.62.
- 173 Adolar Zumkeller, 'Der Gebrauch der Termini famulus dei, servus dei, famula dei und ancilla dei bei Augustinus', in *Eulogia: Mélanges offerts à Antoon A.R. Bastiaesen à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, ed. G.J.M. Bartelink, A. Hillhorst and C.H. Kneepkens (The Hague: Steenbrugis, 1991), 438; Laurens J. Van der Lof, 'The Threefold Meaning of *servus dei* in the Writings of St Augustine', *Augustinian Studies* 12 (1981): 45.
- 174 Van der Loft, 'Threefold', 49–50.
- 175 *RICG* 15.5 and 15.282.
- 176 Jean Coquet, 'L'inscription d'Ariomeres', *Revue Mabillon* 51 (1961): 54–70.
- 177 *VBM* 1.26.
- 178 *GC* 60.
- 179 *VBM* 2.13.
- 180 'a meis serviitis vinculo, humiliatis capillis tuo servitio delegetur', *VBM* 2.4, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 161; trans. Raymond Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 231. For other examples, see *VBM* 1.7, 2.6, 2.33, 2.53, 3.19; *GC* 22; *VP* 17.6.
- 181 'vovit . . . ut per singulos menses una ebdomada ad sanctum templum debeat deservire', *VBM* 3.56, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 196. See also *VBM* 2.22 where a woman brought food to those on the *matricula* every year after her cure.
- 182 *De sancta Austreberta virgine* 23.
- 183 See the important work of Alice Rio, *Legal Practice*, 212–37, on the spectrum of freedom and unfreedom in the early medieval world, and the degree to which the term *servus* could encompass both highly oppressed and relatively powerful people, as well as people we might differentially characterize as servants and slaves.
- 184 *GM* 14 and 33; *VBM* 1.32. Another example concerning lamps: *GM* 103. Other references to servants within religious institutions: *VJ* 16; *VBM* 3.12, 3.18, 3.25, 3.28, 3.43; *GC* 19, 24, 36; *LH* 2.24, 5.18, 7.47. The terms *puer* and *puella* could mean either a young boy/girl or a servant of any age.
- 185 *Vita Bertilae* 5; *Vita Aldegundis* 21, 24; *Vita Rusticulae* 27; *VJ* 16.
- 186 *Vita Genovefae* 28, 40. When Austreberta left her home to seek consecration, she was accompanied by a sizeable retinue: *De sancta Austreberta virgine* 1.7.
- 187 *LH* 5.10 and Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 8.
- 188 Caesarius, *Regula virginum* 7. The account of the revolt of the nuns in Poitiers (who supposedly followed this rule) made reference to nunnery servants – the prohibition may have been understood as applying to personal servants, rather

- than servants in general, *LH* 10.16. However, as Gregory's account shows, the *Regula* was not always being followed very closely.
- 189 'potius utar seculum ac cibum potumque in abundantia sumam', *VP* 19.1, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 287.
- 190 *VP* 11.2.
- 191 *GC* 22.
- 192 'Ad nos vero cum horum notitia devenisset, puerum humilitatis capillis huic monasterio cessimus, puellam vero mutata veste coetu sanctimonialium coniungi praecipimus ad serviendum Deo', *GC* 22, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 312; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 38.
- 193 *GC* 79.
- 194 'tu, inquit, cum sis ex monasterii hujus nata famula, debeasque servile opus exercere . . . ausa es hoc arbitrari, ut rapina corpori sanctimonialium sociata, domina effici delecteris?', *Miraculae sanctae Austrebertae* 4, ed. AS 10 February, 424; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 320.
- 195 *VBM* 3.46.
- 196 *VBM* 2.30.
- 197 *VBM* 2.57. See also *VBM* 4.15 in which a cured slave was presented to the church by his grateful master.
- 198 Jones, *Social Mobility*, 210.
- 199 *Lex Ribuariorum* 61 (58). See also an example in *Formulae Andecavenses* 20.
- 200 'et tam ipse et omnis procreatio eius liberi permaneant et sub tuitione ecclesiae consistant vel omnem redditum status eorum ecclesiae reddant', *Lex Ribuariorum* 61 (58), ed. Beyerle and Buchner, *MGH Leges* 1.3.2, 109; trans. Rivers, *Laws of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks*, 195. In this context, *tabularius* probably refers to a former serf, manumitted by deed: J.F. Niemeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 1011.
- 201 *Lex Ribuariorum* 61 (58).
- 202 Peter Sarris, 'Restless Peasants and Scornful Lords: Lay Hostility to Holy Men and the Church in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*, ed. Peter Sarris, Matthew Dal Santo and Phil Booth (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 2.
- 203 On the variety of unfree conditions in Gaul and the confusing terminology associated with these, see Alice Rio, 'Freedom and Unfreedom in Early Medieval Francia: The Evidence of the Legal Formulae', *Past and Present* 193 (2006): 7–40.
- 204 *Leges Alamannorum* 6, 17.1. On the terminology used for these groups, see Rivers, *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians*, 26–27.
- 205 *Lex Ribuariorum* 10.1, 11.3, 14–15, 61 (58), 68 (65).

- 206 *Leges Alamannorum* 7. According to the Decretals of Childebert, added to the *Pactus Legis Salicae*, however, church slaves were to receive the same punishment as other slaves, *Decretio Childeberti* 6.3.6.
- 207 ‘homine sancti illius’, *Formulae Andecavenses* 26, ed. K. Zeumer, *MGH Leges* 5 (Hanover: Hahn, 1886), 12. *Leges Baiuvariorum* 1.13 and *Leges Alamannorum* 21–22 detailed the tenancy duties of *coloni* and *servi* of the church.
- 208 *Epistola ad Episcopos*, ed. Boretius, *MGH Leges* 2.1, 1.
- 209 Rivers, *Laws of the Alamans and Bavarians*, 27–28.
- 210 Rio, *Legal Practice*, 229.
- 211 *Leges Alamannorum* 1.1; Rio, *Legal Practice*, 228–32.
- 212 Sarris, ‘Restless Peasants’, 4–5.
- 213 ‘sanctis Dei pauperibus’, *Formulae Marculfi* 2.1, ed. Zeumer, *MGH Leges* 5, 73.
- 214 *VBM* 1.31. See also the mentions of a residence for the poor in *VBM* 2.10, 2.27, 3.14. The paupers on the *matricula* appeared in organized joint action in the *Formulae Andecavenses*, where they sold a foundling baby and shared the proceeds, 49.
- 215 *VBM* 3.23; *VJ* 38; *VBM* 2.22–23.
- 216 *GC* 90. Jones, *Social Mobility*, 228 and Peter Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New Hampshire, 2001), 65.
- 217 Jones, *Social Mobility*, 233.
- 218 See, for example, the warden of the tomb in *VJ* 2; Jones, *Social Mobility*, 233–38.
- 219 ‘pauperibus et iunioribus ecclesiae vel basilicae bannos . . . Non enim erat consuetudo, ut hi ullam exsolverent publicam functionem’, *LH* 5.26, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 233; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 291.
- 220 ‘misit pueros suos, ut in domo beati Martini . . . “Sancti Martini homines hii sunt”’, *LH* 7.42, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 364; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 426. The *Lex Ribuaria* 68 (65) decreed: ‘Si quis legibus in utilitatem regis sive in hoste seu in reliquam utilitatem bannitus fuerit et minime adimpleverit, si egritudo eum non detenuerit, sexaginta solidos multetur. Si autem Romanus aut regius seu ecclesiasticus homo hoc fecerit, unusquisque contra auctorem suum 30 solidos culpabilis iudicetur’, ed. Beyerle and Buchner, *MGH Leges* 3.2, 119.
- 221 Even in the year 800, a council meeting under Charlemagne’s orders had to order *conversi* to muster with the army like all other laymen, suggesting that their status was ambiguous. Discussed in Waldron, ‘Expressions’, 288.
- 222 *Codex Theodosianus* 11.16.18.
- 223 Joan W. Scott, ‘The Evidence of Experience’, *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991): 793.

Chapter 2

- 1 'si malum est et turpe cum sordidis minibus ad altare accedere, quantum peius est in animam sordidam corpus et sanguinem Christi suspicere?', Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 229.4, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 104, 908; trans. Mueller, *FC* 66, 176.
- 2 'Natalem templum huius diem, fratres dilectissimi . . . cum exultatione et gaudio hodie celebramus: sed templum dei verum et vivum nos esse debemus', Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 229.1, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 104, 905; trans. Mueller, *FC* 66, 173.
- 3 'caput fuit huius sceleris, igne de caelo dilapso consumptus interiit', *VJ* 13, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 120; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 172.
- 4 Robert Markus, 'How on Earth could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994): 259.
- 5 Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Churches in the Landscape', in Noble and Smith, ed., 364–66.
- 6 Éric Palazzo, *L'espace rituel et le sacré dans le Christianisme: La liturgie de l'autel portatif dans l'antiquité et au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 50. On the tension between the local and universal workings of a saint's power, see Alan Thacker, 'Loca sanctorum: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2.
- 7 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 228, 229. See also Eusebius *Gallicanus* 47, 48, 49.
- 8 John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints in the Early Christian West c. 300–1200* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 16–17; Iogna-Prat, 'Churches in the Landscape', in Noble and Smith, ed., 366; Rob Meens, 'The Sanctity of the Basilica of St Martin: Gregory of Tours and the Practice of Sanctuary in the Merovingian Period', in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Corradini, Rob Meens, Christina Pössel and Philip Shaw (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 277–87.
- 9 Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 40. See also Allan Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture from the Early Church to the Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 60.
- 10 Markus, 'How on Earth', 261.
- 11 Charles Withers, 'Place and the "Spatial Turn" in Geography and History', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70 (2009): 637–58.
- 12 Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 104.
- 13 Luke Lavan, 'Religious Space in Late Antiquity', in *Objects in Context, Objects in Use: Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity*, ed. Luke Lavan, Ellen Swift and Toon Putzeys (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 170. See also the explorations of this diversity even within one region of Gaul in Jean Guyon. 'Émergence et affirmation d'une

- topographie chrétienne dans les villes de la Gaule méridionale', *Gallia* 63 (2006): 92–99.
- 14 On clerical control of church space, see MacMullen, *Second Church*.
- 15 Jean-Michel Spieser, 'Doors, Boundaries and the Use of Space in Early Christian Churches', in *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 1.
- 16 Béatrice Caseau, 'Objects in Churches: The Testimony of Inventories' and 'Ordinary Objects in Christian Healing Sanctuaries', in Lavan, Swift and Putzeys, ed., 560–67, 626; Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space', in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2005), 7–8.
- 17 Philip Rousseau, 'Late Roman Christianities', in Noble and Smith, ed., 35–36; S.E.J. Gerstel, ed., *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens* (Cambridge, MA: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2006), 111; Van Dam, *Leadership*, 239.
- 18 See the excellent discussion of sacred and secular spaces as concepts in Hamilton and Spicer, 'Defining the Holy'.
- 19 Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 9.
- 20 Chalon a. 647–a. 653, c. 19.
- 21 *Leges Alamannorum* 4, 6, 9; *Lex Ribuaria* 62 [59].4; *Lex Romana Visigothorum* 9.34.3; *Lex Baiwarorum* 9.2.
- 22 *Leges Alamannorum* 4 [5].
- 23 Meens, 'Sanctity', 279, 284.
- 24 Meens, 'Sanctity', 279. *Lex Roman Visigothorum* 9.34; Orléans a. 511, c.1. For examples, see *LH* 7.42 and *VBM* 4.7.
- 25 Meens, 'Sanctity', 279; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 37–40.
- 26 *LH* 2.21; *VJ* 33; *VBM* 1.4, 2.18, 2.45.
- 27 Avitus of Vienne, *Epistula* 7.
- 28 Iogna-Prat, 'Churches in the Landscape', in Noble and Smith, ed., 372.
- 29 Beat Brenk, 'Art and *Propaganda fide*: Christian Art and Architecture, 300–600', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 710.
- 30 On the dominance of the basilica among church structures in the West, see Rousseau, 'Late Roman Christianities', in Noble and Smith, ed., 36.
- 31 Yvon Thébert, 'Private Life and Domestic Architecture in Roman Africa', in *A History of Private Life, volume 1: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, ed. Paul Veyne (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 339.

- 32 Torjesen, 'Clergy and Laity', 400.
- 33 J.-M. Spieser, 'The Representation of Christ in the Apses of Early Christian Churches', in *Urban and Religious Spaces*; Spieser, 'Doors', 11.
- 34 Frank, 'From Antioch to Arles', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 537; Vincent Michel, 'Furniture, Fixtures and Fittings in Churches: Archaeological Evidence from Palestine (4th–8th C.) and the Role of the *Diakonikon*', in Lavan, Swift and Putzeys, ed., 583.
- 35 'altaris sublimiora suggestu modico ab inferiore discreta ductus setinus longitudine conspicua in latitudinem obliquae prolixitatis opponit', Avitus of Vienne, *Sermo* 24, ed. Rudolf Peiper, *MGH AA* 6.2, *Alcimi Ecdicii Aviti Viennensis episcopi opera quae supersunt* (Berlin: Weidmannos, 1883), 142.
- 36 *GM* 38.
- 37 'Vt laici secus altare, quo sancta misteria celebrantur, inter clericos tam ad uigiliis quam ad missas stare penitus non praesumant, sed pars illa, quae a cancellis uersus altare diuiditur, choris tantum psallentium pateat clericorum', Tours a. 567, c. 4, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, *SC* 354, 352–54.
- 38 'Ad orandum et communicandum laicis et foeminis, sicut mos est, pateant sancta sanctorum', Tours a. 567, c. 4, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, *SC* 354, 354.
- 39 When the liturgy was not in progress, lay people seem to have been able to access the apse, and tombs located behind or below the altar. See, for example, *GC* 94, *VBM* 2.47.
- 40 Frend, 'Church of the Roman Empire', in Neill and Weber, ed., 59; Robert Markus, 'The Cult of Icons in Sixth-Century Gaul', *Journal of Theological Studies* 29 (1978): 151–57; Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 68.
- 41 Richard Kieckhefer, 'The Impact of Architecture', in Bornstein, ed., 111; Joan R. Branham, 'Sacred Space under Erasure in Ancient Synagogues and Early Churches', *The Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 375–94. See also Sible De Blaauw, 'Architecture and Liturgy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Traditions and Trends in Modern Scholarship', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 33 (1991): 9.
- 42 On the development of the iconostasis in the East, see Frank, 'From Antioch to Arles', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 539; Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 78–80; Krueger, 'Practice of Christianity', in Krueger, ed., 12. On the West, see Kieckhefer, 'Impact of Architecture', in Bornstein, ed., 109–11 and C.N.L. Brooke, 'Religious Sentiment and Church Design in the Late Middle Ages', in *Medieval Church and Society* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1971), 162–82.
- 43 Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), 105; Jacqueline E. Jung, 'Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches', *Art Bulletin* 82 (2000): 622–57.

- 44 Spieser, 'Doors', 11.
- 45 Spieser, 'Representation', 8.
- 46 Van Dam, *Leadership*, 241.
- 47 VBM 1.15.
- 48 Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* 27, 2.542–51, discussed in Brenk, 'Art and *Propaganda fide*', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 694; Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 33.
- 49 Brenk, 'Art and *Propaganda fide*', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 696.
- 50 Brenk, 'Art and *Propaganda fide*', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 716.
- 51 GM 64.
- 52 'Terror namque ibidem Dei et claritas magna conspicitur, et vere plerumque inibi odor suavissimus quasi aromatum advenire a religiosis sentitur', *LH* 2.16, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 64.
- 53 'in dispositionum qualitate elegantiam, in expensarum profusione iacturam, in dimensionum ratione concordiam, in spatiis diffusionem, in culminibus celsitudinem, in humilitatione firmitatem: expolire praeconiis marmorum dignitatem . . . collectum quodam modo atque inclusum industria diem emolumento metallorum splendentium luce vegetari', Avitus of Vienne, *Epistula* 50, ed. Peiper, *MGH AA* 6.2, 78. See also the account of the gilded church in GM 61.
- 54 Spieser, 'Doors', 13; Ian Wood 'The Audience of Architecture in Post-Roman Gaul', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honour of Dr H.M. Taylor*, ed. L.A.S. Butler, Richard Morris and Harold McCarter Taylor (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1986), 75.
- 55 Wood, 'Audience of Architecture', 75. On Perpetuus' expansion of the church of Martin in Tours, see VBM 1.6; *LH* 2.14.
- 56 Examples: *VJ* 2, 27; *GM* 41, 50, 53, 64; *LH* 2.20, 5.46.
- 57 *VJ* 5, 9, 33; *GC* 6, 54, 97; *GM* 30, 54, 64; *VBM* 1.11; *LH* 4.20; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 4.15.
- 58 Mathews, *Early Churches*.
- 59 Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 9. *VP* 2.4. The body of St Illidius had been buried in a crypt, but 'the building was narrow and difficult of access', so Avitus of Clermont built an apse, placed the bones in a sarcophagus and filled the crypt to raise the sarcophagus to a higher level: ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 221; trans. James, *Gregory*, 16.
- 60 'sed non poterat alteri propter illum qui primus erat honore inpendi, hoc est non ibi palla expandi poterat, non lumen accendi', *GC* 27, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 315; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 42.
- 61 *GM* 35.

- 62 'in angulo basilicae fuisset sepultus, et parvus esset locus ille, nec ibi populi sic possent accedere ut devotio postulabat', *VP* 7.4, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 239; trans. James, *Gregory*, 47.
- 63 'ad cancellos, qui sub arcu habentur, ubi clericorum psallentium stare mos est', *GM* 38, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 63; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 60.
- 64 *VJ* 43; *VBM* 2.43, 2.49, 2.54.
- 65 *VBM* 1.38.
- 66 Palazzo, *L'espace rituel*, 81. Brooke, 'Religious Sentiment', 169.
- 67 Richard D. McCall, *Do This: Liturgy as Performance* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 122–23.
- 68 Gillian Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function and Patronage* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 74; De Blaauw, 'Architecture and Liturgy', 21. Gregory of Tours described two altars in a church in Bordeaux, *GM* 33.
- 69 Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 6.
- 70 Michel, 'Furniture, Fixtures', in Lavan, Swift and Pyzeys, ed.; Brooke, 'Religious Sentiment', 171–72; Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 75.
- 71 Avitus of Vienne, *Sermo* 24.
- 72 Palazzo, *L'espace rituel*, 180–89; Kieckhefer, 'Impact of Architecture', in Bornstein, ed., 113.
- 73 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 13.3, 55.1–4, 4, 77.6–7, 78, 80.1.
- 74 'Rogo vos, fratres, si extra ecclesiam occupari otiosis sermonibus malum est, putas in ecclesia verbosari quale peccatum est?', Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 77.6, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 322; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 359.
- 75 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 78.1.
- 76 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 73.1, 74, 76, 179.3. See also Orléans a. 511, c. 26; *Eusebius Gallicanus* 76.1.
- 77 'frequenter . . . maximam partem populi velut columnas erectos stare conspicio', *Sermo* 77.1, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 319; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 355.
- 78 *VJ* 7–8, 10, 20, 44; *LH* 3.12, 4.43, 6.11, 6.31, 7.38, 7.47, 8.21, 8.30; *GM* 25, 58, 60, 65, 71, 89, 91; *VBM* 1.2, 1.17; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 55.1.
- 79 'evaginati gladiis in se invicem prouunt atque ante ipsum altarium se trucidantur . . . Saucianturque multi gladiis, respergitur sancta humano cruore basilica, ostia iaculis fodiuntur et ensibus, atque usque ad ipsum sepulcrum tela iniqua desaeuiunt', *LH* 5.32, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 237; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 294.
- 80 'At ille plenas sanguine manus super altarium extendens, orationem fundens et Deo gratias agens', *LH* 8.31, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 398; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 463. For another attempted assassination during a church service, see *LH* 9.3.

- 81 See also *LH* 3.13, 4.47. See *LH* 4.48 for the sacking of a monastery containing relics of Martin.
- 82 The clergy of the church could even evict sanctuary seekers if they did not want to get embroiled in trouble. See Avitus of Vienne, *Epistula* 44. For violations of sanctuary, see *VP* 4.2, 16.3; *VBM* 1.23; *LH* 3.36, 4.13, 9.33.
- 83 *LH* 4.20; *VJ* 9.
- 84 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 49.7.
- 85 ‘Sed et in adulteriis saepe in ipsam sanctam porticum deprehensus est’, *LH* 5.49, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 262; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 322. See also *LH* 7.15.
- 86 ‘Nam saepe cedes infra ipsum atrium, quod ad pedes beati erat, exegit, exercens assiduae aebrietatis ac vanitatis’, *LH* 7.22, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 341; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 403.
- 87 ‘quod valde facinosorum relegiosis erat’, *LH* 7.22, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 341; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 403.
- 88 *LH* 7.29.
- 89 ‘quod ei talia cum sacramento ipsam basilicam ac per porticos vel singula loca atrii veneranda promitterit’, *LH* 7.29, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 347; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 410.
- 90 ‘per atrium domus basilicae deambulare’, *LH* 7.29, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 348; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 410.
- 91 ‘nec promeruit ab eo salvari, quem fideliter numquam intellexit exposcere’, *LH* 7.29, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 349; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 411.
- 92 ‘vix vivus’, *LH* 7.29, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 349; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 412.
- 93 ‘ad ulciscendam basilicae violentiam’, *LH* 7.29, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 349; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 412.
- 94 Caseau, ‘Ordinary Objects’, in Lavan, Swift and Lutzeys, ed., 639; Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 71.
- 95 Hamilton and Spicer, ‘Defining the Holy’, 11; Caseau, ‘Ordinary Objects’, in Lavan, Swift and Lutzeys, ed., 638; *VBM* 1.25, 2.14; *LH* 2.7, 8.16, 9.6.
- 96 Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 70–71. Avitus also talked about places of retreat within a church, as part of his dedication sermon, *Sermo* 24.
- 97 Peter Brown, *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours* (Reading: University of Reading, 1977), 7.
- 98 *VJ* 9, 12.
- 99 *VP* 17.4; *GC* 87, 94; *VJ* 42.
- 100 Hamilton and Spicer, ‘Defining the Holy’, 10–11.
- 101 *VJ* 19.

- 102 GM 57.
- 103 'Omnia enim quae in hoc habentur atrio ipsi sacrata sunt', VBM 4.7, ed. Krusch, MGH SRM 1.2, 201; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 287.
- 104 On the terminology, see Mackie, *Early Christian Chapels*, 5–6.
- 105 GC 20, 23.
- 106 GC 3.
- 107 VP 7.2. For other domestic oratories, see VBM 3.51; LH 10.8.
- 108 Jonas of Bobbio, *Vita Columbani* 12.
- 109 Gregory of Tours told a story about how when a village church was taken over by Arians, the Catholic priest instead baptized infants in a large *domus* near the church, GC 47.
- 110 Bowes, *Private Worship*, 205–6.
- 111 Almost all of the women whose *Vitae* are collected in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* began their religious commitments with a period of ascetic observance in their own homes. On these observances, see also Frank, 'From Antioch to Arles', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 536.
- 112 Bowes, 'Personal Devotions and Private Chapels', in Burrus, ed., 200; Kristina Sessa, 'Christianity and the *cubiculum*: Spiritual Politics and Domestic Space in Late Antique Rome', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 15, no. 2 (2007): 171–204.
- 113 For example, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 7.1, 197.5.
- 114 Maier, 'Heresy, Households', in Burrus, ed., 230–33.
- 115 See the edition of this letter in Ralph W. Mathisen, ed., *People, Personal Expression, and Social Relations in Late Antiquity, volume 2: Selected Latin Texts from Gaul and Western Europe* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 171–73.
- 116 Bowes, 'Christianization', 155–56.
- 117 Béatrice Caseau, 'The Fate of Rural Temples in Late Antiquity', in *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*, ed. W. Bowden, L. Lavan and C. Machado (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 114.
- 118 Winrich Löhr, 'Western Christianities', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 9; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, 49.
- 119 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 13.5, 14.4, 33.4, 53.2, 54.5.
- 120 Simon P. Ellis, 'The End of the Roman House', *American Journal of Archaeology* 92 (1988): 572–75; John Percival, *Roman Villa: An Historical Introduction* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 159; Simon Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West AD 200–500: An Archaeological Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 436; Neil Christie, 'Landscapes of Change in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Themes, Directions and Problems', in

Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, ed. Neil Christie (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2004), 11.

- 121 Percival, *Roman Villa*, 160–61; Christie, 'Landscapes of Change', 25.
- 122 Percival, *Roman Villa*, 168.
- 123 Percival, *Roman Villa*, 170–77.
- 124 Percival, *Roman Villa*, 177.
- 125 Christie, 'Landscapes of Change', 12; Percival, *Roman Villa*, 15; Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 185–88; Bowes, *Private Worship*, 125–88.
- 126 Bowes, *Private Worship*, 133.
- 127 Bowes, *Private Worship*, 150.
- 128 Bowes, *Private Worship*, 5.
- 129 Bowes, *Private Worship*, 168–69.
- 130 'Sanctorum reliquiae in oratoriis uillaribus non ponantur, nisi forsitan clericos cuiuscumque parrochiae uicinos esse contingat, qui sacris cineribus psallendi frequentia famulentur', Épaone a. 517, c. 25, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, *SC* 353, 112.
- 131 Orléans a. 511, c. 25; Bowes, *Private Worship*, 150, 158.
- 132 'episcopis contradicant et iam nec ipsos clericos, qui ad ipsa oratoria deseruiunt, ab archidiacono coherceri permittant', Chalon a. 647–a. 653, c. 14, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, *SC* 254, 556.
- 133 *GC* 8.
- 134 *GC* 9, 11, 79, 103; *VP* 12.2, 15.1; *VBM* 1.14, 1.18, 4.12; *LH* 5.7, 6.11.
- 135 *VP* 9.2.
- 136 Agde a. 506, c. 21.
- 137 Frank, 'From Antioch to Arles', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 541.
- 138 MacMullen, *Second Church*, 58–63.
- 139 Dennis Trout, 'Saints, Identity and the City', in Burrus, ed., 167.
- 140 Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 50; John Crook, 'The Enshrinement of Local Saints in Francia and England', in Thacker and Sharpe, ed., 189, 193–94.
- 141 Examples of this sequence in *GC* 93; *GM* 50; *LH* 2.14.
- 142 Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 63–64. *VBM* 2.45; *VJ* 27; *GC* 36; *GM* 27, 37.
- 143 For just a few examples, see *GC* 21, 24, 28, 29, 32, 34, 43, 61, 103; *GM* 43, 50, 56, 66.
- 144 Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Inaccessible Cloisters and Episcopal Exemption', in Mitchell and Wood, ed., 181–97. See *Vita Rusticulae* 3, 5 for examples of monastic enclosure conceived as protecting an ascetic from lay interference.
- 145 Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 26.
- 146 *VP* 1.6. See also Tours a. 567, c. 17. Rosenwein, 'Inaccessible Cloisters', in Mitchell and Wood, ed., 191–94.

- 147 Emilia Jamrozak, 'Spaces of Lay–Religious Interaction in Cistercian Houses of Northern Europe', *Parergon* 27, no. 2 (2010): 39–42.
- 148 Julia M.H. Smith, 'Women at the Tomb: Access to Relic Shrines in the Early Middle Ages', in Mitchell and Wood, ed., 165. *VBM* 1.2, 2.22, 3.22, 4.30.
- 149 *Vita Anstrudis* 37.
- 150 *Vita Romani* 15; *Vita Lupicini* 68.
- 151 *VP* 3.1.
- 152 Luke Lavan, Ellen Swift and Toon Putzeys, 'Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity: Sources, Approaches and Field Methods', in Lavan, Swift and Putzeys, ed., 24.
- 153 For a reconstruction of some better documented churches in Palestine, see Michel, 'Furniture, Fixtures', in Lavan, Swift and Putzeys, ed.
- 154 Caseau, 'Objects in Churches', in Lavan, Swift and Putzeys, ed.
- 155 Bonnie Effros, 'The Ritual Significance of Vessels in the Formation of Merovingian Christian Communities', in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts*, ed. Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger and Helmut Reimitz (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 213–27. *VJ* 7–8; *LH* 6.31.
- 156 'ad sancta euangelia recludenda patiamque et calicem ex auro puro pretiosisque lapidibus praecepit fabricari', *GC* 62, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 335; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 69.
- 157 'sexaginta calices, quindecim patenas, viginti euangeliorum capsas detulit, omnia ex auro puro ac gemmis praetiosis ornatas', *LH* 3.10, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 107; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 171.
- 158 *VBM* 4.43, 1.15.
- 159 For just a few examples, see *VBM* 1.2, 1.13, 1.28, 2.2, 2.32; *VJ* 41.
- 160 *GC* 30.
- 161 *GM* 60.
- 162 *VJ* 46b.
- 163 *VP* 8.5.
- 164 *VBM* 1.35, 2.21, 2.45, 3.22.
- 165 Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 36.
- 166 *GM* 83.
- 167 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons* 50.1, 54.5; *VJ* 46a.
- 168 Hatlie, 'Religious Lives', in Krueger, ed., 183; Brigitte Pitarakis, 'Objects of Devotion and Protection', in Krueger, ed., 164–81. There is an example of such a phylactery from Poitiers in *Antiquites Nationales* 16589. See also the record of the inscription in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 13, 10026–86.
- 169 *Vita Eugendi* 141–42.
- 170 *GM* 83.

- 171 On Christian images, inscriptions or marks on such objects, see Averil Cameron, 'Observations on the Distribution and Ownership of Late Roman Silver Plate', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 (1992): 178–85; S. Hauser, *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silberlöffel: Bemerkungen zur Produktion von Luxusgütern im 5. bis 7. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1992); H. Galliard de Sémainville, 'À propos de plaques-boucles mérovingiennes à motif chrétien', *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales Auxerre*, <http://cem.revues.org/6752>, DOI: 10.4000/cem.6752; Dunn, *Belief and Religion*, 157–61.
- 172 See discussions in Bailey K. Young, 'The Imagery of Personal Objects: Hints of "Do-it-Yourself" Christian Culture in Merovingian Gaul', in *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, ed. Andrew Cain and Noel Lenski (Burlington, VA: Ashgate, 2009), 229–54; C. Treffort, 'Vertues prophylactiques et sens eschatologique d'un dépôt funéraire du haut Moyen Âge: Les plaque boucles rectangulaires burgondes à l'inscription', *Archéologie Médiévale* 32 (2002): 31–53.

Chapter 3

- 1 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 147.
- 2 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 180.
- 3 Brown, *Rise*, 355–79; Smith, *Europe After Rome*, 223–24; Guyon, 'Émergence', 87–90.
- 4 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 103, 143.
- 5 *Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule des origines au milieu du VIII^e siècle*, ed. N. Gauthier and J.-Ch. Picard (Paris: De Boccard, 1986–2006); Noël Duval et al., *Les premiers monuments chrétiens de la France* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1995–2000). Also important has been May Viellard-Troiekourov, *Les monuments*.
- 6 See, for example, Jill Harries, 'Christianity and the City in Late Roman Gaul', in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. John Rich (London: Routledge, 1992), 77–98; Brigitte Beaujard, 'Cités, évêques et martyrs en Gaule à la fin de l'époque romaine', in *Les Fonctions des Saints dans le monde occidental (III^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Palais Farnèse: École française de Rome, 1991), 175–91; Trout, 'Saints, Identity', in Burrus, ed., 87; Simon T. Loseby, 'Decline and Change in the Cities of Late Antique Gaul', in *Die Stadt in der Spätantike – Niedergang oder Wandel?*, ed. Jens-Uwe Krause and Christian Witschel (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006); Nancy Gauthier, 'La topographie chrétienne entre idéologie et pragmatisme', in *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Bryan Ward-Perkins (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 195–209.

- 7 Nancy Gauthier, 'From the Ancient City to the Medieval Town: Continuity and Change in the Early Middle Ages', in Mitchell and Wood, ed., 48.
- 8 Loseby, 'Decline', in Krause and Witschel, ed., 72; Simon T. Loseby, 'Arles in Late Antiquity: *Gallula Roma Arelas* and *Urbs Genesi*', in *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Neil Christie and Simon T. Loseby (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 45; Gauthier, 'Ancient City'; Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 136–40, 432–33.
- 9 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 103.
- 10 Loseby, 'Decline', in Krause and Witschel, ed., 72.
- 11 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 112, 432.
- 12 Gauthier, 'La topographie', 197; Loseby, 'Decline', in Krause and Witschel, ed., 80.
- 13 Loseby, 'Arles', 52–56; Bonnie Effros, 'Monuments and Memory: Repossessing Ancient Remains in Early Medieval Gaul', in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. de Jong and F. Theuws (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 93–118; Jean Guyon, 'La topographie chrétienne des villes de la Gaule', in Krause and Witschel, ed., 113; Ellis, 'End of the Roman House', 566–67; Claude Sintès, 'La reutilisation des espaces publics a Arles: Un témoignage de la fin de l'antiquité', *Antiquité Tardive* 2 (1994): 181–92; Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 432–33.
- 14 Gauthier, 'La topographie', 196.
- 15 Gauthier, 'La topographie', 195.
- 16 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 113–14, 417–35.
- 17 Hagith Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux: Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy* (London: Routledge, 1993), 37.
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- 19 Sivan, *Ausonius*, 37.
- 20 Lavan, Swift and Putzeys, 'Material Spatiality', in Lavan, Swift and Putzeys, ed., 26–27.
- 21 Gauthier, 'La topographie', 195.
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- 24 Loseby, 'Decline', in Krause and Witschel, ed., 71.
- 25 Trout, 'Saints, Identity', in Burrus, ed., 167.
- 26 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 191.
- 27 VJ 5.
- 28 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 190–97.
- 29 For a detailed account of the monumental development of Arles, see Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, 34–43.

- 30 On this basilica, see Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 210–11.
- 31 Benoît, 'Arles', in F. Benoît, P.-A. Février, J. Formigé and H. Rolland, *Villes épiscopales de Provence: Aix, Arles, Fréjus, Marseilles et Riez de l'époque Gallo-Romaine au Moyen Age* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1954), 15–21; Samuel Cavallin, 'Saint Genès le notaire', *Erano* 43 (1945): 150; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, 53–54.
- 32 Benoît, 'Arles', 15; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, 34; Loseby, 'Arles', 46.
- 33 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, 58; Marc Heijmans, Jean-Maurice Rouquette and Claude Sintès, *Arles antique: Guides archéologiques de la France* (Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, 2006), 43.
- 34 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, 54–56. Ausonius claimed of Arles: 'Romani commercia suscipis orbis/ nec cohibes, populosque alios et moenia ditas/ Gallia quis fruitur gremioque Aquitania lato', *Ordo urbium nobilium* 10, ed. Hugh G. Evelyn White, *Ausonius, volume 1*, Loeb Classical Library 96 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 276.
- 35 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 143.
- 36 Claude Sintès, 'L'évolution topographique de l'Arles du Haut-Empire à la lumière des fouilles récentes', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 (1992): 141–46; Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 108–9, 408.
- 37 Arles was besieged in 425, 430, 458 and taken by Visigoths in 473. It was besieged by the Burgundians in 507–8, and subsequently came under Ostrogothic and then Frankish control.
- 38 Heijmans et al., *Arles antique*, 40.
- 39 Sintès, 'Reutilisation', 182; Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 405–8.
- 40 Loseby, 'Arles', 55.
- 41 Loseby, 'Decline', in Krause and Witschel, ed., 80–82; Gauthier, 'La topographie', 196–97.
- 42 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 1.11.7.
- 43 Gauthier, 'La topographie', 204; Sintès, 'Reutilisation', 191; Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 405. Note the reference to the forum in the *Vita Caesarii* as well, 2.30.
- 44 Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, 134.
- 45 *Topographie chrétienne, volume 3*, 80.
- 46 Marc Heijmans, 'L'Église paléochrétienne de l'enclos Saint-Césaire, à Arles', in *15 ans d'archéologie en Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 2005), 212–13; Marc Heijmans, 'Les fouilles de l'enclos Saint-Césaire: La découverte d'une plus grandes églises paléochrétiennes', *Bulletin de l'association pour l'antiquité tardive* 18 (2009): 27–29.
- 47 Benoît, 'Arles', 18; Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, 61; Paul-Albert Février, 'Arles aux IV^e et V^e siècles, ville impériale et capitale régionale', in *XXV corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate et bizantina* (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1978), 133.

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- 49 Cavallin, 'Saint Genès', 150–75.
- 50 For discussion of the cult of Genesius in Arles, see also Lisa K. Bailey, 'Building Urban Christian Communities: Sermons on Local Saints in the Eusebius Gallicanus Collection', *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2003): 1–24.
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- 52 *GM* 67.
- 53 *Sermo seu narratio de miraculo s. Genesii martyris Arelatensis*, *PL* 50 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975), 1273.
- 54 Benoît, 'Arles', 19; Février, 'Arles', 135; Luce Pietri, 'Culte des saints et religiosité politique dans la Gaule du V^e et du VI^e siècle', in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991), 357–58.
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- 56 Griffe, *Gaule chrétienne*, 11.
- 57 Pietri, 'Culte des saints', 357.
- 58 'Vnde nunc inter utrasque urbis illius partes gemino honore gloriosus', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 56.6, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101A, 653.
- 59 'illam ripam triumpho sanctificat, hanc sepulchro; illam sanguine illustrat, hanc corpore', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 56.6, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101A, 653.
- 60 Loseby, 'Arles', 66–67.
- 61 Loseby, 'Arles', 59.
- 62 'Sub ipsa itaque felicissimae ciuitatis moenia', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 56.6, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101A, 653.
- 63 *Sermo seu narratio*: 'illius terribilis Rhodani . . . erupit e vasto gurgite . . . Illaesos omnes atque incolumnes vernacula ac familiaris ripa suscepit', *PL* 50, 1273–74.
- 64 'Pompa omnis, sicut ingressa fuerat, egressa est', *Sermo seu narratio*, *PL* 50, 1274.
- 65 'Nec parum fiducia dat sepulcri sui gratia: nam cuius hic ossa condidimus, in caelo utique patrocina praesumimus', Hilary of Arles, *Sermo sancti Honorati* 35, ed. Valentin, *SC* 235, 166.
- 66 *Vita Hilarii* 11, 13, 15, 20.
- 67 'in plateis et corpore simul et corde descendunt', Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 73.2, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 307; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 343.
- 68 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 186.

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- 72 *RICG* 15, 219.
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- 74 See Inscriptions 508–42, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 240–77 and nice summary in Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, 173.
- 75 R. Fédou, ‘Les temps obscurs (V^e–X^e siècles)’, in *Histoire de Lyon et du Lyonnais*, ed. André Latreille (Toulouse: Université de la France, 1975), 61–72. On the many obscurities in the religious topography of Lyon, see Alfred Coville, *Recherches sur l’histoire de Lyon du V^e siècle au IX^e siècle (450–800)* (Paris: Éditions Auguste Picard, 1928), 441; Jean François Reynaud, ‘Les premiers édifices de culte à Lyon: IV^e–VII^e siècles’, in *Les Martyrs de Lyon (177)* (Paris: CNRS, 1978), 279.
- 76 Jean François Reynaud, *Lugdunum christianum: Lyon du IV^e au VIII^e s., topographie, nécropoles et édifices religieux* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1998), 18. Note also Sidonius’ several complaints about the heat and oppressiveness of the climate in Lyon, *Epistulae* 1.8, 2.12, 5.17.4.
- 77 James Bromwich, *The Roman Remains of Northern and Eastern France: A Guidebook* (London: Routledge, 2003), 388–90.
- 78 Strabo describes Lyon as an emporium, *Topographie chrétienne, volume 4*, 20.
- 79 Bernard de Vrégille in *Le Diocèse de Lyon*, ed. Jacques Gadille (Paris: Beauchesne, 1983), 11; Coville, *Recherches*, 438; Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 19.
- 80 Reynaud divides the city between the ‘agglomération antique’ on the Fourvière hill, the ‘cité épiscopale’ on the right-hand side of the river and the ‘ville bourgeoise’ on the Presqu’île, *Lugdunum*, 18.
- 81 M. Laferrère, ‘Les pays Lyonnais et le site de Lyon’, in *Histoire*, ed. Latreille, 16. See also Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 18.
- 82 *Topographie chrétienne, volume 4*, 21; Bromwich, *Roman Remains*, 390; Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 88, 186, 199.
- 83 Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 19.
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- 85 de Vrégille in *Diocèse de Lyon*, ed. Gadille, 19.
- 86 Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 20, 263–64.

- 87 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 4, 22.
- 88 de Vrégille in *Diocèse de Lyon*, ed. Gadille, 5.
- 89 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.1. On Rufinus' account, see Louis Neyrand. 'Le récit de la passion de martyrs de Lyon dans la traduction de Rufin', in *Les Martyrs de Lyon (177)* (Paris: CNRS, 1978), 289–98 and Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 24.
- 90 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.1.
- 91 Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 199–200.
- 92 de Vrégille in *Diocèse de Lyon*, ed. Gadille, 32. See also Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 138–50. This was roughly comparable to Arles, Trier or Bordeaux.
- 93 The episcopal residence is mentioned by Gregory in *LH* 4.36.
- 94 de Vrégille in *Diocèse de Lyon*, ed. Gadille, 21.
- 95 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 4, 27.
- 96 *GM* 48; *GC* 21, 22, 63, 64; *LH* 3.5; de Vrégille in *Diocèse de Lyon*, ed. Gadille, 25; *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 4, 26–34; Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 142–50.
- 97 *LH* 9.21 mentions the holding of Rogation ceremonies in Lyon, but does not specify whether these involved processions, as they did elsewhere.
- 98 On the physical isolation of these churches, see Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 88, 176, 188.
- 99 Reynaud has described them as 'fossilising' a certain historical sense of the cityscape, *Lugdunum*, 263–64.
- 100 Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 263.
- 101 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 5.17. Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 88.
- 102 Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 63.
- 103 *GC* 60, 61, 63; *VP* 8.6, 8.8, 8.10.
- 104 Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, gives all the information we have on the size of these churches. St Justus was extended in size, however, in the mid-fifth century.
- 105 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 5.17.3–4.
- 106 Note, for example, the inscription mentioning burial *ad sanctos* that was found at St Justus, Inscription 41, LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 81.
- 107 Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 44–83.
- 108 'Quisquis pontificis patrisque nostri/ conlaudans Patientis hic laborem,/ voti compote supplicatione/ concessum experiare quod roabis./ aedis celsa nitet nec in sinistrum/ aut dextrum trahitur, sed arce frontis/ ortum prospicit aequinoctialem./ intus lux micat atque bratteatum/ sol sic sollicitatur ad lacunar,/ fulvo ut concolor erret in metallo./ distinctum vario nitore marmor / percurrit cameram solum fenestras, /ac sub versicoloribus figuris /vernans herbida crusta sapphiratos /flectit per prasinum vitrum lapillos. /huic est porticus applicata triplex /fulmentis Aquitanicis superba, /ad cuius specimen

remotiora /claudunt atria porticus secundae, /et campum medium procul locatas
/vestit saxea silva per columnas. /hinc agger sonat, hinc Arar resultat, /hinc sese
pedes atque eques reflectit /stridentum et moderator essedorum /curvorum hinc
chorus helciariorum /responsantibus alleluia ripis /ad Christum levat amnicum
celeuma. /sic, sic psallite, nauta vel viator; /namque iste est locus omnibus
petendus, /omnes quo via ducit ad salutem, Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 2.10.4,
ed. and trans. Anderson, *Sidonius*, 464–67.

- 109 Anderson sees this as a description of St Justus, *Sidonius*, 462; *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 4, 22–23; Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 139 and Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 44–45 as of St John.
- 110 Avitus of Vienne, *Homilia dicta in dedicatione superioris basilicae*; Reynaud, *Lugdunum*, 25–26.
- 111 Avitus of Vienne, *Homilia*: ‘Ita et hic fructicat ex fecunda rudimenti radice multiplex templum, et ab uno divisum principio numerositate mediis dilata, in culminis redditur unitatem. altaris sublimiora suggestu modico ab inferiore discreta ductus setinus longitudine conspicua in latitudinem obliquae prolixitatis opponit’, ed. Peiper, *MGH AA* 6.2, 142.
- 112 Wood, ‘Audience of Architecture’, 73–79.
- 113 They may have been the ‘fecund roots’ from which the rest of the church sprouted.
- 114 On the miracles at the tomb of Nicetius, see *VP* 8.6. Note, however, that Gregory described the reading of Nicetius’ will in the ‘forum’, suggesting that this retained some function as a public space, *GC* 8.5.
- 115 *GM* 48–49; *GC* 63: ‘Ad cuius tumulum saepius frigoritici ceterique infirmi sanatur’, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 335; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 70.
- 116 *GC* 63; *GM* 49; *VP* 8.6; *Vita Nicetii* 10.
- 117 *Vita Nicetii* 10–12, 14.
- 118 *VP* 8.6.
- 119 ‘diversorum miraculorum opus inlustre perpendit’, *VP* 8.6, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 246; trans. James, *Gregory*, 56.
- 120 *VP* 8.11.
- 121 For example, Gregory of Tours told of a greedy *negotiator* from Lyon who sold watered-down wine, *GC* 110. On the association of Lyon with boat travel, see also Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 2.12, 6.12.
- 122 Inscription 17, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 41.
- 123 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 19.
- 124 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 19. For an overview of archaeological work on Roman Trier, see *Rettet das archäologische Erbe in Trier: Zweite Denkschrift der Archäologischen Trier-Kommission* (Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, 2005), 33–40.

- 125 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 19.
- 126 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 19; Edith Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London: Hart-Davis, 1970), 52, 92–93.
- 127 Neil Christie, *The Fall of the Western Roman Empire: An Archeological and Historical Perspective* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2011).
- 128 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 19–20; Christie, *Fall*, 127; Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 75–81, 103; *Rettet*, 84–103.
- 129 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 20; Christie, *Fall*, 127.
- 130 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 20; Christie, *Fall*, 127; *Rettet*, 69–83.
- 131 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 201–4.
- 132 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 206.
- 133 ‘largus tranquillo praelabitur amne Mosella/ longinqua omnigenae vectans commercia terrae’, Ausonius, *Ordo urbium nobilium* 4, ed. White, *Ausonius*, 272.
- 134 Christie, *Fall*, 129.
- 135 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 20.
- 136 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 158; *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 24; Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 59, 110.
- 137 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 22–24; Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 111–13; Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 158. On double churches in Gaul, see Guyon, ‘Émergence’, 95–96. For a reference to the bishop’s lodging, see *LH* 9.10.
- 138 Handley, ‘Beyond Hagiography’, 191.
- 139 Handley, ‘Beyond Hagiography’, 194.
- 140 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 24–25; Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 111.
- 141 Handley, ‘Beyond Hagiography’, 194.
- 142 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 27.
- 143 *VP* 17.4.
- 144 ‘magnus cum Domini populi illius advocatus’, *GC* 91, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 356.
- 145 *VP* 17.4.
- 146 *GC* 91.
- 147 Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 58; *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 29.
- 148 Handley, ‘Beyond Hagiography’, 193.
- 149 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 1, 28.
- 150 *VP* 8.7.
- 151 Handley, ‘Beyond Hagiography’, 195–97.
- 152 Handley, ‘Beyond Hagiography’, 196–97.
- 153 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 207.
- 154 *Rettet*, 114–21.

- 155 *Topographie chrétienne, volume 1*, 18, 20; Christie, *Fall*, 128–2; Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 88, 215–29.
- 156 *Topographie chrétienne, volume 1*, 19–20; Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 238.
- 157 *LH* 8.15.
- 158 Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 68.
- 159 Christie, *Fall*, 129.
- 160 *Topographie chrétienne, volume 1*, 20; Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 69; Salvian, *De gubernatione Dei* 6.13.
- 161 *Liber historiae Francorum* 5; *Topographie chrétienne, volume 1*, 21.
- 162 *Topographie chrétienne, volume 1*, 20; Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 250.
- 163 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 3.11; *Topographie chrétienne, volume 1*, 25. Christie, however, sees the rebuilding as ‘swift’, *Fall*, 129.
- 164 Loseby, ‘Decline’, 78.
- 165 Esmonde Cleary, *Roman West*, 426.
- 166 Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 123; *Topographie chrétienne, volume 1*, 20.
- 167 Christie, *Fall*, 129.
- 168 Wightman, *Roman Trier*, 253.
- 169 Gregory explicitly mentioned the cathedral at Tours seventeen times in his works, the church of St Martin 233 times; a full list of all of these is given in Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 304, 312. The inscriptions on the walls of the Tours churches can be found in *Inscriptions* 165–94, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 225–57.
- 170 *Topographie chrétienne, volume 5* and Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 304–29.
- 171 *Topographie chrétienne, volume 5*; Henri Galinié, ‘Tours from an Archaeological Standpoint’, in *Spaces of the Living and the Dead: An Archeological Dialogue*, ed. C. Karkov, K. Wickham-Crowley and B. Young (Oxford: Oxbow, 1999), 90.
- 172 Pietri, *Ville de Tours*, 340; Galinié, ‘Tours’, 87.
- 173 Henri Galinié, ‘Reflections on Early Medieval Tours’, in *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, 700–1050*, ed. Richard Hodges and Brian Hobley (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988), 57; Galinié, ‘Tours’, 92–93.
- 174 Galinié, ‘Reflections’, 5–7; Galinié, ‘Tours’, 93; Pietri, *Ville de Tours*, 344.
- 175 Pietri, *Ville de Tours*, 346–49.
- 176 *Topographie chrétienne, volume 5*, 25; Galinié, ‘Reflections’, 57.
- 177 Galinié, ‘Reflections’, 58.
- 178 Pietri, *Ville de Tours*, 351. On the decision to construct the episcopal church within the *castrum*, see Galinié, ‘Tours’, 94.
- 179 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 4.18.5.
- 180 Van Dam, *Leadership*, 231; Pietri, *Ville de Tours*, 394–97; Noël Duval, ‘Les descriptions d’architecture et de décor chez Grégoire de Tours et les auteurs

- gaulois: Le case de Saint-Martin de Tours, in *La naissance de la ville chrétienne: Mélanges en hommage à Nancy Gauthier*, ed. Brigitte Beaujard (Tours: Université François Rabelais, 2002), 34–36.
- 181 *Topographie chrétienne*, volume 5, 32–37; Pietri, *Ville de Tours*, 403.
- 182 Pietri describes the construction of the Martinian basilica as ‘la première création d’un urbanisme proprement chrétien’, *Ville de Tours*, 428. Galinié terms the area ‘Martinopolis’, ‘Tours’, 103.
- 183 For example, when the monk Aredius came to Tours, he went first to the tomb and then to Marmoutiers. The cathedral was not mentioned, *VBM* 2.39. On the inscriptions at Marmoutiers that suggest the viewing presence of pious visitors, see *Inscriptions* 166–69, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 228–30.
- 184 Van Dam, *Leadership*, 230.
- 185 Pietri, *Ville de Tours*, 353.
- 186 *LH* 10.31.
- 187 Brian Brennan, ‘Text and Image: “Reading” the Walls of the Sixth-Century Cathedral of Tours’, *Journal of Medieval Latin* 6 (1996): 78. Note that he disagrees with Herbert L. Kessler on the arrangement of the images within the church; for Kessler’s view, see ‘Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission in Sixth-Century Gaul’, in *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. H.L. Kessler and M.L. Simpson (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1985), 79.
- 188 Inscription 165, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 226–27.
- 189 *LH* 10.31; Van Dam, *Leadership*, 230.
- 190 Brennan, ‘Text and Image’, 81.
- 191 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 1.10.6 and *Inscriptions* 185–92, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 250–53. On the question of whether these words were inscribed on the church wall, and if so in what form, see Luce Pietri, ‘Les tituli de la basilique Saint-Martin édiflée a Tours par l’évêque Perpetuus (3^e quart du V^e siècle)’, in *Mélanges d’histoire ancienne offerts a William Seston* (Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1974), 421–22.
- 192 Brennan, ‘Text and Image’, 66.
- 193 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 1.10.6.
- 194 Kessler, ‘Pictorial Narrative’, 85.
- 195 Kessler, ‘Pictorial Narrative’, 88.
- 196 On Gregory’s description of the church, see the detailed discussion in Duval, ‘Descriptions’.
- 197 *LH* 2.14. Note the slightly different numbers given in the *Martinellus* collection, tabulated by Pietri, *Ville de Tours*, 382–83 – both may have relied on a text produced by Perpetuus. Pietri prefers to trust Gregory on this, given his intimate knowledge of the church; Duval is less certain, ‘Descriptions’, 26–29.

- 198 Duval, 'Descriptions', 26.
- 199 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 4.18.5, discussion in Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 313. It seems that Sidonius had not seen the church he was describing.
- 200 'votorum compos remeat qui iusta precatur', Inscription 171, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 233. Van Dam, *Leadership*, 244. On the inscriptions in St Martin's church, see Pietri, 'Tituli', 419–31.
- 201 Inscriptions 170–84, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 31–47; Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 315.
- 202 Inscription 174, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 235–36; Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 316.
- 203 Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 313.
- 204 'Quam metendus est locus iste vere templum dei est et porta coeli', Inscription 177, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 239; Van Dam, *Leadership*, 242–44; Duval, 'Descriptions', 38.
- 205 Pietri, 'Tituli', 428–29.
- 206 Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 317; Duval, 'Descriptions', 41–42.
- 207 VBM 1.37, 2.10, 2.39, 2.49; Duval, 'Descriptions', 42–44.
- 208 VBM 2.3–4, 2.11, 2.13–14. On the meaning of this phrase in terms of the layout of the church, see Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 320–21; Duval, 'Descriptions', 32–33.
- 209 Viellard-Troiekouroff, *Monuments*, 316.
- 210 VBM 3.31, 3.57, 4.14.
- 211 VP 19.2; LH 7.21, 9.33; VBM 2.30, 3.41.
- 212 LH 2.43; VBM 1.40, 2.24.
- 213 VBM 1.33, 2.11.
- 214 VBM 2.3, 2.14, 2.16, 2.29.

Chapter 4

- 1 Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 109.
- 2 Cecelia Feldman-Weiss, 'Bodies in Motion: Civic Ritual and Place-making in Roman Ephesus', in *Marking Roman Places, Past and Present*, ed. Darian Marie Totten and Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels (Portsmouth, NH: JRA Supplementary Series 89, 2012), 53; Smith, *To Take Place*, 105.
- 3 Robin M. Jensen, 'Baptismal Rites and Architecture', in Burrus, ed., 117.

- 4 Torjesen, 'Clergy and Laity', 399–400.
- 5 Phillipe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 2.
- 6 Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reason of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 55–79.
- 7 I am here using Catherine Bell's terminology, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 74, 92. See also her article 'Ritual Change and Changing Rituals', *Worship* 63, no. 1 (1989): 31–41.
- 8 I am here using Smith's terminology, *To Take Place*, 103–4.
- 9 Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 186.
- 10 Smith, *To Take Place*, 54.
- 11 I usually here use the phrase 'Eucharistic liturgy' in place of 'mass' because *missa* had a wide range of meanings and usages in late antique Gaul. See the discussion in Henry Beck, *The Pastoral Care of Souls in South-East France during the Sixth Century* (Rome: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae, 1950), 127–29.
- 12 Lisa K. Bailey, 'The Strange Case of the Portable Altar: Liturgy and the Limits of Episcopal Authority in Early Medieval Gaul', *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 8 (2012): 31; Frank C. Senn, *The People's Work: A Social History of the Liturgy* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 167.
- 13 Rivard, *Blessing the World*, 10.
- 14 Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, MD: Dacre Press, 1954), 1–2; Van Dam, *Leadership*, 281–82; John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 251, 254; Beaujard, *Culte des saints*, 158, 493; Els Rose, 'Fasting Flocks: Lenten Season in the Liturgical Communities of Early Medieval Gaul', in Corradini, Meens, Pössel and Shaw, ed., 289, 291.
- 15 Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 74; Bell, 'Ritual Changes', 34. See also Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, ed., *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), 7; Rivard, *Blessing the World*, 4.
- 16 Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 102; Mathews, *Early Churches*, 3.
- 17 Doig, *Liturgy and Architecture*, 102; Bryan D. Spinks, 'The Growth of Liturgy and the Church Year', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 610.
- 18 Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne*, trans. M.L. McClure (New York: S.P.C.K., 1912), 189–226. The problems of this source are discussed by Alexis van der Mensbrugghe, 'Pseudo-Germanus Reconsidered', *Studia Patristica* 5 (1962): 172–84; Robert Cabié, 'Les lettres attribuées à saint Germain de Paris et les origines de la liturgie gallicane', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 73 (1972): 13–57; Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 135.

- 19 Yitzhak Hen, 'Unity in Diversity: The Liturgy of Frankish Gaul before the Carolingians', in *Unity and Diversity in the Church*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 22; *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul A.D. 481–751* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 44–47.
- 20 Éric Palazzo, 'Performing the Liturgy', in Noble and Smith, ed., 474; Heffernan and Matter, ed., *Liturgy*, 5.
- 21 Mathews, *Early Churches*, 8.
- 22 Hen, 'Unity', 20; Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2001), 33; Élie Griffe, 'Aux origines de la liturgie gallicane', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 52 (1951): 21–23.
- 23 Hen, 'Unity', 23–24.
- 24 Scheibelreiter, 'Church Structure', 700; Hen, *Royal Patronage*, 28.
- 25 Senn, *People's Work*, 109.
- 26 *LH* 6.46.
- 27 J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 118–20; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 96. For attempts by Gallic church councils to impose some standardization on the mass, see Vannes a. 461–a. 491, c. 15; Épaone a. 517, c. 27; Vaison a. 529, c. 3; Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 11.
- 28 Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, 118.
- 29 Hen, 'Unity', 27. See also Hen, *Culture and Religion*, 70–71.
- 30 I am here largely basing my account on the works of Louis Duchesne and Yitzhak Hen, which are the fullest available reconstructions of the Gallic liturgy. Both depend to some degree on the text attributed to Germanus of Paris, which has been controversial, but Hen has recently reaffirmed the Merovingian provenance of this document, and I follow him in this. Hen, 'Unity', 28 and n. 51; Hen, *Culture and Religion*, 49.
- 31 Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 130, 136; Hen, *Culture and Religion*, 67.
- 32 Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 116; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 75.1.
- 33 *Vita Caesarii* 1.15; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 196.2.
- 34 Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 110–11, 119; Hen, *Culture and Religion*, 71.
- 35 Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 112–14.
- 36 Such attendance was described in examples of particular piety by lay people in Gregory of Tours – GC 64, VP 7.2.
- 37 Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 120–21.
- 38 Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 130.
- 39 Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 131. Arnold Angenendt, 'Missa specialis: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privat-Messen', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983): 189–203.

- 40 See the discussion of Sabbath regulations in the next chapter.
- 41 Senn, *People's Work*, 86.
- 42 Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 102; Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, 18; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 62, 229.4.
- 43 Agde a. 506, c. 18.
- 44 Smith, 'Religion and Lay Society', in McKitterick, ed., 663; Chélini, 'Les laïcs', 172.
- 45 Senn, *People's Work*, 106; Chélini, 'Les laïcs', 165–66; MacMullen, *Second Church*, 101.
- 46 Senn, *People's Work*, 7; Chélini, 'Les laïcs', 173; Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, 13.
- 47 Scheibelreiter, 'Church Structure', 700.
- 48 Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmen* 10.1.55; Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 132–33.
- 49 Mathews, *Early Churches*, 127. On this process, see also Frank, 'From Antioch to Arles', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 538.
- 50 Angenendt, 'Sacrifice', in Noble and Smith, ed., 459.
- 51 McLaughlin, *Consorting*, 106.
- 52 Senn, *People's Work*, 7.
- 53 On the communal and responsive structures of Hebrew poetry, see Senn, *People's Work*, 126–27. On the involvement of laity as well as clergy in these elements of the service, see Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, 76; Rivard, *Blessing the World*, 134.
- 54 Hen, *Culture and Religion*, 75.
- 55 Eusebius *Gallicanus* 64.8, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101A, 732: 'Graue autem in utroque teporis et infidelitatis uitium, stantes in loco sancto ante praesentiam maiestatis: aut non respondere, cum psalmus canitur, aut, cum lectio auribus ingeritur, non tacere.'
- 56 McCall, *Do This*; Hen, *Culture and Religion*, 77.
- 57 Hen, *Culture and Religion*, 80.
- 58 Gregory Dix, *A Detection of Aumbries with other Notes on the History of Reservation* (London: Dacre Press, 1942), 5–6, cited in Bowes, *Private Worship*, 55.
- 59 A. King, *Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1964).
- 60 Bailey, 'Strange Case'.
- 61 Hamilton, *Church and People*, 226.
- 62 Hen, *Culture and Religion*, 61–153; Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 96–107.
- 63 Bailey, 'Building Urban'.
- 64 Frederick S. Paxton, 'Birth and Death', in Noble and Smith, ed., 383–98; Smith, 'Religion and Lay Society', in McKitterick, ed., 658–60; Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 317–27; Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 161–64.

- 65 Jensen, 'Baptismal Rites', in Burrus, ed., 117.
- 66 Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 172.
- 67 Beck, *Pastoral Care*, 165.
- 68 Feldman-Weiss, 'Bodies in Motion', 1–2; Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, AD 300/800* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005); Philip A. Harland, ed., *Travel and Religion in Antiquity* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011); Rivard, *Blessing the World*, 72–84; Sabine Felbecker, *Die Prozession: Historisches und systematische Untersuchungen zu einer liturgischen Ausdruckshandlung* (Altenberge: Oros-Verlag, 1995).
- 69 Palazzo, *L'espace rituel*, 45. See also Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 255.
- 70 Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 251.
- 71 *LH* 10.1.
- 72 'Pompa omnis, sicut ingressa fuerat, egressa est', *Sermo seu narratio*, *PL* 50, 1274.
- 73 'accensisque super cruces cereis atque cereferalibus, dant voces in canticis, circumeunt urbem cum vicis', *GC* 78, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 346; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 83.
- 74 'Ille autem ad satisfaciendo adhuc populo prunas ardentes in byrrum suum posuit, et ad se stringens, usque ad sepulchrum beati Martini una cum populorum turbis accredit', *LH* 2.1, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 38; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 105.
- 75 'induti cilicii, abstinentis a cibis et poculis, cum tonica beati Vincenti martiris muros civitatis psallendo circuirent; mulieres quoque amictae nigris palleis, dissoluta caesariae, superposito cinere', *LH* 3.29, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 125; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 186.
- 76 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 3.1.
- 77 *GC* 78.
- 78 'nec aestimaretur aliud posse fieri, nisi eorum praecibus divina misericordia flectiretur', *LH* 3.29, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 125; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 186.
- 79 Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 183.
- 80 For a summary of all the evidence for the origin of the Rogations, see Geoffrey Nathan, 'The Rogation Ceremonies of Late Antique Gaul: Creation, Transmission and the Role of the Bishop', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 49 (1998): 275–303.
- 81 Nathan, 'Rogation Ceremonies', 286.
- 82 Nathan, 'Rogation Ceremonies', 276.
- 83 Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 5.14.
- 84 'vagae tepentes infrequentesque utque sic dixerim oscitabundae supplicationes, quae saepe interpellantum prandiorum obicibus hebetabantur, maxime aut imbres

- aut serenitatem deprecaturae . . . ieiunatur oratur, psallitur fletur . . . festa cervicum humiliatarum et sternacium civium suspiriosa, Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 5.14, ed. and trans. Anderson, *Sidonius* 420, 217–19.
- 85 Avitus of Vienne, *Sermo* 6. See also Gregory of Tours' version of the origins of the Rogations in *LH* 2.34.
- 86 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 25.1, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101, 295: 'uno animo parique consensu'.
- 87 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 207.3.
- 88 Nathan, 'Rogation Ceremonies', 292.
- 89 'Exoraturi enim sumus ut dominus infirmitatibus, plagis, tribulationibus interdicat: malum pestilentiae, hostilitatis, grandinis, siccitatis, repellat; caeli temperiem pro salute corporum, pro terrarum fecunditate, componat; elementorum pacem cum temporum tranquillitate concedat; peccata dimittat, flagella submoueat', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 25.1, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101, 295. Although the three-day series of communal fasts and prayers is not named in this sermon, it most likely was the Rogations. Note also in *Eusebius Gallicanus* 48.6 that the preacher appeared to promise good weather and good harvests as an earthly return for piety.
- 90 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 208.2, 207.3.
- 91 'Si tu, beate pontifex, devote antiphoname inposueris, confidimus de sanctitate tua, quod protinus nobis Dominus pluviam dignabitur benigna pietate largire', *VP* 4.4, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 226–27.
- 92 'discendit pluvia vehemens super universam terram illam, ita ut omnes mirarentur ac dicerent, ad preces haec beati viri fuisse largitum', *VP* 4.4, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 226–27; trans. James, *Gregory*, 27.
- 93 *LH* 4.13, 9.6, 9.21.
- 94 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 25.2–3. See also Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 207.4, 208.3.

Chapter 5

- 1 'haec sacrorum voluminum lectio frequens, per quam inter edendum saepius sumit animae cibum; psalmos crebro lectitat, crebrius cantat; novoque genere vivendi monachum complet non sub palliolo sed sub paludamento', Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 4.9, ed. and trans. Anderson, *Sidonius*, 97–99.
- 2 'plus ego admirer sacerdotalem virum quam sacerdotem', Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistula* 4.9, ed. and trans. Anderson, *Sidonius*, 99.
- 3 'stacio/ miseris et portus eginis · omnebs apts/ fuit praecipuae loca sctorum adse/ due et elemosinam et oracionem/ studuit', Inscription 17, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 41.

- 4 Frankfurter, 'Beyond Magic and Superstition', in Burrus, ed., 257.
- 5 For other scholars who have taken a similar approach, see Maxwell, 'Lay Piety'; Frank, 'From Antioch to Arles', in Casiday and Norris, ed., 531–32; Grig, ed., *Popular Culture*. On the later period, see Hamilton, *Church and People*.
- 6 Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 14; Hamilton, *Church and People*, 245.
- 7 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 2, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 365: 'ipsa est a domesticis persecutionem perpressa'.
- 8 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 3, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 366.
- 9 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 6–7.
- 10 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 3–11.
- 11 'religio . . . dum saeculari sub habitu religionis formabatur exemplum', Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 1, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 380; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 87.
- 12 'Dum esset cum rege adhuc in mundiali habitu mens intenta ad Christum', Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 2, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 380; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 87.
- 13 'caelestis plus quam terrena . . . se sub coniugis specie nupta tractavit . . . ut hoc ageret in laicali proposito, quod ipsa desideraret imitari', Baudonivia, *Vita Radegundis* 1, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 380; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 87.
- 14 *Vita Balthildis* 3–4, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 485–86.
- 15 *Vita Balthildis* 4–9.
- 16 'Erat enim religiosa et Deo multum devota, ecclesiarum pauperumque curam gerens', *Vita Bertilae* 4, ed. Levison, *MGH SRM* 4, 104; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 284.
- 17 *De sancta Eustadiola* 1, AS 131.
- 18 *De sancta Eustadiola* 3, AS 132.
- 19 Hilary of Arles, *Sermo sancti Honorati* 9, ed. Valentin, SC 235, 92.
- 20 Hilary of Arles, *Sermo sancti Honorati* 10, ed. Valentin, SC 235, 96.
- 21 VP 7.1–2, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1:2, 237.
- 22 'sub carnali coniugio, radio inflammante divino, vitam degerant spiritaalem, Pauli iniantes vestigia', *Vita Aldegundis* 2, ed. Levinson, *MGH SRM* 6, 86; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 238.
- 23 *Vita Anstrudis* 1.
- 24 'vir honestate vitae valde venerabilis . . . nimirum elegantior sanctitate . . . animi probitate sanctiores, fide firmi, caritate praecipui, iustita insignes, spe longamines, eleemosynis dediti, pauperum in susceptione valde solliciti. His igitur talibusque virtutum floribus ornati, Spiritus sancti templa meruerunt effici, ut post manifestissimis claruit indiciiis', *De sancta Austreberta virgine* 4, AS 420; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 308.

- 25 ‘cum nuntiata fuisset venerabilis Dei famula reverti atque propius imminere civitati, egreditur in occursum eius omnis aetas omnisque sexus, religiosi, laici, nobiles et ignobiles, divites et pauperes, incolae et advenae’, *Vita Rusticulae* 17, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 4, 347; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 131.
- 26 *Vita Germani* 2, ed. Borius, *SC* 112, 124.
- 27 *Vita Hilarii* 28. See also *Vita Genovefae* 10.
- 28 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 27.
- 29 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 31.
- 30 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 38.
- 31 ‘Scire enim debemus quia non nobis sufficit quod nomen christianum accepimus, si opera christiana non fecerimus’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 13.1, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 64; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 74.
- 32 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 13.2–4. There are very similar lists in *Sermones* 19.2–5, 86.5, 149.5–6. For expanded discussion of some of these individual instructions, see *Sermones* 73–74, 76–78, 130.5.
- 33 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 14.2, 16.2.
- 34 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 41–44.
- 35 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 14.2.
- 36 ‘Et ideo qui elemosinas largiores erogare non possunt, vel parum aliquid secundum vires suas cum bona voluntate dispensent: qui virginitatis gloriam non praevalent obtinere, cum propriis uxoribus castitatem studeant deo auxiliante servare . . . Haec enim et his similia, fratres carissimi, nec nimium dura, nec importabilia esse probantur’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 168.6, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 104, 691; trans. Mueller, *FC* 47, 412–13. He made very similar points in *Sermones* 23.3, 32.4, 153.1.
- 37 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 223.3–5, 23.3, 28.3, 37.1, 39.2.
- 38 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 19.2, 31.1.
- 39 ‘Coniugati vero, qui sibi invicem fidem servaverint . . . adsidue elemosinas fecerint, et in quantum possunt dei praecepta servaverint, sancto Iob, sanctae Sarrae vel sanctae Susannae cum patriarchis et prophetis merebuntur feliciter sociari’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 6.7, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 35; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 44. On Caesarius’ use of biblical figures as models for the laity, see Alberto Ferreiro, ‘Modèles laïcs de sainteté dans les sermons de Césaire d’Arles’, in *Clovis histoire et mémoire: Clovis et son temps l’événement*, ed. Michel Rouche (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), 97–114.
- 40 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 6.7.
- 41 ‘Est enim quidam modus communis omnibus. Adulterium non facere, non solum sanctimoniali praecipitur, sed et nuptae . . . Furtum non facere, omnibus

- praecipitur', Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 135.1, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 556; trans. Mueller, *FC* 47, 257–58.
- 42 'ego iuvenis homo uxorem habens quomodo possum aut capillos minuere aut habitum religionis adsumere? . . . quid enim homini uxorem habenti nocet, si mores perditos voluerit ad opera bona vel honesta converterem si peccatorum suorum vulnera elemosynis ieiuniis et orationibus ad sanitatem pristinam studeat revocare? Vera enim conversio sine vestimentorum conmutatione sufficit sibi', Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 56.3, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 250; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 281. See also *Sermo* 65.2.
- 43 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 179.3.
- 44 'Itaque, carissimi, dominicae passionis et resurrectionis celebrantes triumphum, fidei conseruatione decoremus: misericordiam in pauperes faciamus; imitemur deum cui nulla corporalium rerum forma consimilis est; habeamus in cunctis imaginem bonitatis eius et patientiae; emendamus errores; oremus pro inimicis; pro detractoribus obsecremus . . . oleo elemosynae, peccatorem sordes lauemus; captiuorum uincula nos uideantur adstringere, et propitium illis imprecemur deum', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 21.5, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101, 250–51.
- 45 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 25, 26, 74, 60.
- 46 For an expanded version of this argument, see Bailey, *Christianity's Quiet Success*, 82–104.
- 47 'omnes in nobis habere possumus *claves regni caelorum*', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 33.4, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101, 379. Matt. 16.19.
- 48 'Nescio autem, carissimi, cur nobis uitiorum ac superbiae *itineria aspera* et confragosa magis placeant, cum magis humilium *uiuae molles, planae atque directae* sint', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 4.5, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101, 49. Isaiah 40.4, Luke 3.5.
- 49 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 4.5.
- 50 *RICG* 15.172: 'In hoc tom(ul)um req(ue)/scit in pace bone me/moriae Epaeфанius mo/rebus optimus, na/tal(i)b(us)s suis mansuetus/ fede precepua ciuebus/ carus pauperebus pius', 528.
- 51 *RICG* 8.16, 1.106, 15.162.
- 52 *RICG* 15.41, 15.72.
- 53 *RICG* 15.249; Inscription 17, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 41.
- 54 *RICG* 15.31, 15.72, 15.283.
- 55 For just a few examples with similar phrasing to those above, see *RICG* 8.34, 8.17, 15.69, 15.78, 15.91.
- 56 *RICG* 15.41.
- 57 *RICG* 15.162: '[In hoc] tumulo requiescit Lau[. . .]/ [opti]mus moribus amatus [?omnibus]/ [me]nte benignus humanita[te . . .]/ in bellando strenuus', 515.

- 58 *RICG* 15.269: ‘In hoc tumulo riquiiscunt bene memorie/ Riculfus et iugalis sua Guntello qui fuerunt/ insignis meritis in amure sempir amici omneuos abstuti/ passiins dulcissimi apti liuiri onesti iurans ac pectore/ mente pie’, 699.
- 59 Inscription 17, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 41.
- 60 *Inscriptions* 31 and 52, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 69, 110.
- 61 *RICG* 15.98A; Inscription 66, LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 144.
- 62 ‘Non enim videbit regnum Dei coniugio copulatus’, *LH* 9.33, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 452.
- 63 *LH* 9.33.
- 64 On practices framed as ‘rustic’ rather than ‘pagan’, see Peter Brown, ‘Augustine and a Practice of the *imperi*’, in *Augustin prédicateur (395–411)*, ed. Goulven Madec (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 1998), 367–75.
- 65 For a good summary of the debates, see Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, 2–7, 45–51.
- 66 ‘ne ullus in festiuitate sancti Iohannis aut in fontibus aut in paludibus aut in fluminibus nocturnis aut matutinis horis se lavare praesumat; quia ista infelix consuetudo adhuc de paganorum observatione remansit . . . Etiam et hoc admonete, fratres, ut cantica turpia vel luxuriosa, castitati et honestati inimica’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 33.4, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 146; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 166–67.
- 67 Although these kinds of accusations fit a certain pre-existing pattern, they do not yet seem to have developed into rote condemnations, in the way that Filotas describes them doing in later centuries, *Pagan Survivals*, 57–61.
- 68 ‘si christiani ad ecclesiam veniunt, pagani de ecclesia revertuntur’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 13.4, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 67; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 77–78.
- 69 ‘Sunt et alii, qui pro hoc solo desiderant ad natalicia martyrum convenire, ut inebriando, ballando, verba turpia decantando, choros ducendo et diabolico more saltando’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 55.2, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 242; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 271.
- 70 ‘de paganorum profana observatione remansit’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 13.5, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 67; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 78. See also 19.4.
- 71 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 13.5, 52.3, 53, 54.
- 72 ‘Audivimus aliquos ex vobis ad arbores vota reddere, ad fontes orare, auguria diabolica observare . . . Ut quid miseri ad ecclesiam venerunt? ut quid sacramentum baptismi acceperunt, si postea ad idolorum sacrilegia redituri erant?’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 53.1, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 234; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 263.
- 73 Lucy Grig, ‘Interpreting the Kalends of January: A Case Study for Understanding Late Antique Popular Culture?’, Oral presentation at ‘The World of Caesarius of Arles’ conference, Edinburgh, March 2013.

- 74 Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 1, 4; Orléans a. 533, c. 20; Orléans a. 541, c. 15; Tours a. 567, c. 23; Clichy a. 626–a. 627, c. 16.
- 75 ‘Si quis christianus, ut est gentilium consuetudo, ad caput cuiuscumque ferae uel pecudis, inuocatis insuper numinibus paganorum, fortasse iurauerit, si se ab hac superstitione commonitus noluerit prohibere, donec reatum emendet, a consortio fidelium uel ecclesiae communione pellatur’, Orléans a. 541, c. 16, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 353, 274.
- 76 Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 3.
- 77 Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 4.
- 78 Auxerre a. 561–a. 605, c. 16. Roman laws on the Sabbath were repeated in *Lex Romana Visigothorum* 2.1.10 and 8.3 and in the *Leges Alamannorum* 38.
- 79 Orléans a. 538, c. 31; Chalon a. 647–a. 655, c. 18.
- 80 *Decretio Childeberti, Capitulary* 6, 3.7 (an addition to the *Pactus Legis Salicae*).
- 81 VBM 2.57; VJ 11; VP 15.3.
- 82 ‘Videmus enim populum christianum temerario more diem dominicam contemtui tradere et sicut in priuatis diebus operibus continuis indulgere’, Mâcon a. 585, c. 1, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 354, 456.
- 83 Mâcon a. 585, c. 1.
- 84 VBM 3.29.
- 85 VBM 2.13.
- 86 ‘ingemuit et ait: “Vae mihi, quia annualis mei laboris opera ita deperit, ut nihil prorsus ex ea remaneat”. Et accepta secure amputatis ramis, aditum saepis claudere coepit, confestimque contracta manus invita retenuit, quod voluntariae comprehendit’, VP 15.3, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 273; trans. James, Gregory, 98.
- 87 GC 97.
- 88 ‘Quia persuasum est populis die dominico agi cum caballis aut bobus et uehiculis itinera non debere neque ullam rem ad uictum praeparari uel ad nitorem domus uel hominis pertinentem ullatenus exerceri, quae res ad iudaicam magis quam ad christianam obseruantiam pertinere probatur, id statuimus, ut die dominico, quod ante fieri licuit, liceat’, Orléans a. 538, c. 31, ed. Gaudemet and Basdevant, SC 353, 254.
- 89 ‘inter coraulas et citharas dum circa monasterium a saecularibus multo fremitu cantaretur’, Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 36, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 375; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 84.
- 90 ‘dicit monacha sermone ioculari: “Domina, recognovi, unam de meis canticis a saltantibus praedicari.” Cui respondit: “Grande est, si te delectat coniunctam religioni audire odorem saeculi”’, Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 36, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 375; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 84.

- 91 'Unde manifestum est, ut carne licet in saeculo, mente quod tamen esset in caelo', Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Radegundis* 36, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 376; trans. McNamara, *Sainted Women*, 84.
- 92 'Sit vobis beatus Martinus in adiutorium', *VBM* 2.16, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 164; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 236.
- 93 'Ergo noveritis, quam velociter in id quod invocatus fuerit, si petatur fideliter, apparebit', *VBM* 2.16, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 164; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 236.
- 94 'Testor autem Deum, quia haec ab ipsius nautae ore cognovi', *VBM* 2.16, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 164; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 236.
- 95 *GM* 84.
- 96 *GM* 47.
- 97 'quod in hospitio suo pro salvatione retenebat . . . ego loco digno reposui', *VBM* 1.35, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 155; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 225.
- 98 *VBM* 1.28.
- 99 *VBM* 3.33.
- 100 *Formulae Marculfi* 2.4; *Leges Alamannorum* 1.2; *Leges Baiwariorum* 1.1, 2; *Formulae Andecavensis* 46.
- 101 Vasense a. 442, c. 4, repeated in Arles II a. 442–a. 506, c. 47.
- 102 Agde a. 506, c. 4
- 103 *Formulae Marculfi* 1.

Chapter 6

- 1 'quid superest, nisi ut eos opinemur credere, quod nec bonis praemia, nec malis supplicia iusto sint dei iudicio nespanda?', Caesarius, *Sermo* 18.1, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 82; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 93.
- 2 'omnino non est in te fides', Caesarius, *Sermo* 12.2, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 59; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 68–69.
- 3 Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 1.
- 4 See the useful summary of the historiographical context for medieval scholarship in Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 9.
- 5 Krueger, 'Practice of Christianity', in Krueger, ed., 2–4; Burrus and Lyman, 'Introduction', in Burrus, ed., 2; Maier, 'Heresy, Households', in Burrus, ed., 213–14; Christine Helmer, 'Theology and the Study of Religion: A Relationship', in *Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies*, ed. Robert A. Orsi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 230–54.

- 6 Norman Tanner and Sethina Watson, 'Least of the Laity: The Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian', *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 400, 403; Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, 36; Frend, 'Church of the Roman Empire', in Neill and Weber, ed., 73; Ramsey MacMullen, 'The Preacher's Audience (AD 350–400)', *Journal of Theological Studies* 40 (1989): 503–11; McLaughlin, 'The Word Eclipsed'; Old, *Reading and Preaching*, 73, 154; Raymond Van Dam, *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 3–4.
- 7 Maxwell, 'Lay Piety', in Krueger, ed., 22–24; Perrin, 'À propos de la participation', 192, 195, 199; Carrié, 'Antiquité tardive'; C.R. Galvão-Sobrinho, *Doctrine and Power: Theological Controversy and Christian Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013).
- 8 McLaughlin, 'The Word Eclipsed', 100, n. 111. See discussion of such patronizing attitudes also in Peter Biller, 'Through a Glass Darkly: Seeing Medieval Heresy', in *The Medieval World*, ed. Peter Lineham and Janet L. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), 315.
- 9 Maxwell, 'Popular Theology', in Grig, ed. On the medieval period, see Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 229.
- 10 Maxwell, 'Popular Theology', in Grig, ed.; Lisa K. Bailey, "'No Use Crying over Spilt Milk": The Challenge of Preaching God's Justice in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Gaul', *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 4 (2008): 19–31.
- 11 Santo Mazzarino, 'La democratizzazione della cultura nel Basso Impero', *Antico, tardoantico ad era costantiniana* 1 (1974): 74–98; Brown, *Cult of the Saints*; Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric*.
- 12 Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric*, 187.
- 13 Carrié, 'Antiquité tardive', 44.
- 14 Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 6.
- 15 Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 1.
- 16 William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989); Mary Beard, *Literacy in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1991); Gamble, *Books and Readers*; Nicholas Everett, 'Literacy from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, c. 300–800 AD', in *Cambridge Handbook of Literacy*, ed. Nancy Torrance and David R. Olson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 362–85; Catherine M. Chin, *Grammar and Christianity in the Late Roman World* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
- 17 Riché, *Education and Culture*, 477; Everett, 'Literacy', 367–75.
- 18 'Illud omnino studebat, ut omnes pueros, qui in domo eius nascebantur . . . litteris doceret ac psalmis imbueret; scilicet ut, cum ad implendum cursum oratorium

- fuisset ingressus, tale iungeretur psallentium, VP 8.2, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 242; trans. James, *Gregory*, 51.
- 19 *Vita Geretrudis* 2, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 2, 457.
- 20 *Vita Hilarii* 15.
- 21 Robert Louis Wilken, ‘The Novelty and Inescapability of the Bible in Late Antiquity’, in *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lorenzo DiTommaso and Lucien Turcescu (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 9.
- 22 Alberto Ferreiro, ‘“Frequenter legere”: The Propagation of Literacy, Education and Divine Wisdom in Caesarius of Arles’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43 (1992): 5–15; Marc van Uytanghe, ‘La Bible et l’instruction des laïcs en Gaule mérovingienne: Des témoignages textuels à une approche langagière de la question’, *Sacris Erudiri* 34 (1994): 67–123.
- 23 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 6.1–3, 8.2.
- 24 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones* 6.1–2, 8.1.
- 25 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 6.2.
- 26 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 7.1.
- 27 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 73.2.
- 28 Augustine, *Sermo* 1.5.
- 29 ‘necesse est, et satis oportet, ut fidem catholicam omnes non solum clerici sed etiam laici notam habeant’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 2, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 19; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 25. My emphasis.
- 30 ‘quod vobis ex iure debetur exigite . . . populi christiani sacerdotes suos velut sanctorum ecclesiarum ubera assidue debent interrogatione piissima provocare, ut sibi possint cibum salutis acquirere, et victum animae suae necessarium providere’, Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 4.3–4, ed. Morin, *CCSL* 103, 24–25; trans. Mueller, *FC* 31, 30–32.
- 31 ‘Uox ista inquirentis est, non negantis . . . doceri uoluit, confirmari desideravit’, *Eusebius Gallicanus* 22.4, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 103, 260.
- 32 ‘Exploremus cum eo domini cicatrices, cordis nostri manu’, *Eusebius Gallicanus* 23.3, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101, 269.
- 33 ‘Non ergo contra fidem tuam uenias, nec dicas: *Quomodo hoc fieri potuit?*’, *Eusebius Gallicanus* 76.7, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101A, 812.
- 34 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 76.7, ed. Glorie, *CCSL* 101A, 812.
- 35 For elaboration of these points, see Bailey, *Christianity’s Quiet Success*, and a forthcoming article on Caesarius and the scriptures.
- 36 Old, *Reading and Preaching*, 154.
- 37 See the lists of manuscripts in the *CCSL* editions of each.
- 38 *GM* 12.
- 39 Bailey, *Christianity’s Quiet Success*, 63–64.

- 40 Kienzle, 'Introduction', 155.
- 41 'Forte sint aliqui de minus eruditiss, qui dicant in corde suo: "Quomodo deus filium genuit?"', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 16.4, ed. Glorie, CCL 101, 188.
- 42 'solent aliqui quaerere, quomodo potuerit dominus et salvator apparere suis discipulis ostiis clausis . . . sic enim disputant: si corpus erat, erat et caro: si caro, et ossa erant: si hoc resurrexit de sepulchro, quod pendit in ligno, quomodo per ostia clausa intrare potuit? Si non potuit, dicunt, non est factum; si potuit, quomodo potuit?', Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 175.1, ed. Morin, CCL 104, 709–10; trans. Mueller, FC 47, 433–34.
- 43 Marcus Wilson, 'Rhetoric and the Younger Seneca', in *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, ed. William Dominik and Jon Hall (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), 434.
- 44 Edelman, discussed in Robert Morstein-Marx, *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 241.
- 45 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 16.4.
- 46 Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 175.2.
- 47 'Nescis nihil esse impossibile deo?', Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 175.2, ed. Morin, CCL 104, 710.
- 48 'Nam si "hominem tantum" dixeris Christum, negas potentiam qua creatus es; si "deum tantum" dixeris Christum, negas misericordiam qua sanatus es', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 1.1, ed. Glorie, CCL 101, 15.
- 49 "Quid fuerit rationis" interroges "qua proprietate corporis nostri omnino induere deberet", id causae est: ut per illam, quam in nostra carne peragebat de mundi hoste uictoriam, nostram posset consecrare naturam et roboraret fragilem conditionem', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 1.6, ed. Glorie, CCL 101, 19–20.
- 50 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 1.4.
- 51 'sicut sermo quem loqueris et a te exit et tecum est . . . ita et dominus noster Iesus Christus . . . ad nos prodiit, a patre non exiit; illic adstitit, hic processit', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 1.4, ed. Glorie, CCL 101, 18.
- 52 'recenti errore decepti et nouo antiqui serpentis dente percussi', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 1.5, ed. Glorie, CCL 101, 18.
- 53 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 1.5.
- 54 'Iracundiam, crudelitatem, inhonestos actus refugiamus; pectora a malitia, a luxuria et iniquitate mundemus. Christum dominum concipiamus fide', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 1.8, ed. Glorie, CCL 101, 20. My emphasis.
- 55 'Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 9.2, CCL 101, ed. Glorie, 99.
- 56 See other examples of these natural analogies for the trinity in *Eusebius Gallicanus* 16.4.

- 57 'Quisquis ergo ille es, qui obscurum profundum non fide sed curiositate rimaris, hoc potius insinua cordi tuo: ut diuinas dispensationes quantum difficilius inuestigare te uideris, tantum reuerentius admireris', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 9.3, ed. Glorie, CCL 101, 102.
- 58 'diuina opera non discutienda sunt sed credenda', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 9.3, ed. Glorie, CCL 101, 101.
- 59 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 4.2, 6.1, 28.2–3, 34.2–4 and 76.3.
- 60 Wood, 'How Popular'. See also on these points Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 86, 218.
- 61 'Quod si evenisse quis fortuitu putat, admiretur, quod nullum vicinorum circummanentium nocuit. Qui nunc agis, o cruda rusticitas, quae semper in Deum et eius amicos murmurat, ut tibi exinde damnum adqueras?', *GC* 80, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 349; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 86.
- 62 'Quod nullus ambigat, beati viri adventu hanc tempestatem fuisse sedatam', *VBM* 1.9, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 144; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 211.
- 63 'ferveret Christi fides in plurimis, tepisceret in nonnullis, ipsae quoque ecclesiae vel ditarentur a devotis vel nudarentur a perfides', *LH* preface, ed. Krusch and Levison, *MGH SRM* 1.1, 1; trans. Thorpe, *History*, 63.
- 64 'Quid ergo nuper actum est, multos in testimonium exhibens, declarabo', *VBM* 2.32, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 170; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 245.
- 65 'Illud impossibile est, illud fieri non potest', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 10.4, ed. Glorie, CCL 101, 115.
- 66 'Certum est rerum dominum non respicere quae nostra sunt, neglegere humana, non curare terrena', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 55.8, ed. Glorie, CCL 101A, 641.
- 67 'aut peccata si non damnat ignorat, aut fauet peccatis si damnare dissimulat', *Eusebius Gallicanus* 55.12, ed. Glorie, CCL 101A, 643.
- 68 *Eusebius Gallicanus* 23.4.
- 69 Bailey, 'No Use Crying', 22–26.
- 70 Christian Cannuyer, 'Des incroyants au Moyen Âge?', *Melanges de science religieuse* 63 (2006): 23.
- 71 Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 229.
- 72 Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, 22.
- 73 Walter Burkert, 'Introduction: Sacrifice, Offerings and Votives', in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. Sarah Iles Johnston (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2004), 326.
- 74 Burkert, 'Introduction', in Iles Johnston, ed., 325–26.

- 75 J.A. North, 'Religion in Republican Rome', in *Cambridge Ancient History*, volume 7, part 2, ed. F.W. Walbank et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 592.
- 76 North, 'Religion', 593; Price, 'Rome: Sacrifice', in Iles Johnston, ed., 344.
- 77 Saul M. Olyan, 'Israel: Sacrifice, Offerings and Votives', in Iles Johnston, ed., 335–36.
- 78 Price, 'Rome: Sacrifice', in Iles Johnston, ed., 346.
- 79 Price, 'Rome: Sacrifice', in Iles Johnston, ed., 346.
- 80 'Integro quidem corde ad deposcendum beati praesidium venimus, sed, obsistentibus peccatis, non meruimus quod petebamus accipere', *VBM* 2.56, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 178; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 256.
- 81 'Ad tua, sanctae, limina veni, nihil aliud qua parvitatibus meae vota deferre', *VJ* 21, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 123.
- 82 'Uxor vero eius multa munera in basilicam posuit; sed hoc tertia die cum gravi cruciatu vitam finivit. Quo defuncto, mulier quae dederat recepit', *GC* 66, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 337; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 72.
- 83 'Deferte me ad basilicam sancti et quantumcumque super me est auri ad sepulchrum eius proiecite. Peccavi enim auferendo res eius . . . Ne aspicias, quaeso, sanctae Dei, munera eius, quae numquam accipere consuisti . . . Nam homo ille, licet dedisset munera, rediens tamen domum, amisit spiritum, recepitque ecclesia res suas', *GC* 78, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 345; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 82.
- 84 'Non hic accenditur lumen, neque psalmorum modulatio canitur, gloriosissime sancte, nisi prius ulciscaris servos tuos de inimicis suis, resque tibi violenter ablatas ecclesiae sanctae restituas', *GC* 70, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 339; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 74.
- 85 Patrick Geary, 'Humiliation of Saints', in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 134.
- 86 'Nunc autem ite quantoties et, redditam villam, sexcentos aureos super tumulum sancti deponite. Est enim mihi spes, quod res reddita tribuat aegrotanti medellam', *GC* 70, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 339; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 75.
- 87 *VBM* 3.19, 3.55, 3.56; *GM* 15.
- 88 *GM* 96.
- 89 'Sergius quoque martyr multa signa in populis facit, curans infirmitates sanansque languores fideliter deprecantium. Unde agitur, ut ex hoc ingentia basilicae vel promittantur vota vel munera deferantur', *GM* 96, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 103; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 121.
- 90 *GM* 13; *VBM* 3.39.
- 91 'mox sanantur', *GC* 103, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 364.

- 92 'Si eum Dominus cum sua gratia de itinere illo reduceret . . . Quod postea adimplevit', *GC* 81, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 350; trans. Van Dam, *Gregory*, 88.
- 93 'promittit, ut, si sospitem reciperet coniugem, martyris sepulchrum, in quo possit spatio, cimento contegerit . . . pollicitationem quam promiserat cum inmensis muneribus adimplevit', *VJ* 4, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 116; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 167.
- 94 'Si virtus tua, beatissime confessor, hoc examen retinere voluerit eumque ditioni meae reddiderit, quae in posterum ex eo procreata fuerint, mel usibus meis sumam, ceram vero ad luminaria basilicae tuae cum omni soliditate diregam', *VBM* 4.15, ed. Krusch, *MGH SRM* 1.2, 203; trans. Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles*, 291.
- 95 *VBM* 4.21.
- 96 *VBM* 4.40.
- 97 Rivard, *Blessing the World*, 276.
- 98 The reciprocity between saint and community of believers is also emphasized in Geary, 'Humiliation', 123.
- 99 Handley, *Death*, 8–10.
- 100 See the discussion in the introduction.
- 101 Éric Rebillard, *In hora mortis: Évolution de la pastorale chrétienne de la mort aux IV^e et V^e siècles dans l'Occident latin* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994). On the emotional language of the inscriptions, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 57–78.
- 102 Handley, *Death*, 8.
- 103 *RICG* 15.118: 'Ne doleas genitor, genitrix q(u)oq(ue) flere desiste:/ aeternae uitae gaudia proles habit', 455.
- 104 The editor in *RICG* 1 calls them 'extrêmement banale', 457.
- 105 Handley, *Death*, 8.
- 106 *RICG* 1.24.
- 107 *RICG* 15.148: 'Hic requies/cet in Christo et in pace/ fidelis Mauricius inno/cens infas, qui uixit annos III, menses IV, dies VIII . . .', 494.
- 108 Handley has collected the references supporting this point, and also the literary references to the sleep of the just dead, *Death*, 8.
- 109 *RICG* 1.134, 15.112, 15.118; Inscription 80, ed. LeBlant, *Inscriptions*, 163.
- 110 *RICG* 15.25, 15.227, 8.47, 15.149, 15.152.
- 111 *RICG* 15.227, 610.
- 112 *RICG* 1.126, 1.135, 15.222.

- 113 *RICG* 15.220: ‘Hic requiescit in pa/ce bone memoriae Gun/diisclus in spe resurre/xionis meserecordiae/ Chr(ist)i q(ui) uixit in seculo/ annus LXVIII’, 596.
- 114 To pick out just a few other examples: *RICG* 15.46, 15.48, 15.83, 15.78, 15.146, 15.148, 15.152, 15.220, 15.222, 15.225, 15.231, 15.232.
- 115 *RICG* 15.49, 289.
- 116 *RICG* 15.77, 334.
- 117 Handley, *Death*, 9.

Conclusion

- 1 ‘Est autem genus unum, quod mancipatum divino officio, et deditum contemplationi et orationi, ab omni strepitu temporalium cessare convenit, ut sunt clerici, et Deo devoti, videlicet conversi . . . Aliud vero est genus Christianorum, ut sunt laici. λαός enim est populus. His licet temporalia possidere . . . His concessum est uxorem ducere, terram colere, inter virum et virum iudicare, causas agere, oblationes super altaria ponere, decimas reddere, et ita salvari poterunt, si vicia tamen benefaciendo evitaverint’, Gratian, *Decretum* Pars 2.100.12.q.1, c. 7, ed. <http://ivv7srv15.uni-muenster.de/mnkg/pfnuer/klerus.html>. Translated by Colin Morris, *Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 318.
- 2 On the medieval period, see Hamilton, *Church and People*, 17–18.
- 3 Torjesen, ‘Clergy and Laity’, 389.
- 4 It is therefore simplistic to describe popular Christianity as a self-contained and separate world of religious practice as MacMullen does. It should be noted, however, that he does not examine evidence from Gaul. *Second Church*, 108–13.

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