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# Miszellen

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## PAULINUS OF PÉRIGUEUX AND PERPETUUS OF TOURS

About the middle of the fifth century Paulinus of Périgueux composed his *de vita S. Martini*, the first known (but not to be the last) versification of most of the writings of Sulpicius Severus about St. Martin<sup>1</sup>. As a final book Paulinus added a versification of a prose pamphlet in which bishop Perpetuus of Tours had recorded some posthumous miracles performed by St. Martin. Because Perpetuus commissioned this versification of his pamphlet, modern scholars agree that the bishop of Tours was the agent behind the composition of Paulinus' Book VI. But controversy arises over the first five books of the poem: did bishop Perpetuus request Paulinus to versify the writings of Sulpicius, or had Paulinus independently done so?

The current consensus seems to be that Perpetuus instigated the composition of the entire poem, both Books I–V (based on the writings of Sulpicius) and Book VI (based on his own collection of miracle stories)<sup>2</sup>. This consensus arose in opposition to the theory that Paulinus had composed the first five books of his poem on his own initiative before Perpetuus made contact with him<sup>3</sup>. Neither suggestion is completely satisfactory, however, and it is worth considering a third possibility, that Paulinus composed only the first three books of his version of the writings of Sulpicius before being approached by Perpetuus.

These first three books covered material in Sulpicius' *Vita of Martin*. Book I began with a brief introduction about the good fortune of Gaul in having received Martin as an evangelist from Christ [I.1–10], but no comment on sources. Paulinus in fact had no written sources other than the works of Sulpicius; he once suggested that some might refer to the «poems of the ancient bards» [I.298] for information about pagan miracles, but his own supplementary material included allusions to biblical events, overwritten purple passages, or personal

1 The works of Paulinus are edited by Michael PETSCHENIG, CSEL 16.1, Vienna 1888, p. 1–190; of Sulpicius Severus, by Carolus HALM, CSEL 1, Vienna 1866. Paulinus is identified with Périgueux only in the incipits of some (but not all) of the ninth – and/or tenth – century manuscripts of his works: see PETSCHENIG, p. 13 n. 2, 19. But Gregory of Tours repeatedly confused him with Paulinus of Nola (*de virtutibus S. Martini* 1.2, in *gloria confessorum* 108, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, MGH, SRM I.2, p. 586–7, 818); and although Fortunatus claimed Paulinus was «noted for his ancestry» (*Vita S. Martini* I.20, ed. Fridericus LEO, MGH, AA IV, p. 296), he too may have been uncertain about his identity.

2 For a firm statement, see now Luce PIETRI, *La ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Naissance d'une cité chrétienne*, Rome 1983 (Collection de l'école française de Rome, 69) p. 736: «c'est bien l'ensemble du poème, et non pas seulement son dernier chant, qui a été composé ... à la demande de l'évêque tourangeau.» Pietri's claim is based upon Alston H. CHASE, *The metrical lives of St. Martin of Tours by Paulinus and Fortunatus and the prose life by Sulpicius Severus*, in: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 43 (1932) p. 52–7, who in fact offers only hypothetical assertions.

3 A. HUBER, *Die poetische Bearbeitung der Vita S. Martini des Sulpicius Severus durch Paulinus von Périgueux*, Kempten 1901, p. 14–20, followed by R. HELM, *Paulinus von Petricordia* (article), *RE XVIII*, 1949, col. 2356–7. The conclusion of Hippolyte DELEHAYE, *Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère*, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 38 (1920) p. 13–15, that Perpetuus had not dictated the content of Paulinus' poem, is more compatible with an interpretation stressing the independence of Paulinus from Perpetuus.

comments<sup>4</sup>. Yet Paulinus never mentioned Sulpicius' *Vita* in these first three books, even though his dependence upon it was obvious from his ordering of and information about events. In Book I he included Martin's early career before his consecration as bishop, in Book II the miracles Martin performed as a bishop, and in Book III Martin's confrontations with emperors and demons<sup>5</sup>.

Paulinus' versification of Sulpicius' writings might well have ended at that point, but »suddenly« he received a copy of an »unknown history« that stimulated him to continue<sup>6</sup>. That »unknown history« was apparently Sulpicius' *Dialogi*, since Books IV–V covered material in *Dialogi* II–III<sup>7</sup>. But with this shift to the *Dialogi* there was also a shift in tone, purpose, and intended audience. First, Book IV began with an apology for Paulinus' inadequate literary skills, this time not in the face of the overwhelming wonderfulness of St. Martin [cf. II.1–14, III.1–8], but rather in the company of »learned men« [IV.12]; so Paulinus begged his readers, or perhaps even a specific reader, to overlook his deficiencies [IV.18, *tu quoque*]. Second, in these books Paulinus was less austere literal and more self-consciously expansive in his versification. He reminded himself not to get ahead of the story [IV.92–5]; he introduced episodes with leading questions [IV.148–9]; he invoked St. Martin as his Muse [IV.245–53]; he was self-deprecating about his verses [IV.345–6]; he compared current practices with an episode from the past [V.101–88]; he hoped that the compassion of his »patron« would cleanse him of his own »poison« [V.637–50]. Third, in contrast to the reticence of Books I–III Paulinus now occasionally mentioned the *historia* (i. e. the *Dialogi*) that he used as a source<sup>8</sup>. And at one point he invoked the trustworthiness of Sulpicius as a guarantee for the veracity of an event. Not only had Sulpicius written a »sacred canon« (i. e. the *Chronica*) in which he had compressed world history into two books [V.201–3], but as »a cautious investigator and a reliable reporter of the truth« he had also recorded the deeds of Martin [V.204–13]. Books IV–V therefore seem to be more of a commissioned work in which Paulinus wrote for specific readers, praised his source, and offered his own asides. At one point Paulinus even wondered whether his »languid book« might not try the patience of St. Martin; but he continued because he had »vowed to run through the history in verse« [V.480–7].

Paulinus also composed a prologue addressed to Perpetuus, in which he thanked the bishop for having sent him a »splendid history about the deeds and powers of the holy apostolic doctor and lord (St. Martin)«<sup>9</sup>. Supporters of the theory that Perpetuus commissioned the entire poem have claimed that the prologue served as introduction for the entire poem and that Paulinus was therefore thanking the bishop for both Sulpicius' *Vita* and his *Dialogi*<sup>10</sup>. Supporters of the theory that Perpetuus commissioned only Book VI have claimed that the prologue served as a covering letter only for that book, and that Paulinus was therefore

4 E. g., I.275–84, diatribe against patients who preferred doctors; II.1–14, difficulty of writing about bishop Martin; II.211–27, criticism of magic; II.637–49, direct appeal to Martin; III.20–5, duties of bishops.

5 Note III.9–10: *primam igitur libri partem devicta tenebit/ambitio*. This must be a reference to the first part of Paulinus' Book III, which demonstrated Martin's superiority over civil magistrates and demons.

6 IV.1–4, *finierat sumptum translatio coepta volumen/percurrrens sancti pura exemplaria libri,/cum subito oblata est abstrusae gloria nobis/historiae, nostri stimulans molimina voti*.

7 *Dial.* I was perhaps unsuitable because it had been primarily concerned with Eastern ascetics.

8 IV.246, 495; V.712, *historici felix testatur pagina libri*. The Bible, in contrast, was the *caelestis liber* [V.608].

9 *De vita S. Martini*, prologus 2 (p. 17), *de sancti atque apostolici doctoris et domini meritis atque virtutibus tam splendidam ad nos misistis historiam, ut rectissime, si ita iussisset vestra benedictio, ad totius orbis notitiam perveniret*. The only manuscript that preserves this prologue placed it before Book I, which is also where Petschenig places it in his edition: see PETSCHENIG (n. 1) p. 3–6, 17.

10 CHASE (n. 2) p. 57, and PIETRI (n. 2) p. 736.

thanking the bishop for his pamphlet of posthumous miracles<sup>11</sup>. Both conclusions rest on circular arguments, because a priori assumptions about whether the prologue served as introduction for the entire poem or only for Book VI have been used to identify this »splendid history«, and that identification in turn is used to determine the purpose of the prologue.

So what was this »splendid history« that Perpetuus had sent to Paulinus? Paulinus consistently referred to the pamphlet that Perpetuus had composed about St. Martin's posthumous miracles and that served as the source for Book VI as a *charta*<sup>12</sup>. This term was sufficiently vague to be applied to almost any written document: in II.673 it referred to a letter of Martin that had once healed a young girl<sup>13</sup>; in this prologue addressed to Perpetuus it referred to the poem that Paulinus was sending to the bishop<sup>14</sup>. But at least Paulinus was consistent in his terminology; hence the *charta* underlying Book VI should most likely not be identified with the »splendid history« for which Paulinus thanked Perpetuus in the prologue. The »splendid history« was probably also not Sulpicius' *Vita*<sup>15</sup>, since Paulinus referred to it (once) as a »volume« and the »sacred book« [IV.1–2]. In fact, because of its wide dissemination in western Europe, and even throughout the Mediterranean world, a copy of the *Vita* was one book Paulinus could have acquired on his own<sup>16</sup>.

In Books IV–V, however, Paulinus had repeatedly referred to Sulpicius' *Dialogi* as a »history«. Furthermore, at the beginning of Book IV he indicated his wish to make this »history« (i.e. the *Dialogi*) available even to the uninformed [IV.9–13]; in the prologue Paulinus acknowledged that Perpetuus had once charged him with the similar commission of making the »splendid history« known to the entire world<sup>17</sup>. Paulinus can therefore be interpreted in the prologue to be thanking Perpetuus for the *Dialogi*, which would suggest that the prologue was originally the introduction only for Books I–V, and that in it Paulinus recapitulated how he had versified the works of Sulpicius. According to this interpretation of the prologue, Perpetuus had been so impressed by Paulinus' independent versification of the *Vita* that he had sent him a copy of the »splendid history«, i.e. the *Dialogi*, for Paulinus to »polish« for wider circulation; Paulinus had accepted the commission and now sent back, with great humility, his complete verse version of Sulpicius' writings<sup>18</sup>. Book VI was probably added later to his poem about St. Martin; it in fact had its own introduction in which Paulinus

11 HUBER (n. 3) p. 14–20, and Martin SCHANZ, Carl HOSIUS, Gustav KRÜGER, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur bis zum Gesetzgebungswerk des Kaisers Justinian*, 4.2: *Die Literatur des fünften und sechsten Jahrhunderts*, reprinted Munich 1959, p. 378.

12 VI.29–33, for Perpetuus as a collector of miracle stories; Prologus 2 (p. 161), *charta inscripta virtutibus et manu beatitudinis vestrae subscripta*; Versus de visitatione nepotuli sui 32–40, 53 (p. 163). In his summary of Paulinus' Book VI Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus S. Martini* 1.2, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, MGH, SRMI.2, p. 589, called this pamphlet an *indiculum* and claimed that Paulinus had cured his grandson with *huius indiculi carta*.

13 Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini* 19.1, *epistulam Martini*. The precedent of this miracle may have led Paulinus to use the *charta* of Perpetuus in a similar fashion to cure his grandson.

14 *De vita S. Martini*, prologus 4 (p. 18): *cum in manus vestras charta pervenerit, fovete quod sumitis*, etc. This *charta* of Paulinus is to be distinguished from Perpetuus' *charta*.

15 As suggested by PIETRI (n. 2) p. 736.

16 Jacques FONTAINE, *Sulpice Sévère, Vie de Saint Martin* 1, Paris 1967 (*Sources chrétiennes*, 133) p. 49–51.

17 HELM (n. 3) col. 2356, argues that because Sulpicius' writings about Martin were already widely popular, this »splendid history« must be Perpetuus' pamphlet of miracle stories, which the bishop now hoped would circulate more widely in Paulinus' verse version. In fact, the passage which Helm cites (Sulpicius, *Dial.* I.23) refers to the popularity only of the *Vita*; the *Dialogi* still needed more publicity.

18 *De vita S. Martini*, prologus 1 (p. 17), *falli vos non intellegitis favorabilius sentiendo quam verius: bonum creditis quod bonum vultis*; 2 (p. 17), *verum his me inhaerere vestigiis et posse aliquid adicere quasi expolitius censuistis*; 4 (p. 18), *indignum fuit ut gesta tam grandia auderemus attingere, sed adrogantius fuerat mandata contemnere*.

claimed that the new commission to versify Perpetuus' pamphlet revived the hesitations he had once felt because of his inadequacy to versify Sulpicius' works<sup>19</sup>.

On the basis of the shift in tone between Books I–III and IV–V, the references about the method of composition, and the different terms applied to Sulpicius' writings, it is possible to conclude that Paulinus had independently versified Sulpicius' Vita in Books I–III before Perpetuus became interested enough to send him Sulpicius' Dialogi for Books IV–V, and then his own charta for Book VI<sup>20</sup>. On this reconstruction, with his belated patronage for a poem about St. Martin, Perpetuus can be compared to a near – contemporary bishop of Auxerre who eventually encouraged the wider dissemination of a Vita of one of his predecessors that a presbyter of Lyon had independently composed<sup>21</sup>.

If the versification of the Vita of Martin in Books I–III was therefore originally due to the personal initiative of Paulinus himself, what was the attraction of St. Martin? Eventually St. Martin became the guardian of the metropolitan rights of Tours and the representative of orthodox Nicene Christianity in opposition to the Arianism of the Visigoths<sup>22</sup>, but in the first half of the fifth century he was noted most for his healing power. Possessed men and a paralysed girl were cured at his tomb [VI.39–70, 165–214]; another possessed man swam across the Loire in order to be cured at the monastic cell where Martin had once »lived like an angel« [VI.71–105]. Paulinus too was interested in the healing power of St. Martin, since in retelling various episodes of healing by bishop Martin he was inspired to request similar patronage for himself from St. Martin [I.305–12, II.637–49]. In particular, as Paulinus recounted how Martin had once healed the eyes of Paulinus of Nola, he hoped that »the same name, the same doctor, and a similar reason for a cure might revive the mysteries of the earlier deed«<sup>23</sup>. And in his discussion of St. Martin's contemporary miracles he stressed, apparently as his own comment, how healing power was available hic, at the tomb of the saint [VI.152–64]<sup>24</sup>. Hence, we might conjecture that Paulinus of Périgueux also suffered from an eye ailment, on account of which he had appealed to the saint, and perhaps had even made a pilgrimage to his tomb. Personal suffering, rather than episcopal encouragement, sparked his initial interest in St. Martin; and perhaps a cure had motivated him to honor his patron saint by versifying the Vita<sup>25</sup>.

Why is this question of initial motivation important? Two implications can be noted briefly,

19 De vita S. Martini, prologus 5 (p. 18), *ferat murmura per patientiam*; VI.1, *instauras nostram renovanda ad murmura curam*.

20 Note that a century later Fortunatus may also have begun his versification of the works of Sulpicius about St. Martin before coming into contact with bishop Gregory of Tours: see Richard KOEBNER, *Venantius Fortunatus. Seine Persönlichkeit und seine Stellung in der geistigen Kultur des Merowinger-Reiches*, Leipzig and Berlin 1915 (Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 22) p. 86.

21 On the Vita of Germanus of Auxerre see Constantius, *Ep. ad Censurium*, ed. Wilhelm LEVISON, MGH, SRM VII, p. 249, with Raymond VAN DAM, *Leadership and community in late antique Gaul*, Berkeley 1985, p. 144–5.

22 PIETRI (n. 2) p. 143–57.

23 II.699–702, *atque utinam nostri tenebras contingere cordis/tali luce velit sancti medicina patroni,/ reddat ut antiqui rursum mysteria facti/nomen idem medicusque idem, par causa medellae*. St. Martin's ability to »illuminate« the »eyes of the heart« as well as cure physical eye ailments became a commonplace: cf. Gregory of Tours, *de virtutibus S. Martini* 2.13, ed. Bruno KRUSCH, MGH, SRM I.2, p. 613.

24 Paulinus' *Versus de orantibus*, a poem he contributed for the new church Perpetuus constructed, also emphasized the »medicine« to be found at the tomb of St. Martin.

25 Although HUBER (n. 3) p. 10–13, argues that Paulinus did not suffer from a physical infirmity and was requesting only forgiveness for his sins. But note the similar case of Fortunatus a century later, whose interest in St. Martin also arose from a cure for his eye ailment: see Fortunatus, *Vita S. Martini* IV.686–701, ed. Fridericus LEO, MGH, AA IV, p. 369–70.

although both will require further consideration by other scholars. First, the question is relevant to the related problems of the chronology of the composition of the poem and the role of Paulinus' poem in promoting the cult of St. Martin. Perpetuus became bishop of Tours in 458/9 and died in 488/9<sup>26</sup>. During his tenure he expanded the cult of St. Martin at Tours, most obviously by replacing the small chapel over the tomb of the saint with a larger church, but also by commissioning inscriptions and murals for the walls of the new church and by revamping the liturgical calendar. Conventionally, Paulinus' poem versifying both the writings of Sulpicius and the pamphlet of Perpetuus is considered as another component of this expansion, and hence the dating of Perpetuus' other projects determines its date of composition.

But the precise chronology of the various ingredients in this expansion of the cult of St. Martin is uncertain. One aspect of Perpetuus' construction of a more magnificent church for the tomb of St. Martin involved commissioning a series of inscriptions that were to be engraved or painted on the walls of the church. Perpetuus requested Paulinus to compose, as one of these inscriptions, a poem that described a sequence of murals depicting events from the life of St. Martin and that was apparently placed in the nave of the church<sup>27</sup>. Presumably at the same time Perpetuus also requested the illustrious poet Sidonius (later bishop of Clermont) to compose another poem that was placed in the apse of the church. Sidonius once quoted his own poem by including a copy of it in a letter to an otherwise unknown friend; and the date of his letter is conventionally used to date the composition of the entire series of inscriptions for Perpetuus' church at Tours as well as the construction of the church itself to the 460s<sup>28</sup>. In fact, since this letter of Sidonius offers no firm internal clues about its own date, only in combination with other evidence can it be used to date either the construction of Perpetuus' new church or any of the other components (such as Paulinus' poem) in the bishop's revival of the cult of St. Martin.

Another approach to the chronology of Perpetuus' revival of the cult of St. Martin has focused on the collection of posthumous miracles performed by St. Martin that Perpetuus wrote up as a *charta* and that Paulinus subsequently versified as his Book VI. This pamphlet of contemporary miracles was an important component in Perpetuus' promotion of the cult of St. Martin, since it advertised the saint's power and encouraged pilgrimage to Tours<sup>29</sup>. The latest datable miracle recorded in it took place in 458<sup>30</sup>, one phrase seems to suggest that

26 LUCE PIETRI, *La succession des premiers évêques tourangeaux: essai sur la chronologie de Grégoire de Tours*, in: *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome, Moyen Age-Temps modernes* 94 (1982) p. 551-619.

27 *Versus de orantibus* (p. 165); other editions in Edmond LE BLANT (ed.), *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Vol. I, Paris 1856, no. 176; PIETRI (n. 2) p. 807-8; and Francis J. GILARDI, *The Sylloge epigraphica Turonensis de S. Martino*, Diss. Catholic University of America 1983, p. 210-11. Although Gilardi furthermore argues that Paulinus composed all but one of the verse inscriptions for this church, LUCE PIETRI, *Une nouvelle édition de la sylloge martinienne de Tours*, in: *Francia* 12 (1984) p. 625-7, is more cautious.

28 Sidonius, Ep. IV.18, ed. André LOYEN, *Sidoine Apollinaire II: Lettres (Livres I-V)*, Paris 1970, p. 151-3. LOYEN, p. 253-4, dates the letter to 467, before Sidonius became prefect of Rome in 468; others have dated it as early as 465 and as late as 472: see GILARDI (n. 27) p. 97 n. 93. Yet on the basis only of Sidonius' letter the construction of Perpetuus' new church is dated to the 460s by LUCE PIETRI, *Les tituli de la basilique Saint-Martin édifée à Tours par l'évêque Perpetuus (3<sup>e</sup> quart du V<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, in: *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston*, Paris 1974, p. 419, 422 n. 19. PIETRI (n. 2) p. 374, and GILARDI (n. 27) p. 17, also suggest that the church was dedicated in 471 on the centennial anniversary of Martin's consecration as bishop.

29 VI.34-8, with PIETRI (n. 2) p. 530: the *charta* was «une sorte de manifeste destiné ... à lancer le pèlerinage.»

30 VI.111-51, the siege of Aegidius in Arles by Visigoths; for the date, see Alexander DEMANDT, *Magister militum* (article), in: *RE Supplementband 12*, Stuttgart 1970, col. 689.

Aegidius, a Roman general who died in 464, was still alive<sup>31</sup> and another incident apparently refers to the construction of the new church for St. Martin [VI.265–90]. Hence, Paulinus would have composed Book VI (as well as the poem for the walls of Perpetuus' church<sup>32</sup>) after these events, apparently during the mid or late 460s; and if versifying the Vita and Dialogi of Sulpicius was also part of Perpetuus' grand design, then Paulinus probably composed Books I–V during the same period<sup>33</sup>. But if, as has instead been suggested here, Paulinus wrote Books I–III before coming into contact with Perpetuus, then the date of composition of at least those books is independent of whatever chronology is proposed either for the construction of Perpetuus' new church or for the versification of Perpetuus' pamphlet. Paulinus could therefore have composed these first three books in which he versified Sulpicius' Vita of St. Martin not only during the 460s, but also, depending upon his (unknown) age, sometime before the 460s and before Perpetuus' expansion of the cult of St. Martin<sup>34</sup>.

Second, the question of the initial motivation behind the composition of the first three books of Paulinus' poem is relevant to our interpretation of the role of bishops in the growth of saints' cults in fifth-century Gaul. Perpetuus was certainly an influential figure in the expansion of the cult of St. Martin at Tours; but it is important not to attribute too much originality to his initiative or ambitions. In Books IV–VI, the ones most strongly influenced by Perpetuus, Paulinus provided clear evidence of a new outlook on the cult of St. Martin at Tours, which had become a sacred city comparable to Jerusalem<sup>35</sup>, and on Perpetuus himself, a successor to Martin as bishop of Tours<sup>36</sup>. But the cult of St. Martin was not the only saint's cult now being expanded in Gaul, and Perpetuus was not the only bishop from an aristocratic family who now linked his prestige to a local saint. The rise of saints' cults in fifth-century Gaul was due to wider changes in society, which resulted in particular from the retreat of the Roman administration in the face of barbarian migrations and from the new strategies adopted by local aristocrats to preserve their customary standing<sup>37</sup>.

Furthermore, on the basis of the revised chronology offered here for the composition of Books I–III of his poem, Paulinus' commitment indicates the consequential attractiveness of

31 So HELM (n. 3) col. 2355, and GILARDI (n. 27) p. 14, 127, on the basis of VI.111–13, *inlustrem virtute virum, sed moribus almis/plus clarum magnumque fide, qua celsior extat,/Aegidium*. The implication of this description is ambiguous, but if this suggestion is correct, then Perpetuus composed his *charta* (and perhaps even Paulinus his Book VI) before Aegidius died in 464; for the date, see DEMANDT (n. 30) col. 687–91.

32 Along with the *Versus de orantibus*, the poem intended for Perpetuus' new church, Paulinus sent a copy of his *Versus de visitatione nepotuli sui*: see Prologus 2 (p. 161). In the latter poem he mentioned that he had received Perpetuus' *charta* only recently: *Versus de visitatione nepotuli sui* 32 (p. 163). Hence, Paulinus composed Book VI about the time Perpetuus commissioned him to write a poem for his new church.

33 E. g., SCHANZ, HOSIUS, KRÜGER (n. 11) p. 376, Elie GRIFFE, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine*, 2: *L'église des Gaules au V<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1966, p. 307, and PIETRI (n. 2) p. 156, date Paulinus' *de vita S. Martini* «um 470» and «vers 470»; Clare STANCLIFFE, *St. Martin and his hagiographer. History and miracle in Sulpicius Severus*, Oxford 1983, p. 360, dates it «between 462–4».

34 By the time Paulinus corresponded with Perpetuus he was an old man: see *Versus de visitatione nepotuli sui* 20 (p. 162), *gravis ... senectae*, 79 (p. 164), *senectam*. F. CHÂTILLON, *Paulin de Périgueux, auteur de la Vita Martini, et Sidoine Apollinaire panégyriste des empereurs*, in: *Revue du moyen âge latin* 23 (1967) p. 5–12, suggests that especially in Books I–III Paulinus was familiar with the verse panegyrics of Sidonius. If this argument is correct, then the dates of publication of Sidonius' panegyrics might be relevant for dating Paulinus' initial interest in St. Martin: see André LOYEN, *Sidoine Apollinaire I: Poèmes*, Paris 1960, p. XXX–XXXI.

35 PIETRI (n. 2) p. 428–9, 738–44; note that most of this discussion of «l'écho des idées inspirées par l'évêque au poète» is based on Books IV–VI.

36 VI.25–33, 506, *perpetuo urbs Turonum Martino antistite gaudet*.

37 Peter BROWN, *The cult of the saints. Its rise and function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago 1981, and VAN DAM (n. 21) p. 141–56, 165–72.

St. Martin before Perpetuus initiated his expansion of the saint's cult. Now Paulinus was not a particularly ordinary believer; he was sufficiently educated to employ allusions to and quotations from classical (and other Christian) poets<sup>38</sup>, he dabbled in theology<sup>39</sup>, and he may even have become a monk<sup>40</sup>. But because he was probably not a cleric<sup>41</sup>, he had no vested hierarchical interest in promoting saints' cults. Yet, in the changing circumstances of the mid-fifth century this learned Gaul was eager to accept St. Martin as his new patron, even before the bishop of Tours contacted him. Perpetuus therefore found an already solid foundation for his expansion of the cult of St. Martin; and Paulinus and his poem ought to be interpreted not only in the context of a bishop reorchestrating a saint's cult, but also as examples of a popular but still devout piety that existed outside episcopal supervision.

38 See Index 1 to PETSCHENIG's edition, p. 166–71; and HUBER (n. 3) p. 20–31, for Paulinus' familiarity with rhetorical figures. Some scholars have suggested identifying Paulinus with the rhetorician at Périgueux named Paulinus mentioned by Sidonius, Ep. VIII.11.2: see Martin HEINZELMANN, *Gallische Prosopographie* 260–527, in: *Francia* 10 (1982) p. 666, and Ralph W. MATHISEN, *PLRE II: Suggested addenda and corrigenda*, in: *Historia* 31 (1982) p. 381. Others have suggested that Paulinus was the son of this Paulinus the rhetorician: see GILARDI (n. 27) p. 104.

39 In III.248–53 Paulinus repeated Martin's assertion that the Devil himself could be saved at the end of time (although the text here is corrupt). Even Sulpicius had tried to correct this opinion after it was proscribed: see G. K. VAN ANDEL, *Sulpicius Severus and Origenism*, in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980) p. 278–87, and STANCLIFFE (n. 33) p. 307–9.

40 See GILARDI (n. 27) p. 106, arguing on the basis of the monastic expressions that Paulinus used.

41 HUBER (n. 3) p. 10, and CHASE (n. 2) p. 52, argue that Paulinus was a bishop since use of a deacon as courier was reserved for bishops: see Prologus 2 (p. 161). OTTO BARDENHEWER, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 4, reprinted Darmstadt 1962, p. 650, and GILARDI (n. 27) p. 106, disagree. HELM (n. 3) col. 2355, also rejects the argument by emphasizing that Paulinus was excessively deferential to Perpetuus in the Prologus, but suggests that Paulinus was instead a presbyter, because he once officiated at mass. This latter suggestion is based on II.645, *sanatum ad tollens sancta ad mysteria vultum*; but the line in fact refers to what Paulinus would do once St. Martin healed the stains on his heart.