

FRANCIA

FORSCHUNGEN ZUR WESTEUROPÄISCHEN GESCHICHTE

Herausgegeben vom
DEUTSCHEN HISTORISCHEN INSTITUT PARIS
(Institut historique allemand)

BAND 47 (2020)



Jan Thorbecke Verlag

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie;
detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nd.de> abrufbar.
ISSN 1867-6448 · ISBN 978-3-7995-8147-9 (Print)
ISBN 978-3-7995-8148-6 (E-Book)

FRANCIA – FORSCHUNGEN ZUR WESTEUROPÄISCHEN GESCHICHTE
Herausgeber: Prof. Dr. THOMAS MAISSEN
Redaktion: Prof. Dr. ROLF GROSSE (Redaktionsleitung; Mittelalter),
Prof. Dr. RAINER BABEL (Frühe Neuzeit, 1500–1815), Dr. JÜRGEN FINGER (19.–21. Jh.)
Redaktionsassistent: AARON JOCHIM
Anschrift: Deutsches Historisches Institut Paris (Institut historique allemand),
Hôtel Duret-de-Chevry, 8 rue du Parc-Royal, F-75003 Paris
Francia@dhi-paris.fr

FRANCIA erscheint einmal jährlich in einem Band von ca. 500 Seiten in gedruckter Form und als E-Book.
Die Zeitschrift enthält Beiträge in deutscher, französischer und englischer Sprache.
Die Rezensionen werden seit Band 35 (2008) ausschließlich online veröffentlicht unter:
<http://www.francia-online.net>. Unter dieser Adresse sind auch die seit 1973
erschienenen Bände der FRANCIA mit einer Moving Wall von einem Jahr
kostenfrei zugänglich.

Aufsatzmanuskripte bitte an den Herausgeber adressieren, Rezensionsexemplare an Dagmar Aßmann.
Über die Veröffentlichung der Beiträge entscheidet ein internationales Gutachtergremium.
Die redaktionellen Richtlinien sind ebenso wie die Mitglieder des Gutachtergremiums verzeichnet unter:
<http://francia.dhi-paris.fr>. Herausgeber und Redaktion übernehmen keine Verantwortung
für den Inhalt der Beiträge.

Francia paraît une fois par an en un seul volume d'environ 500 pages en version papier et numérique.
La revue comprend des articles en allemand, en français et en anglais. Depuis le n° 35 (2008),
les comptes rendus sont uniquement publiés en ligne sur: <http://www.francia-online.net>.
Les volumes de FRANCIA parus depuis 1973 sont accessibles gratuitement,
avec une barrière mobile d'un an, sous cette même adresse.

Merci d'adresser les propositions d'articles au directeur de la publication, les ouvrages pour compte
rendu à Mme Dagmar Aßmann. Tout article proposé ne pourra être publié qu'après l'avis favorable
du comité de lecture. Les normes rédactionnelles ainsi que la liste des membres du comité de lecture
sont consultables sur: <http://francia.dhi-paris.fr>. Les textes publiés n'engagent que leurs auteurs.

Dieses Buch ist aus alterungsbeständigem Papier nach DIN-ISO 9706 hergestellt.

Übersetzung der Resümees: Jean-Léon Muller (Paris), Sandy Hämmerle (Galway)

Mitarbeit bei der Fahnenkorrektur: Christian Gründig (Paris)

Einbandabbildung: Nicolas-André Monsiau, Louis XVI donnant ses instructions
au capitaine La Pérouse, 1817 (siehe unten, nach S. 104, Abb. 5)

Institutslogo: Kupferschläger Grafikdesign, Aachen

© 2020 Jan Thorbecke Verlag
Verlagsgruppe Patmos
in der Schwabenverlag AG, Ostfildern
www.thorbecke.de
Druck: Beltz Bad Langensalza GmbH, Bad Langensalza
Hergestellt in Deutschland

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

AUFSÄTZE

Benjamin WHEATON	
Gregory of Tours and Handbooks against Heresy	1
Claudia WITTIG	
Adliges Selbstverständnis in der Francia und im Reich zwischen Moralität und Historizität	17
Robert FRIEDRICH	
From Carcassonne to Argelès. The Agency of the Kingdom of Mallorca during the Wars of the Sicilian Vespers (1282–1298)	37
Fabien ROUCOLE	
Quand porter les armes pouvait favoriser une carrière ecclésiastique. Les clercs de cour et le service armé au XIV ^e siècle	59
Philippe BÜTTGEN	
L'essence de la Réforme. Réflexions après une commémoration	77
Martin WREDE	
Grandeur monarchique, héritage héroïque et sentiment patriotique. Représen- ter le roi de France après Louis XIV	95
Guido BRAUN	
Der Wohlfahrtsausschuss in der Französischen Revolution. Eine Studie zur Grundlegung der Architektur revolutionärer Macht	115
Martin H. HERRNSTADT	
Administrating the Empire of the Self. Joseph-Marie de Gérando (1772– 1842) and the Post-Revolutionary Science of Man in France around 1800 . . .	133
Konrad HAUBER	
Komplott und Kommunikation. Zur Sicherheitspolitik der optischen Tele- grafie, Lyon 1815–1837	161
Christian JACOBS	
Mehr als eine Projektion. Maoismus in Frankreich in den 1960er- und 1970er-Jahren	181

ZUR FORSCHUNGSGESCHICHTE UND METHODENDISKUSSION

Elizabeth A. R. BROWN	
Orderic Vitalis and Hugues of France, Putative Son of Louis VI and Adelaïde of Maurienne	205
Christoph SCHMITT-MAASS	
Bücher-Netzwerke. Ein Vorschlag zur Erforschung des Jansenismus und seiner Rezeption	229
Laurens SCHLICHT	
Die Wissenschaftsgeschichte der »Idéologie« als Wissenschaft vom Menschen. Aus Anlass der deutschen Edition der Ideenlehre von Antoine Louis Claude Destutt de Tracy (1754–1836)	241
Isabel HEINEMANN	
»La vraie fondatrice de l'Internationale«. Flora Tristan und die vergessenen feministischen Wurzeln des internationalen Sozialismus	267
Léonard DAUPHANT	
L'historiographie des frontières et des espaces frontaliers en France depuis trente ans	295
Susanne RAU	
Grenzen und Grenzräume in der deutschsprachigen Geschichtswissenschaft	307

MISZELLEN

Till STÜBER	
Clermont, Burgund und Thüringen. Zur Chronologie des Arcadiusaufstands bei Gregor von Tours (Historien III 9–13)	323
Laura VIAUT	
Les fragments manuscrits inédits du cartulaire de l'abbaye de Ligeux. Étude et édition	337
Benoît CHAUVIN	
Documents pontificaux du charrier d'Auvergne. Présentation et regeste (1138–1405)	373
Christian MÜHLING	
Die Bastarde Frankreichs. Eine Ressource dynastischer Zukunftsplanung. . .	401

ATELIER

La réception de »Mein Kampf« en France

Journée d'étude organisée par l'Institut historique allemand
et le LabEx Tepsis (EHESS) le 23 avril 2018

Études réunies par Nicolas Patin et David Gallo

David GALLO – Nicolas PATIN	
»Mein Kampf« en France. Trajectoires d'un livre et d'un débat	419
Othmar PLÖCKINGER	
A Résumé of the Reception of »Mein Kampf« in Germany (1925–1945)	427
Claus W. SCHÄFER	
»Mein Kampf« chez les Français d'Allemagne. L'exemple d'André François-Poncet	437
Frédéric SALLÉE	
»Mein Kampf« chez les voyageurs francophones en Allemagne. La réception du texte allemand (1925–1934)	447
David LEFRANC	
Interdire »Mein Kampf« aux Français. Édition, droit et politique dans la France de 1934	459
Emmanuel DEBONO	
Le procès de la réédition de »Mein Kampf« (1978–1980)	473

NEKROLOGE

Helmut ZEDELMAIER	
Laetitia Boehm (1930–2018)	485
Michel SOT	
Pierre Riché (1921–2019)	489
Marie-Louise PELUS-KAPLAN	
Jochen Hooock (1939–2019)	493
Ulrich PFEIL	
Hansgerd Schulte (1932–2019)	497
Matthieu ARNOLD – Matthias ASCHE	
Anton Schindling (1947–2020)	501
Resümees/Résumés/Abstracts	505
Im Jahr 2019 eingegangene Rezensionsexemplare/Livres reçus pour recension en 2019	517

BENJAMIN WHEATON

GREGORY OF TOURS AND HANDBOOKS AGAINST HERESY

The sixth-century Gallic bishop Gregory of Tours has been, due to the sheer volume of his writings, our major source for the history and culture of his times. This level of dependence has been diminished, or at least nuanced, in the past twenty years or so for two reasons. First, other sources contemporary to Gregory have received more attention, especially the poetry and letters of Venantius Fortunatus. Second, Gregory's own writing has experienced a critical re-examination that seeks to lay bare his literary technique and agenda. The second has had perhaps the largest effect. The quantity of his writings still makes him by far the most important source for our period, and so other authors remain supplementary. Moreover, the critical re-examination of Gregory's works, especially his »Decem libri Historiarum« (hereafter the »Historiae«), has in and of itself opened up new avenues of investigation into the history of sixth-century Gaul and its cultural mindset¹.

Among these new avenues, and one which has only now begun to be carefully traveled, is Gregory's theology and what it says about the Gallic church². Prominent is the question of his depiction of Arianism³. How much is the so-called Arianism in

- 1 The most influential re-evaluations have been by Walter GOFFART, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800)*, Notre Dame, IN 1994; and Martin HEINZELMANN, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century*, tr. C. Carroll, Cambridge 2001.
- 2 Heinzelmann has taken the lead on this subject, the most recent contribution being Martin HEINZELMANN, *The Works of Gregory of Tours and Patristic Tradition*, in: Alexander C. MURRAY (ed.), *A Companion to Gregory of Tours*, Leiden 2016, p. 281–336.
- 3 GOFFART, *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (as in n. 1), p. 213–214, deals with the question by denying that Arianism was a serious threat, but that Gregory wished to warn his Catholic readers against complacency. HEINZELMANN, *Gregory of Tours* (as in n. 1), p. 155–156, argues that Arianism functions for Gregory as a means of measuring the adherence of the Frankish kings to orthodoxy, and as a materialistic philosophy that was counteracted by the power of the spiritually powerful orthodox saints. In another article (ID., *Heresy in Books I and II of Gregory of Tours' Historiae*, in: Alexander C. MURRAY [ed.], *After Rome's Fall*, Toronto 1998, p. 62–82, esp. p. 72–74), Heinzelmann argues that Arianism functions as the paradigmatic heresy, and Arius as the paradigmatic heretic, since it represents both rebellion against and persecution of the orthodox Catholic church and a diminution of the status of Jesus Christ, who is the great End of (especially Christian) history and the source of the miraculous power of the true church. He reiterated this in his 2016 article, ID., *The Works of Gregory of Tours* (as in n. 2), p. 310, where he writes: »If in the *Histories* Gregory the historian wished to put so much stress on the question of Arianism, it was not on account of the historical impact of this form of Christianity, but on account of its spiritual consequences touching above all the role of Christ for his Church and thereby the importance of the saints and miracles in society.« Averil KEELY, *Arians and Jews in the Histories of Gregory of Tours*, in: *Journal of Medieval History* 23.2 (1997), p. 103–115, argues that Gregory uses Arianism as a means of strengthening Catholic identity. He is not concerned, Keely argues, with refuting actual Arianism but in showing the obvious moral and spiritual superiority of the

the »Historiae« a construct designed to promote a particular message, with no bearing on actual threats to Gallic orthodoxy? Or is it a factual account of the beliefs of the Visigothic church? To contribute to an answer to this question, this article will look first at the account in the fifth book of Gregory's »Historiae« of his debate with Agila, an official of the Visigothic king Leuvigild, and then more briefly at the account of his debate with Oppila, likewise an official of Leuvigild. They are two of five sections of his »Historiae« which portray discussions he has with doctrinally heterodox individuals⁴. The examination will result in three conclusions. First, a direct source for the dialogue with Agila is the popular genre of handbooks against heresy. Second, the dialogue with Oppila, although not drawn directly from the handbooks against heresy, nonetheless indirectly alludes to them. Third, Gregory purposely made these conversations an exercise in futility to caution his clergy against too much confidence in the verbal arguments provided by these handbooks. Therefore this article will ultimately caution against taking Gregory's accounts as simple reports of a real conversation. The dialogues are inserted by Gregory to reinforce his emphasis upon the wonders of the saints versus the futile efforts of the world, among which he includes the handbooks against heresy.

There were two kinds of handbook against heresy: classifications of heresies, such as Augustine's fifth-century »De haeresibus«; and instructional guides to refuting heresies, such as the anonymous fifth-century African text »Contra Varimadum«⁵.

orthodox Catholic faith (see esp. KEELY, Arians and Jews [as in n. 3], p. 108–109). Edward JAMES, Gregory of Tours and »Arianism«, in: Andrew CAIN (ed.), *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity*, Burlington, VT 2009, p. 327–338, argues that Gregory's polemic against Arianism serves the purpose of bolstering his contested credentials as Bishop of Tours. James argues that at least in part the »Histories« are directed at his suspicious clergy, and Gregory portrays himself as not only unimpeachably orthodox but also a stalwart defender of the true faith.

- 4 These dialogues are dealt with by: HEINZELMANN, Gregory of Tours (as in n. 1), p. 155–156, who argues that they should be seen within the general themes of their respective chapters; so the two arguments with Arians appear in chapters (Histories V.43 and VI.40) dealing with the wicked king Chilperic and enhance the juxtaposition of orthodoxy and heresy in these chapters; KEELY, Arians and Jews (as in n. 3), p. 108, who makes the case that the dialogues showcase the wickedness of the Arians, who reject the arguments of the orthodox bishop as well as implicitly signaling their dissociation from the Old Testament saints whom Gregory mentions in support of his position; Jacques FONTAINE, *Conversion et culture chez les Wisigoths*, in: *La Conversion al Cristianesimo nell'Europa dell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1967 (Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 14), p. 104–105, who takes the two Arian dialogues as true, verbatim accounts of the arguments made by laymen of the Arian churches in Spain, which show the weakness of those churches just before the official conversion of Reccared in 587; JAMES, Gregory of Tours and »Arianism« (as in n. 3), p. 333–336, who argues that they serve Gregory's self-representation in the »Historiae« as one who is capable of vigorously defending the orthodox faith; and Hans-Werner GOETZ, *La compétition entre Catholiques et Ariens en Gaule: Les entretiens religieux (»Religionsgespräche«) de Grégoire de Tours*, in: François BOURGARD et al. (eds.), *Agôn: La compétition, V^e–XII^e siècle*, Turnhout 2012, p. 183–198, who analyzes the dialogues and argues that they both reflected genuine concerns by Gregory to combat existing Trinitarian unorthodoxy (p. 187–188). It is worth noting that each of these five sections were later excerpted by Carolingian authors for use in theological *florilegia* and homiliaries (see Alberto FERREIRO, *Discourse »Sermons« in the Libri historiarum decem* of Gregory of Tours, in: *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 107.1 [2012], p. 49–77).
- 5 This article will rely a great deal on the excellent description and discussion of these handbooks by Judith McCCLURE, *Handbooks Against Heresy in the West, from the Late Fourth to the Late Sixth Centuries*, in: *The Journal of Theological Studies* (N. S.) 30.1 (April 1979), p. 186–197.

It is the second kind that this article will suggest functioned as a source for Gregory. These guides to refuting heresies modeled to their readers how a conversation with a heretic might go, and provided answers (accompanied by Scriptural proof-texts) to specific questions posed by theoretical opponents of orthodox Nicene doctrine. The handbooks assumed that both interlocutors in the conversation held to some common religious positions. The Bible was agreed to be absolutely authoritative, and thus one important tactic was the simple amassing of scriptural texts, called *testimonia*, and appeal was made to a common set of beliefs about the nature of the divinity. Thus both sides were assumed to believe in God's goodness, unchangeable nature, and so on.

Most clergy were either insufficiently learned, or did not have the time, to read the lengthy doctrinal treatises on the Trinity and other topics that were written by the church fathers such as Augustine. Florilegia were fairly popular means of transmitting the fathers' main doctrinal contributions to a broader community, but were unfocused. Handbooks against heresy had many of the elements of florilegia but distilled the accepted teaching about the Trinity of the Nicene church and presented it in a useful and easily accessible format.

Three handbooks are of particular interest as potential sources for Gregory: the »Contra Varimadum«, the »De Mysterio sanctae Trinitatis«, and the »Breviarium adversus Haereticos«⁶. The first is the lengthiest, and was written by an African bishop exiled to Naples by the Vandals, probably in the middle of the fifth century⁷. The »Breviarium adversus Haereticos« was probably written in the first quarter of the sixth century in southern Gaul, and almost certainly used the »Contra Varimadum«. Its editor, Germain Morin, suggested that it was written by either Caesarius of Arles or by one of his colleagues⁸. The »De Mysterio sanctae Trinitatis« is from the same milieu, although it is more likely to be from the hand of Caesarius himself than the »Breviarium adversus Haereticos«⁹. The »Contra Varimadum« and the »Breviarium adversus Haereticos« both share a similar format, while the »De Mysterio sanctae Trinitatis« differs slightly.

The first two have two elements: answers to hypothetical questions and lists of divine attributes with their appropriate Scriptural proof-texts. As an example of the first element, the »Contra Varimadum« addresses the reader with hypothetical questions from a heretic and then gives the proper responses, which consist of both logical arguments and Scriptural proof-texts. For example, one hypothetical heretical assertion and orthodox response from the »Contra Varimadum« runs as follows:

- 6 The critical editions are as follows: *Contra Varimadum*, ed. Benedikt SCHWANK, Turnhout 1961 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 90); *De Mysterio sanctae Trinitatis*, in: *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Opera Varia*, ed. Germain MORIN, Marietioli 1942, p. 164–180; *Breviarium adversus Haereticos*, *ibid.*, p. 180–208.
- 7 McCCLURE, *Handbooks Against Heresy in the West* (as in n. 5), p. 195; SCHWANK, *Praefatio*, in: *Contra Varimadum* (as in n. 6), p. VII–VIII.
- 8 MORIN, *Admonitio in sequens Breviarium*, in: *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Opera* (as in n. 6), p. 180–182; McCCLURE, *Handbooks Against Heresy in the West* (as in n. 5), p. 195; she doubts the attribution to even Caesarius' milieu by Morin.
- 9 MORIN, *Ad libellum De Trinitate*, in: *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis Opera* (as in n. 6), p. 164–165.

»If they say to you: ›The Son is not equal to the Father‹, you should respond in this way: If the Son is not equal to the Father, why did John the Evangelist testify in this way about him: ›For this reason‹, he says, ›the Jews persecuted Jesus, and were seeking to kill him, since not only did he break the sabbath, but also was saying that his father was God, making himself equal to God‹ (John 5.18). Also the Apostle Paul: ›Understand this concerning yourselves‹, he says, ›since it is also in Christ Jesus, who although made in the form of God, did not consider it robbery to be equal to God, but made himself nothing, taking on the form of a servant‹ (Philippians 2.5–7). Also in Solomon: ›He who bore me, rested in my tabernacle‹ (Sirach 24.8b). Also in Isaiah: ›Just as he is from the beginning, so unto the end of the age; nothing was added to him, nor is anything taken away: for he himself is the master of his creation, who lacked nothing from anyone‹ (Sirach 42.21). Also in the seventy-second Psalm: ›For what is in heaven for me, and what did I want through you on the earth‹ (Psalm 72.25)? All these show that there is no inferior nature in the Son, but pronounce the equality of his deity: and he who said these spoke the truth, since he is the truth, and the truth is not able to lie¹⁰.«

Here we see the typical method of argument of these handbooks in operation, along with the assumption of a common high regard for scriptural and divine authority.

The second element is lists of the attributes and actions common to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and Scripture verses backing up the presence of these attributes and actions in each member of the Trinity. The »Contra Varimadum« contains one hundred of these statements, while the »Breviarum adversus Haereticos« cites thirty-eight of them, all drawn from the »Contra Varimadum«. So in the »Breviarum adversus Haereticos«, the statement, »The Father resides, the Son resides and the Holy Spirit resides in those believing«, is backed up by three Scripture passages: Jeremiah 17.22 for the Father (»Preserve the Sabbath day, and make it holy, so that I might live in your midst«); Ephesians 3.17 for the Son (»Christ lives in your hearts through faith«); and 1 Corinthians 3.16 for the Holy Spirit (»Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God resides in you?«)¹¹. This pattern is repeated for all the other assertions in both texts, with one text given for each person of the Trinity.

10 *Contra Varimadum* 1.6. *Si tibi dixerint: Non est aequalis filius patri. Ita respondes: Si aequalis patri filius non est, cur ita de illo Iohannes evangelista testatus est: »Propterea«, inquit, »persequerentur Iudaei Iesum, et quaerebant eum occidere, quia non solum solvebat sabbatum, sed et patrem suum dicebat deum, aequalem se faciens deo«. Et Paulus apostolus: »Hoc sentite de vobis«, inquit, »quod et in Christo Iesu, qui cum in forma dei esset constitutus, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem deo, sed semetipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens«. Et in Solomone: »Qui genuit me, requievit in tabernaculo meo.« Et in Esaia: »Sicuti est ab initio, ita usque in saeculum; neque adiectum est ei, neque minuitur illi: ipse est enim dominus creaturae suae, qui nihil eguit ab aliquo.« Et in psalmo septuagesimo secundo: »Quid enim mihi est in caelo, et a te quid volui super terram?« Haec omnia in filio non inferiorem naturam demonstrant, sed aequalitatem deitatis adnuntiant: quoniam qui utraque locutus est, verum dixit, quia veritas mentiri non potuit. All translations are my own.*

11 *Breviarum adversus Haereticos* 205.25–29. *Habitat Pater in credentibus, habitat Filius, habitat et Spiritus sanctus. De Patre in Isaia: »Servate diem sabbvati, et sanctificate eum, ut habitem in*

The »De Mysterio sanctae Trinitatis« is written with only one voice, that of the orthodox cleric. At the same time, however, the same challenges are answered. So at the start of the treatise, when the author's voice is directed at the reader, he says:

»He should be asked whether God the Father was always perfect, or imperfect, and whether anything at any time is able or will be able to be added or taken away from him. And when they do not dare to say anything other than that he is truly perfect (...) again they should be asked, whether the Son was always with the Father. If he says, »He was always with him«, then say to him: »If he was always with him, he is therefore coeternal and equal to him«. But if he denies that the Son was always with the Father, why did he profess before that the Father is perfect, to whom afterwards was born a Son, and through the Son the name of Father was added at that time¹²?«

Later on, Caesarius addresses the heretic directly: »I ask again, so that you might respond to me, how you accept that which was written: »Before me God is not, and after me he will not be.« Say to me, whether the voice belongs to the Father or to the Son¹³.« The shift from addressing the orthodox reader to addressing the heretic is typical (the »Breviarium adversus Haereticos« also does this¹⁴), but the »De Mysterio sanctae Trinitatis« is also more of a hybrid between a handbook against heresy, its stated purpose, and a pastoral address on Trinitarian doctrine. But what does all this have to do with Gregory of Tours?

These three handbooks were circulating in Gaul during Gregory's time and there are distinct echoes of them in his »Historiae«¹⁵. The first example I would like to deal with is a conversation he has with the Visigothic king Leuvigild's ambassador Agila in the year 580. Agila himself seems, by Gregory's description, to hold to a fairly

medio vestry.« *De Filio ad Ephesios:* »Habitare Christum per fidem in cordibus vestris.« *De Spiritu sancto:* »Nescitis quoniam templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis?«

12 *De mysterio sanctae Trinitatis* 166.11–20. *Interrogandus est utrum deus Pater perfectus fuerit semper, an imperfectus, et utrum ei aliquid addi aut minui aut potuerit aliquando aut possit. Et cum non ausus fuerit aliud dicere, nisi quod vere perfectus sit, iterum interrogandus est, utrum Filius semper cum Patre fuerit. Si dixerit, Semper cum eo, dicatur ei: Si semper cum eo fuit, ergo sempiternus et aequalis est illi. Si vero negaverit cum Patre semper fuisse Filium, quomodo eum supra perfectum esse confessus est, cui postea Filius natus est, et per Filium nomen Patris additum?*

13 *De mysterio sanctae Trinitatis* 167.24–26. *Ahuc interrogo, ut mihi respondeas, qualiter accipias illud quod scriptum est: »Ante me non est Deus, et post me non erit.« Dic mihi, utrum Patris an Filii vox est?*

14 *Breviarum adversus Haereticos* 183.25–185.3.

15 The »Breviarium adversus Haereticos« is contained in Cod. Paris. Lat. 12 097, written in the sixth century in Gaul (MORIN, Admonitio in sequens Breviarium [as in n. 8], p. 181; for the broader context of the manuscripts see Ralph MATHISEN, Church Councils and Local Authority: The Development of Gallic *Libri Canonum* during Late Antiquity, in: Carol HARRISON, Caroline HUMFRESS, Isabella SANDWELL (eds.), *Being Christian in Late Antiquity: A Festschrift for Gillian Clark*, Oxford 2014, p. 175–193; the »Contra Varimadum« appears in an eighth-century manuscript produced at Corbie, and according to Benedict Schwank, editor of the CCSL edition, this edition seems to be similar to the one used by the author of the »Breviarium adversus Haereticos« (SCHWANK, Praefatio [as in n. 7], p. VII).

standard version of Homoian Arian theology¹⁶. Agila denies the equality of the Son with the Father and the Spirit's equality with the Father and Son. He is described by Gregory as a *virum nulli ingenii aut dispositiones ratione conperitum, sed tantum voluntatem in catholica lege perversum*, a »man with no intelligence, known for a skill in rational argument, but only with malevolence against the catholic faith«¹⁷. This cunning gives him confidence in vigorously attacking Gallic Nicene Trinitarianism. The conversation that ensues between Gregory and Agila runs largely along the lines outlined in the handbooks against heresy I have described.

To begin, the hypothetical heretical adversary in the handbooks is portrayed as clearly superior in rhetorical acumen to the simple catholic facing him, as for example in the »De mysterio sanctae Trinitatis«: »Men of another religion are accustomed to provoke certain simple catholics with very subtle and complicated questioning (...) so that, when those who are questioned are not able to respond as is fitting because of either their own simplicity or lack of skill, the questioners are able to appear as victors over them¹⁸.« Thus, argues Caesarius, there is a need for a treatise like the »De mysterio sanctae Trinitatis«, outlining how to go about defeating a heretic in argument. Gregory shows by his own actions how this is done when faced with a cunning adversary like Agila.

Agila begins his argument by quoting John 14.28, where Christ says, »The Father is greater than I«, then proceeds to argue that he who suffered could not be equal to the Father¹⁹. Gregory responds in the manner prescribed by the handbooks against heresy. He appeals to the common belief between him and Agila that God is perfect and does not lack wisdom, light, truth, life or justice; and that Christ is all of these for God²⁰. Agila agrees, and so Gregory has him in a trap: if Agila wants to say that there was a time when the Son did not exist, then he has to say that God lacks some critical divine qualities.

All three handbooks against heresy advise their readers to set this trap. Thus the »De mysterio sanctae Trinitatis« suggests: »He should be asked whether he believes what the apostle said, that Christ is ›the power of God and the wisdom of God‹. And when they are unable for any reason to deny this, it should be said to him: ›If Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God, without a doubt, if according to you

16 See Uta HEIL, *Avitus von Vienne und die homöische Kirche der Burgunder*, Berlin, Boston 2011, p. XIV–XV, 112–115.

17 *Historiae* 5.43.

18 *De mysterio sanctae Trinitatis* 165.1–8. *Solent homines alterius religionis simplices quosque catholicos subtilissima et non simplici interrogatione provocare (...) ut, cum illi, qui interrogantur, aut propter simplicitatem aut propter inperitiam non, sicut oportet, potuerint respondere, illi, qui interrogaverunt, quasi victores sibi videantur existere.*

19 *Historiae* 5.43. *Non est ergo aequum, ut ei similis estimetur, cui se minorem dicit, cui tristitia mortis ingemit, cui postremo moriens spiritum, quasi nulla praeditus potestate, commendat. Unde patet, eum et aetate et potestate paterna minorem.* »Therefore it is not obvious that he [the Father] should be reckoned equal to him [Christ] who calls himself lesser, who mourns over the sadness of death, who finally, dying, commends his spirit as if he possessed no power. And so it is clear that he is lesser than the Father in both age and power.«

20 *Ibid.* 5.43. *Ego interrogo, si crederit, Iesum Christum filium Dei esse, si eundemque esse Dei sapientiam, si lumen, si veritatem, si vitam, si iustitiam fateretur.* »I then ask if he believes that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, if the same one is also the wisdom of God, if he confesses that he is the light, the life, the justice of God.«

there was a time when the Father was without the Son, he had neither power nor wisdom. (...) But you professed that God the Father is so perfect, that nothing is able to be either added or taken away from him²¹.« The »Breviarium adversus Haereticos« says something similar, addressing the heretic directly: »If therefore the Father was without the Son, as you say, then he was without power, he was without wisdom, he was without life, he was without truth. But without these attributes it must never be believed that the Father exists²².« Gregory follows these two formats exactly. The trap is set, and sprung.

Gregory then proceeds to answer the scripture quote used by Agila, »The Father is greater than I«, by following the advice of the »Contra Varimadum«. Gregory states: »But as for what you say that Christ said, ›the Father is greater than I, you should know that he said this out of the humility of the assumed flesh, so that you might know that redemption was achieved not by power but by humility. For you who say, ›The Father is greater than I, it is fitting for you to remember where elsewhere it is said: ›I and the Father are one²³.« The »Contra Varimadum's« argument runs as follows: »If they say to you that which the Son said in the gospel: ›The Father is greater than I, you should respond in this way: The Son is lesser than the Father in the form of the assumed humanity, but he is equal to the Father in the substance of the nature of his deity, with he himself saying: ›I and the Father are one²⁴.« The »Contra Varimadum« also gives a number of other scriptural *testimonia* from the Gospel of John and one from the letter First John for possible use²⁵. Gregory, however, only uses the one Scriptural citation.

Agila then responds with the argument that since the Son always does the will of the Father, he must be younger and lesser than him²⁶. Gregory makes a rejoinder by pointing out some places in the gospel of John where the Father does the will of the Son. For example, Gregory mentions Jesus' prayer as he was going up to Jerusalem before his crucifixion: »But also when he came to his passion, he said: ›Father, glorify me with the same glory I had when I was with you«. To which the Father an-

21 De mysterio 166.23–27, 29. *Iterum interrogandus est, utrum credat illud, quod apostolus dixit, »Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam« Christum esse. Cum hoc negare nulla ratione potuerit, dicendum est illi: Si Christus Dei virtus est et Dei sapientia, sine dubio, si secundum te fuit tempus quando Pater sine Filio fuit, nec virtutem nec sapientiam habuit. (...) Professus es enim deum Patrem ita perfectum esse, ut ei nec addi aliquid nec minui possit.*

22 Breviarium adversus Haereticos 184.25–27. *Si ergo fuit Pater sine Filio, sicut tu dicis, fuit sine virtute, fuit sine sapientia, fuit sine vita, fuit sine veritate. Sed quia sine his nunquam fuisse pater credendus est (...).*

23 Historiae 5.43. *Quod autem eum dixisse ais: »Pater maior me est«, scias, eum hoc ex adsumptae carnis humilitate dixisse, ut cognoscas, non potestate, sed humilitate fuisse redemptum. Nam tu qui dicis: »Pater maior me est«, oportet te meminere, quod alibi ait: »Ego et Pater unum sumus.«*

24 Contra Varimadum 1.5.1–5. *Si tibi dixerint illud, quod filius in evangelio dixit: »Pater maior me est.« Ita respondes: Filius minor est patre in adsumpti hominis forma, aequalis vero patri est in deitatis naturae substantia, eodem protestante: »Ego et pater unum sumus.«*

25 I. e., John 10.30, 14.9, 15.23, 5.23, 17.22–23, 17.10, 16.15, 14.10, 1.1, 1 John 5.7–8.

26 Historiae 5.43. *Et ille: »Cuius quis implet voluntatem, eius et iunior est; semper filius minor est patri, quia ille facit voluntatem patris, nec pater illius voluntatem facere non probatur.« »And he responded: ›He who fulfills the will of another is also younger than him; the Son is always lesser than the Father, since he does the will of the Father, nor is it proved that the Father does the will of the Son.«*

swered from heaven: ›I have glorified it and I will glorify it again‹²⁷.« The »Contra Varimadum« anticipates this argument in a number of places, most plainly in 1.29, where the objection that since the Son asks things of the Father he must be lesser than him is answered²⁸. There, the anonymous author argues: »Hear him who said ›I ask‹, in the same way commanding the Father, saying in another place in the gospel: ›Father, I desire that where I am, even so will they be‹²⁹.« Gregory does not use the same passage of Scripture, but the argument is the same.

Agila then changes tack, arguing: »He began to be called the Son of God after he assumed humanity, for there was a time when he was not‹³⁰.« This is a mixture of Arian and adoptionist (Bonosian?) teachings, which may well have been characteristic of the actual Visigothic church³¹. The first (adoptionist) statement is not anticipated by the handbooks against heresy dealt with in this article, since the »Contra Varimadum« is directed against a Neapolitan Arian sect and the other handbooks follow its lead. However, the second, »there was a time when he was not«, is a classic Arian slogan. Gregory deals with this second part of Agila's sloganeering in a way recommended by the »Contra Varimadum«. He states: »Hear David speaking in the person of the Father: ›From the womb before the morning star I begot you.‹ And the evangelist John says: ›In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God‹. Therefore by this ›the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, through whom all things were made‹³².« The »Contra Varimadum«, in response to the Arian statement, »there was a time before the Son was born from the Father«, restates Nicene dogma that, »before all times the Son was begotten indescribably from the Father's womb«, then backs it up with five scriptural citations, two of which, Psalm 109.3 (»From the womb before the morning star I begot you in the splendours of the holy places«) and John 1.1–3 (»In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God«), are also cited by Gregory³³. The argument is not the same, since the »Contra Varimadum« deigns to explain the theological concept reasonably thoroughly, while Gregory relies upon the authority of Scripture alone, but the citations are alike.

27 Ibid. 5.43. *Sed et cum ad passionem venit, ait: »Pater clarifica me claritatem quam habui apud te met ipsum, priusquam mundus fierit.« Cui Pater de caelo respondit: »Et clarificavi et iterum clarificabo.«*

28 Contra Varimadum 1.29. *Si tibi dixerint: »Idcirco minor est filius, quia ipse patrem rogasse se dicit.« »If they should say to you: ›The Son is lesser for this reason, since it says that he asked things from the Father.«*

29 Ibid. 1.29. *Audi adhuc eum, qui dixit »rogo«, quemadmodum, tamquam patri imperans, dicit alio evangelii loco: »Pater«, ait, »volo, ut ubi ego sum, et isti sint mecum.«*

30 Historiae 5.43. *Et ille: »Ex adsumptum hominem coepit Dei filius vocitari; nam erat quando non erat.«*

31 See Knut SCHÄFERDIEK, *Die Kirche in den Reichen der Westgoten und Suewen bis zur Errichtung der westgotischen katholischen Staatskirche*, Berlin 1967, p. 187 n. 167.

32 Historiae 5.43. *Audi David dicentem ex persona Patris: »Ex utero ante lucifero genui te.« Et Iohannis evangelista ait: »In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum.« Hoc ergo »Verbum caro factum est et habitabit in nobis, per quem facta sunt omnia.«*

33 Contra Varimadum 1.12. *Si autem dixerint: Erat tempus antequam de patre filius nasceretur (...) ante omnia tempora de paterno utero inerrabiliter generatum (...). In splendoribus sanctorum ex utero ante luciferum genui te (...). In principio (...) erat verbum, et verbum erat apud deum, et deus erat verbum.*

