

Reading Jerome's *De viris illustribus* in the Post-Roman World: Cataloguing Community in Gennadius of Marseille and Frechulf of Lisieux

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Catalogues of the names and writings of religious authors and authorities were one of the most enduring forms of biographical collection in the Middle Ages, with rich and varied traditions surviving in both Christian and Islamic contexts. In the Christian world, Jerome's *De viris illustribus* (*On Illustrious Men*) was foundational. Written in 392/393, Jerome's catalogue of authorities was frequently read and used as a source of information for over a millennium; furthermore, its list of authors was variously expanded and continued. In this chapter, we focus on two moments in the long history of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*: the Late Roman Empire and the Carolingian world respectively. More specifically, we examine two particular instances of this reception: Gennadius of Marseille's late 5th-century continuation of Jerome's original list of ›illustrious men‹ provides the first case study; the Carolingian historian Frechulf of Lisieux, who was critical reader of Jerome's catalogue, is the subject of the second case study. In each of these case studies, we analyse – individually and then comparatively – the reworkings and reinterpretations of Jerome's bio-bibliographic compendium in order to gain to a better understanding of the thematic structure, the authorial choices and the genre-related methodological problems presented in the texts of Gennadius and Frechulf. We examine the tensions that are inherent to such continuations and reworkings, between the thematic foci and agenda introduced by different author-continuers and between groups represented within the texts and the specific authors and audiences writing and reading them.

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Introduction

In 313/314, Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea, compiled a *Church History* which traced the origins of the development of early Christian communities in the Roman Empire from the times of Jesus Christ and the Apostles down to his own days. Eusebius set out in his prologue the main focal points of his history, putting particular emphasis on apostolic succession, significant ecclesiastical events and important Christian actors and authors, »who by preaching

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or writing were ambassadors of the divine word¹. Biography, apostolic genealogy and history all coalesce in Eusebius' scheme, in which the Christian past is seen through the lives of men, as individuals and within communities scattered across the Roman Empire, east and west. Eusebius gathered a huge amount of information, combining many different fragments into a compendium of early Christian history, whose influence upon later Christian writers cannot be understated. Some eighty years later, in 392/393, Jerome completed a much shorter, though no less influential, project of codifying four centuries' worth of Christian authors and authorities, narrating the Christian past and present through their literary works. His *De viris illustribus* (*On Illustrious Men*) became the most influential Christian biographical collection. It survives in a huge number of medieval manuscripts and was in effect a dictionary of Christian ›bio-bibliography‹, that is biography characterised by an individual's literary output.² Jerome collected together 135 (mainly) Christian authors, and through it he combined classical Greco-Latin biographical traditions with Christian apologetics.³ Mark Vessey has described Jerome as »a connoisseur of Roman ... traditions of author-portraits ... and collective biography«, and his *De viris illustribus* as »the first ›multi-author‹ Christian bibliography ever produced«. ⁴ It looked back to the »serial encomiastic biography« of the ancient world: Jerome explicitly set his catalogue of authors in the tradition of classical biographical collections, name-checking a range of ancient authors, the first of whom was Suetonius, from whose own *De viris illustribus* (1st century CE) the title of Jerome's little book derives.⁵ Although Jerome had no obvious Christian template to imitate, he did acknowledge one literary model: in compiling his *De viris illustribus*, he said, »Eusebius Pamphilus, in the ten books of his Church History, has been of the utmost assistance«. ⁶ This assistance is reflected not only in the contents but also in the structure of his work: an easily accessible list charting Christian preachers and teachers and the communities to which they were attached.

Jerome stated that his main purpose was »to do for our [i.e. Christian] writers what [Suetonius] did for the illustrious men of letters among the Gentiles«. This point was reiterated a few lines later, when Jerome noted that while Cicero had listed the famous Latin orators in his *Brutus*, he wanted to compile a similar collection for the ecclesiastical writers whose texts »founded, built and adorned the Church«. ⁷ Roman collective biography was concerned above all with the virtues and vices of its subjects; Jerome, on the other hand, laid

1 Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, I. 1. 1, ed. Schwartz et al, 6-7; trans. Williamson, 1. See Johnson, Lists, Originality, and Christian Time; for a detailed study of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Corke-Webster, *Eusebius and Empire*.

2 Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Richardson; English translation by Halton and for a German translation with comprehensive commentary see Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, ed and trans. Barthold. See also Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, ed. and trans. Ceresa-Gastaldo. We use Richardson's edition because it contains the texts of both Jerome and Gennadius. 173 complete manuscripts survive from up to the 15th century. This number jumps to 451 if manuscript fragments and excerpts are taken into account. For more information on the manuscript transmission, see Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta*, 429-457 and Feder, *Studien*. For a new edition of Gennadius with commentary, see Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Sottocorno.

3 For a broader analysis of Greek, Roman and Christian traditions of collective biography in the 4th century, see Cox Miller, Strategies of representation, 209-254.

4 Vessey, *Reinventing History*, 279; *idem*, Augustine amongst the Writers, 242.

5 Vessey, Augustine, 241-243.

6 Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, pref., ed. Richardson, 1; trans. Halton, 1.

7 Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, pref., ed. Richardson, 2; trans. Halton, 1-2.

particular emphasis on writing.⁸ His distinctive vision of history put all known Christian writing in a common tradition that emerges from, and can be traced back to, the Bible. Jerome's main criterion for inclusion within his catalogue was that an individual had »published anything memorable on the Holy Scriptures from the time of Christ's passing down to the 14th year of the emperor Theodosius«, that is the year in which *De viris illustribus* was completed.⁹ This substantial cohort began with those who wrote the various texts of the New Testament, extended through the Greek writers of the first three Christian centuries – the accounts of almost all of whom were culled and translated from Eusebius' *Church History* – reaching writers closer to Jerome's own time, up to and including Jerome himself.

The biographies range in length and detail, from the briefest of notices to more extensive entries (the longest of which, in Latin, is still under 500 words). Despite this variety, Vessey observed that the »catalogue entries follow a pattern: (1) author's name, (2) office or status (e.g. bishop, monk, layman) and other distinctions, (3) literary works«. ¹⁰ Jerome's presence is palpable throughout the work, not least in the final chapter, which he devoted to himself. He, at least in part, used the work as a vehicle to approve or disapprove of fellow theologians and to settle doctrinal conflicts, many of which he himself was involved in. The catalogue was thus a record of both orthodox and heterodox writers, as defined by Jerome, its compiler. As such, it functioned in late antiquity as »a reference work that Christian authors could consult to learn about authors whom others referenced in the course of Christian disputes«. ¹¹ The source's particular form, furthermore, made it highly adaptable, and it spawned numerous continuations between late antiquity and the early modern period.

In this chapter, we are not concerned with Jerome's original intentions but rather with the reception of his *De viris illustribus*, both as a form of biographical collection to be emulated and as a textualised way of understanding Christian history. As desirable as it would be, a full investigation of the *Nachleben* of Jerome's catalogue is not possible within the confines of this article. Instead, we present two focused case studies, which not only represent two very different contexts within which Jerome's bio-bibliographical catalogue was read and developed but which also signal two very different approaches to the *De viris illustribus* tradition. Each case study, furthermore, reflects the research interests of the co-authors. In the first part, Veronika Wieser looks in detail at Gennadius of Marseille, who sometime in the later 5th century produced the very first (but by no means the last) continuation of Jerome's catalogue. Particular attention is paid not only to how Gennadius imitated and distinguished himself from Jerome but also to how his catalogue was shaped by the political and ecclesiastical transformations that occurred in southern Gaul at the end of the Western Roman Empire. In the second part of the chapter, which jumps from post-imperial Gaul to Carolingian Francia, Graeme Ward considers how Jerome's *De viris illustribus* could be expanded instead of continued. His focus is the Carolingian historian Frechulf of Lisieux, whose *Histories* (completed c. 829) reproduced Jerome's *De viris illustribus* almost in its entirety. Frechulf also repackaged its distinctive form as historical narrative in a way that betrays his 9th-century perspective as much as Gennadius' continuation reflects his 5th-century vantage point.

8 McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 223.

9 Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, pref., ed. Richardson, 1: *omnes qui de Scripturis Sanctis memoriae aliquid prodiderunt*; trans. Halton, 1.

10 Vessey, Introduction, 17.

11 Whiting, Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, 46.

Our approach, to be sure, leaves conspicuous gaps, not least with regard to the creative uses of the bio-bibliographic model in 7th-century Visigothic Iberia, first by Isidore of Seville and then by Ildefonsus of Toledo.¹² By looking, however, at two very different moments in the broader reception history of Jerome's genre-defining source, we not only seek to embrace the collaborative spirit of this special issue but also to offer two complementary snapshots of the vitality and adaptability of a text that would remain an enduring presence in the Latin West. Some broader observations, which stem from our respective case studies, are set out in the chapter's conclusion.

Constructing a Mediterranean Church Community:

Reading Gennadius' Continuation of Jerome's De Viris Illustribus

Sometime in the last decades of the 5th century, Gennadius, a priest (*presbyter*) in Marseille, decided to continue Jerome's collection of Christian authors into his own days.¹³ To that end, he added 101 new chapters to the work, focusing on the writers of the Catholic Church, the doctrinal disputes they were involved in and the development of the Church in general, but with particular emphasis on ascetic communities in Gaul.¹⁴ He used church councils and the reigns, successions and deaths of Roman Emperors (e.g. cc. 1, 20, 21, 49, 61, 62, 63) as his chronological framework. Following in Jerome's authoritative footsteps, Gennadius' collection can be read as a guidebook to the diverse religious landscape of late antiquity that had taken shape after Jerome. The flourishing of ascetic and monastic practices in the 5th century had not only created new forms of spiritual life but also entailed theological controversies and ecclesiastical rivalries; debates about the nature of grace and original sin, and about the Trinity and Christology (i.e. Pelagianism, Arianism and Nestorianism) were widespread, but were especially heated in southern Gaul. Thus, Gennadius provided contemporary readers with instructions to find their way through a world of competing theological doctrines and interpretations and of sprouting monastic communities.

12 The Iberian material is well studied: see Wood, *Playing the Fame Game*.

13 The dating of the collection's composition cannot be determined conclusively and several dates have been suggested. Because this discussion sheds light on the compilation process and other unresolved questions, a short overview is provided here: the work might have been written at any time between the early 470s, or even the late 460s, and the 490s before Gennadius' death, cf. Vessey, *Peregrinus against the heretics*, 533 (before 470); Schürer, *Teil I: Darstellung*, 132 with n. 31 (for 475); McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 223 (for 480) and Wood, *Playing the Fame Game*, 613-640 (for the 490s). The process of compiling the collection was a gradual one, although it is not entirely clear whether Gennadius composed the collection in one go, revising it at a later date and including additional chapters, or collected the entries over a longer period of time, which would place the date of the composition within a wider time frame. The latter seems to be more plausible, rendering all three mentioned dating possibilities relevant, with the 480s being Gennadius' most productive time (Larue, *Gennadius von Massilia*, 464; Czapla, *Gennadius als Litterarhistoriker*, 207-209). Eugenius, bishop of Carthage, died in 505, and his death therefore serves as a *terminus ante quem* (c. 97). Moreover, there is information about Cerealis (c. 96), who appears as bishop of Mauritania Caesariensis on an episcopal list of 484 (Whelan, *Being Christian*, 75, with n. 104), and Julianus Pomerius (c. 98), who was still alive when Gennadius was writing his catalogue and died c. 505. Timotheus' return from exile in 475 is also reported (c. 73). In the collection's last entry about Gennadius himself, a letter which he sent to Gelasius, the then bishop of Rome between 492 and 496, is mentioned (Salisbury, *Gelasius*, 399).

14 The chapter numbers vary in the manuscript tradition, however, due to the different strands of transmission. For a more detailed discussion of the manuscript tradition, see Pietri, *Gennadius von Marseille*, 376-78; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 201 with n. 98; Bernoulli, *Textkritische Untersuchung*, XVI-XXVIII. The chapter numeration in this article follows Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Richardson and Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, ed. Richardson.

Whereas we have a lot of information about Jerome at our disposal, either from himself or from his contemporaries, we know very little about Gennadius.¹⁵ The only contemporary information about him and his works is contained in the last entry to the continuation. Formulated in the first person, it echoes the layout of Jerome's last entry, highlighting the literary merits of the catalogue's composer. Therein five major works and one letter, which mainly deal with different heresies and topics of eschatology, were attributed to Gennadius, either by himself or, shortly after his death, by someone who knew him and his works very well:¹⁶

I, Gennadius, priest of Marseille, wrote eight books against all heresies, and six books against Nestorius, and ten books against Eutyches, and three books against Pelagius, and a tractate on one thousand years, ›On the Apocalypse of the blessed John‹; and I have sent this work, and a letter ›On My Faith‹, to the Blessed Gelasius, bishop of the City of Rome.¹⁷

Almost all of Gennadius' above-listed works seem to have been lost, although some fragmentary material may have survived in different medieval collections as well as the treatise *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis*, which had been attributed to Augustine originally.¹⁸ Taken together with the slight reservations around the authenticity of the collection's last entries, including Gennadius' own, the available information about the compiler and his ecclesiastical background in Marseille remains shadowy. While, from the knowledge displayed in the catalogue, we can safely assume that Gennadius was well connected to the ascetic circles at Marseille and in southern Gaul, no affiliation to a specific local church or monastery can be deduced conclusively for the »presbyter«. ¹⁹ Therefore, it is difficult to access the author's motives and background as well as the context of the catalogue directly. Nevertheless, we do have circumstantial evidence about the world in which Gennadius was writing, and we are also able to assess the author's place in the religious landscape through his selection and comments on Christian authors and their beliefs.

15 For example, see the short entries in Ferguson, Gennadius, 366, and Frank, Gennadius von Marseille, 1234.

16 For a discussion about the authorship of the last chapters, 94-99, see Vessey, Peregrinus against the heretics, 535; Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, vol. 4/2, 553; Feder, *Zusätze des gennadianischen Schriftstellerkatalog*, 381-83. On recent manuscript findings, see Seiler, Gennadius of Marseille's *De viris illustribus*, 309 with n. 5.

17 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 101, ed. Richardson, 97 (All translations from Gennadius' text are taken from Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, trans. Richardson).

18 Vessey, Peregrinus against the heretics, 535 with n. 13 and 14; McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, 173. For a more detailed discussion of the treatise, which was originally attributed to Augustine, see Morin, *Le Liber dogmatum* and Sottocorno, *De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis*.

19 A long-held supposition, which is first encountered in the catalogue (c. 62; ed. Richardson, 82), is that Cassian, an Egyptian monk, founded two monasteries in Marseille, one for men and one for women, sometime in the 420s. It is often assumed that Gennadius was closely linked to them. However, as Goodrich has shown, the existence of these two monasteries is uncertain and therefore Gennadius' monastic background is questionable; Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, 211-214, 226-230. It seems more likely that Gennadius was affiliated with the community at the shrine of Saint Victor, although knowledge about the beginnings of this church is also sparse. For more information, see Lebecq, *The role of the monasteries*, 125 with n. 10; Seiler, Gennadius of Marseille's *De viris illustribus*, 308 with n. 8. On Marseille's significance as a Christian centre, see Loseby, *Marseille*, 165-185.

The 5th-Century Political Context of the Western Roman Empire and Gaul

In the approximately hundred years between Jerome's and Gennadius' biographical collections, the political landscape of the Western Roman Empire had undergone a series of changes, set in motion by civil wars and military conflicts.²⁰ In Gaul, Spain and North Africa, in the aftermath of the barbarian invasions of 406/407 and 409/410, new political orders were established. The settlements and kingdoms of the Visigoths in Aquitaine, the Sueves and Alans in Galicia, and the Vandals in North Africa gradually increased in power, while imperial authority diminished in these territories.²¹ These developments were commented on in literary works, causing contemporary authors to engage with questions about God's agency in the world and the role of barbarian peoples. When in 439 the Vandal king Geiseric sacked Carthage, Salvian, an exile and refugee in Marseille, started working on his much-read *De gubernatione Dei* (*On the Government of God*).²² Writing for clergy, monks and pious lay people, his work provided a gloomy commentary on recent political developments and expressed both hopes and fears for the future of the Empire and for the Roman community in particular.²³ Salvian was featured in Gennadius' catalogue (c. 68), which described him to be still living and »at good old age«. ²⁴ Gennadius praised the clarity of his theological treatises and his books about religious virtues and the *ecclesia*.²⁵ Salvian's reflections on the imminence of God's judgment and punishment for human sins, as presented in the *De gubernatione Dei* (given as *De praesenti iudicio/On Judgement in the Here and Now* in the catalogue), may have concerned a topic of interest shared by Gennadius. He himself addressed questions of salvation and the End Times in two treatises on the *Revelation* and on the one-thousand-year kingdom, thereby engaging with the biblical-prophetic meaning of the political developments.

20 For an overview of the political transformations, see Collins, *The western kingdoms*, 31-59. For a discussion about the perceptions of these profound changes in modern scholarship, see Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*; Pohl, *Christian and Barbarian Identities*, 1-46.

21 On the establishment of the Visigothic settlements, see Mathisen and Sivan, *Forging a New Identity*, 1-62; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, 200-234. On the rise of barbarian kingdoms in Spain, see Kulikowski, *The Suevi in Gallaecia*, 131-145, as well as fn. 26-27. On the Vandals, see Steinacher, *Die Vandalen*.

22 Brown, *Salvian of Marseille*.

23 See Elm, *New Romans*, 1-28.

24 Besides Salvian, the contemporary theologians mentioned by Gennadius are Iulianus Pomerius (d. 500), who composed a spiritual guide, the *Vita contemplativa*, for clerics and pious lay people, and John, a »grammarian« and presbyter. Additional information about his conflict with Cyril of Alexandria suggests that this John was probably the patriarch of Antioch of that name who served from 429 to 441. This information is problematic, however, insofar as John could then hardly have been »said to be still living and preaching« (c. 93) in Gennadius' time. Maybe a different John is being referred to here, and the information about the theological conflict is a later mix-up by someone who was not familiar with the original context.

25 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 68, ed. Richardson, 84-85. In this entry, his major work *De gubernatione Dei* is entitled five books *De praesenti iudicio* (*On the present Judgment*); see Brown, *Salvian of Marseille*.

Between Salvian's composition of *De gubernatione Dei* and Gennadius' enterprise, the political landscape in Gaul had once again been transformed, particularly in the decades between the 460s and 470s with the defeat of the Roman armies and the breakdown of imperial rule in the Western Roman Empire, the increase of Visigothic dominion and, in the 480s, the rise of the new power of the Franks in northern Gaul.²⁶ In the 470s, in the wake of Visigothic expansion in Gaul, Gennadius' hometown of Marseille fell under the control of King Euric (*reg.* 466/467-484), and remained a part of the Visigothic kingdom until 507.²⁷

It is against this background that Gennadius started working on his catalogue. Of course, the catalogue of accomplished Christian authors was not intended to be a source of information on the political changes that had taken place, and there are, indeed, no explicit details provided concerning the shift from Roman to Visigothic rule in southern Gaul. It was nevertheless entangled in the political transitions and theological controversies happening at the author's doorstep, and we do find echoes of contemporary political developments. In the first chapter on James the Wise, we learn in passing about the fighting between Roman and Sasanian armies and the subsequent surrender of Nisibis (modern Nusaybin in Turkey) under Emperor Jovian in 363,²⁸ and in chapter 85 we are told of the sack of Rome in 455 via details embedded into the account of the chronicler Prosper of Aquitaine:

Prosper of Aquitaine, a man scholastic in style and vigorous in statement, is said to have composed many works, of which I have read a *Chronicle*, which bears his name, and which extends from the creation of the first man, according to Divine Scripture, until the death of the Emperor Valentinianus and the taking of Rome by Geiseric king of the Vandals.²⁹

Throughout the catalogue, there is intermittent mention of the active involvement of bishops and priests in ecclesiastical controversies and of their connections to the imperial court as preachers or advisors (cc. 21, 97), as experts or intermediaries in religious debates, as participants at church councils (cc. 16, 73) or simply as outspoken opponents. We can observe that imperial history becomes relevant primarily when it provides the background and cause for an author's literary engagement. In particular, this concerns the resistance of holy men to the ›pro-Arian‹ preference of barbarian rulers, with ›Arianism‹ being one of the main contemporary theological controversies, which divided Christian communities for more than 200 years until the 6th century.³⁰ Three entries deal with North African Catho-

26 On the developments in Gaul in the 470s and 480s, see Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations*, 257-278, and Staderman, *uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo*. Concerning the political developments after 508, see Mathisen, Clovis, Anastasius, and political status, 79-110.

27 The Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse controlled the regions in south-western Gaul from 418 to 507. The years between 473 and 484, in particular, saw the expansion of their rule in this area and in the Tarraconensis. In 473, the *civitates* of Arles and Marseille were conquered by Euric, who probably held the latter city until the peace treaty with Emperor Julius Nepos in 475 and took it back a year later after Nepos' deposition; Wolfram, *History of the Goths*, 172-246, esp. 184-188; Gillett, *The Accession of Euric*.

28 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 1, ed. Richardson, 61-62.

29 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 85, ed. Richardson, 87.

30 Arianism refers to a fierce controversy that polarised the Christian community for almost two centuries. It broke out in the late 310s over the teachings of Arius, a priest in Alexandria, about the substance of the Trinity, especially of Christ as Son of God, and culminated at the Council of Constantinople (381); Heil, *The Homoians*; Smith, *The Trinity*, 109-122. On the connection between Arian creed and barbarian rulers, see Steinacher, *Die Vandalen*, 109-118 and the contributions in Berndt and Steinacher (eds.), *Arianism*.

lic bishops (cc. 78, 95, 97) and their opposition to the Vandal court, specifically to King Geiseric (*reg.* 428-477) and his successor, Huneric (*reg.* 477-484).³¹ There are several more entries to the catalogue that refer to this theological debate, and they were included because of the relevant author's anti-Arian attitude, which Gennadius shared (cc. 1, 14, 16, 79, 86, 98). While his attacks on representatives of the Arian creed are a prominent narrative strand throughout the catalogue, only some Vandal and no Visigothic kings are explicitly mentioned therein. We nonetheless have to keep in mind that King Euric's rise to power in the regions of southern Gaul and the influence of the Visigothic court at Toulouse form a background layer to Gennadius' catalogue. Euric, as many other rulers, used new appointments to episcopal sees to create his own ecclesiastical network of loyal supporters in order to bolster his political standing and to diminish the influence of non-cooperative ecclesiastical elites, a development all the more significant when the new ruler followed a different creed.³² Although it may be pushing the evidence beyond its limits to consider the catalogue's composition as an act of resistance against Euric and his court, Gennadius' emphasis on the importance of orthodox belief can be seen, to some extent, in the light of this new situation. Reminding his audience, fellow bishops and priests of the necessity to adhere to the Nicene faith was not only a matter of theology but also of strengthening the local orthodox community. In the catalogue, Gennadius stressed this point by praising the works of orthodox Gallic writers, such as Vincent of Lérins' collection of heresies and ecclesiastical disputes (c. 65) and Faustus' book *Against the Arians and Macedonians* and his letter to Graecus (c. 86). He criticised those who, in his opinion, divided the community: they had »left the Catholic faith, [and] had gone over to the Nestorian impiety«, just as the above-mentioned Graecus, bishop of Marseille (c. 460-475), had.³³

In pointing out orthodox and heretical authors, Gennadius aimed to provide his audience with guidance on how to navigate contemporary ecclesiastical conflicts against the background of a new political situation. His catalogue was therefore far from being only a tool for preserving knowledge. The snippets of information about political developments and ecclesiastical debates, such as on Arianism, formed the backdrop to the literary accomplish-

31 These entries are about Victor, bishop of Cartenna, and Honoratus, bishop of Constantina in Africa (c. 96). For a broader discussion of exiled bishops, Catholic resistance and the political attitude of Vandal rulers towards religion, see Whelan, *Being Christian*, 85-138, 143-164, and Steinacher, *Die Vandalen*, 109-118, 246-258.

32 On Euric's establishment of local power bases, see Lee, *From Rome to Byzantium*, 184-188, Fernández, *Persuading the Powerful*. Euric's attitude towards Catholic bishops is a complex topic. Seiler, *Gennadius of Marseille's De viris illustribus*, 322, points out that it seems likely that Euric acted harshly towards Nicene bishops and tried to prevent the election of Catholic bishops mainly for religious reasons. The exile between c. 477-485 of Faustus, bishop of Riez from 460/462 on, for instance, is often attributed directly to Euric's policy, although this is difficult to substantiate. We know that he returned to his bishopric shortly after Euric's death in 484; see Müller, *Freundschaften*, and also Mathisen, *Barbarian ›Arian‹ Clergy, and Heil, The Homoians*. Although we cannot rule out this aspect conclusively, Euric's involvement in disputes with bishops, leaving some sees vacant, does not in any case necessarily imply a deliberate church policy. Wolfram *The History of the Goths*, 200, explains that Euric tried to achieve a »shutdown of the ecclesiastical institutions, but he did so without proselytizing« and that he stopped his initially anti-Catholic policy after his conquests had been officially accepted by the Roman Empire. A similar example of an emperor's involvement in theological debates and ecclesiastical matters can be found in Magnus Maximus' participation in the Priscillian controversy; see Wood and Natal, *Playing with fire* and n. 65 below.

33 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 86, ed. Richardson, 84-85. In this chapter, Gennadius referred to a theological controversy between Faustus of Riez and Graecus, bishop of Marseille, who was accused of misinterpreting Augustine (Mathisen, *Introduction*, 1-50). Interestingly, in the entry Graecus is only addressed as a »certain deacon« not as a bishop, probably to degrade his position.

ments of Christian writers and created another, dynamic narrative layer linking together authors, fellow-theologians, bishops and rulers. Such treatises, written from the viewpoint of a follower of the Nicene creed, had a strong interest in presenting their opponents in a less favourable light, brandishing them as ›heretics‹. While the catalogue's contemporary audience would have been well aware of present debates and conflicts, especially of those taking place in southern Gaul, some of Gennadius' references might not have been apparent or meaningful to readers consulting the text centuries later. Thus, his depiction of orthodox and heretical writers would become less verifiable but at the same time authoritative. It is therefore important to be aware of the contemporary background of political change and fierce theological controversies when examining Gennadius' approach to continuing and re-contextualising Jerome's collection in his own day.³⁴

Gennadius as an Author

Gennadius' aim was to continue, update and complement Jerome's work. He tried to fill in gaps and offer explanations for missing information or for the absence of entries concerning teachers who were important to him. But first, writing about Christian authorities, he also had to establish himself as an authority, as someone who was qualified to collect these biographies and to continue Jerome's work. To examine Gennadius' approach and methods more closely, the first entry of the continuation, on James, bishop of Nisibis in the first half of the 4th century, is a good example. The bishop, whose oeuvre comprised 26 books, was characterised as an opponent of Arianism and a key figure in the Nicene controversy but had not been included in Jerome's catalogue. According to Gennadius, the only reasonable explanation for his omission was a language barrier rather than a matter of the bishop's worthiness. The fact that, as Gennadius stated, Jerome's information on Syrian bishops had been drawn from Greek translations, suggested that he – unlike Gennadius himself, it seems – could not read Syriac:

That the blessed Jerome mentions this man in his Chronicle as a man of great virtues and yet does not place him in his catalogue of writers, will be easily explained if we note that of the three or four Syrians whom he mentions he says that he read them translated into the Greek. From this it is evident that, at that period, he did not know the Syriac language or literature and therefore he did not know a writer who had not yet been translated into another language.³⁵

34 For more information on rulership, religious controversies and ecclesiastical competition in Gennadius' local context, see Eisenberg, *Building Little Romes*.

35 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 1, ed. Richardson, 61-62. In chapter 73 (ibid., 86), Gennadius also hints at his excellent language skills, stating that he was able to translate a theological work written by Timotheus, bishop of Alexandria, from Greek into Latin. However, it is very likely that Gennadius cast his own linguistic abilities, at least his skills in Syriac, in a more favourable light than his choice of sources to include would allow. The text of James the Wise might simply have been translated at a later date into Latin or Greek. Also, in the entry on Macarius (c. 10; ibid., 64-65), Gennadius mentions only one letter written by the author. This is surprising because Macarius was a renowned writer of numerous homilies and more than ten letters have been preserved. Indeed, the letter Gennadius mentions had been translated into Latin, whereas the majority of Macarius' other works were written in Syriac or Greek. This would encourage a different perception of Gennadius' skills as a translator than that which he wished to impress upon his readers (Marriott, Gennadius of Marseilles on Macarius of Egypt, 347-349).

Actively reflecting on his predecessor's choices and sometimes even adjusting them to the focus of his own compilation was an important part of Gennadius' work.

In his additions to Jerome's catalogue, which focus on bishops and teachers of the Church, Gennadius augmented the scope of *De viris illustribus* by emphasising Christian ascetic and monastic practices.³⁶ This meant going back chronologically to the second half of the 4th century, earlier than the 392 end date of Jerome's catalogue. In the first chapters of Gennadius' continuation, the Desert Fathers of Egypt, the heartland of monastic asceticism at the time, play a prominent role. Pachomius, monk and abbot of Tabennisi (d. 348), who is considered one of the founding fathers of the Egyptian monastic tradition,³⁷ his successor at the monastery, a fellow monk as well as two other Egyptian ascetics, Macarius and Evagrius, are portrayed.³⁸ In comparison to Pachomius' literary achievements, which include treatises on monastic life, a monastic rule and several educational letters, the works of the other monks affiliated to his monastic foundation were less notable. They seem to have only written letters to other monasteries and works of which Gennadius did not know the titles (cc. 8-9). Jerome's catalogue does not mention Pachomius and his literary achievements because he was probably not yet aware of them, his translation of the latter's rule not being completed until some twenty years later, c. 404. The works of the other monks affiliated to Pachomius' monastic foundation were also excluded from the catalogue, either because he did not know of them or they were simply less notable.³⁹ Gennadius, on the other hand, had a keen interest in the proponents of monastic life, being influenced by the context in which he was living, working and writing, and especially by the Egyptian monastic practices that had been emulated in southern Gaul.⁴⁰

Starting with the ascetic foundations that sprang up in the second half of the 4th century in Aquitaine, southern Gaul had become a hotspot of asceticism in the West by the turn of the century.⁴¹ Inspired by the coenobitic life of monks and nuns in Egypt and Palestine, the Gallic communities adopted and re-interpreted their ideas in Lérins, Marmoutiers, Primuliacum and Marseille, developments that are reflected in Gennadius' catalogue.⁴² At Marseille, in particular, Cassian's visions of a poor and strict monastic life modelled on the first apostolic communities circulated. In the catalogue (c. 62), Gennadius provides a lengthy account of

36 Jerome included only one account on a monk, Anthony (c. 88; ed. Richardson, 45); his other entries deal with bishops and theologians. See Seiler, Gennadius of Marseille's *De viris illustribus* for a more detailed analysis of the writers' geographical origins.

37 On the first monastic communities in Egypt see Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*.

38 The chapters treat Pachomius (c. 7), Theodorus (c. 8), Oresiesis (c. 9), Macarius (c. 10) and Evagrius (c. 11).

39 Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, 97-101.

40 In the following centuries, Gennadius' entries about Pachomius, his treatises on monastic life, his rules and his calculation of the date of Easter became particularly important for the medieval Carolingian reception and for the transmission of information on ascetic life and monastic communities in the Eastern parts of the Roman Empire to the Latin West in general (Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, 118).

41 On the role of Egyptian monks, the transmission of ascetic ideas into the Western parts of the Roman Empire and the first monastic communities, see Dunn, *Western monasticism*; Salzman, *Making of a Christian Aristocracy*, 88-90. On the ascetic movement in Gaul, see Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*, 57-114. On the trend among Gallic aristocrats in the last quarter of the 4th century to convert and found ascetic communities, see Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, and Diefenbach, "Bischofsherrschaft".

42 On these first monastic communities see Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 411-432, 433-453; Elm, *Ascetics and Monastics*, 309-315; Alciati, *And the Villa Became a Monastery*; Helvétius, *Les premières îles monastiques*, and the contributions in Codou and Lauwers (eds.), *Lérins*.

the monk Cassian, who, after spending many years at the Egyptian monasteries of Nitria, Kellia and Scetis, came to southern Gaul sometime in the 420s. In Marseille, at the request of the city's bishop, Proclus, Cassian allegedly founded two monasteries, one for men and the other for women.⁴³ His two seminal works, *Concerning the Institutes of the Coenobites and the Remedies for the Eight Principal Vices* (short: *Institutes*) and the *Conferences of the Fathers*, elaborate on the spiritual teachings of the Desert Fathers and aim to provide monastic rules less difficult and more readily applicable than that of Pachomius.⁴⁴ Cassian's works and influence resound strongly in Gennadius' catalogue. He mentions fellow ascetics, friends (c. 70) and critics (c. 85), and shows that Cassian's ideas, in particular his anti-Nestorian writings, were still influential decades later (c. 86).⁴⁵ These entries also highlight the connections between the monastic communities of Marseille and Lérins, including Eucherius (c. 64), monk of Lérins and later bishop of Lyons (c. 435-450), who was the dedicatee of Cassian's *Collationes patrum*, and Salvian (c. 68), who was connected to both centres.⁴⁶ Gennadius also incorporated proponents of early asceticism in Gaul who were associated with the first ascetic hotspots, such as those initiated by Paulinus of Nola (c. 49), Sulpicius Severus (c. 19) and Hilary of Arles (c. 70), that were established around the turn of the 5th century.⁴⁷

Apparently, it was very important to Gennadius to inscribe Cassian onto the Marseille community, thereby claiming his theological legacy and buttressing a monastic tradition in Gaul with him as a central player. Cassian served as an important intermediary to connect the local monastic context of Marseille and southern Gaul, represented mainly by the circle of Lérins, with the earlier, authoritative Eastern monastic traditions depicted in the accounts of Pachomius and his monks. Furthermore, hagiographers like Hilary of Arles with his *Life of*

43 Gennadius' entry on Cassian not only highlighted his achievements, his involvement in doctrinal debates and his participation within the ascetic networks of southern Gaul but also obscured them. The information on Cassian's Scythian origin («... natione Scythia») is rather peculiar yet persistent. His affiliation with the church in Marseille («apud Massiliam presbyter») is unclear, and his above-mentioned foundation of two monasteries and their continuance have become less certain (see n. 19). This leaves us wondering why Gennadius did not provide better, clearer information on Cassian, if the latter had indeed been such an integral part of the Marseille community. It also points to a characteristic challenge faced in using the catalogue, namely the difficulty in verifying some of the information provided there and the need for additional information with regard to some entries. As the snippet about Cassian's alleged Scythian origin and about his foundation of two monasteries shows, later users would treat the catalogue as an objective and reliable source of information, although this might not be the case for all entries. For a critical discussion of Gennadius' entry, see Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, 211-214, 226-230. Seiler argues that Gennadius' work is very much focused on Cassian; Seiler, *Gennadius of Marseille's De viris illustribus*. On Cassian's biography and his experiences of Egyptian monastic communities in general, see Goodrich, *John Cassian*.

44 Cassian's works aimed to demonstrate to Gallic monks how to lead an authentic ascetic life and included discrete criticism of the existing local communities; see Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*, 8-32, 97-101.

45 In this letter to Graecus (c. 86), Faustus used Cassian's arguments against Nestorius; see Seiler, *Gennadius of Marseille's De viris illustribus*, 315.

46 Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian*.

47 See Leyser, *This Sainted Isle*, 188-206; Diefenbach, «Bischofsherrschaft», and Bully and Destefanis, *The Archaeology of the Earliest Monasteries*. Paulinus was born in Bordeaux and his family possessed vast estates and fortunes in Aquitaine. After the foundation of his monastery in Cimitile/Nola and as bishop of the town, he had close ties to fellow-ascetics in Gaul and became an ascetic role model for likeminded members of the Roman upper class. In his letter exchange between 395-407 and 422-425, Paulinus documented the flourishing of asceticism in Gaul (with Sulpicius Severus, Aper and his wife Amanda, Bishop Delphinus of Bordeaux and his successor Amandus, Bishop Florentius of Cahors and his brother Alethius, Sebastianus, a hermit in Aquitaine, Eucherius and his wife Galla, who settled into an ascetic life at the island Lero, close to Lérins); see Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel*, esp. 19-48 on Gaul.

Honoratus (c. 70) and Sulpicius Severus with the *Vita sancti Martini* and *Dialogi* (c. 19) provided the narrative models for leading an ascetic, holy life. Teachers of the Church (*doctores*) like Cassian, translators like Rufinus, who had also been a monk at the Egyptian monastery of Nitria, and Gennadius himself can be seen as conduits for transferring knowledge between the Greek literature and the Latin audience.⁴⁸

Comparing the catalogues of Gennadius and Jerome, it seems that the former's entries contain, on the whole, less biographical and context-related information than the latter's. Gennadius, for instance, portrays Macarius simply as »another monk« in chapter 2 and speaks of »another John«, bishop of Jerusalem, in chapter 31.⁴⁹ The shortage of information in some of Gennadius' entries sometimes makes it difficult to even clearly discern the person in question, thus making use of the catalogue difficult. What Jerome and Gennadius have in common, however, is their interpretation of biographical and bibliographical information as a means to criticise theologians and scholars of whom they did not approve. Helvidius (c. 33), for instance, against whom Jerome had written a treatise, is described by Gennadius as a mediocre writer, who wrote a book »with zeal for religion but not according to knowledge ... polished neither in language nor in reasoning«. ⁵⁰ While Gennadius seems to have endorsed Jerome's assessment of Helvidius, he did not share Jerome's opinion of Rufinus and in his entry particularly praises the works translated by the latter (c. 17). Gennadius referred to the conflict between the two and even criticised Jerome, although without mentioning him by name (he simply referred to him as a »detractor«).⁵¹

Moreover he [Rufinus] responded to a detractor of his works, in two volumes, arguing and proving that he exercised his talent with the aid of the Lord and in the sight of God, for the good of the church, while he, on the other hand, incited by jealousy had taken to polemics.

There are more entries where Gennadius' role not only as compiler but also as commentator and corrector becomes evident, especially where he adds information about his own reading experiences: »I have only read one of [Bachiarius' books]«⁵² or »I have read also three books *On faith*, which bear his [Theophilus of Alexandria's] name but, as their language is not like his, I do not very much think they are by him«. ⁵³ Such comments, which appear sporadically throughout the catalogue, serve to bolster Gennadius' credibility as compiler and author, and authenticate the works he quotes. Moreover, they create a personal perspective connecting compiler, the authors mentioned and their works.

48 In chapter 17, Gennadius praises Rufinus for opening »to the Latin speaking church the greater part of the Greek literature«.

49 On the lack of information about Macarius, see n. 35.

50 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 33, ed. Richardson, 73.

51 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 17, ed. Richardson, 67-68. On the well-known conflict between Rufinus and Jerome, which revolved around the debate concerning Origenism and heresy accusations in general but was incited by different elite networks and scholarly ambitions, see Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society*, 433-445.

52 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 24, ed. Richardson, 71.

53 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 34, ed. Richardson, 73-74.

Much of what Gennadius included was not only selected and modified according to his authorial choices but also depended on the sources of information at his disposal. Despite the political changes of the 5th century, Marseille, as a port city, had maintained many of its connections with the eastern part of the Empire, and Gennadius could have obtained his information from travellers, pilgrims or messengers.⁵⁴ In addition, he most likely had access to the stories and knowledge contained in private libraries and local monasteries, probably including Cassian's books and letter collection.⁵⁵ Also, exiled bishops and theologians, who play an important role in the catalogue, would have carried letters and works from other authors, thereby connecting the different regions around the Mediterranean Sea with each other. This can be seen especially in the last entries to the catalogue, which feature Nicene North African bishops that had come to southern Gaul, such as Eugenius, bishop of Carthage (c. 97), who was exiled to Albi, or Julianus Pomerius (c. 98).⁵⁶

From the end of the 4th century on, however, Gennadius on occasion seems not to have been very well informed about some regional communities in Gaul. He made for instance Faustus, the later bishop of Riez and his contemporary, first abbot of the monastery of Lérins, omitting Maximus and its founding members Honoratus, Eucherius and Galla.⁵⁷ Also, the personal information provided in his entry on Sulpicius Severus (c. 19) reveals some (minor) gaps in his knowledge:⁵⁸

He wrote to his sister many *Letters* exhorting to love of God and contempt of the world. These are well known. He wrote two to the above mentioned Paulinus Nolanus and others to others, but because, in some, family matters are included, they have not been collected for publication. [...] In his old age, he was led astray by the Pelagians, and recognising the guilt of much speaking, kept silent until his death, in order that by penitent silence he might atone for the sin which he had contracted by speaking.

Sulpicius Severus had written many more letters to his friend Bishop Paulinus of Nola than the two mentioned,⁵⁹ and the sister referred to was most likely his mother-in-law, Bassula, called his »sister-in-Christ« in their letters.⁶⁰ While this information might not seem all that important, Gennadius' accusation that the »*presbyter*« Sulpicius embraced Pelagian ideas is potentially more significant but cannot be verified conclusively.⁶¹ We have to treat this snippet of information with caution, as Gennadius' entry is the only extant source to contain it.⁶² What we do know is that we lose trace of Sulpicius sometime after the invasions of 406/407, when

54 Loseby, Marseille.

55 Seiler, Gennadius of Marseille's *De viris illustribus*, 310.

56 On exiled bishops, see Whelan, *Being Christian*, 143-164. On the transmission of saints' cults between Africa, Gaul, Spain and Italy, see Conant, *Cult of Saints*.

57 Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 411.

58 Gennadius, *De viris illustribus*, c. 19, ed. Richardson, 69.

59 None of Sulpicius Severus' letters to Paulinus, which were written on a regular, annual basis, have survived. However, we are fortunate to have thirteen of Paulinus' replies in his letter collection, numbered 1, 5, 11, 17, 22, 23, 24, 27-32. For more information, see Skeb, *Einleitung*, esp. 74-80; Mratschek, *Der Briefwechsel*, 19-48, 80-81, 106, 457-63.

60 For more information on Bassula, see Wieser, »Like a Safe Tower«.

61 See the short discussion in Glover, *Sulpicius Severus and Gennadius*.

62 See Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer*, 16 with n. 5, on the information presented by Gennadius.

his regular letter exchange with Paulinus of Nola broke off.⁶³ Thus, Sulpicius' date of death, sometimes alleged to have been between 420 and 425, cannot be determined with precision, and neither can his involvement in the Pelagian controversy be attested, although he would have shared central points of Pelagius' teachings on poverty, original sin, free will and the grace of God. Sulpicius' conversion to asceticism and his disposal of his wealth and possessions were done in the belief that it would facilitate his own salvation.⁶⁴ In this respect there might be a connection with Pelagius' teachings, which spread quickly in the western half of the Roman Empire, but Gennadius' entry may also be the result of confusion with the controversy of Priscillian, in which Martin of Tours and Sulpicius were involved and which reverberated among Gaul's ecclesiastical elites long after Priscillian's execution in 385/387.⁶⁵ While this entry might not tell us much about Sulpicius' actual fate, it sheds light on the religious debates in Gaul.⁶⁶ The debate on Pelagius and his teachings, which were centred on the fundamental questions of original sin and on the efficacy of good deeds for attaining salvation, especially gained momentum in the 420s and 430s. Cassian and his supporters tried to find a more moderate position after Jerome's and particularly Augustine's rebuttal of Pelagius, but they were soon labelled as Pelagians themselves.⁶⁷ The ensuing controversy was long-lasting. Many decades later, Gennadius' compendium still contained reflections of this debate, which involved not only theological positions but also questions of ecclesiastical authority and rivalry, notably between Cassian and Augustine's supporters.⁶⁸ Gennadius tried to navigate between

63 When Paulinus of Nola renewed his letter exchange with friends in Gaul, he did not write again to Sulpicius. The latter might therefore have already been dead at that point, or he might have retreated to a more secure monastery, such as Marmoutier or even Marseille, to escape the »rising tide of violence«, see Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 420; see also Stancliffe, *St. Martin and his Hagiographer*, 15.

64 Wieser, *Reading the Past into the Present*. Sulpicius could have heard of Pelagius' teachings via Paulinus of Nola, who was in touch with Pelagius in Italy.

65 On Martin's involvement and Sulpicius' narrative, see Wieser, *Reading the Past*; on the trial, see Liebs, *Summoned to the Roman Courts*, and Reimitz and Esders, *After Gundovald, before Pseudo-Isidore*; on the accusations of hereticism, see Burrus, *The Making of a Heretic*.

66 Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism*. Vincent of Lérin's *Commonitorium*, a guidebook to heretical positions composed sometime after the turn of the 5th century, gives a good overview of the fragmented religious landscape; Vincenz von Lérins, *Commonitorium*, ed. Fiedrowicz, trans. Barthold. The councils of Turin (after 397), Riez (439), Orange (441) and Vaison (442) dealt with reprimanding and punishing clerics who had acted too autonomously and with their integration into the church community; see Van Dam, *Leadership and Community*; Hillner, *Confined Exiles*.

67 Pelagius' teachings were well received in aristocratic-ascetic circles in Italy but were met with fierce criticism and opposition from Augustine; see Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 308-21; *idem*, *The Ransom of the Soul*, 82, 83-114. On the spread and debate of Pelagius' positions among ascetics and church authorities in Gaul, see Seiler, Gennadius of Marseille's *De viris illustribus*.

68 For an overview, see Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism*, 27-43; Markus, *The Legacy of Pelagius*; Sottocorno, *Semipelagianismo y disciplina monástica*. Mathisen shows in an article how easily a theological controversy could become an ecclesiastical conflict and how questions of orthodoxy could be treated together with tangible interests and efforts to increase one's own influence and authority; Mathisen, *Caesarius of Arles*. The author also stresses the tendency of Gallic bishops to seek support from the bishop in Rome against their opponents. This might be echoed in Gennadius' sending of his catalogue to Bishop Gelasius (492-496), whose name is linked to 6th-century *Decretum Gelasianum* (see ed. Dobschütz).

the different camps: he criticised and condemned Pelagius, his teachings and supporters in several entries (cc. 19, 43, 45, 60, 65) and mentioned those who argued against him, including himself (cc. 31, 40, 44, 99); at the same time, Gennadius was critical of Pelagius' most severe accuser, Augustine (c. 39), and included those who defended Pelagius or tried to find a compromise, such as the bishops Julianus of Eclanum and Faustus of Riez (cc. 46 and 86).⁶⁹

Gennadius' catalogue of Christian writers is inextricably embedded in the complex religious landscape of Gaul in the 5th century and reflects strongly his own position and involvement in contemporary doctrinal disputes and ecclesiastical conflicts.⁷⁰ The catalogue aims to define and promote orthodoxy and at the same time bolster Gennadius' and Cassian's authority and position. We can see overall that, although separated by space and time, Gennadius' decision to continue Jerome's collection connected the writers and communities of his day to Jerome's world. The topics of doctrinal dispute and orthodox faith string both collections together. Both compilers offered their own sequence of authorities, which presented the specific representation of the past they wished to highlight and thereby generated a more coherent picture of various Christian theological and monastic communities than would in reality have been the case.

While Jerome's approach, following Eusebius, was Roman and imperial, Gennadius focused on the developments across the Gallic Churches and added a second thematic strand by emphasising the monastic traditions that had gained momentum in his day. Eastern monastic practices resound across his catalogue, from the first monasteries in Egypt to the reception of these ideas in the Latin West, with Marseille and Lérins being the centres most prominent in the catalogue. Gennadius showed how these communities had absorbed Eastern monastic traditions while creating their own ones at the same time. By adding a perspective born out of the monastic developments to the collection, Gennadius rewrote and reoriented the documented writers, situating his work at the intersection of compiling and authoring.

From Late Antiquity to the Carolingian World

Although Gennadius' continuation of Jerome's *De viris illustribus* articulated a novel vision of Christian community, the two catalogues, transmitted together, became a common foundation on which later continuators built. Connecting more than 200 writers, their past communities and the collections' later audiences to each other, they created literary traditions and conduits of knowledge transfer spanning several centuries. The texts were picked up and taken in new directions in 7th-century Iberia, firstly by Isidore of Seville and then by Ildefonsus of Toledo.⁷¹ There follows a conspicuous 500-year gap: no new *De viris illustribus* texts were produced

69 See Seiler, Gennadius of Marseille's *De viris illustribus* for a more detailed discussion. Especially noteworthy is the entry on Faustus, as Gennadius was full of praise for the bishop and his treatise *On Grace* (c. 471), while Augustine's entry in the catalogue is conspicuously short, missing a lot his works, such as *The City of God*, the *Confessions* and, in particular, those concerning his ideas on grace.

70 The Pelagian dispute is a dominant strand but not the only contemporary controversy to be aired in the catalogue. Christological debates, involving the doctrines of Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople (cc. 54-56, 58, 60, 62, 82, 93, 94, 99), and Eutyches (cc. 67, 71, 72, 83, 85, 89, 94, 99), are also prominent but cannot be discussed here in detail. See therefore Seiler, Gennadius of Marseille's *De viris illustribus*, for more information.

71 Wood, *Playing the Fame Game*; Whiting, *Jerome's De viris illustribus*.

until the turn of the 12th century.⁷² A lack of direct emulators, however, should not be taken as a lack of interest or influence. There is, for instance, plenty of evidence for subsequent authors utilising Jerome's and Gennadius' *De viris illustribus*, often as a pair. In 6th-century Italy, Cassiodorus produced an influential guidebook for Christian study, in which he advised his pupils to read the catalogues of Jerome and Gennadius together as a pair to help get to grips with Christian history.⁷³ Bede, an 8th-century Northumbrian monk, not only drew upon the combined entries of Jerome and Gennadius when compiling his so-called *Greater Chronicle* but also made the completion of the text a historical event in and of itself when he wrote that: »Jerome, the translator of sacred history, wrote a book about the most illustrious men of the Church, which he brought down to the fourteenth year of Theodosius' reign«. ⁷⁴

The manuscript evidence is even more revealing. Two codices containing Jerome together with Gennadius are attested from as early as the 6th century, and the works continued to be copied together in the 7th and 8th centuries. There is then a notable spike in the production and survival of manuscripts in the later 8th and 9th centuries. This coincided with the age of Carolingian rule, when the Western Empire was resurrected upon Charlemagne's coronation as emperor in 800 and a massive project of cultural and religious reform was undertaken.⁷⁵ As part of this project, the writings of Latin late antiquity were copied en masse in ecclesiastical centres of learning throughout western Europe. Even if there were no 9th-century continuations of the *De viris illustribus* tradition, these were amongst the many texts which were transcribed and studied by Carolingian monks and clerics.

Copying old texts was not a mere religious pastime. Rosamond McKitterick has argued that the intense interest in reproducing the late antique bio-bibliographical catalogues of Jerome and Gennadius reinforced notions of Christian orthodoxy; Carolingian churchmen not only copied the catalogue but also drew on both Jerome and his late antique continuators to consolidate a defined canon of religious authorities. McKitterick situated her evaluation of Jerome-Gennadius within Carolingian communities of learning, arguing that *De viris illustribus* texts played a significant role in the formation and organisation of library catalogues and collections.⁷⁶ McKitterick, furthermore, argued that the tradition contributed to a distinctive book-based way of thinking about the past, one that looked back to Jerome but also to his main source, Eusebius' *Church History*.⁷⁷ For the second case study of this chapter, the example of one specific Carolingian intellectual, Frechulf of Lisieux, will be used to illustrate how the reception of Jerome's *De viris illustribus* exists at the intersection of these two strands, that is of canon formation and the understanding of history. Read in relation to Gennadius' direct continuation, it reveals a very different type of engagement with the bio-bibliographic form.

72 In general, see Lehmann, *Literaturgeschichte im Mittelalter*, 82-113; Blum, *Literaturverzeichnis*, cols. 137-208; Bertini, *Continuatori medievali*, 127-138. On the 12th-century texts, see now Byrne, *Cutting out the Camel-Like Knees of St James*. Despite its title, Notker the Stammerer's *Notatio de illustribus viris* (written late 9th century) does not follow the model of Jerome-Gennadius: see Rauner, *Notkers des Stammlers Notatio de illustribus viris*, 34-69 and Kaczynski, *Reading the Fathers*.

73 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I.17.2, ed. Mynors, 57; trans. Halporn, 151.

74 Bede, *Chronica*, ed. Jones, 513: »Hieronimus sacrae interpret historiae librum, quem de Inlustribus ecclesiae viris scribit, usque ad xiiii totius imperii theodosii annum perducit«; trans. Wallis, 218.

75 The best introduction is Costambeys *et al.*, *The Carolingian World*. On reform, see Brown, Introduction; Leyser, *Late Antiquity in the Medieval West*, 30-35.

76 McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, 200-5, and *eadem*, *History and Memory*, 236-238. For a wider medieval perspective, Rouse and Rouse, *Bibliography before Print*.

77 McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 218-244, esp. 221-6; *eadem*, *Perceptions of the Past*, 61.

Frechulf of Lisieux

Frechulf was the bishop of Lisieux, an episcopal see in modern-day northern France, a position which he held from c. 824/825 until his death c. 850/852.⁷⁸ Around 829, he finished his *Histories*, a massive Christian universal chronicle composed in two complementary parts.⁷⁹ Part I stretched from the world's creation to the birth of Christ; part II, which will concern me here, took the story forward from the beginning of the Church through to the turn of the 7th century. Curiously, Frechulf's narrative stopped some two centuries before his own day. He was therefore no chronicler of contemporary events or persons, nor was he interested in narrating or interpreting the recent past. Rather, he was a compiler of authoritative historical knowledge. His *Histories* were fashioned out of excerpts from much earlier historiographical and biographical works, most of which were composed in the 4th and 5th centuries, an age of renowned Roman emperors and illustrious Church Fathers. »Imperial deeds and ecclesiastical acts« were for Frechulf the very stuff of history, and Jerome's *De viris illustribus* spoke directly to this theme.⁸⁰ It was indeed so pertinent to his own project that in part II of his *Histories* Frechulf integrated verbatim the lion's share of Jerome's 135 chapters.⁸¹ While Gennadius' example shows how the bio-bibliographic tradition could be continued to reflect the needs of new Christian communities in 5th-century southern Gaul, Frechulf's reception offers a much later, but nevertheless complementary perspective on *De viris illustribus*' influence. Frechulf shows that the catalogue, almost in its entirety, could be reproduced in a novel narrative context.⁸²

This narrative was both Christian and Roman. The story of the Christian church in part II unfolded within the Roman Empire, from its beginnings in the reign of the first Roman emperor, Augustus, until Phocas (*reg.* 602-610), the last named emperor in the *Histories*. The successive reigns of Roman rulers existed as chronological units in Frechulf's sources and in turn offered him hooks off which he was able to hang his various excerpts. This can be seen in his engagement with Jerome's *De viris illustribus*. For example, Frechulf devoted five chapters to the reign of Nero, one of which dealt with the Apostle Paul, who was beheaded »in the fourteenth year« of that emperor. This was taken from c. 5 of *De viris illustribus*. Nero's reign was infamous in Christian history because he was considered the instigator of the first of ten imperial Christian persecutions.⁸³ Later, after narrating the fifth persecution, launched by Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla (*reg.* 193-211 and 198-217 respectively),

78 Allen, *Prolegomena*, 11*-17*.

79 Frechulf of Lisieux, *Historiarum libri XII* (hereafter, *Histories*), ed. Allen; Ward, *History, Scripture and Authority*. For comparative treatment of universal history writing, see Marsham, *Universal Histories*, 431-456.

80 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 2. 2, ed. Allen, 498: »tam de gestis imperatorum quamque et de ecclesiasticorum actibus«.

81 Allen, *Prolegomena*, 210*-212*; Feder, *Studien*, 86; Blum, *Literaturverzeichnis*, 138-139.

82 Frechulf's exemplar of *De viris illustribus* presumably also contained Gennadius' continuation, but, with the exception of James of Nisibis (II. 4. 8, 628-629), Frechulf did not draw on it: see pp. 115 below.

83 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 1. 17, ed. Allen, 471; Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 5, ed. Richardson, 10.

Frechulf filled a chapter with nineteen »illustrious individuals« (*inlustres*) who at that time »flourished in...[Christian] teaching«. ⁸⁴ This chapter comprised cc. 36-54 of *De viris illustribus*. Within this group, only the barest of details were known for several of the figures. For example: »In the reign of the emperor Severus, Sextus wrote a volume, *On the Resurrection*«. ⁸⁵ Even by Jerome's day, this was the sum total of knowledge about this person, yet it was enough for Frechulf to fashion something meaningful.

Indeed, the strength of *De viris illustribus* lay not in its individual entries but in its cumulative effect. The overall message of Jerome's bio-bibliographical catalogue was conveyed through the collection; by breaking-up and re-assembling it within a narrative, Frechulf was able to augment and further emphasise this message. For example, he introduced the block of entries from the reigns of Septimius Severus and Caracalla by tying them to the story of Christian persecution that the immediately preceding chapters had narrated. ⁸⁶ He thus invested his excerpts from *De viris illustribus* with a narrative force that originally was only implicit. Read in context, this chapter testified to the vitality of the Christian religion at a time when it was oppressed by the Roman state. After Constantine's conversion to Christianity c. 313, moreover, the reigns of those emperors who promoted the faith witnessed bursts of literary activity, which underscored the productivity of periods of Christian orthodoxy. Frechulf dedicated chapters to »the various doctors who flourished under Constantine« (comprising nine chapters from Jerome) and to those »men who were famous in divine writings in the reign of Theodosius« (comprising seven chapters). ⁸⁷ A final grouping (comprising twelve chapters) enumerated »the illustrious men who, in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius [the sons of Theodosius], shone in the churches like twinkling stars«. ⁸⁸

Frechulf included Jerome amongst this last band of brilliant ecclesiastics. Jerome's auto-bio-bibliography was written »in the fourteenth year of Theodosius« (i.e. 392/393), but he would be active for almost another three decades, until his death in 420. Frechulf updated Jerome's incomplete account of himself accordingly. ⁸⁹ Whereas Jerome had ended his text by noting that many of his commentaries on the prophets were »on hand« but »not yet finished«, ⁹⁰ Frechulf rendered the present tense of Jerome's Latin into the perfect and provided the names of some of the books of the Bible on which Jerome had subsequently written commentaries: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Matthew plus many more »little works« (*opuscula*). ⁹¹ Frechulf's reception of *De viris illustribus* should not, therefore, be seen as simply a matter of cut-and-paste. He engaged carefully with his source, grouping excerpts together to link Christian literature within the bigger picture of Christian history and at times modifying the bio-bibliographies he copied. Moreover, he even fashioned additional entries for prominent figures who lived long after Jerome had died. Of these, Pope Gregory the Great (*sedit* 590-604) was the most prominent.

84 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 2. 22, ed. Allen, 545: »*quique inlustres in nostro floruerunt dogmate*«.

85 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 2. 23, ed. Allen, 551; Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 50, ed. Richardson, 31; trans. Halton, 72.

86 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 2. 20-21, ed. Allen, 542-544.

87 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 3. 21, ed. Allen, 608-611 and II. 4. 29, 664-665.

88 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 5. 3, ed. Allen, 676-680.

89 For earlier reworkings of the final chapter of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, see Feder, *Studien*, 111-155.

90 Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. 135, ed. Richardson, 56; trans. Halton, 168.

91 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 5. 3, ed. Allen, 679-680; cf. Allen, *Prolegomena*, 67*.

Between the 7th and early 9th centuries, several biographies of Gregory had been written. All contain summaries of Gregory's writings, though only one comfortably fits the bio-bibliographic model and can be found in Isidore of Seville's own 7th-century *De viris illustribus*.⁹² Frechulf seemingly did not know any of them or at least did not consult or allude to them when he came to compile one of the very last chapters of his *Histories*, titled »Concerning the Blessed Gregory and his Deeds«. ⁹³ For the narrative material relating to Gregory's life, Frechulf drew on the terse reports he found within Bede's *Greater Chronicle*. Gregory's deeds were divided across the consecutive reigns of Tiberius (*reg.* 574-82), Maurice (582-602) and Phocas (602-610); they included his debates against a heretical bishop in Constantinople, the summoning of a major synod in Rome in 595 and his sponsoring of the mission to convert the English to Christianity.⁹⁴ Before noting that he died in the reign of Phocas, Frechulf inserted a list of Gregory's writings, something which Bede had not provided:

Guided by divine inspiration, [Gregory] wrote the *Moralia in Job*, and set out most clearly his *Pastoral Rule*; moreover he transmitted to future readers his *Dialogues*, which were addressed to the venerable men of his own time to imitate. He created the very splendid work *In Ezekiel*, and his *Homilies* offer up for [our] enjoyment the healthiest spiritual food. His many extant letters are useful to readers, on account of the tasks for which they were written.⁹⁵

There is much that is subtly striking about this chapter. It fits Jerome's mould, summarising the life and writings of an illustrious man within a Roman imperial chronology. Yet Frechulf effectively fashioned it himself, presumably drawing on his own knowledge of the works of Gregory he cited. His decision to do so hints at the considerable influence that Jerome's bio-bibliographic approach had on Christian historiographical consciousness: for Frechulf, a renowned ecclesiastical life was deemed incomplete without accompanying literature.

Frechulf placed the death of Gregory towards the very end of his *Histories*. This is significant. By the Carolingian period, Gregory's world had come to represent a patristic frontier of sorts: although later writers such as Isidore and Bede were venerated as authorities in the 8th and 9th centuries, Gregory, after Augustine of Hippo and – of course – Jerome himself, was regarded as the last of the preeminent Church Fathers.⁹⁶ This pre-eminence can be sampled by turning briefly to Carolingian library catalogues. Several 9th-century catalogues have come down to us, including remarkably rich examples from the monasteries of Lorsch

92 Isidore, *De viris illustribus*, 27, ed. Codoñer Merino, 148-149. See also Wood, *Playing the Fame Game* and *idem*, *A Family Affair*. The other biographies are *Liber pontificalis*, c. 66, ed. Duchesne, vol. 1, 312; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, II. 1, ed. Colgrave and trans. Mynors, 122-135 (esp. 126-129); *Vita Gregorii*, ed. and trans. Colgrave (see esp. cc. 24-27, 31, ed. Colgrave, 116-125, 134-137); Paul the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii*, ed. Tuzzo (esp. cc. 8 and 12, ed. Tuzzo, 11 and 21-23); *Ordo Romanus XIX*, ed. Semmler, 53-63, at 59-60.

93 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 5. 24, ed. Allen, 720-721 (chapter title on p. 671).

94 For historical context, see Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* and Neil and Dal Santo (eds.), *A Companion to Gregory*.

95 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 5. 24, ed. Allen, 721: »Qui *Moralia in Iob* gratia diuina inspirante conscripsit, librum etiam *Pastoralem* luculentissime edidit, *Dialogorum* uero ad imitandos uenerabiles uiros qui per haec tempora claruerunt libros dictans ad nostram porrexit legendos posteritatem. In *Ezechiel* opus praeclarum condidit, *Omeliarum* eius liber saluberrimas et spiritales gustantibus ministrat dapes, epistolae uero exstant eius plures pro negotiis quibus sunt compositae legentibus utiles.«

96 On the Carolingian Gregory, see Leyser, *Memory of Pope Gregory*.

and St Gall, located in the Rhine Valley and on Lake Constance respectively.⁹⁷ Both of these catalogues contain defined sections devoted to Gregory's writings: in the case of Lorsch, the Gregorian canon appears after the writings of Augustine and Jerome; at St Gall, it precedes them.⁹⁸ In both cases, the works listed match up exactly with those given by Frechulf.⁹⁹ Both catalogues counted Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, together with Gennadius' continuation, amongst their holdings.¹⁰⁰ By the end of the 9th century, moreover, both libraries had come into possession of Frechulf's *Histories*.¹⁰¹

There are some tantalising connections here. The evidence points to the importance of ecclesiastical centres – especially monasteries – as sites for the creation and consumption of knowledge. Within these ›enclaves of learning‹ the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers underpinned almost all intellectual undertakings.¹⁰² As noted above, McKitterick argued that *De viris illustribus* not only helped shape the ›canon of knowledge‹ taught and studied in such centres but also offered Frankish churchmen insights into the historical contexts in which the various parts of the canon were produced.¹⁰³ Frechulf's *Histories* neatly connect both these arguments: he embedded Jerome's potted biographies within an expansive narrative. The work was consciously compiled from texts that were considered ›required reading‹ for educated Christians, and Jerome's catalogue of authors was copied over in near enough its entirety. This in turn gave Frechulf's text a bookish character: his narrative of the struggles and triumphs of Christianity was shot through with bibliography. Jerome, however, concluded his bio-bibliographical dictionary with him himself; for Gregory the Great to be counted amongst the illustrious men whose writings ›founded, built and adorned the Church‹,¹⁰⁴ and the 9th-century library catalogues clearly show that he was, Frechulf needed to employ a little creativity to locate Gregory's authoritative writings within the overall narrative of Christian history. This was innovation, but in the name of well-established tradition.

Conclusions

Jerome's *De viris illustribus* offered later readers and communities a remarkably flexible and ostensibly all-encompassing model of Christian community. Taking the Christian scriptures as its starting point, Jerome's bio-bibliographical catalogue defined a canon of knowledge that could be expanded and augmented to accommodate an ever-growing body of ecclesiastical literature and shifting notions of religious authority. In this chapter, we have so far examined two very different examples of the reception of Jerome's text. By way of conclusion, we shall consider how the two case studies intersect, before sketching some of the wider implications that considering the two cases simultaneously brings to light.

97 Lorsch: Häse, *Bücherverzeichnisse*. St Gall: Lehmann (ed.), *Bibliothekskataloge*, 71-82. For context, Becker, *Präsenz, Normierung und Transfer*, 71-88; Grotans *et al.*, *Understanding Medieval Manuscripts*, 955-980.

98 Häse, *Bücherverzeichnisse*, 154: *OPUSCULA SANCTI GREGORII PAPAE*; Lehmann, *Bibliothekskataloge*, 72: *DE LIBRIS BEATI GREGORII PAPE*.

99 On Frechulf's links to the monastery of Fulda, see Allen, *Prolegomena*, 12*-15*.

100 Häse, *Bücherverzeichnisse*, 151; Lehmann, *Bibliothekskataloge*, 73.

101 Häse, *Bücherverzeichnisse*, 165; Lehmann, *Bibliothekskataloge*, 79.

102 For ›enclaves of learning‹, see part 4 of Hovden *et al.* (eds.), *Meanings of Community*. See also Kaczynski, *The Authority of the Fathers*.

103 McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, 200-205; *eadem*, *History and Memory*, 245-246; *eadem*, *Perceptions of the Past*, 61.

104 See above, n. 7.

While Frechulf incorporated almost all of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, Gennadius' continuation is mostly absent. The bishop of Lisieux integrated only a single bio-bibliography from Gennadius' catalogue, namely the very first entry on James of Nisibis. It was included in a chapter which recounted »the memory of the noble writers and their miraculous accomplishments« (*memoria nobilium scriptorium ac mirabilium patratorem*) from the reign of Constantius II (d. 361).¹⁰⁵ This chapter followed the general pattern of Frechulf's grouping together of »illustrious men«: James was presented as one of 12 renowned authorities active at the time, with the other 11 being copied over from Jerome. Gennadius' original entry was both expanded and redacted. Frechulf added a fuller narrative of James's defence of Nisibis against the Sasanian ruler Sapor II, which he extracted from the *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, a translation and compilation of three 5th-century continuations of Eusebius' *Church History*. At the same time, he stripped the entry of its sly dig at Jerome and thus of its authorial self-fashioning. As noted above, Gennadius used his chapter on James to establish his own authority by incorporating someone who, he claimed, Jerome had failed to include in his original »catalogue of writers« (*catalogo scribarum*) on account of his lack of knowledge of Syriac.

Frechulf's highly circumscribed use of Gennadius helps bring into focus broad differences that separate our two case studies. Of these differences, the transition from the Western Roman Empire to the Carolingian Empire is the most obvious, but there are others which are no less important. The overarching Christian narrative that the *De viris illustribus* tradition helped shape begins in the eastern Mediterranean and moves gradually westwards, a shift which is also reflected in the transformation of the languages of religious authority. Jerome's project was built upon excerpting and translating passages of Eusebius' *Church History*, and his own achievements as a translator were enshrined in his work. Gennadius likewise laid emphasis on his own linguistic skills, as seen clearly in his abovementioned entry on James of Nisibis. He also highlighted authors, such as Rufinus, who had translated Greek texts into Latin. In the catalogue his individuality as author and compiler stands out, and it is further enhanced by the repeated use of the first person. For Frechulf, by contrast, this non-Latin world could be entered only indirectly. The Greek titles that populate Jerome's *De viris illustribus* were often simply ignored, presumably because they were not understood; the Greek title by which Gennadius referred to James of Nisibis's *Chronicle* was given by Frechulf only in a Latinised form.¹⁰⁶ The changes that occurred between Gennadius' Gaul and Frechulf's Francia ought to be assessed not only in relation to political transformation but also as regards changing cultural frameworks and educational horizons.

Gennadius' collection reflects the specialised context of later 5th-century southern Gaul, and from this perspective his *De viris illustribus* can be read as a guidebook to the diverse religious landscape of late antiquity, providing its readers with instructions with which to find their way through a world of competing theological doctrines and interpretations, and the many new ascetic movements and communities that had sprouted. In late antiquity, many crucial religious debates were active, not historical issues. Jerome and then Gennadius were themselves actors in some of these debates and wrote their catalogues with them in mind,

105 Frechulf, *Histories*, II. 4. 8, ed. Allen, 624-630.

106 On Frechulf's knowledge of Greek, see Allen, *Prolegomena*, 193*-194*, 210*-211*.

electing to describe specific disputes or heresies and their outcome. While they often included representatives of both sides of a theological controversy and thus helped to preserve to a certain degree of knowledge of them, their works were nevertheless geared towards a specific interpretation of these debates, emphasising the learnedness and superiority of orthodox theologians over their dissident counterparts. This skewed image, moreover, was then transmitted throughout the centuries: the writings of the losers in doctrinal debates were often not preserved, surviving only in the very catalogues that were written to challenge them. The context of disputation which shaped the activities of Jerome and then Gennadius continued through to the Carolingian world, but it took on new forms.¹⁰⁷

For Frechulf, the religious controversies which energised the late antique Church were long resolved, and their successful conclusion was already inscribed deep into the past. What is more, Frechulf's Christian and Roman perception of the past gave short shrift to the authorities and issues that were so central to Gennadius' project. Frechulf traced the political transformations of the 5th-century Western Empire in broad brushstrokes, but without reference to the ecclesiastical context of southern Gaul. In the world of emperors and ecclesiastics that populated part II of his *Histories*, monasticism – eastern or western – was not a focus. Likewise, terms such as ›Nestorian‹ or ›Arian‹ with which Gennadius labelled those he deemed heretical, were also absent. To this end, Frechulf's Carolingian world looked more the imperial Roman model of Jerome than the focused and regional model articulated by Gennadius.

Not only the contexts but also the audiences for whom bio-bibliographical catalogues were written could differ remarkably. As the catalogues often spoke to specific, local audiences which might have been conscious of and sensitive to the ongoing controversies described, they could be used to remind or admonish local communities to adhere to one specific argument or practice. In this respect, catalogues could be used as a means to establish various different forms of cohesion: social, cultural, doctrinal. While contemporary readers could have been familiar with the specific local contexts the relevant authors were working and living in, later audiences accessed the world of late antiquity through the lens of the compilers. The audiences that were built into the catalogues by the compilers were not necessarily the same as the audiences who read or worked with the texts. For this reason, each collection ought to be understood in its own light, and each response to Jerome's catalogue reveals its own differences and peculiarities. This in turn helps highlight the great diversity of communities and contexts present in these sources. In keeping with Susan Stewart's suggestion that »the collection marks the place where history is transformed into space«¹⁰⁸, Gennadius' continuation of Jerome's *De viris illustribus* and its reuse and reinterpretation by Frechulf of Lisieux created new contexts and new communities as much as they reflected on contemporary existing ones.

Finally, the *De viris illustribus* tradition presented an archive of received and lost knowledge and allowed otherwise unknown authors to remain part of Christian literary communities. For both Gennadius and Frechulf, it is not at all clear how many of the texts preserved by Jerome were actually available to be read. Even for Jerome, much of the record of the earlier Greek past was already a memory. By the 5th century and even more so by the 9th, the vast

107 See the articles collected in De Jong and Van Renswoude (eds.), *Carolingian Cultures*.

108 Stewart, *On Longing*, 152-153.

bulk of the assembled literature would certainly have been known only through Jerome's catalogue (or Eusebius' *Church History*). Most of the authorities listed in the catalogues were long since dead and could no longer be linked to a particular political community or religious institution. Yet, the loss of so much of the corpus evidently did not preclude or diminish the value in copying the catalogue; this was as true in the 5th century as it was in the 16th.¹⁰⁹ It was surely satisfying when specific tracts or treatises could be checked against Jerome's and Gennadius' lists, but that should not draw attention away from appreciating that the collected body of Christian writing formed a key part of the Church's ›corporate self-awareness‹.¹¹⁰ Jerome's *De viris illustribus* was as much a record of what had been written as of what could and should be read. Gennadius' decision to continue Jerome's catalogue confirmed its authoritative character and relevance for the Christian community and thus contributed to its later reuse and continuation. From this perspective, the nature of the collection was absolutely central: the success of the text and the genre as a whole lay in the accumulation of authority.

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109 On the latter, see Vessey, *Jerome's Catalogue*.

110 Markus, *Church History*, 1; and n. 77 above.

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