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# Quest for the Origin of a Manuscript, Vatican Ottoboni Latin no. 163 (1)

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Thirteen years ago I published my doctoral thesis on the subject of the Merovingian accounting documents issued from the abbey of Saint-Martin in Tours.<sup>1</sup> I think that I succeeded there to explain many respects historians might inquire into those extremely fragmented documents; from an over-all historical context of its production and the political factors around the abbey of Saint-Martin in the church organization to the social and agricultural conditions of peasants whose names were registered in the documents, thus having the obligation to pay their tribute to the Saint-Martin.<sup>2</sup>

I could also identify the abbot who had governed the monastery at the time when those accounting documents had been redacted in Saint-Martin's *scriptorium*, thanks to the name mentioned in three documents.<sup>3</sup> The name is *Agericus* whom we are able to encounter in two other historical sources: "Life of saint Eligius"<sup>4</sup> and "Pope *Adeodatus*' privilege for Saint-Martin's freedom from Episcopal control. The former witnesses that he was the abbot already in 659, and the latter indicates obliquely

1 See Shoichi Sato, *Monastery and its Peasants. The Loire Valley Region through the Merovingian Accounting Documents in the Wake of Middle Ages*, (in Japanese), Nagoya University Press, 1997, 775p.; id. "L'*agrarium*: la charge payasanne avant le régime domanial, VI<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 103-125; id. "The Merovingian accounting documents of Tours: form and function", *Early Medieval Europe*, Vol. 9, no. 2, 2000, pp. 143-161.

2 I discussed upon this respect especially in the article "L'*agrarium*". Japanese readers will find more exhaustive analyses on this aspect in chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 of my above cited book as well.

3 1) on the parchment no. 1 recto, "XXI ORDEN. DOMN. AGIRICO A ...", 2) parchment no. 6 verso "... ANNO XXII. AGYRI[CO].", 3) parchment no. 7 "IN ANN. XXII ORD ... DOMN AGYRICO ABBATE ...", cf. *Documents comptables de Saint-Martin de Tours à l'époque mérovingienne*, publiés par Pierre Gasnault, avec une étude paléographique par Jean Vezin, Paris, 1075, p. 29, 40 et 42.

4 "... nullatenus tamen recordari poterat de hoc quod aliquando ex fide coniderat. Evocato interea Agerico basilicae sancti Martini abbate, causam ei per prdinem exponit, deflens non se posse securam noctibus quiescere in domum suum. ..." Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis, in *MGH. SS. R. Merovingicarum*, Vol. t. 4, p. 735.

between 672 and 676, in accordance with regnal years of the pope *Adeodatus*.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, abbot *Agericus* of Saint-Martin lived in the middle or later part of the seventh century. In fact, we have another, the third witness about *Agericus*, other than on a number of accounting documents came from 'Tours' monastery. We have a very short description about *Agericus* in a manuscript possessed by the Vatican Library, in the collection Ottoboni Latin no. 163.<sup>6</sup> It is a liturgical manuscript, to be more precise, the martyrology, used by clerics for everyday's religious service of memorial prayers offered toward the saint on each corresponding day.<sup>7</sup> As far as I know, the Vatican manuscript belongs to the only extant handwriting now that puts the name of *Agericus* of Saint-Martin on the martyrological manuscript. It must be, accordingly, very important to make an investigation on the origin of this manuscript, in order to locate the place where this otherwise unremarkable abbot had been venerated, until the fourteenth century, when the manuscript was written down judging from the handwriting.<sup>8</sup>

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In the year from 1660 to 1661, a Jesuit monk Daniel Van Papenbroek visited the library of a Duke Altemps to carry out a research on the manuscripts<sup>9</sup> this noble family has stored in its palace near Piazza Navona in Rome during successive generations. He was working for a publication of enormous collection of lives of Christian Saints that will be called thereafter "Acta Sanctorum Bollandistorum" published during the years 1648 to 1658, in 56 volumes in quarto.<sup>10</sup> Bollandists was the name given to the scholar monks who were convinced of rightness of Catholic faith against the Protestantism that had been growing more and more its religious influence upon the Christians in Europe. They wanted to prove how the miraculous manifestation was for the Christian faith an essential virtue which was denied by the Protestants.<sup>11</sup> For this aim, they, the

- 5 "Qua ex re dum Aegiricus, relligiosus presbyter et abbas monasterii Sancti Martini, in quo et venerabile corpus eius est situm, visendas ex desiderio veniens apostolicas confessions et atria, nostris se representaret obtutibus, commendationemque fraris nostri Crotperti, Tironicae Eccesiae praesulis, obtulisset, supplicii voce praecatus est ut privilegium apostolica autoritate subnixum, ...", no. CCCLXXIV, Praeceptum Adeodati papae, quo immunitatem ab episcopi potestate concedit monasterio S. Martini Turonensis, exceptis ordinatione sacerdotium, et confectioe Chrismatis (Ann. 674), in Jean Marie Pardessus, *Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, Leges*, t. 2, p. 162.
- 6 Hugo Ehrensberger, *Libri liturgi Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae manu scripti*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1897, pp. 185–186.
- 7 About the martyrological sources, see an old monumental work written by Dom Henri Quentin, *Les Martyrologes Historiques du Moyen Age. Étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain*, Paris, 1908. As more recent general remark, I would quote, Dom Jacques Dubois, *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin*, collection "Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental", Turnhout, 1978.
- 8 Ehrensberger gave to this manuscript name of "Martyrologium Saresberienense", because of a scribble dimly done in pencil at the bottom of folio 1 "Collegii Anglicae". op. cit. p. 185.
- 9 See Christian Callmer, *Königin Christiana, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften. Beiträge zur europäischen Bibliotheksgeschichte*, Stockholm, 1977, p. 201.
- 10 Concerning "Acta Sanctorum" des Bollandistes, for the time being, cf. Marcel Pacaut, *Guide de l'étudiant en histoire médiévale*, PUF, 1968, pp. 113–114.
- 11 On the struggle around historographical hegemony between the Jesuit and the protestant, cf. Recueil des articles de Bruno Neveu, *Érudition et religion aux XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris, 1994.

Jesuits, undertook to make a vast account of glorious Saint's deed. Daniel Papenbroek was one of the Bollandists who were dispatched from the Bollandist house of Bruxelles, to find out manuscripts that could contribute to reinforce the cult of saints.<sup>12</sup> And Papenbroek has encountered a manuscript of martyrology in which, on the day of III Idus Aprilis (according to actual calendar the 11<sup>th</sup> April), along with many saints who were always known in this kind of manuscripts, he discovered a saint that has never been seen in other cases.<sup>13</sup> He wrote a brief comment as follows: *Inter illustres codices manuscriptos, qui Romae adservantur in palatio Ducis Altempsii, extat aliquod in membranis Martyrologium Usuardi, sed auctum (ut apparet) in Anglia quod in illo sint plurimi sancti Angliae & Normaniae adjuncti. In hoc ad diem XI Aprilis ista legatur: Turonis S. Agrici Abbatis.*<sup>14</sup>

Papenbroek attributed its birth place to England because of several names of local saints venerated in England and Normandy appeared in this manuscript in addition to the standard Martyrological archetype. The problem is why the name of an abbot who was not that famous in history was added on only in the martyrology written in England, if the assumption by Papenbroek is correct. It would be necessary to analyze the manuscript more closely to get detailed information about reason for which the scribe added the name of seventh century abbot of Saint-Martin in Tours.

As I have remarked above, Papenbroek saw and examined that manuscript in Rome, at the palace of Duke Altemps in the mid-seventeenth century. However, the book collection of Duke Altemps has been dispersed afterward as I will develop a little later. Thus, my inquiry began with identifying the actual place of storage of this manuscript.

After that Papenbroek alluded to this manuscript, nobody has identified it. It must be essential, therefore, to make inquiries into history of the dislocation of library of Duke Altemps in Rome, to find out actual possessor of the manuscript. It seemed to me better to trace back to the time when the Family Altemps build up her library, for discovering the site of its storage. A Swedish historian, Christian Callmer has succeeded to reveal the foundation of library of the family Altemps.<sup>15</sup> According to him, it began with an offering of private collection of rare books by the Pope Marcellus II who had assumed only during twenty-two days the seat of the God's advocate in 1555.<sup>16</sup> When the pope died, his library was inherited by his former secretary and then the cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto. As Sirleto was a great amateur of books, he has enriched his library through the purchase in Italy and in the Orient. After his death, the library was transferred in the hand of another cardinal Ascanio Colonna who

12 Among others, see Robert Godding et alii. *Bollandistes, saints et légendes. Quatre siècles de recherche hagiographique*, Sociétés des Bollandistes, Bruxelles, 2007.

13 *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*. Aprilis, ed. J. Bolland, Société des Bollandistes, Antwerpen, 1675 pp. 30–31.

14 "Among precious handwriting books that have been preserved in the palace of Duke Altemps in Rome, there exists a manuscript which belong to strain of Usuardus' Martyrology, but seemingly written down in England because of many saints of England and Normandy added on it. In those who are added, on the 11<sup>th</sup> April it reads: of Tours, saint Agericus abbot".

15 Callmer, op. cit. p. 63.

16 *Ibid.*

combined the new acquisition with his own library. When Ascanio Colonna died in 1611, the latter's library moved to the Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps who, in his turn, has gone in 1620. The death of Giovanni Angelo was a funeral bell for the prosperity of Duke's family and the fate of this noble family was beginning to decline year by year thereafter.<sup>17</sup> It was on this downfall phase of the Duke's family that Bollandist Daniel van Papenbroek visited in Rome for his investigations, from 21<sup>st</sup> December 1660 until 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1661.<sup>18</sup> As I already mentioned, he found a martyrology manuscripts in which he saw the name of *Agyricus* on the 11<sup>th</sup> April.<sup>19</sup> Thirty years after that Papenbroek had left Rome, Duke Pietro Altemps was dead in 1691 and the manuscripts in his library were purchased by cardinal Pietro Ottoboni who ascended the papal throne as Alexander VIII.<sup>20</sup> When he climbed to Papal seat, he let his library combined with a hundred other manuscripts he had bought from the Swedish Queen Christina, and after his death, his grandnephew, le cardinal Pietro Ottoboni junior (d. 1740) donated all of his collection to the Vatican Library.<sup>21</sup> That is an outline of history of formation of the Ottoboni collection of Vatican Library.

It is certain that Papenbroek could see the martyrological manuscript in question during his stay in Rome at the library of Altemps' palace, hence, in the year 1660/61. It is possible that the Duke's family sold that manuscript after consultation of Papenbroek, and before acquisition by Pietro Ottoboni. All the same, as the manuscript of martyrology normally doesn't contain beautiful illustrations neither colourful pages, it is hard to imagine that the manuscript which Papenbroek took in his hands became an object of a single purchase. I thought it would be reasonable to suppose that the manuscript had been among a number of manuscripts that were transferred to cardinal Pietro Ottoboni on March 1691.

I visited personally to the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana in 1986, without delay on my arrival at Rome. What I did for the first time in the library, was inquiring the inventory of manuscripts of Altemps that was made before being transferred to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni. I did know that the sort of inventories had been established before the cardinal got the collection in his possession.<sup>22</sup> I could find out an inventory in which the supposed manuscript that Van Papenbroek had consulted, without much difficulty. In that inventory, which was hand-made and inscribed with letters of seventeenth century's script, I counted the title of manuscripts apparently of martyrology more than a few dozens in number and I made a decision to examined each of all them one by one, following the number with which the inventory registered in the old Altemps' collection. At the third day of my inquiry, I found the manuscript

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.* p. 201; *Acta Sanctorum*, Aprilis, op. cit. p. 30.

19 *Acta Sanctorum*, Aprilis, pp. 30–31.

20 Jeanne Bignami Odier, *Premières recherches sur le Fonds Ottoboni*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, 1966, pp. 11–12.

21 *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, catalogue établi par E. Pellegrin et alii. t. 1, Fonds Archivio San Pietro à Ottoboni, Paris, 1975, pp. 437–438.

22 The Vatican Library possesses four inventories which keep the catalogical deta of old Altemps collection: Vatican latin 7252, Ottoboni latin 1872, Ottoboni latin 2542 and Barberini latin 3123. See Odier, op. cit. pp. 69–70.

that Papenbroek had seen about three hundred years before and nobody had left a notice of it thereafter. Unfortunately, I had miss to take a note of number given in the inventory of Altemps' collection, but on the catalogue of collection Ottoboni, it corresponds to the manuscript latin no. 163.

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On the front page it reads:

*Ex codicibus illustrissimi<sup>23</sup> et excellentissimi Domini Joannis Angeli Ducis ab Altaiemps  
Martyrologium*

1 [recto]

[IX. kal. jan.] Uigilia natalis domini apud Antiochiam Syrie, natalis sanctarum uirginum quadraginta, quae sub Deciana persecutione per diuersa tormenta martyrium consumauerunt. Apud Spoletum ciuitatem Tuscie sancti Gregorii presbiteri et martyris, temporibus Diocletiani et Maximiani imperatorum cui primo sustibus nodosis cesus ac deinde post craticulam et carcerem cardis ferreis in genibus percussus, sed et ardentibus lampadibus per latera incensus, tandem decollatus est. Ciuitate Tripoli sancti Luciani et aliorum plurimorum sanctorum martyrum, confessorum atque uirginum.

[VIII. kal. jan.] Iesus Chrystus filius dei unii, in Bethlehem Iudae nascitur, anno Cesaris Augusti quadragesimo secundo, ebdomada iuxta Danielis profetiam sexagesima sexta, Olimpiadis autem centesime nonagesime tercie, anno tercio, eodem die, natalis sancte Anastasie uirginis sub Diocletiano imperatore, quae pro confessione Domini diutina custodia macerata, deinde cum ducentis uiris et septegentis feminis ad insulas Plmarias delata, ipsa quidem igni, ceteri uero varijs interfectionibus martyrium celebrarunt, Rome in cimiterio Aproniani, passio beate Eugenie uirginis, quae tempore Galieni imperatoris, post uirtutum insignia, post sacros uirginum choros, sub Nicetio urbis prefectio, pro Chrysto diu agonizans, nouissime gladio ingulata est. *Tordiano castro, sancti Romuli confessoris, Et aliorum pluriorum.*

[VII. kal. jan.] Apud Ierosolimam, natalis sancti Stephani protomartyris, qui a Iudeis non longe post passionem Christi lapidatus est, eodem scilicet anno ascensionis ipsius. Huius uenerabile corpus tempore Honorii principis diuina reuelatione repertum est, Rome uia Appia, depositio sancti | lverso Dionisii pape qui fidei documentis sub Claudio imperatore clarus effulsit. Eodem die sancti Martini clarissimi uiri qui martyrii triumphum sub imperatore Martiano Rome adeptus est. Et aliorum.

[VI. kal. jan.] Apud Ephesum, natalis sancti Johanis apostoli et euangeliste, qui post

23 When Papenbroek wrote "*Inter illustres codices manuscriptos, qui Rome adseruantur in palatio Ducis Altaiempsii, extat aliqod in membranis Martylogium Usuardi ...*" in a short introductory remark upon "saint Agericus", in *Acta Sanctorum*, he had to be given an impact by those notes inscribed at the front page of this manuscript. See Appendix. p. 1.

exilii relegationem, post Apocalipsis diuinam reuelationem, post Euangelii descriptionem usque ad Traiani principis tempora perseuerans, totius Asye fundauit rexique ecclias et confectus senio, sexagesimo octavo post ascensionem domini anno aetatis autem suae anno nonagesimo nono mortuus est, ac iuxta eandem urbem sepultus est. Alexandriae sancti Maximi episcopi qui satis clarus et insignis de titulo confessionis effectus est. In territorio Aquilegrasi sancti Zoili presbiteri et confessoris qui in passione beati Grisogonii legitur. Et aliorum plurimorum sanctorum uirorum confessorum atque uirginum.

[V. kal. jan.] Apud Bethleem, natalis sanctorum Innocentium quos Herodes rex cum Christi natiuitatem Magorum indicio comperisset, tricesimo quinto anno regni sui interfici iussit, qui anno tricessimo sexto morbo intercutis aquae et scatentibus toto corpore uermibus, miserabiliter digne moritur, ancira galatie, sannctoum Eutici presbiter et Domitiani diaconi. Et aliorum plurimorum sanctorum.

[IV. kal. jan.] Ierosolimis, Daud regis. Apud Arelatem natalis sancti Trophimi, cuius meminit Paulus apostulus scribens ad Timotheum, qui ab eodem apostolo episcopo ordinatus prefate urbi primus ob Christi euangelium predicandum directus est. Ex cuius fonte ut Papa Zosimus scribit, tota Gallia fidei riulos accepit. *Eodem die in Britannia maiori, passio uenerandi patris sancti Thome, martyris gloriosi, | 2<sup>r</sup> Cantuarie archipresulis, qui cum pro libertate ecclesie Dei fideliter decertaret, diutinum exilium cilicio, lacrimis, uigiliis et ieiuniis deuota mente sustinuit. Postmodum paciendi desiderio et amore omnium ad sedem propriam rediens, non multum post quatuor militum armatorum temulenta inuasionem, cum fratres uespertinos hymnos psallerent, corone diminutione, crebro cum ense extracto, hostiam Deo in ecclesia placentem obtulit, signis et uirtutibus clarus, anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Ihesu Christi M<sup>o</sup> centesimo LXXI<sup>o</sup>. In pago Oximensi Sancti Ebululfi abbatis et confessoris. Item Ierosolimis, sancte Melanie deo sacratae. Bituricas ciuitate, sancti Ursini episcopi et confessoris. Et aliorum plurimorum.*

[III. kal. jan.] Apud Spoletum, natalis sancti Sabini episcopi, Exsuperantii et Marcelli diaconorum, et Venustiani cum uxore et filiis, sub Maximiano imperatore. Ex quibus Marcellus et Exsuperantius primo equuleo suspensi, deinde grauiter fustibus macerati, post unguis abrasa et laterum adustione assati martyrium compleuerunt. Venustianus autem non multo post, una cum uxore et filiis gladio necatus est. Sanctus uero Sabinus episcopus postea manuum detractionem et diuinam carceris relegationem ad mortem usque caesus est. Horum itaque martyrium, licet diuerso extiterit tempore, una tamen recolitur die. Alexandriae, sancti Mansueti martyris cum aliis decem. Rome, sancti Felicis episcopi. Turonis, sancti Perpetui episcopi, *qui basilicam beati Martini miro opere fabricauit. Hec generis prosapia nobiliter sublimat. Nobilitatem mentis decorauit miraculorum gloria, cui uolenti beati Martini corpus transferre et per triduum non ualenti, turbatis omnibus ad amborum meritum ostendendum, angelica uisitacio apparuit, monens ut manus apponerent, simulque cum eis manus apposuit, quo peracto | 2<sup>o</sup> nulli comparuit.* Oyo insula sancti Florentis. Ipso die. Apud Eweshium sancti Egdwini episcopi et confessoris. Et translacio beati Jacobi apostoli. Et aliorum plurimorum

sanctorum martyrum.

[II. kal. jan.] Rome, natalis sancti Siluestri papae, cuius actus clari habentur. Apud Senones, beatorum episcoporum Sabiniani et Potentiam qui a pontifice romano ad predicandum directi in Gallia tandem metropolim martyrii sui confessione illustrem facerunt. In eadem urbe, sancti Columbe uirginis quae superato igne gladio cesa est iussu Aureliani principis. Retiare, sancti Hermetis exorciste.

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A preliminary survey and reading of the martyrology manuscript (Vatican Codex, Ottoboni Latin no. 163), for a short space of time, just from the 24<sup>th</sup> December until the 31<sup>st</sup> December, has given us a scent of special characteristic of this manuscript. I have emphasized with italic character the names of saint or descriptions of deeds that I couldn't find out in a standard Usuardus' martyrology neither in Adon's one.<sup>24</sup> The most interesting among them is an addition of the name of Thomas Becket as "martyr", on the 29 December (IV. kal. jan.). I would translate in English below the wording borrowed from the scribe of the manuscript, to narrate briefly deeds of Thomas Becket which resulted in his violent death: "On the same day, in Great Britain, it occurred the martyrdom of venerable father saint Thomas, the highest-ranked, and remarkable and glorious clergyman of Canterbury, who has been fighting for the purpose of freedom of God's Church earnestly, and who had to face a departure for a long exile in shabby cloth and in the darkness of night and endured his misfortune through hope of returning. Some time later, not having stopped his wish, he came back to his place of perpetual office for love of everybody. Not so long thereafter, when he was singing the hymn in the evening service with other clerks, God bless him! and having offered the wafer upon alter for God's favorite, as many as four armed tipsy men invaded the church and cut off his head with sword. With signs and illuminating virtues, in 1170<sup>th</sup> year from the incarnation of our Seigneur Jesus Christ".<sup>25</sup>

Everybody knows that Thomas Becket was a churchman who committed in affair of delicate relations between the State and the Church, seriously enough to make dissident with the king Henry II, whom he owed his nomination for archbishop of Canterbury. After a broad insult to Henry II, he fled the country to stay in the Normandy for waiting a chance to return to the Britain after having settled down the situation. However, Becket has been impatient to retrieve the see of Canterbury, and he passed the channel on the 1<sup>st</sup> December 1170. Just twenty-nine days before his "martyrdom".<sup>26</sup> Three years later of his violent death, so in 1173, he was officially

24 See *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard. Texte et commentaire*, éd. Jacques Dubois, Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes, 1965; id. *Le Martyrologe d'Adon. Ses deux familles, ses trios recensons. Texte et commentaire*, Paris, CNRS, 1984.

25 See p. 7.

26 T. K. Keefe, "England and the Angevin Dominions, 1137–1204", *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 4, c. 1024–c. 1198, Part II p. 566–569.

canonized as saint.<sup>27</sup>

It is needless to say that *Usuardus*, monk of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, then the priest who created the new type of martyrology around the year 865–870<sup>28</sup>, couldn't know Thomas Becket who was born two hundreds years later. It is very plausible that the scribe who made manuscript no. 163 in the fourteenth century was the author of introduction of Thomas Becket to have been a saint as being martyred on the 29<sup>th</sup> December.

Another example which suggests the origin of this manuscript might be a description of saint *Perpetuus*, archbishop of Tours in the fifth century.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, in a standard *Usuardus*' martyrology, we don't find a name of *Perpetuus* on the 30<sup>th</sup> December as we get it in the Vatican manuscript, but, instead, on the 8<sup>th</sup> April.<sup>30</sup> It occurs fairly often that a martyr's day would change from a recension to another among the old handwritings. In fact, in a recension of Adon's martyrology, which Adon, bishop of Vienne had finished to redact in 860 at the latest and from which *Usuardus* borrowed much for creating his own martyrology, the *Perpetuus*' day falls on the 30<sup>th</sup> December as we see in the Vatican manuscript. It is very interesting that in Adon's recension, the name of *Perpetuus* was simply put as saint without further admiration, like as "*Turonis, sancti Perpetui episcopi et confessoris*".<sup>31</sup> Compared with this brusque representation of the saint, our Vatican manuscript is eager to admire the deeds and virtues of *Perpetuus*. I would extend an English translation of admiring phrase dedicated to him as follows. "Saint *Perpetuus*, bishop of Tours, who constructed Saint Martin's basilica in splendid appearance. This basilica stands nobly as an oldest offspring. He decorated it with noble mind through glorious manifestations of miracle, for which he wanted to bring there the body of blessed Martin and he realized it less than three days. To the multitude of people crowded at the foot of pulpit, expecting an manifestation of miracle, an angel made an appearance and advised them to give a hand and at the instant that *Perpetuus* gave a hand, the angel has vanished".<sup>32</sup>

As I have suggested above, *Perpetuus* belonged to an illustrious noble family in the fifth century Gaul. It means that he was a member of senatorial aristocracy that has dominated the later Roman Empire economically as well as politically.<sup>33</sup> In his famous historical narrative entitled "Ten Books of History", Gregory of Tours could

27 *Ibid.*

28 Dom Jacques Dubois, *Les martyrologes*. op. cit. p. 46.

29 As to *Perpetuus*, see J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, A.D. 395–527, Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 860–861; K.-F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1970 (1948), pp. 203–204. The most extensive account concerning *Perpetuus* has been made by L. Pietri, *La ville de Tours du IV<sup>e</sup> au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Naissance d'une cité chrétienne*, École Française de Rome, 1983, passim.

30 "Turonis, sancti Perpetui episcopi, admirandae sanctitatis viri", Dom Jacques Dubois, *Le martyrologe d'Usuard*, op. cit. p. 209.

31 Dom Jacques Dubois, *Le martyrologe d'Adon*, op. cit. p. 39. An old Hieronymian Martyrology had established the *Perpetuus*' day on the 30<sup>th</sup> December, see Piétri, *La ville de Tours*, p. 483.

32 See pp. 7–8.

33 On the later Roman senatorial aristocracy, see P. Heather, "Senators and Sanates", in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XIII, The Later Empire, A.D. 337–425, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 184–210; M. W. T. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford University Press, 1972.

developed fairly at length contributions accomplished by *Perpetuus* for the sake of organizing church in the city of Tours and its country-side as well.<sup>34</sup> The scribe in the fourteenth century might be able to extend religious achievement and construction activities that *Perpetuus* had realized, through making use of considerable accounts about him, put by Gregory of Tours. Why did he wanted to develop services that *Perpetuus* rendered to the Church of Tours? Because he wanted to draw attentions of the people to the accomplishment of *Perpetuus* whose name has long been forgotten and remained sunk into oblivion if otherwise. He would have wanted to improve the veneration of virtue of a fifth century bishop. It might be said, in this respect, that the Vatican manuscript was written down somewhere in the Touraine.

We must, on the other hand, consider the fact that in this manuscript we can find an important addition concerning Thomas Becket and Egwin, bishop of Evesham in Worcester,<sup>35</sup> on the same day with a biographical account for the former. It must be, therefore, inappropriate to exclude Britain from a supposed place of production of this manuscript. It reminds us that Hugo Eherensberger gave it the name of “Martyrologium Saresberienese”.<sup>36</sup>

Our observation, at all events, consists of an inspection based upon merely eight days of an entire martyrological calendar, say just 2% of whole span of the year. Of course, the concluding remarks should wait until we finish to read it as a whole.

(to be continued)

34 See Gregory of Tours *The History of Franks*, translated with introduction by O. M. Dalton, vol. II, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1927, pp. 471–472; As to the church construction and the organization of religious and liturgical events in the city that he realized see Piétri, *La ville de Tours*, op. cit. p. 476 sq.

35 As to saint Egwin, see M. Lapidge, “Dominic of Evesham” *Vita s. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*”, *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. 96, 1978, pp. 88–91.

36 See Ehrensberger, *Libri liturgi*, op. cit. pp. 185–186.



