

PRAESENTIUM SIGNORUM MUNERA: THE CULT OF THE SAINTS IN THE WORLD OF GREGORY OF TOURS

John H. Corbett

The Story of Florentius, The Legate from Spain

My grandfather, many years ago, had built a basilica in honour of blessed Martin the priest. When it was finished and decorated with choice workmanship, he sent some clerics in holy orders to Tours to seek out relics of the priest When that had been done he came every day, and prostrating himself alone with his wife, he sought the help of the holy priest. Some time after this child was born. But when it was only three months old, it was stricken with a fever and so weakened that it was unable to suck the teat or take any food at all. All this time, as the disease progressed, the baby refused to eat, but kept struggling for breath; nothing remained but to await its death. And it was not long before the baby breathed its last. Then its mother, grief-stricken at the death of her only and first-born child, together with the grandmother, took the little body in their arms and placed it already lifeless before the altar of the blessed Martin. But their hope never failed. And, as if they could see the saint with their own eyes, grandfather spoke up and said: "Our hope was very great, most blessed confessor, when we brought your relics here, relics by which diseases are driven

away, fevers extinguished, the darkness put to flight (and other infirmities cured). For we had read many accounts concerning you, of deeds which you had done while still alive or deeds which you worked after your passing. We heard that you raised the dead by your prayer, drove away leprosy with your kiss, cured the possessed by a word, constrained infection with your finger -- and many other things as well. Here too your holy power (*virtus*) will appear, if even now, responding to our faith, you will revive this little one. But if you do not do so we will not bend our necks here again, we will not light a lamp, nor will we give you any honour by our grateful support (*gratiam*)." So saying, they left the infant before the altar, and went away. When morning came they returned and found him turned towards the altar. In amazement, his mother took him up in her arms and, seeing that he had begun to breathe again, she put him to her breast; straightway he drank up her milk and grew strong. Then his mother with his father and the whole household raised their voices to the heavens, blessed God, and said: "Now we know that you, God, are indeed great and you alone work wonders, for you have restored to us our little child, by the prayer of your holy confessor." And they showed even greater reverence at that place than they had done before (Gregory of Tours, *De Virtutibus S. Martini* 3,8).

It has become common to speak of the "transformation" of Late Antiquity; and it is indeed useful to conceive of historical change in such a fashion. Unfortunately such concepts often lack clarity. The direction which we must take, if we are to achieve a clearer understanding of this transformation, was first indicated by Peter Brown in his fundamental study of the rise and function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity.¹ Since that study was first published Brown has devoted considerable effort to explicating the role of Holy Men in the making of Late Antiquity.² In these studies we have been presented with new models of social change, supported by a wealth of vivid detail. Holy men and saints have achieved a new -- and deserved -- notoriety. I am not convinced that due attention has yet been paid to the social processes in which these "great friends of God" played an essential role. Yet it seems that concern for these processes is at the heart of Brown's work. Brown has suggested that Holy Men served as the pivot of that great

transformation which gave birth to Christendom. Much remains to be illuminated here; the *Life of St. Martin* will continue to be a focus of that study.³ Brown has also suggested that there was an especially close association between the cult of the saints and the role of bishops in the Latin west.⁴ That relationship, which has been further illuminated by Martin Heinzelmann's study of episcopal power in Gaul,⁵ is the subject of this paper; it will focus on the cult of St. Martin as revealed in the work of Gregory of Tours.

An earlier study was concerned to examine the function of the saint as patron in the work of Gregory, with especial attention to St. Martin.⁶ Certain conclusions emerged clearly from that study, conclusions which had the effect of substantiating in some detail the model proposed by Brown. First, the "miraculous" element in Gregory's account must not be allowed to distract modern readers; much more important to our understanding of the saint's role is close examination of the social experience of Gregory's contemporaries and the role of the saints therein. From this point of view, striking features of Gregory's account of contemporary appeals to Martin are the weakness of the appellants, their need for a strong patron, and the role of the saint in satisfying that need (not to overlook the role of the bishop as the saint's representative on earth). This need could manifest itself in an experience of disease, or demonic possession, to be sure, but also -- perhaps even more so -- in an experience of the abuse of power which the saint was expected to remedy. The language which Gregory uses is drawn from the technical vocabulary of Roman *patrocinium*, used carefully and correctly. Even more significant is Gregory's description of behaviour: appealing to the saint is a ritualized action in which the circumstances and the manner of the appeal, as well as its outcome, are prescribed by custom. From this careful reading of Gregory's account, Martin emerges as a spiritual equivalent of a secular patron -- and also himself a *patronus* in the secular sphere, controlling people, services, and land. That study, however, had certain methodological weaknesses which were difficult to avoid: it was a rather "static" analysis. For the purposes of a preliminary study the *De Virtutibus S. Martini (VSM)* was treated as a homogeneous collection of "case records" without regard to the chronological structure of the work -- the fact that it was written over a twenty-year period, during which Gregory's experience, or perception, of Martin's role might well be expected to have changed, especially if the cult of the saint was still a

somewhat novel phenomenon, subject to being "developed" by the activity of the Bishop.

The plan of the present paper is somewhat different: it begins with close attention to the nature and structure of *VSM*. That work (as we have it and as it came from Gregory's hand) consists of four books with 207 chapters, most of which recount, in the manner of a modern social worker's case notes, usually the experience of a single person who appealed to Martin for help. As the accompanying Synopsis (below pp. 54-60) makes clear, Bk. 1, 1-6, contains an account of Martin's life, death, and translation as it was known to Gregory from the work of predecessors, supplemented by tradition. Bk. 1, 7-40, recounts some deeds which Martin worked in Gregory's youth (from ca. 544 to 573) and known to him from contemporary witnesses. The rest of the work (*VSM* 2, 1-60; 3, 1-60; 4, 1-47) recounts the deeds of Martin from the time of Gregory's ordination as Bishop of Tours (Aug. 20, 573) until shortly before his death (which occurred on Nov. 17, 594), as they were witnessed by Gregory himself or carefully collected from eyewitnesses. That is, *VSM* is a running collection of the deeds of St. Martin recorded by Gregory as they happened over some twenty years. This clearly emerges from Gregory's own explicit description of his procedure and from the chronological structure of his work. This being so, we may formulate an obvious question: does Gregory's view of the saint's function change over these twenty years? If so, in what way, and why? An hypothesis of close episcopal control over the cult of saints and of active episcopal involvement in the "development" of the cult suggests, if it does not require, that the cult show some change over the course of time -- unless, of course, it had already received its definitive form by the mid sixth century. In any case, it is worthwhile to avail ourselves of this unusual collection to study the interaction between the saintly patron and those who appeal to him, between the saint and Gregory, as appellant himself, as witness, as Bishop in charge of the cult, and as recorder of Martin's deeds.

First, some more words about the chronological structure of *VSM*. Here for the most part it suffices to follow the lead of Krusch, the editor of *VSM* in the standard edition.⁷ Most of Krusch's chronological annotations are straightforward, arising from the text itself; occasionally he brings to bear evidence from other sources. The chronological structure which he has established can often be elaborated and extended by inference, to which I have resorted rather freely. From this a clear picture emerges, as the

Synopsis reveals (left hand side): *VSM* 1, 7-40, record deeds of St. Martin from ca. 544 to 573; 8 out of 34 chapters give information which allows some conclusions regarding the dating of the incidents reported. But Gregory was not yet Bishop of Tours; more representative of his method after his ordination is *VSM* 2, 1-60. Here we have deeds which Martin worked from 573 to 581; out of 60 chapters, 31 have some indication of date. Only occasionally is the year given; more often there is explicit reference to a feast of the Church (dates established by explicit references are underlined on the Synopsis). Some ambiguity arises from Gregory's usual failure to distinguish between the two feasts of Martin (Nov. 11 and July 4). But since the collection is arranged in chronological sequence, it seems reasonable to assign events to one or other of these feast days as the sequence seems to require. The same procedure can be followed with *VSM* 3, 1-60, (dealing with a subsequent period after 581 and before 588) and with *VSM* 4 (recording events after 587, apparently, before the record was abbreviated by Gregory's death in 594). Although only eleven deeds of Martin are explicitly dated to specific years in Gregory's account, the distribution of these dates establishes a framework for the whole. And sometimes the dating of one event inferred from this schema is confirmed by an apparent reference to the same event in another source (usually Gregory's *History* -- see e.g. *VSM* 3, 17, 34; 4, 7; cf. 2, 17, 27; 3, 15, 60). Only once do we have evidence that Gregory has reported an event out of sequence (3, 9 dated to 573?) and this concerns the curing of his own mother. Likewise, with the exception of the two feasts of Martin, Gregory is very specific in his references to the liturgical calendar (Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Feast of St. John). In addition many events are dated with reference to others ("At the same time . . .," "At the same feast . . ."). These observations allow us to repose some confidence in the chronological structure of the whole work, a presupposition essential to this analysis.

The first thing which strikes even a casual reader of Gregory's account is how many of the deeds of St. Martin are essentially "political" in nature, rather than simply "miraculous" or even concerned with "healing" in a straightforward sense. The first step in our analysis will be to put on one side all the chapters which appear to record straightforward "healings" (though even here much can be done to penetrate beneath the surface of the account, as Aline Roussell has shown in her discussion of St. Martin).⁸ What remains is a strikingly high proportion of incidents which have another dimension which is usually "political" (see the Analysis, below p. 61).

Approximately half of the chapters in *VSM* as a whole report incidents of this sort: Bk. 1 has 18 chapters out of 34 which record deeds of Martin exhibiting some special "political" quality; for Bks. 2 and 3 the numbers are approximately 26 out of 60, while Bk. 4 contains 20 chapters recording incidents somewhat out of the ordinary. Even more important for our argument is the next stage of analysis: a high proportion of these "special" deeds of Martin falls into five clear categories (another two categories are minor but interesting). This analysis is undoubtedly crude; closer attention to detail might sharpen the picture. It is unlikely to reduce the number of cases which fall into these special categories (rather the reverse).

Let us look more closely at these more important categories, which together make up about one-third of Gregory's work. The first category includes cases of slaves who have been cured by Martin and subsequently freed. The pattern of these reports is clear: Gregory always emphasizes the change in social status. Change of status is also important in the second category: here we learn of people who were cured and became "clerics," "took the tonsure," "entered the service of Martin," or such like. It is striking that the number of such cases reported which we may assign to these first two categories declines precipitately in the last decade of Gregory's episcopacy. A few such cases are reported from the period before Gregory became Bishop of Tours. One case from this period was especially close to Gregory, and it bridges the two categories (1, 40): just before he became bishop (it seems) the young slave *Securus* who had been crippled at birth was cured, bought out of slavery (*redemptus*) by count Justin (who must be Gregory's brother-in-law), and freed, whereupon he was baptized and entered *sub patrocinio s. ecclesiae*, where he remained. This is explicitly described as a *praeclarum miraculum*. Gregory was obviously familiar with such cases before he became Bishop of Tours; in the first decade of his episcopacy, covered by Bk. 2, he recorded some eleven cases falling into these two categories (i.e. of "slaves cured and freed" and of "people who were cured and became clerics").

Why, we may well ask, are there only four cases of this sort in Bk. 3 and only one such case in Bk. 4? A third category shows the reverse pattern. Again Gregory was familiar with the idea that Martin might intervene to save criminals; he reports a striking case (from before he became Bishop) of a condemned thief who was restored to life after having been

hanged (1, 21) -- in fact, the thief had been left suspended on the gibbet and cut down by a nun; this Gregory considers equivalent to revival of the dead! The number of prisoners freed by the intervention of Martin increased strikingly towards the end of Gregory's episcopacy; in some such cases Gregory himself was directly involved (e.g. 4, 35 -- an innocent man falsely condemned). A fourth category shows still a different pattern. Before he became Bishop, Gregory does not seem to have been much concerned about people who worked (or drank or had intercourse) on Sundays and feast days; no such cases are reported in Bk. 1 of *VSM*. The grim fate which awaited such people, and the punishment which forced them to resort to St. Martin, became increasingly important towards the latter part of Gregory's episcopacy (four cases in Bk. 2, eight in Bk. 3; only one, however, in Bk. 4). A fifth category of case reported by Gregory appears more consistently throughout the work. In every book of *VSM* there are some (4-5) incidents reported in which Gregory himself experienced the intervention of Martin. Usually, these interventions brought Gregory a cure for some minor, if painful, physical affliction. As such they are really analogous to the "normal" healing stories which make up most of the work. They attract our attention for two reasons: they concern the Bishop himself and they are also situated at significant places in the narrative. Books 2 and 3 begin and end with an account of Gregory's own experience of Martin's *virtus*. Bk. 4 begins with a personal anecdote and probably would have ended with one if Gregory had lived. Bk. 1 ends, by contrast, with the *praecclarum miraculum* by which the slave Securus was cured and freed. Gregory may well have had a special personal interest in this case, as Securus was freed by the intervention of Count Justin (Gregory's brother-in-law). I believe that these incidents which involve Gregory himself belong in our larger category of special deeds of Martin, to be distinguished from the routine: that they should have been experienced by Gregory gave them a larger, public, even "political" significance. Two other types of action by Martin are spectacular rather than frequent: overtly "political" acts by Martin, that is, specific interventions in the conduct of political figures, and revival of dying babies. These incidents were important to Gregory, and seem to have had a public impact greater than that made by other "political" or "healing" interventions of St. Martin.

What are we to make of these patterns? Some of them, no doubt, simply reflect Gregory's own changing experience: a bishop might well come to be

specially concerned about people who worked on Sundays. Similarly, there is another group of incidents which grows more numerous towards the end of Gregory's episcopacy: these are stories of Martin which Gregory has gathered from visitors to Tours or on his own trips around central France (Poitiers, Saintes, Le Mans, Cavaillon, etc.). But we should not exaggerate the shaping influence of Gregory's own personal experience, before and especially after he became Bishop: he aimed to make his account as complete as possible. Though realizing that many people would try to conceal their experience of Martin's *virtus*, he was resolved, insofar as he was able, to search out and record all the details of every deed (see 2, 45, for his attitude and procedure; cf. 1, 40 *fin.*). Gregory also realized that Martin had worked more miraculous deeds than the world, much less his books, could contain (cf. 1, 40, for the multitude of *miracula*), something which would allow some scope for editorial shaping, it must be admitted. It is more important to emphasize that Gregory's own experience, taking at face value his accounts, clearly demonstrates his own personal, deeply felt need of Martin. He could enter into other people's experience of that need precisely because he felt it so strongly himself. As Bishop of Tours, Gregory had a special curiosity about the deeds of Martin; but there is ample evidence that other people shared his curiosity (e.g. the story of Abbess Agnes and the trader from Metz in 4, 29). If there is any one theme of particular concern to Gregory, in which he might be held to have a personal, vested interest, that theme concerns the relics of St. Martin, the most tangible and portable *pignora* of his *virtus*. Gregory's propagandizing in this connection would reward further attention; the groundwork has already been laid by Brown's study.⁹ As for the "political" deeds of Martin, they are not so easily dismissed or devalued as the projections of Gregory's private concerns.

What are we to make of these data? First of all, if we are to take at face value Gregory's explicit statement about the tendency to conceal the deeds of Martin, a tendency apparently common among those who had benefitted from them, we must say that all these "political" deeds, many of them involving changes of status, public release, or public disgrace, are experiences of a sort that would be rather difficult to conceal. We can perhaps suggest that people were less likely to work on Sunday, when it became known what happened to some who had done so; thus the decrease in the number of such cases ca. 588 to 594 could itself be taken as the result of the effective publicity generated by the (relatively) large number of such

cases in the preceding fifteen years. It is not so easy to suggest why the numbers of slaves who were cured and freed, the numbers of people who took the tonsure, or those who became "clerics" after being cured should decline so precipitately from ca. 573 to 588, while the number of prisoners freed by the intervention of Martin goes up over the same period. It is dangerous to base generalizations on such small samples of data; certain changes in Gregory's record cannot be studied apart from other contemporary social processes in late sixth-century France. And I do not propose to attempt any such integration of these data into the larger picture here. If, for the moment, we disregard these patterns within the data relating to slaves, new "clerics," and prisoners, and if we consider the three categories together, we are brought back to the conclusions of a previous study,¹⁰ which emphasized the importance of these "political" deeds alongside the more famous "deeds of healing" of St. Martin. Especially so, if to the deeds which involve slaves, new "clerics," and prisoners -- some 30 cases -- are added the cases of those punished for working on Sunday, etc. -- some 13 cases; then "political" deeds make up more than one-fifth of the whole account, to say nothing of the fact that the stories of prisoners released through Martin's intervention often group together numbers of unnamed individuals. Moreover, it seems that by Gregory's time there was already a wide social consensus as to the nature and effect of the *praesentium signorum munera*.

By way of conclusion, there should be noted four further aspects of the "dynamics of the Holy" in sixth-century France which deserve close attention. First, despite the power of bishops such as Gregory and their obvious interest in "promoting" their saints, they do not appear to differ from many other faithful in their attitude towards the cult (except perhaps as regards publicizing the deeds of the saint and promoting the use of relics). Second, to use an analogy from economics, "demand pull" on the part of "consumers" seems at least as important as "supply push" in explaining the growth of the "market" for the deeds of Martin. Third, we see here in the sixth century an extension of the social dynamic described by Gerd Theissen for the very early Church, and by Brown for the fourth and fifth centuries:¹¹ that is, we should understand the spread of the Christian *kerygma* (something which Gregory sees as a uniform process, despite the diversity of the saints; see 4, 12) as resulting from a dialectical interaction of charismatic figures (living holy men or dead saints) with ordinary believers in the various Christian communities. But it is need for

the services of the charismatic, need for access to the Holy which explains the functional reintegration of the charismatic into the community (or rather, reintegration of the community around the charismatic) as much as availability of the charismatic through the cult of the saint, however much the bishop "pushed" his wares. Without demand there can be no market. Fourth, as for the role of this dialectical interaction in bringing about the transformation of Late Antiquity in the west, Sulpicius' work on St. Martin remains the best and most complete description. But the life and work of Martin belong to Brown's pivotal generation of the late fourth century. If Gregory's account of St. Martin shows anything, it is that the *praesentium signorum munera* were no novelty in the mid-sixth century.

Scarborough College,
University of Toronto

NOTES

¹ "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 61 (1971) 80-101, reprinted in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1982).

² See especially *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978) and *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago 1981).

³ For Sulpicius Severus and his *Life of St. Martin* see now C. Stancliffe *St. Martin and his Hagiographer* (Oxford 1983).

⁴ See P.R.L. Brown "Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways" in *The Orthodox Churches in East and West, Studies in Church History* 13 (1976) 1-24.

⁵ M. Heinzelmann *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien* (Munich 1976).

⁶ "The Saint as Patron in the Work of Gregory of Tours," *JMH* 7 (1981) 1-13.

⁷ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* I, 2 (Hannover 1885).

⁸ Aline Roussell "Du sanctuaire au thaumaturge: la guérison en Gaule au IVe siècle," *Annales* 31 (1976) 1085-1107, reprinted in English translation in *Ritual, Religion and the Sacred, Selections from the Annales*, VII, ed. R. Forster & O. Ranum (Baltimore 1982).

⁹ *Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours* (The Stenton Lecture 1976) (Reading 1977).

¹⁰ See n.6 above.

¹¹ See G. Theissen *The First Followers of Jesus* (London 1978) also published as *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (Philadelphia 1978); P.R.L. Brown *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978).

SYNOPSIS

VSM 1, 1-40 (before 573; cf. VSM 2 praef.)

1. Sulpicius Severus.
2. Paulinus VI 114 (ca. 450?)
VI 297 (ca. 460-490).
3. St. Martin, his ordination and death.
4. Severinus' vision at Martin's death.
5. Ambrose's vision at Martin's death.
6. Perpetuus, bp. of Tours and the translation of St. Martin.
7. Before 544.
9. Ca. 546-552.
11. Before 580
11. Conversion of the Suevi under King Chararic.
12. Humble approach of Queen Ultrogotha.
- 13-16. Stories from Italy (Fortunatus).
19. A blind woman cured and married.
20. Drunken Ammonius saved from a fall.
21. A hanged thief restored to life.
22. Leomer the slave twice cured (after master tried to re-enslave him).

23. Wilicharius freed from chains and becomes a priest.
25. Before 575?
26. Aquilinus, cured, enters service of the Basilica.
29. Ca. 567
29. King Charibert tries to seize an estate from Martin.
30. A similar case.
32. 563
32. Gregory's own experience with a fever.
34. Wax from the tomb protects Gregory's field from hail.
36. Gregory is saved from robbers.
All Martin's favours are recounted.
40. A young slave Securus cured and purchased by Count Justin, remains *sub patrocinio s. ecclesiae*, a *praeclarum miraculum*.

VSM 2, 1-60 (from 573-581; cf. VSM 2, 60)

1. 573 before Oct. 20
1. Gregory ill from dysentery.
2. Justin, G.'s brother-in-law, cured.
3. (573) Nov. 11.
4. Veranus, the slave, is cured, freed and enters Martin's service.
- 5-7. 574, the day on which Sigibert made peace with Chilperic
6. A paralytic is cured and becomes a cleric.
9. Gunthetrudis, cured of blindness, leaves her husband for the church.
12. (574) Jul. 4 or Nov. 11.
(575) Epiphany (cf. 16)
13. (575) Easter
13. Ursulfus, blinded for working on the first day of Pasch, cured on Easter, enters Martin's service.
14. (575) Jul. 4.
15. The day after the event of section 14.
15. Merobaudus, cured of blindness, becomes a cleric.

16. The previous Epiphany.
17. ? Guntram Boso at Amboise
17. Boso is saved from drowning by Martin.
18. Landulfus, cured of epilepsy, takes the tonsure.
24. (575) Nov. 11
24. A crippled child, conceived on Sunday, is cured.
25. (575) Christmas Eve and Day
25. A man possessed mocks G.'s faith in Martin.
26. (576) (Epiphany).
27. 576 shortly before Feb. 29
27. Ruccolenus, besieging Tours, is stricken with Herod's disease and dies.
28. (576) Pentecost.
29. (576) Jul. 4.
30. A dumb woman cured and redeemed from slavery by Martin's treasury.
31. (576) Nov. 10.
32. G.'s experience with the oil of Martin.
33. (577) Palm Sunday
33. Allomeris, cured of paralysis, becomes a cleric.
34. (577) Jul. 4.
35. (577) Jul. 7
35. Priscus, miraculously freed, goes to the Basilica.
44. (577) Nov. 11.
40. Martin, in a vision, explains a man's suffering as a sign for the people.
43. Martin restores a dying baby to life.
45. Boys witness a demonic chorus of women, are blinded and later cured.
46. (578) Jul. 4
46. A boy is crippled for leaving the feast.
47. The same time as 46.
49. (578) Nov. 11 - while the life of the saint was being read.
51. Just before 580?
51. Many cured of dysentery (epidemic) by dust, oil and water from the tomb.

53. A man from Bayeux, cured and becomes a priest, returns to former madness and drunkenness.
54. (579) Jul. 4.
- 55 and 56. The same time as 54.
57. (580) Feast of S. John 57. A servant woman, stricken for working in fields, is cured and her status changed.
58. A tailor boy from Paris, threatened with enslavement, falls ill, is freed and cured.
59. Another such case (a freedwoman).
60. 581 ca. Oct. 20 60. G's own headache and how it was cured.
- VSM 3, 1-60 (after 581 and before 588; cf. VSM 4, 4 and 5)
1. (581) after Oct. 20 1. Gregory chokes on a fishbone, is cured at the tomb.
2. (581) Nov. 14.
3. The same time as 2 3. A man paralyzed for work on Sunday is cured, relapses, is paralyzed and cured.
7. A senator makes a key on Sunday and cannot unlock his hand; he is cured.
8. 582 8. G. hears a story of Martin from a Spanish legate.
9. (582) Jul. 1 or Nov. 8.
10. 573 shortly after Aug. 20 10. How G's mother had been cured of her long suffering.
14. (582) Jul. 7 or Nov. 14.
15. Gundulfus of Tours takes the tonsure and is cured after being long lame.
16. (582) Christmas Eve.
17. 583 17. Siggo, the referendary, recovers his sight from sitting next to G. and his relics of Martin.

19. (583) Jul. 4
19. A blind man is cured and takes the tonsure.
23. A dumb man is robbed by his brothers, comes to Candes, where he is supported and cured.
24. Aridius, the special *alumnus* of Martin, takes oil from the shrine.
28. A cleric, the slave of the Basilica from birth, loses his sight and is cured.
29. A slave, crippled from Sunday work, is cured.
31. A woman, crippled from baking on Saturday evening, is cured.
34. A plague at Tours; many are cured.
34. 584
35. 581-586
39. (584) Jul. 4.
41. The same time as 39
41. A freeborn girl reduced to slavery by sons of her patron; her bonds are miraculously broken.
42. A book of Martin's Life is saved from the flames.
45. (584) Nov. 11
45. A man crippled for working on Sunday is cured.
46. A woman enslaved by her masters falls sick and is eventually cured and freed.
47. The same time as 45
47. An imprisoned debtor is released, redeemed and freed.
48. (585) Jul. 4.
49. The same time as 48.
50. (585) Nov. 11
50. A sceptical Jew falls sick.
51. Chardegysilus' infant son is saved from death.
52. The same time as 50?

53. Slaves sentenced to hang are saved.
55. A woman paralyzed from Sunday work is cured.
56. Another similar case.
57. (586) Jul. 1.
58. (586) Jul. 7.
60. 587 Aug.-Sept.?
60. G's own experience on his trip to visit his mother at Cavailon and back.
- VSM 4, 1-4 (A subsequent period before Nov. 11, 588)
- 5-47 (From Nov. 11, 588 until shortly before the death of Gregory in 594, Nov. 17)
1. Gregory's own intestinal problems cured.
2. G.'s swollen tongue and lips.
4. (588) Jul. 4.
5. 588 Nov. 11
6. 589 Jul. 4
7. 589
8. The same year as 7.
11. Childless Blidericus wills his property to Martin and begets a child.
12. A blind woman at Le Mans attributes her cure to Martin.
13. (589) Nov. 11.
16. (590) Easter
16. Criminal of Tours, released after appealing to Martin, goes to the Basilica.
17. (590) Jul. 4
- 17 and 18. Two blind children are cured and run to Gregory with the news.
- 18 - 20. The same time as 17

21. The power of a loaf and some wine which had been left on the tomb.
22. (590) Nov. 11.
- 23 - 24. The same time as 22.
26. 591 June 30
27. (591) Jul. 4.
30. Some time later at Poitiers
38. (592) Jul. 4.
39. A few days later
41. (592) Nov. 12
45. (593) Jul. 4
26. How some convicted debtors at Rheims were released by Martin and their debts forgiven by the king.
29. Abbess Agnes' story; how the trader travelled from Metz to Trier.
30. A story from Ligugé: a crippled woman's faith in Martin brings about her cure.
31. A story of Martin at the well (on the road from Poitiers to Saintes).
32. How the church house at Poitiers was saved from fire by dust from the tomb.
35. An innocent man, wrongly condemned, freed by Martin -- and Gregory.
39. Some convicted prisoners miraculously released.
41. Some prisoners, divinely freed, come to the Basilica.
45. Leodulfus, paralyzed for Sunday work, is cured, stricken (blind) and cured again.
46. Paternianus, from Britain, is cured and remains at the Basilica to tell his story.

ANALYSIS

Date	Before 573	573-581	581-587	588-594	Totals
VSM, book	1	2	3	4	1-4
chapters	7-40	1-60	1-60	1-47	201
Dated chapters	ca. 8	ca. 30	ca. 24	ca. 23	ca. 85
Chapters with "political" deeds	ca. 18 (11)	ca. 26 (22)	ca. 26 (22)	ca. 20 (12)	ca. 90 (67)
Slaves cured and freed	22, 40	4, 30, (57), 58, 59	41, 46	5	10
People cured and become "clerics"	23, 26, (40)	6, 9, 15	15, 19		11
Prisoners freed	21	35	47, 53	16, 26, 35	9
People punished for work on Sunday, etc.		13, 24, 46, 57	3, 7, 29, 31, 38, 45, 55, 56	45	13
Gregory's own experience	32, 33, 34, 36	1, 2, 25, 32, 60	1, 10, 17, 24, 60	1, 2, (35), 17, 18	17
"Political" deeds	11, 29, 30	27	23 ?	7 ?	6
Dying babies revived		43	8, 51		3
Stories of Martin	13-16	17, 19-23	8, 42, 50	6, 7, 11, 12, 21, 29, 30, 31, 32	23

The numbers below and to the left of the double lines refer to the chapters of the various books of VSM under which the column falls