

the door, I found her reclining on a soft couch. The floor of the room was covered with woolen mats for walking on. A number of servants stood round her, and maids sitting on the floor in front of her embroidered with colors linen cloths intended to be placed over the Scythian dress for ornament. Having approached, saluted her, and presented the gifts, I went out and walked to the other houses, where Attila was, and waited for Onegesius, who, as I knew, was with Attila. . . .

I saw a number of people advancing, and a great commotion and noise, Attila's egress being expected. And he came forth from the house with a dignified strut, looking round on this side and on that. He was accompanied by Onegesius, and stood in front of the house; and many persons who had lawsuits with one another came up and received his judgment. Then he returned into the house and received ambassadors of barbarous peoples. . . .

A banquet at
Attila's.

[We were invited to a banquet with Attila at three o'clock.] When the hour arrived we went to the palace, along with the embassy from the western Romans, and stood on the threshold of the hall in the presence of Attila. The cupbearers gave us a cup, according to the national custom, that we might pray before we sat down. Having tasted the cup, we proceeded to take our seats, all the chairs being ranged along the walls of the room on either side. Attila sat in the middle on a couch; a second couch was set behind him, and from it steps led up to his bed, which was covered with linen sheets and wrought coverlets for ornament, such as Greeks and Romans used to deck bridal beds. The places on the right of Attila were held chief in honor; those on the left, where we sat, were only second. . . .

[First the king and his guests pledged one another with the wine.] When this ceremony was over the cupbearers retired, and tables, large enough for three or four, or even more, to sit at, were placed next the table of Attila, so that each could take of the food on the dishes without leaving his seat. The attendant of Attila first entered with a dish

full of meat, and behind him came the other attendants with bread and viands, which they laid on the tables. A luxurious meal, served on silver plate, had been made ready for us and the barbarian guests, but Attila ate nothing but meat on a wooden trencher. In everything else, too, he showed himself temperate; his cup was of wood, while to the guests were given goblets of gold and silver. His dress, too, was quite simple, affecting only to be clean. The sword he carried at his side, the lachets of his Scythian shoes, the bridle of his horse were not adorned, like those of the other Scythians, with gold or gems or anything costly.

When the viands of the first course had been consumed, we all stood up, and did not resume our seats until each one, in the order before observed, drank to the health of Attila in the goblet of wine presented to him. We then sat down, and a second dish was placed on each table with eatables of another kind. After this course the same ceremony was observed as after the first. When evening fell torches were lit, and two barbarians coming forward in front of Attila sang songs they had composed, celebrating his victories and deeds of valor in war.

IV. HOW POPE LEO THE GREAT SAVED ROME FROM ATTILA

Prosper, a Christian chronicler, writing about 455, gives the following simple account of Leo's famous interview with the king of the Huns three years before:

Now Attila, having once more collected his forces which had been scattered in Gaul [at the battle of Chalons], took his way through Pannonia into Italy. . . . To the emperor and the senate and Roman people none of all the proposed plans to oppose the enemy seemed so practicable as to send legates to the most savage king and beg for peace. Our most blessed Pope Leo — trusting in the help of God, who never fails the righteous in their trials — undertook the task, accompanied by Avienus, a man of consular rank, and the prefect

15. Prosper's account of the meeting of Leo the Great and Attila (452)

Trygetius. And the outcome was what his faith had foreseen; for when the king had received the embassy, he was so impressed by the presence of the high priest that he ordered his army to give up warfare and, after he had promised peace, he departed beyond the Danube.

In a life of Leo the Great by some later author, whose name is unknown to us, the episode as told by Prosper has been developed into a miraculous tale calculated to meet the taste of the time:

16. Later account of Leo's intervention. (Somewhat condensed.)

Attila, the leader of the Huns, who was called the scourge of God, came into Italy, inflamed with fury, after he had laid waste with most savage frenzy Thrace and Illyricum, Macedonia and Moesia, Achaia and Greece, Pannonia and Germany. He was utterly cruel in inflicting torture, greedy in plundering, insolent in abuse. . . . He destroyed Aquileia from the foundations and razed to the ground those regal cities, Pavia and Milan; he laid waste many other towns,¹ and was rushing down upon Rome.

Then Leo had compassion on the calamity of Italy and Rome, and with one of the consuls and a large part of the Roman senate he went to meet Attila. The old man of harmless simplicity, venerable in his gray hair and his majestic garb, ready of his own will to give himself entirely for the defense of his flock, went forth to meet the tyrant who was destroying all things. He met Attila, it is said, in the neighborhood of the river Mincio, and he spoke to the grim monarch, saying: "The senate and the people of Rome, once conquerors of the world, now indeed vanquished, come before thee as suppliants. We pray for mercy and deliverance. O Attila, thou king of kings, thou couldst have no greater glory than to see suppliant at thy feet this people before whom once all peoples and kings lay suppliant. Thou hast subdued, O Attila, the whole circle of the lands which it was granted to the Romans, victors over all peoples, to

¹ This is, of course, an exaggeration. Attila does not seem to have destroyed the buildings, even in Milan and Pavia.

conquer. Now we pray that thou, who hast conquered others, shouldst conquer thyself. The people have felt thy scourge; now as suppliants they would feel thy mercy."

As Leo said these things Attila stood looking upon his venerable garb and aspect, silent, as if thinking deeply. And lo, suddenly there were seen the apostles Peter and Paul, clad like bishops, standing by Leo, the one on the right hand, the other on the left. They held swords stretched out over his head, and threatened Attila with death if he did not obey the pope's command. Wherefore Attila was appeased by Leo's intercession, — he who had raged as one mad. He straightway promised a lasting peace and withdrew beyond the Danube.

V. CLOVIS AND THE FRANKS

The history of the Franks was written about a century after the time of Clovis by Gregory, bishop of Tours. The following extracts give some notion of this valuable source, upon which a great part of our knowledge of the Merovingian period rests¹:

17. Gregory of Tours and his history of the Franks.

At this time [A.D. 486] the army of Clovis pillaged many churches, for he was still sunk in the errors of idolatry. The soldiers had borne away from a church, with all the other ornaments of the holy ministry, a vase of marvelous size and beauty. The bishop of this church sent messengers to the king, begging that if the church might not recover any other of the holy vessels, at least this one might be restored. The king, hearing these things, replied to the messenger: "Follow thou us to Soissons, for there all things that have been acquired are to be divided. If the lot shall give me this vase, I will do what the bishop desires."

The incident of the vase at Soissons.

When he had reached Soissons, and all the booty had been placed in the midst of the army, the king pointed to this vase, and said: "I ask you, O most valiant warriors, not to refuse to me the vase in addition to my rightful part."

¹ See below, p. 60.

Those of discerning mind among his men answered, "O glorious king, all things which we see are thine, and we ourselves are subject to thy power; now do what seems pleasing to thee, for none is strong enough to resist thee." When they had thus spoken one of the soldiers, impetuous, envious, and vain, raised his battle-ax aloft and crushed the vase with it, crying, "Thou shalt receive nothing of this unless a just lot give it to thee." At this all were stupefied.

The king bore his injury with the calmness of patience, and when he had received the crushed vase he gave it to the bishop's messenger; but he cherished a hidden wound in his breast. When a year had passed he ordered the whole army to come fully equipped to the Campus Martius and show their arms in brilliant array. But when he had reviewed them all he came to the breaker of the vase, and said to him, "No one bears his arms so clumsily as thou; for neither thy spear, nor thy sword, nor thy ax is ready for use." And seizing his ax, he cast it on the ground. And when the soldier had bent a little to pick it up the king raised his hands and crushed his head with his own ax. "Thus," he said, "didst thou to the vase at Soissons."

The conversion of Clovis to Christianity.

[Clovis took to wife Clotilde, daughter of the king of the Burgundians. Now Clotilde was a Christian. When her first son was born] she wished to consecrate him by baptism, and begged her husband unceasingly, saying, "The gods whom thou honorest are nothing; they cannot help themselves nor others; for they are carved from stone, or from wood, or from some metal. The names which you have given them were of men, not of gods, — like Saturn, who is said to have escaped by flight, to avoid being deprived of his power by his son; and like Jupiter himself, foul perpetrator of all uncleanness. . . . What power have Mars and Mercury ever had? They are endowed with magical arts rather than divine power.

"The God who should be worshiped is he who by his word created from nothingness the heavens and the earth, the sea and all that in them is; he who made the sun to

shine and adorned the sky with stars; who filled the waters with creeping things, the land with animals, the air with winged creatures; by whose bounty the earth is glad with crops, the trees with fruit, the vines with grapes; by whose hand the human race was created; whose bounty has ordained that all things should give homage and service to man, whom he created."

But when the queen had said these things, the mind of Clovis was not stirred to believe. He answered: "By the will of our gods all things are created and produced. Evidently your god can do nothing, and it is not even proved that he belongs to the race of gods."

Meantime the faithful queen presented her son for baptism. She had the church adorned with tapestry, seeking to attract by this splendor him whom her exhortations had not moved. But the child whom they called Ingomer, after he had been born again through baptism, died in his white baptismal robe. Then the king reproached the queen bitterly. "If the child had been consecrated in the name of my gods he would be alive still. But now, because he is baptized in the name of your god, he cannot live." . . .

After this another son was born to him, and called in baptism Clodomir. He fell very ill. Then the king said: "Because he, like his brother, was baptized in the name of Christ, he must soon die." But his mother prayed, and by God's will the child recovered.

The queen unceasingly urged the king to acknowledge the true God, and forsake idols. But he could not in any wise be brought to believe until a war broke out with the Alemanni. Then he was by necessity compelled to confess what he had before willfully denied.

It happened that the two armies were in battle, and there was great slaughter. Clovis' army was near to utter destruction. He saw the danger; his heart was stirred; he was moved to tears, and he raised his eyes to heaven, saying: "Jesus Christ, whom Clotilde declares to be the son of the living God, who it is said givest aid to the oppressed, and victory to those who put their hope in thee, I beseech the

glory of thy aid. If thou shalt grant me victory over these enemies and I test that power which people consecrated to thy name say they have proved concerning thee, I will believe in thee and be baptized in thy name. For I have called upon my gods, but, as I have proved, they are far removed from my aid. So I believe that they have no power, for they do not succor those who serve them. Now I call upon thee, and I long to believe in thee — all the more that I may escape my enemies."

When he had said these things, the Alemanni turned their backs and began to flee. When they saw that their king was killed, they submitted to the sway of Clovis, saying: "We wish that no more people should perish. Now we are thine." When the king had forbidden further war, and praised his soldiers, he told the queen how he had won the victory by calling on the name of Christ.

Then the queen sent to the blessed Remigius, bishop of the city of Rheims, praying him to bring to the king the gospel of salvation. The priest, little by little and secretly, led him to believe in the true God, maker of heaven and earth, and to forsake idols, which could not help him nor anybody else.

But the king said: "Willingly will I hear thee, O father; but one thing is in the way — that the people who follow me are not content to leave their gods. I will go and speak to them according to thy word."

When he came among them, the power of God went before him, and before he had spoken all the people cried out together: "We cast off mortal gods, O righteous king, and we are ready to follow the God whom Remigius tells us is immortal."

These things were told to the bishop. He was filled with joy, and ordered the font to be prepared. The streets were shaded with embroidered hangings; the churches were adorned with white tapestries, the baptistery was set in order, the odor of balsam spread around, candles gleamed, and all the temple of the baptistery was filled with divine odor. . . . Then the king confessed the God omnipotent in

the Trinity, and was baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and was anointed with the sacred chrism with the sign of the cross of Christ. Of his army there were baptized more than three thousand.

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- The West Goths:** EMERTON, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, Chapter III, pp. 22-34; GIBBON, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (BURY'S edition), Vol. III, Chapter XXVI, pp. 69-132, "Crossing of the Eastern Frontier and Battle of Adrianople"; Vol. III, Chapters XXX-XXXI, pp. 240-356, on the Invasion of the West.
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- The Franks:** ADAMS, *Growth of the French Nation*, pp. 22-38; EMERTON, pp. 60-72; GIBBON, Vol. IV, Chapter XXXVIII, pp. 98-120; OMAN, pp. 55-64, "Clovis"; pp. 111-127 and 158-180, "The Merovingians"; pp. 256-271, "Mayors of the Palace."
- German Laws and Customs:** ADAMS, *Civilization*, Chapter V, pp. 89-106; EMERTON, pp. 12-21 and 73-91; GIBBON, Vol. IV, Chapter XXXVIII, pp. 122-140; HENDERSON, *Short History of Germany*, pp. 1-21.
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The Salic Law: HENDERSON, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 176-189.

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B. Additional reading in English.

HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, 8 vols. The fullest and most scholarly treatment in English, with many valuable extracts from sources. *Dynasty of Theodosius* and *Theodoric the Goth*. Two useful books by the same author, giving in brief form some of the results reached in his larger work.

VILLARI, *The Barbarian Invasions of Italy*, 2 vols. An animated and graphic narrative of events down to Charlemagne, with extracts from the sources, intended to interest the general reader.

GREGOROVIVS, *History of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Vols. I and II. An able discussion of the period, particularly as regards the city of Rome.

BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. The best survey of conditions in the Empire, especially in the East.

MCCABE, *St. Augustine, His Life and Times*. An attractive and sympathetic sketch of the great church father and his contemporaries.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *History of Rome*,¹ translated by Yonge (Bohn Library).

ST. AUGUSTINE, *The City of God*.

Examples of the charming letters of Apollinaris Sidonius are given by Hodgkin, Vol. II, pp. 304-373 (see below, pp. 58 *sqq.*).

The Letters of Cassiodorus,² translated by Hodgkin, London, 1886.

English versions of the sources.

C. Materials for advanced study.

WIETERSHEIM, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 2 vols., Leipzig, n. d. (1880?). This second edition has been completely recast and revised by Felix Dahn, who has devoted his life to this field of history.

Volume I deals with the Romans and barbarians before the coming of the Huns. The second volume, which takes up the invasions of the Goths, Franks, etc., with its critical notes and exhaustive bibliography, is certainly the best guide to the period for the advanced student.

DAHN'S own voluminous *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, 4 vols., 1881-1889 (Oncken's series), covering the early history of the Germans and their movements to the death of Charlemagne, is in general parallel to Hodgkin. It is supplied with illustrations and maps.

¹ See below, section C.

² See below, section C.

GEHARDT, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 2 vols., 2d ed., 1901, is a very condensed history of Germany, — a species of elaborate syllabus prepared by a number of specialists, who give full references to the latest monographs and discussions. It devotes a good deal of space to the Germans before and during the invasions.

FUSTEL DE COULANGES, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, Vol. II, "L'invasion germanique et la fin de l'empire," Paris, 1891. A brilliant statement of fresh investigations by which the author sought to prove that France owed much more to the Romans and much less to the German barbarians than German scholars had admitted.

Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution, edited by LAVISSE, Vol. II, Part I (1903), is the most recent and readable general review of the Merovingian period.

The laws of the various German peoples — Franks, West Goths, Burgundians, Lombards, etc. — which were written down during the invasions and afterwards, throw a great deal of light upon the customs, institutions, and ideals of the barbarians. The most complete but not very critical texts of these laws are to be found in the *Monumenta*.

Of the histories of law and institutions which make use of this material, the clearest and most available are: ESMEIN, *Cours élémentaire d'histoire du droit français*, 4th ed., Paris, 1901, 10 fr.; R. SCHRÖDER, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1902, M. 22; VIOLLET, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administratives de la France*, 3 vols., Paris, 1890-1903. Pleasantly written and supplied with plentiful references. In these works one finds incorporated such investigations as those of Waitz and Brunner, who have written exhaustive works on the institutions of the Frankish period.

The sources of information for the long period of four hundred years which elapsed between the battle of Adrianople and the accession of Charlemagne are very meager and unsatisfactory.

Gibbon, after recounting the first great victory of the Goths over the Roman army, as described by Ammianus Marcellinus, says: "It is not without the most sincere regret that I must now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has composed the history of his own times without indulging the passions which usually affect the mind of a contemporary. Ammianus Marcellinus, who terminates his useful work with the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious subject of the ensuing reign to the youthful vigour and eloquence of the rising generation. The rising generation was not disposed to accept his advice or to imitate his example; and in the study of the reign of Theodosius

Unsatisfactory character of the sources for the barbarian invasions.

Gibbon on Ammianus Marcellinus.

we are reduced to illustrate the partial narrative of Zosimus¹ by the obscure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative style of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious assistance of the ecclesiastical writers who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to despise the profane virtues of sincerity and moderation. Conscious of these disadvantages, which will continue to involve a considerable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, I shall proceed with doubtful and timorous steps."²

Augustine's
City of God.

Instigated by the capture of Rome by Alaric and the West Goths, ST. AUGUSTINE composed his famous work, *The City of God*, to prove that the disaster could not, as the pagans urged, be reasonably attributed to the anger of the heathen gods who had been deserted for the God of the Christians.

Orosius and
his *History*
directed
against the
Pagans.

OROSIUS, a disciple and ardent admirer of Augustine, undertook further to confound the pagans by reviewing the whole history of the past with the aim of showing that mankind had in all ages suffered from terrible calamities and disasters. Human trouble was no new thing; so it was absurd, he maintained, to cast the blame for the disorders of the time upon the Christians and their religion. His *Seven Books of History directed against the Pagans* was one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages and greatly affected later writers. The facts were, however, selected and presented with the purpose of proving his gloomy thesis, and only the latter chapters of the work, which closes with the year 417, have any historical value, for they relate to the writer's own time, about which little is known.

There is a cheap and excellent edition of Orosius published by Teubner, 1889. The work is to be found in MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXXI, and, better, in the *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinarum*, Vol. V.

Salvian's
Government
of God.

A specimen has already been given (see pp. 28 *sqq.* above) of SALVIAN'S *Eight Books on the Government of God*, written about 450. This is not a history, nor an impartial description of the social conditions of the time, since the writer is tempted to paint them in too dark colors, and, conversely, to give too cheerful a view of the habits and conduct of the barbarians, whom he believed God had sent to punish the civilized world for its monstrous iniquities.

Apollinaris
Sidonius and
his letters.

APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS, an amiable contemporary of Salvian's, took a much less gloomy view of the situation than he. The ancestors of

¹ See above, p. 42, note.

² Bury's edition, Vol. III, p. 122. An amusing but none the less valuable denunciation of the sources for the period of the invasions may be found in HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol. II, pp. 299-303.

Sidonius had held high offices under the Roman emperors. He was born in Lyons about 430. He received a good education, made many friends, became bishop of Averni, died of a fever about 489, and left to posterity a great number of letters which give a lively idea of the world in which he lived.

"Sometimes we think of the hundred years between Theodosius and Theodoric as wholly filled with rapine and bloodshed. Sometimes we carry back into the fifth century the thick darkness which hung over the intellectual life of Merovingian France or Lombard Italy. In both these estimates we are mistaken. A careful perusal of the three volumes of the letters and poems of Sidonius reveals to us the fact that in Gaul, at any rate, the air still teemed with intellectual life, that authors were still writing, amanuenses still transcribing, friends complimenting or criticising, and all the cares and pleasures of literature filling the minds of large classes of men just as though no empires were sinking and no strange nationalities were suddenly rising around them" (HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol. II, p. 305). For an extract from a letter of Sidonius, see below, pp. 150 *sq.*

The numerous Lives of the saints, although a very uncritical kind of biography, are sometimes helpful to the historical student. The best known of those for the fifth century is the *Life of Severinus* (d. 482), a missionary who labored in Noricum among the Germans on the Danube. His biography was prepared by his disciple Eugisippus in 511. (Text in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. New edition in the octavo edition of the *Monumenta*; translation in the *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*.)

Lives of the
saints,
especially
that of
Severinus.

CASSIODORUS (ca. 477-ca. 570), Theodoric's minister, was the chief literary promoter of the sixth century. He edited a *Tripartite History* made up of extracts from three ecclesiastical historians,—Sozomenus, Socrates, and Theodoret,—who had written in Greek a hundred years before. This compilation comes down to 441. Cassiodorus also wrote a history of the Goths, which has unfortunately been lost. But most important of all is his own vast correspondence, which forms an invaluable source for the period. (Text of the Letters, *Variarum (epistolarum) Libri XII*, edited by Mommsen in the *Monumenta*. Hodgkin has published a condensed English translation.)

Cassiodorus,
Historia
Tripartita.

We have an abridgment of Cassiodorus' lost *History of the Goths* made by the illiterate Jordanes about 551. Here for the first time the ancient religious legends of the Germans and the tales of their heroes found their way into Latin. (See above, pp. 39 *sqq.*)

Jordanes.

¹ For a description of the *Monumenta* and its various divisions and offshoots, see below, pp. 262 *sq.*

Procopius and his history of the wars of Justinian.

One historical work at least was produced in the sixth century which possesses some of the fine traits of the classical Greek writers. PROCOPIOUS had little in common with the crude and unlettered Jordanes. In his *History of his Own Time*, which closes with the year 559, he gives an excellent account of Justinian's wars with the Persians, Goths, and Vandals. (See Bury's *Gibbon*, Vol. IV, p. 513.) (Procopius is rather inaccessible. It is published with a Latin translation in the *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn, 1833-1838. A new edition of the Gothic wars may be had with an Italian translation by Comparetti, Rome, 1895 *sq.*, a complete edition, edited by Haury, is announced by Teubner.)

Gregory of Tours and his *Ten Books of Frankish History*.

As Cassiodorus was spending his last days in a monastery of southern Italy, where he brought his long life to an end, GREGORY OF TOURS (540-594) was beginning his celebrated history of the Franks, without which we should know practically nothing of Clovis and the earlier Merovingian period. Gregory's position as bishop of Tours gave him a very important place in the Frankish kingdoms, and he had ample opportunity to become acquainted with prominent men, to familiarize himself with public affairs, and to talk with the many pilgrims who flocked to the revered shrine of St. Martin of Tours.

The first of his *Ten Books of Frankish History* hastily reviews the history of the world down to the death of St. Martin of Tours in 397. The two following books deal with Clovis and his successors. The remaining books, constituting the great body of the work and bringing the story down to 591, are really a history of his own time. Here Gregory made use apparently almost altogether of oral tradition and his own observations, for he himself must have witnessed, or had personal knowledge of, many of the things which he narrates.

Gregory had little knowledge of the ancient writers, as he himself freely confesses; his language is grammatically very incorrect, but is simple and direct, and is supposed by some to have nearly approached the spoken Latin of the period. As an ardent orthodox churchman, he hated the Arian Burgundians and West Goths, and too freely condoned the treacherous and bloody deeds of Clovis and others, whom he held to be God's instruments for the extension of the true Church. Yet in spite of his ignorance and his enthusiasm for his particular form of Christianity, Gregory's book remains the chief and almost sole historical monument of the Merovingian period. Moreover, he rarely fails to gain his readers' confidence by his unmistakable sincerity and his directness and freedom from artificiality. (Editions in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; also in the *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'étude de*

l'histoire, 1886-1893. Translation in *Geschichtschreiber*. The text with a French translation is published by the Société de l'histoire de France.)

The only historical work dealing with the Franks in the seventh century which has come down to us is that which passes for convenience under the name of FREDEGARIUS THE SCHOOLMASTER, although there is no reason to suppose that a man of that name wrote it. Indeed, three writers who probably lived in Burgundy would seem to have been responsible for the only valuable part of the work, which covers the period from Gregory of Tours to the year 660. In the following century, under the inspiration of the brother of Charles Martel, the chronicle of Fredegarius was continued by three other successive writers, who brought it down to the year 768. (Text in the *Monumenta*, in *Geschichtschreiber*, and Guizot, *Collection de Mémoires*.)

The Lombards found their historian in PAULUS WARNEFRIDI, commonly called Paul the Deacon, born about 725 in northern Italy. He was teacher and friend of the Lombard princess Adelperga and became so distinguished as an historian that Charlemagne summoned him to join the literary circle of his court. His history of the Lombards closes with the year 744. (In the *Monumenta*; also in the octavo edition of the *Monumenta* and in the *Geschichtschreiber*.)

Full accounts of the sources mentioned above and of the other materials will be found in Wattenbach and in Molinier (see above, p. 11). For BEDE'S *History of the English Church* and *The Lives of the Saints* which throw light on the conversion of the Germans, see close of Chapter V.

The imaginary schoolmaster Fredegarius and his chronicle.

Paulus Diaconus (d. ca. 800), and his history of the Lombards.