

The Icelandic "Gregorius peccator" and the European Tradition

Writing in 1876 about the English version of the "Gregorius peccator" legend, Eugen Kölbing reported that he had been informed by Gustav Storm that Gregorius saga páfa in the Stockholm codex 3 (perg. fol.), a manuscript dating from the first decade of the sixteenth century, was not an Icelandic version of the legend of "Gregorius auf dem steine." On the basis of second-hand evidence, Kölbing concluded "dass wir wol überhaupt die hoffnung aufgeben müssen, eine altnordische bearbeitung dieses stoffes aufzufinden."¹ Ironically, the legend about "Gregorius páfi" in the Stockholm manuscript--or Reykjahólabók, as the codex is called--is preceded by a legend about "Gregorius biskup" and this Bishop Gregorius is none other than Harmann von Aue's "guoter sündære," the very Gregorius that Kölbing was trying to locate in the North. Had Kölbing himself examined the manuscript, he doubtless would have discovered the Old Icelandic version of "Gregorius" that he sought.

Gustav Storm gave Kölbing a negative response to his inquiry because Kölbing asked the wrong question. Kölbing was looking for a Pope Gregorius and Storm correctly reported that the only Pope Gregorius in the Stockholm 3 codex was Gregory the Great. Kölbing either overlooked or was ignorant of the German chapbook tradition about Gregorius peccator, according to which Gregorius is raised only to the episcopacy. The Icelandic legend about "Gregorius biskup" in the Stockholm 3 codex makes use of both traditions--the one, according to which Gregorius becomes pope; the other, according to which he becomes bishop--and incorporates them into the conclusion of Gregorius saga biskups.

Gregorius saga biskups is the fourteenth of twenty-five legends in Reykjahólabók (Perg. fol. nr. 3) in the Royal Library in Stockholm. The legends in this codex were brought to the attention of twentieth-century scholars by Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen in 1960.² At the end of their article, "En semmiddelalderlig legendesamling," the authors tentatively propose Oddur Gottskálksson as the compiler of the Icelandic legendary (p. 128).

In the introduction to her critical edition of Stockholm 3, however,³ Agnete Loth was able to argue convincingly that Björn Þorleifsson, a wealthy farmer from Reykjahólar who is known to us through diplomata from the years 1501-39, was not only the scribe of this codex of saints' lives but also its translator (pp. xxxix-xl). Björn Þorleifsson produced Reykjahólabók

on the threshold of the Reformation, possibly during the years 1504-06, when he was in Norway and, for a time, in the service of Bishop Hans Teiste in Bergen (p. xxxii).

While Ole Widding and Hans Bekker-Nielsen, and, more recently, Agnete Loth suggest that the main sources of the legends in Reykjahólabók are the German versions of Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda aurea, that is, the Heiligen Leben and Passional, they also point out that we are not dealing with a translation in the modern sense of the word. Although Steffen Arndes' Low German Passional, a Lübeck imprint from the year 1492, seems to approximate the disposition and content of the legends in Reykjahólabók, there are, nonetheless, according to Agnete Loth, "så mange forskelligheder, ikke alene en langt større ordrigdom i den islandske text, men også mange enkeltheder og episoder som ikke har noget sidestykke i det tyske, at det umuligt kan være dette tryk, som har været oversættelsesgrundlaget" (p. xxxvi).

To date, none of the legends in Reykjahólabók, not to mention the codex in its entirety, has been closely scrutinized with a view to establishing sources and determining Björn Þorleifsson's methodology as a translator and compiler. A comparison of Gregorius saga biskups with extant German versions of the legend--and not with the version in Arndes' incunabulum alone--will demonstrate that Björn Þorleifsson had access to two versions of the Gregorius peccator legend, the one known to us from the Arndes imprint, in which Gregorius becomes pope; the other, a Low German version in which Gregorius becomes bishop.

The legend about Gregorius the good sinner, also known as Gregorius peccator in late medieval tradition, is a curiosum. It is the story of a child of brother-sister incest who, like Moses, is set afloat in a little casket and entrusted to God and the waves by its mother. He is found by some monks and raised in a monastery, but is unwilling to dedicate his life to God as a monk. He leaves the monastery and, as a knight, rescues a widowed chatelaine from an unwanted suitor and marries her himself. When he discovers to his horror that his wife is also his mother, Gregorius has himself chained to a rock jutting out from the sea and leads a penitential hermit's life for 17 years. When, at the end of this time, the pope dies, God makes manifest that his successor is to be the holy sinner.

The literary source of this pseudo-legend about a fictive pope is the anonymous French Vie du pape Grégoire from the 12th century. The legend became known in Germany through Hartmann von Aue's Gregorius, which was

written around 1190. Although Hartmann is best known as the creator of Arthurian romance in Germany, his Gregorius actually had a greater impact on literature in the German-speaking area--if one views Hartmann's work from the perspective of its reception and transmission through the centuries--than either of his two Arthurian romances, Erec and Iwein. Hartmann's Gregorius was translated into Latin by Arnold von Lübeck in 1210, and a shortened prose version of Hartmann's metrical legend was incorporated into numerous German legendaries, all of which derive ultimately from Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda aurea.⁴ The High German legendaries (Der Heiligen Leben) as well as their Low German counterparts (Passional) admitted many new saints' lives over the years, many of them of local patron saints. Even the fictive Gregorius peccator was raised to the level of sainthood and included in the "Winterteil" of the legendaries with a feast day in November.

Among the medieval Gregorius legends the Icelandic version is unique by virtue of its title and its two-pronged conclusion, in which Björn Þorleifsson first tells how, according to one version, Gregorius becomes bishop, and then how, according to another version, he becomes pope. In effect, a reader may choose the ending he prefers or would like to believe. There are other striking additions and changes in the saga by virtue of which Gregorius saga biskups deviates from every High and Low German legendary--including Steffen Arndes' 1492 imprint--known to us today. The distinctive deviating features of the saga are as follows:⁵

1. The tale takes place during the reign of one Pope Caius who is said to be the fourth pope after St. Peter.
2. Upon becoming a knight, Gregorius, well-equipped with ten horses, enters for a time the service of the king of Naples.
3. Before marrying his mother, Gregorius is asked about his family background, but he does not reveal the truth.
4. After Gregorius has unwittingly married his mother, she keeps inquiring about his family background.
5. When Gregorius' wife/mother finally realizes that her husband is her son, she does not immediately reveal herself to him, but, instead, refuses to share his bed for three nights.
6. Gregorius does not comprehend the import of her withdrawal; he confronts her with drawn sword and asks for an explanation of her behavior.
7. When the fisherman chains Gregorius to a rock that is located in the sea, one mile's distance from land, the penitent asks that he not be

allowed to starve and the fisherman provide him with the food he would otherwise throw to the dogs.

8. A bishop dies in a town four days removed from Gregorius' place of self-imposed exile. At this time Gregorius has spent 16 years on the rock.

9. The two messengers who are to seek out the man named Gregorius visit the fisherman twice, at a month's interval. Not until the second visit do they learn from him about the great sinner.

10. After Bishop Gregorius and his mother have been re-united, they go on pilgrimage to Rome to seek absolution from Pope Gaius.

What is the source of the above narrative matter that deviates not only from the Lübeck Passional of 1492 but also from every other attested version of the Gregorius peccator legend prior to 1492? Björn Þorleifsson first reveals that he is familiar with more than one version of the legend when, at the end of chapter 12, he remarks about Gregorius' sojourn on the rock: "Og j þessare vesavild var hann j sexttan ar enn j svævm bokvm seiger xvij aar; (p. 24). Thereafter, Björn's narrative becomes two-stranded: ". . . j svmlegvm bokvm greiner so at j Romaborg var pafen j fra fallen Enn j svmvm rithningvm greiner at þat hafe verit einn biskvp sem fra hafde fallet biskvps stolnvm" (p. 24).

The Lübeck Passional of 1492 may or may not have been Björn's source for the Gregorius páfi conclusion; the differences among the imprints of the Passional that I have been able to examine are so minimal that any one of them could have served the Icelandic translator, compiler, and editor. The source of the Gregorius biskup narrative with its striking divergences can, however, be established with certainty. Curiously enough, it is another Lübeck imprint from the year 1492, a book of pericopes interlaced with devotional, exegetical, and paraenetic commentary and exempla, entitled Plenarium Evangelien unde Epistolen. The imprint carries the Mohnkopf emblem.⁶ In this Plenarium the gloss of Luke 14:1-11 for the 17th Sunday after Trinity--which contains the parable that concludes with the words: "For whosoever exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted"--is followed by an exemplum entitled: "Van eyneme de sick heet Gregorius de grote sunder" (fols. CCLXIV^{b2}-CCLXVII^{a2}). This exemplum was published in 1967 by Olaf Schwencke in an article entitled: "Gregorius de grote sunder. Eine erbaulich-paränetische Prosaersion der Gregorius-Legende im zweiten Lübecker Mohnkopf-Plenarium".⁷

"Gregorius de grote sunder" is a short narrative compared with Gregorius saga biskups. The text has 228 ll. in Schwencke's edition. Nonetheless, despite its brevity, "Gregorius de grote sunder" contains all the distinctive features of Gregorius saga biskups. The numeration below corresponds to the list of features of the saga:

1. "in den daghen des pawes Gayus de was de veerde na sunte Peter" (ll. 3-4).
2. "He wart mechtich dat he reit mit x perden by deme konynghe van Neapolis" (ll. 72-73).
3. "Hirvme wart he van en ghevraget van wat lueden he gheboren were. Dar tho antworde he van slychten lueden" (ll. 97-98).
4. "Vnde id gheschach in na tyden dat desse frowe yo wethen wolde van sinen slechten" (ll. 103-04).
5. "Vnde se ghyneck nicht mer by eme slapen" (l. 113).
6. "vnde he besloet sick myt er in eyner kameren vnde he toch syn swert vnde he helt dat er vor vnde he berede wu he se dorch stecken wolde edder se scholde eme seggen worvme se nicht by eme slapen ghynghe na woenheyth" (ll. 114-18).
7. "eyne walsche mile verne dar is eyne bevlotene steyn klyppe" (ll. 136-37); "Vnde ik bydde dy dorch god alse du doch dar hen varest vvsachen. dat du my nicht en latest vorsmachten. men de almyssen de du doch ghyfst dat du my de bryngen wyllst. Efte de spyse de du doch sust vorwerpest vor de hunde sodane brynghe my dorch god dat ik nicht vorhungere" (ll. 149-54).
8. "Alse nu de xvi iar vme weren. do starf eyn bisschop van dar gheleghen iiii dach reyse" (ll. 164-65).
9. "Sus reyseden se wech. vnde do eyn maente vorschenen was. quemen se wedder vme to rugge. vnde herbergeden echter by deme visscher" (ll. 175-76).
10. "Vnde he makede rede myt er vnde se wanderden to Rome. vnde he brachte se vor den pawes Gayus dath se eme bychten scholde alse se dede" (ll. 219-21).

The congruence of narrative detail in "gregorius de grote sunder" and Gregorius saga biskups is striking. Just as striking is the agreement of numbers and the consonance of expression that extends even to the choice of vocabulary. For example, when Gregorius enters the service of the king of Naples, the saga reports that he "hiellt sigh par med .x. hesta" (p. 14) just as in the Plenarium (see nr. 2 above). According to the Plenarium,

Gregorius learns about the besieged chatelaine, that is, his mother, "do he olt was xx iaer" (l. 76) and the saga follows suit with "þaa sem Gregorivis var orden vel .xx. at ara thavlv" (p. 14). Björn Þorleifsson borrowed Low German vocabulary and used cognates and even entire phrases from the exemplum. When Gregorius shows his mother the treasures that the abbot had given him for his journey, the loan word in the Icelandic passage "hier med synnde hann henne þav klenodia" (p. 20) matches the vocable in the exemplum "Vorder leet he er seen de klenode" (l. 107). The fisherman proposes to deposit Gregorius on a rock "sem ein ualsk mila leingd er þangad" (p. 23) and this corresponds to the German "eyne walsche mile verne" (ll. 136-37). Gregorius intends to do "penitennciam" in the saga (p. 23) and "penitencien" in the exemplum (l. 148). When God's voice makes manifest that Gregorius is to be the next bishop, two messengers are appointed to search for him. The saga's "ærelega sendiboda" (p. 27) are the exemplum's "erlike sende boden" (l. 170). The exemplum consistently refers to Gregorius as "de grote sunder" and the saga follows suit. When God's voice is heard, it commands that a search be conducted "efter einvm manne er sig nefnde Grego(riv) hinn mikle synndare" (p. 27), which is a counterpart of the exemplum's "eynen dedesick hete Gregorius de grote sunder" (l. 168).

The preceding examples from saga and exemplum of consonance not only in narrative detail but also in choice of vocabulary argue strongly for the thesis that Björn Þorleifsson had before him the Lübeck Plenarium of 1492.⁸ The semantic correspondences between the saga and the exemplum are too close for Björn to have produced the scenes in question from memory.

The other source of Gregorius saga biskups was a Low German Passional. That Steffen Arndes' 1492 Lübeck imprint was Björn's second source cannot be concluded with certainty, however, since time and again corresponding passages in the saga and in "Gregorio vp deme stene," as the legend is called in Arndes' imprint,⁹ have varying sequences of detail. One example should suffice. In the saga we learn that the ivory tablet with which the baby Gregorius is sent to sea contains the following information: "at þat barn sem j favthvne er sie o skirth og er giethid aa mille brodvr's og systvr. enn erv þo komen fra gavfvgv kyne" (pp. 5-6). The corresponding passage in the Passional reverses the sequence: "dat dat kynt eddel were van gheslechte. vnde were gheboren van suster vnde broder vnde were nicht ghedofft" (fo. XXIxxxi^{aβ}). In both saga and Passional the message ends with the request that the child be taught to read Sacred Scripture.

As is the case with Björn Þorleifsson's use of the 1492 Plenarium, there are also exact correspondences between saga and Passional. For example, when the brother and sister, that is, father and mother of Gregorius, seek counsel upon discovering that the sister is with child, the brother concludes his plea for help with the following words in the saga: "[at þv] legger mīer og minne systvr god rad þviat þeirra þvrfvm vid nv og þar vid liggr avll ockvr æra" (p. 4). The last clause mimics the Passional's "dar lycht alle vnse eere ane" (fol. CCLxxx^{BA}). And in the same scene, the brother asks the sage counsellor to arrange matters in such a manner that "þav mätte komazt þar af heimmoglega," which corresponds to "dat se hemelyken dar van quemem."

That "Gregorius de grote sunder" was one of Björn's sources can be established beyond a doubt; that he also used a Passional similar to Steffen Arndes' 1492 Lübeck imprint is reasonably certain. The correspondences in detail and wording between the saga and one or the other Low German text provide concrete evidence of the sources of Gregorius saga biskups. Nonetheless, despite the congruity of the saga and the two German texts in many a passage, Gregorius saga biskups is a literary entity distinct from either of the two older German texts which, by comparison, are laconic, especially "Gregorius de grote sunder." Into the rather pithy German legends, both of which are characterized by third-person narrative, Björn has introduced vividly dramatic scenes in which dialogue predominates. The seduction scene--if indeed it should even be called that in the Passional and the Plenarium--is a case in point. The Passional summarizes the incident from which the plot evolves:

Do hatede de bozeghest de reynen leue de se haddē vnde mochte der nycht lyden. Vnde bekoerde den heren to syner suster boze leue, vñ syner suster schoenheyt verreeth ene. vñ de vyent makede dat he by syner suster sleep. (CCLxxx^{bβ})

The corresponding episode in the saga extends over 19 lines of printed text, and commences with a graphic report of the devil's temptation:

Þæ matte ovinvr allz mannkyns þetta ecki leinge þola so at hann bære sig ecki at eins hveriv þvi er ver vøre efter enn adr. Sem hann giorde. og vpp qveikkte j brioste þessa hins vnga herrans. oleyfelegaa fyst til savrlegs samrædis vid systvr sina. og eitt sinne kom hann æa thal vid hana og þar þetta vpp fyrer henne so seigiande. Min allra kærastta hvat mikin harm og alldegh trege

sker mitth hiartta fyrer skvld þinnar prydelegrar fegvrdar er þinn lystvgh aasiona ber fram yfer allar jvngfrvr og kvrttheisar qvinnvr. . . .

(p. 2)

The passage continues in this vein, with vocabulary, alliteration, and synonymous collocations that are distinct echoes of similar scenes in the courtly riddarasögur.

Björn Þorleifsson consistently amplifies the matter transmitted by his sources and, just as consistently, he converts indirect discourse into dialogue. For example, when Gregorius finally confronts his wife to inquire why she refuses to share his bed, the Plenarium text employs indirect discourse: "he toch syn swert vnde he helt dat er vor vnde he berede wu he se dorch steken wolde edder se scholde eme seggen worvme se nicht by eme slapen ghyngne na woenheynt" (ll. 115-18). By transforming indirect into direct discourse and by having Gregorius impute base behavior to his wife, the scene gains a dramatic immediacy in the saga that is lacking in the Low German source:

Sidan þrifvr hann sith sverð og dregr vt vr balenv. enn setvr klothed fyrer briosted æ sier sem hann vile renna hana j gegnvm. og sagde. Seigh nv avrn pyta hvar þv hefr legit þessar nætvr er þv hefr thekit þig j bvrttv wr minne naverv. (p. 20)

The above examples are paradigmatic of the type and character of the amplification in the saga vis-à-vis the Low German texts. Except for its two-stranded ending, Björn's recreation of the Gregorius legend in Icelandic is successful. The narrative is lively and the style reminiscent of the better riddarasögur. The conclusion of Gregorius saga biskups is weak, however, because of Björn's attempt to account for and conflate two literary traditions concerning Gregorius peccator. The double stranding per se does not disrupt the narrative, although, to be sure, after we have heard how Gregorius becomes bishop and then travels to Rome, we again hear of the death of a prelate, this time the pope. We are now led to a different conclusion. The weakness of the double stranding resides in the disparity between the relative abruptness of the first conclusion and the wealth of detail provided in the second conclusion. It is noteworthy that some of the details in the "Gregorius páfi" ending, which derives from the Passional, are interpolated from the Plenarium. The conflation of details and incidents from two sources, when Björn could more easily simply have retold and expanded the conclusion found in the Passional, once more suggests that both Low German texts were consulted during the composition of Gregorius saga biskups.

What is the significance of Gregorius saga biskups within the European literary tradition? The saga and its one source, the Mohnkopf Plenarium of 1492, are the sole medieval representatives of a branch of the "Gregorius peccator" legend in which the saintly sinner becomes bishop instead of pope. There are, however, two German post-Reformation versions of the tale that belong to the same branch as "Gregorius de grote sunder" and "Gregorius saga biskups": 1) Martin van Cochem's "Bischoff Gregorio / auff dem stein genennet," which appears in the third edition of his History-Buch (from the year 1706) as the eighth story under the heading: "Von den wunderbarlichen Urtheilen Gottes";¹⁰ 2) Karl Simrock's modernized chapbook Gregorius auf dem Stein from the years 1839 and 1865.¹¹

In the history of German literature there is repeated reference to a German chapbook about "Gregorius auf dem Steine" supposedly printed in the sixteenth century. No such work is extant, however, and in 1963 J. Elema and R. van der Wal attempted to unravel the complicated history of the non-existent chapbook in their article "Zum Volksbuch Eine schöne merkwürdige Historie des heiligen Bischofs Gregorii auf dem Stein genannt."¹² Their conclusion was, in short, that there had indeed existed a chapbook that derived from a Latin version of the Gregorius legend in the Gesta Romanorum. This version would have been translated into German not in the sixteenth but in the seventeenth century and then published as a "Volksbuch." Karl Simrock knew this chapbook--which is today no longer extant--and based his two editions (1839 and 1865) in modernized language on it (pp. 319-20).

Elema and van der Wal did not know that Simrock's chapbook is nothing but a modern edition of Martin van Cochem's "Bischoff Gregorio / auff dem Stein," as Volker Mertens pointed out some years later.¹³ Faced with van Cochem's deviant version, in which Gregorius does not become pope, Mertens postulated that the Capuchin van Cochem himself was responsible for "die hierarchische Reduktion," in allowing Gregorius to be elevated only to the episcopacy, since van Cochem probably wanted "das Papsttum vor protestantischer Kritik schützen--nach den Gesetzen der Kirche konnte ja bis in unser Jahrhundert hinein ein Inzestkind nicht einmal ohne weiteres Priester werden" (p. 133). Mertens' thesis is reasonable but wrong. As the Icelandic saga and the Plenarium exemplum prove, the "hierarchical reduction" had already occurred before the Reformation took place.

At the end of his "Gregorio auff dem Stein," Martin van Cochem cites ch. 81 of the Gesta Romanorum as his source (Mertens, p. 131). This suggests

that a variant version of the Gregorius peccator tale--in the legend that we know in the Gesta Romanorum today Gregorius becomes pope--was familiar to the 1492 Plenarium author, who generally is careful to indicate his source, but unfortunately does not do so for "Gregorius de grote sunder," possibly because the tale was too well known.

Gregorius saga biskups is one more instance of the preservation of continental literary matter through the efforts of literate Icelanders. Nearly five centuries after its composition, Ejórn Þorleifsson's "Gregorius peccator" legend permits us to solve a problem in German literary history that had hitherto appeared insoluble.

University of Illinois at
Urbana-Champaign

Marianne E. Kalinke

Notes

¹"Ueber die englische version der Gregoriussage in ihrem verhältniss zum französischen gedichte und zu Hartmanns bearbeitung," Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der englischen und nordischen Litteratur (Breslau: Koebner, 1876), p. 43.

²Ole Widding, and Hans Bekker-Nielsen, "En senmiddelalderlig legendesamling," MM (1960), 102-28. See also their article "Low German Influence on Late Icelandic Hagiography," Germanic Review, 37 (1962), 239-62; Ole Widding, Hans Bekker-Nielsen, L.K. Shook, C.S.B., "The Lives of the Saints in Old Norse Prose. A Handlist," Mediaeval Studies, 25 (1963), 294-337.

³Agnete Loth, ed., Reykjahólabók. Islandske helgenlegender, I-II, Editions Arnarnáttan, A, 15-16 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1969; 1970).

⁴I.V. Zingerle, ed., Von Sant Gregorio auf dem Stain und von Sant Gertraud. Aus dem Winter-Theile des Lebens der Heiligen (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Univ.-Buchhandlung, 1873). See also Bernard Plate, ed., Gregorius auf dem Stein. Frühneuhochdeutsche Prosa (15. Jh.) nach dem mittelhochdeutschen Versepos Hartmanns von Aue (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983).

⁵For the text see Agnete Loth, ed., "Gregorius biskup," in Reykjahólabók, II, Ed. Arn., A, 16, pp. 1-30.

⁶See Niederdeutsche Bibliographie. Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800, Compiled by Conrad Borchling and Bruno Claussen, Vol. I: 1473-1600 (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1931-36), nr. 205. The Höxter copy listed by Borchling and Claussen is now in the possession of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

⁷Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch. Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung, 90 (1967), 63-88. The edition is on pp. 70-76.

⁸There are five other Plenaria that are Lübeck incunabula; according to Winfried Kämpfer, however, the 1492 Mohnkopf imprint represents "den Höhepunkt der nd. Plenarausgabe" (Studien zu den gedruckten mittelniederdeutschen

Plenarien. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte spätmittelalterlicher Erbauungsliteratur. Niederdeutsche Studien, 2 [Münster/Köln: Böhlau, 1954], p. 5).

⁹ I have used the copy that is in the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

¹⁰ See Volker Mertens, Gregorius Eremita. Eine Lebensform des Adels bei Hartmann von Aue in ihrer Problematik und ihrer Wandlung in der Rezeption, Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, 67 (Zürich und München: Artemis, 1978), pp. 131-38.

¹¹ Karl Simrock, Die deutschen Volksbücher. Gesammelt und in ihrer ursprünglichen Echtheit wiederhergestellt, 12 (Frankfurt a.M.: Christian Winter, 1865). I did not have access to the 1839 edition.

¹² Euphorion, 57 (1963), 292-320.

¹³ Gregorius Eremita, p. 131.