

THE  
LIVES OF THE POPES  
IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D. 747-752*, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

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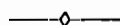
Is gratefully Dedicated

BY

THE AUTHOR.



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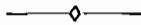
A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS  
USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Jaffé, or Regesta . . .	=	Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Labbe . . . . .	=	Sacrosancta Concilia, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., Anastasius, or the Book of the Popes	} =	Liber Pontificalis, 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz . . .	=	Monumenta Germaniæ Historica, either <i>Scriptores</i> (M. G. SS.) or <i>Epistolæ</i> (M. G. Epp.).
P. G. . . . .	=	Patrologie Grecque, ed. Migne.
P. L. . . . .	=	Patrologie Latine, ed. Migne.
R. I. S. . . . .	=	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, ed. Muratori.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and the date are placed.

# VITALIAN.

A.D. 657-672.



*Sources.*—The *L. P.* Some half dozen letters of the Pope, to be found in the ‘Councils,’ *e.g.*, Mansi, x., and Migne, *P. L.*, t. 87.

The history of Vitalian’s relations with England will be found in Bede, *H. E.*, iii. and iv., etc.

Incidental notices of this Pope occur in Paul the Deacon, Theophanes, the Acts of the Sixth General Council, etc.



EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	KINGS OF THE LOMBARDS.	EXARCHS OF RAVENNA.
Constans II., 642-668.	Aripert I., 653-661.	Theodore Calliopas, 653-664.
Constantine IV. (or V.) (Pogonatus), 668-685.	Perctarit and Godepert, 661-662.	Gregory, 664-677.
	Grimwald, 662-671.	
	Perctarit (second time), 672-688.	

IN the first part of this volume we traced the careers of the popes through the first half of the seventh century. Of this century, through the dearth of records, very little is known in either East or West. It is a century which, while for this reason to us now dull and dark all over the civilised

Introductory.

world, was in the West, politically speaking,<sup>1</sup> uneventful, monotonous and quiet, and in the East violent and perturbed. For the Orient was agitated by the heresy of Monothelism and the sword of the Saracen. In the West it was the darkness of the mist, in the East the blackness of the storm.

This second part of the volume will see the dulness of the seventh century give place somewhat before the coming of the great popes of the eighth century and the dawn of the age of Charlemagne. It will see Monothelism swept into oblivion, the disappearance of the last shreds of the *Three Chapters*, the rise and fall of Iconoclasm; it will witness the expanse and collapse of the Lombard power in Italy; it will contemplate the definite passing of 'Roman' power in the peninsula from the nerveless fingers of the exarch, whence it had long been slipping, into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiffs; and it will view with satisfaction the consequent strengthening of the position of those who, with lasting honour to themselves, and with enduring benefit to the nations, were to take the proud position of Head of the Christian Commonwealth of the Medieval States of Europe.

Comparatively little known of this Pope.

Considering the fact that Vitalian reigned for fourteen years and a half, we know but little of his doings;

<sup>1</sup> For from the social and religious work, which was being accomplished in the West in this quiet age, by the bishops, and especially by the monks of St. Benedict, it was anything but uneventful. Hence, from the number of saintly workers it produced, this age is called by the great Benedictine of St. Maur, Mabillon, '*the golden age.*' For of the monks of St. Benedict in particular may be said what the great African Tertullian said of Christians in general: "In comparison with the catastrophes of former ages, those which happen now are less serious. For from the time when the world received Christians from God, their innocence has tempered the wickedness of the world, and there began to be those who could intercede for us with God." *Lib. Apol.*, c. 40. Cf. Pitra, *S. Léger*, introduc., p. vii. f.



absolutely nothing, for instance, of the first six years of his pontificate. Of what we do know, however, it is interesting to Englishmen to discover that a considerable portion has reference to this country. And to him we owe a debt of gratitude for having sent us one of the greatest men that have adorned the Church in this country—the Greek Theodore.

The son of one Anastasius, a name, it will be observed, Birthplace of Vitalian. constantly recurring in the history of the Church at this period, Vitalian was born at Segni, a town of the Campagna, on the 'Latin Road,' at the thirtieth milestone from the city, picturesquely situated on a height, and, as remains show, once possessed of extensive and massive fortifications. This town is also famous in history for having resisted the Volscians of old, and as the birthplace of that centre figure of the Middle Ages, Innocent III.

Vitalian's first act as Pope was to send his nuncios to Constantinople as bearers of his synodical letter 'to the most pious princes,' for Constantine was now a partner in the empire, to notify his consecration,<sup>1</sup> and to proclaim his faith. And we learn from the acts of the thirteenth session of the Sixth General Council that the Pope also wrote to the patriarch Peter to exhort him to return to the orthodox faith. The results of these letters were, on the part of the emperor, a present for St. Peter in the shape of a copy of the gospels written in letters of gold, and with its binding all adorned with fine jewels of exceptional size; and on the part of the patriarch a letter to the Pope, beginning: "The letter of your fraternity has given us spiritual joy." The Fathers of the Sixth Council found<sup>2</sup> that the passages of the

Consecrated Bishop of Rome, July 30, 657.

Letters to and from the Pope, the emperor and the patr. of Constantinople.

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.*

<sup>2</sup> Act. 13, ap. Labbe, vi. None of these letters are extant. This letter was evidently of the same obscure nature as the one he sent to Pope Eugenius, and seemed to inculcate three wills. For Pope Agatho (Ep. ad Const.) twice speaks of Peter sending a letter to Pope Vitalian

ancient writers quoted by Peter in this letter in support of his doctrine of the One Will had been strangely mutilated.

It is very hard to understand this change of front towards the See of Rome on the part of Constans. Whether it was that his son Constantine had any influence over him; that he was overawed by the determined stand of the Pope and his legates, who, we are informed,<sup>1</sup> reasserted the privileges of the Church; or whether it was that, in view of the expedition he made later on against the Lombards in Italy, he thought it advisable to make a friend of the Pope, we do not know. Of one thing, against certain writers, we are certain, and that is that there was no truckling to Constans on the part of the Pope in the matter of Monothelism, though his letter may have been conceived in a very conciliatory tone. This we may conclude on both positive and negative grounds; from the firmness of his administration,<sup>2</sup> and from the fact that, despite the real or pretended opposition of Constantine Pogonatus, the name of Pope Vitalian was at length struck<sup>3</sup> off the diptychs of the Church of Constantinople; and that, too, though no Pope's name but his own had been inserted in them from Honorius to the Sixth General Council under Pope Agatho.

The attitude of the Pope on the One Will question may also be gathered from the fact that the orthodox patriarch, teaching "et unam, et duas voluntates et operationes in dispensatione incarnationis J. C."

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.*: "Renovantes privilegia Ecclesiæ." Muratori (*Annal.*, ad an. 657) refers these words to the Emperor Constans, "confirmò (imperatore) i privilegi alla santa chiesa Romana." The sense we have given them is rather tentative than usual.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* "Hic regulam ecclesiasticam atque vigorem, ut mos erat, omnimodo conservavit."

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* the letter of Const. to Pope Donus (ap. Labbe, vi.), in which he says he resisted for some time the demands that Vitalian's name should be struck off the diptychs, with the words of George, patriarch of Constant., praying that the name might be *reinserted*! The diptychs were registers of deceased Catholic bishops.

Thomas II., who succeeded Peter in 667, at once endeavoured to put himself in communication with Vitalian. The synodical letter he wrote to the Pope, which the Fathers of the Sixth General Council pronounced quite sound on the matter of the two wills,<sup>1</sup> never got despatched to Rome owing to the troubles caused by the Saracens. Two more orthodox prelates (John V., 669-674, and Constantine I., 674-676) succeeded Thomas. John inserted Vitalian's name in the diptychs, and Theodore I. (676-678), a Monothelite, succeeded in getting the name removed.

We do not hear of Vitalian again till the approach of Constans to Rome. In the year 662 Constans, for some reason, determined to transfer the seat of empire from Constantinople to Rome.<sup>2</sup> His main object may have been a wish to recover Italy from the grasp of the Lombards, but Theophanes avers, and *a priori* reasons would render likely, it was unpopularity at home that caused Constans to make the attempt to divert ill-feeling from himself, by concentrating public attention on enemies abroad. His unpopularity was caused, says the chronicler, by the murder of his brother Theodosius (c. 660) and his treatment of Pope Martin, St. Maximus and 'many other orthodox men,' who would not approve of his heresy. Landed in Italy, he soon found he was no match in arms for Grimwald and his Lombards.<sup>3</sup> He fell back on Rome, and, as "he could do nothing against the Lombards, he raged against the defenceless Romans."<sup>4</sup> However, as far as his relations with the Pope were concerned, Constans

Visit of  
Constans  
to Rome,  
663.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the letter of Const. to Pope Donus (ap. Labbe, vi.).

<sup>2</sup> Theoph., *Chron.*, ad ann. 653, 660. Cf. Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. 297 f.

<sup>3</sup> Paulus Diac., v. 6 *seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, c. 11. "Cum nihil se contra Langobardos gessisse conspiceret (Constans) omnes sævitæ suæ minas contra suos, hoc est Romanos, retorsit."

was amicable enough. On receiving news of his approach, the Pope and clergy went out (June 5, 663) to the sixth milestone on the Appian Way to meet him. For twelve days the emperor remained in Rome, making offerings<sup>1</sup> to the various churches, and living apparently on the best terms with the Pope. On his side Vitalian, either making a virtue of necessity, or because he believed that a mild answer turns away wrath, showed no hostility to the emperor. If Constans was considerate to the Pope, he was not so to Rome. He carried off<sup>2</sup> all the bronze ornaments of the city, and even stripped the Church of Our Lady 'ad Martyres,' or the Pantheon, of its gilt bronze tiles! With this plunder, this protector of his people withdrew to Naples, and thence in the same year (663) to Sicily. Here for four years he did nothing but wring taxes<sup>3</sup> from the people of Sicily, Calabria, Africa and Sardinia, rob the very churches of their sacred vessels, and sell the people into slavery for money; so that well might the chronicler add that life was not worth having. Like so many other persecutors of the Church, he died a violent death, being assassinated<sup>4</sup> in a bath (July 15, 668). At his death the army and the officials (*judices*) in Sicily elected an emperor of their own, one Mizizius or Mecetius. And now we cannot but read with surprise that the Pope used<sup>5</sup> his influence with considerable vigour in helping to

Constans crosses over into Sicily, 663.

His death.

Abortive rebellion of Mizizius, 668.

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.*

<sup>2</sup> "Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatum civitatis deposuit," etc. (*ib.*). Cf. Paulus D., v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning which Bede (*De sex ætat. ad an. 671*) says they were 'unparalleled'; and Paul the Deacon and the *L. P.*: "quales a sæculo numquam fuerant."

<sup>4</sup> Theoph. in *Chron.* and the above authorities.

<sup>5</sup> That Constantine was indebted to Vitalian in no small degree for the successful termination of this rebellion we have on the very best authority, viz., from Constantine himself in a letter which he wrote to Pope Donus (ap. Labbe, vi., or ap. Migne, t. 87, p. 1152, *P. L.*), in

put down the rebellion. Troops poured into Sicily from Italy, Africa, etc., and when the young Constantine arrived from Constantinople, he found that the usurper was no more. When he had returned to Constantinople, the Saracens made a descent upon Sicily (669), and captured Syracuse, and with it the plunder Constans had taken<sup>1</sup> from Rome. So little does property sacrilegiously acquired ever permanently profit its dishonest possessors.

We must now retrace our steps to the year 664. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells<sup>2</sup> how Peada, the first Christian king of the Mercians, and Oswin, King of Northumbria, "came together and agreed that they would rear a monastery to the glory of Christ and the honour of St. Peter. And they did so, and named it 'Medeshampstede' (Peterborough), . . . and committed it to a monk who was called Saxewulf." Wulfhere, the brother and successor of Peada, resolved, with the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Deusdedit, and "by the counsel of all his 'witan,' both clergy and laity," to finish the work begun by his brother and to endow the monastery. "And he did so." And after the monastery had been blessed by the archbishop, in presence of the king and all his bishops and nobles, the king declared: "And thus *free* I will make this minster that it be subject to Rome alone." Wulfhere understood well enough what so many,

Vitalian and England. (1) The monastery of Medeshampstede, 664.

which he speaks of the "collata nobis charitas ab Vitaliano, dum superesset, in motione tyrannorum nostrorum."

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Paul. Diac., *Hist. L.*, v. 12, 13; Theoph. in *Chron.*, ad an. 660; *L. P.* in Vit. 'Adeodat'; Amari, *Storia dei Mussilmani in Sicilia*, i. 84 n., has found an interesting detail of this raid in an Arab chronicle of the ninth century, from which it appears that India was then a good market for valuable objects.

<sup>2</sup> Ad ann. 655, 657. We use the translation of the Protestant editors of the series of *The Church Historians of England*. Cf. Bede, iv. 6. For what is to be said on the spuriousness of these documents see Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 100 n., b.

even Catholic bishops, have to their own cost often enough failed to understand, viz., that a Church is then most *free* when it is most subject to the See of Rome; and, of course, the less subject to the See of Rome the less free, the more the slave and creature of the State. But Wulfhere was anxious for his 'soul's redemption,' and he prayed that "the heavenly gate-ward (viz. St. Peter) would take in heaven from the man who took from his gift and the gifts of other good men"; and he confirmed the charters granting all the presents and privileges to the monastery (A.D. 664), "I, King Wulfhere, with the kings and earls and dukes and thanes, the witnesses of my gift, do confirm it, before the Archbishop Deusdedit, with the Cross of Christ." "When," adds the chronicler, "these things were done, the king sent to Rome to Vitalian, who then was Pope, and desired that he should grant by his writing and with his blessing all the before-mentioned things." The wished-for bull was granted, the Pope praying that St. Peter would exterminate with his sword or open with his keys the gates of heaven, according as what he decreed was contravened or obeyed.

Later on the monastery was destroyed by the Danes, and we are told by the *Saxon Chronicle* (ann. 963) that when its site was visited by Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, "he found nothing there but old walls and wild woods. There found he, hidden in the old walls, writings that Abbot Headda had erewhile written, how King Wulfhere and Athelred his brother had built it, and how they had freed it against king and against bishop, and against all secular services, and how the Pope Agatho had confirmed the same by his rescripts, and the Archbishop Deusdedit."

All these details, however, in connection with the foundation of this monastery are only to be read in one MS.

of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This MS. (Bodleian, 636) seems to have been transcribed in the year 1122; and, from the numerous entries in it that relate to Peterborough, it is thought to have belonged to that monastery. It is further supposed that the charters we have just quoted also first saw the light in the twelfth century. No doubt, as they now appear in the Bodleian MS., they are not exact copies of the deeds of Wulfhere and Vitalian. Still, as there is no doubt that the monastery of Peterborough was founded about this time; and as there is no doubt that, as early as the beginning of the seventh century, the custom of placing monasteries under papal protection had begun, it is far more likely that the Peterborough documents of the *Saxon Chronicle* are more or less faithful copies of genuine originals than that they are absolute forgeries. It is in this belief that they have been cited here—the more so that comparatively little is urged against them even in the form in which they now exist.

The archbishop (Deusdedit), in whose presence the consecration of the monastery of Peterborough is said to have taken place, died soon after (July 14, 664), and by the joint action of Oswin or Oswy, the powerful king of Northumbria, and Bretwalda ("who, though educated<sup>1</sup> by the Scots, perfectly understood that the Roman was the Catholic and Apostolic Church"), and Egbert of Kent, one Wighard, who had been trained by the apostles whom Pope Gregory had sent to England, was sent<sup>2</sup> to Rome to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. On arriving at Rome, Wighard made known the occasion of his journey to the Pope. But unfortunately, "with almost

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 29. "Quamvis educatus a Scottis, quia Romana esset catholica et apostolica Ecclesia veraciter intellexerat."

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *ib.*, and iv. 1; and *Hist. Abbat. Wir.*, n. 3; *A. S. Chron.*, ad an. 667.

all who went with him," he was cut off by a pestilence. This Vitalian notified Oswy in a letter,<sup>1</sup> written probably in 665, in which he praises his faith, exhorts him to follow the traditions of those two great lights of the Church, Peter and Paul, not only with regard to the Easter question, but in all other points, tells him that he has not been able to find a man suitable, "in accordance with the tenour of his (Oswy's) letters," to be consecrated bishop for England, but that he will send the first proper person he can find, and thanks the king for the presents he has sent him. "We therefore<sup>2</sup> beg your highness to make haste to dedicate all your island to Christ our God . . . who will prosper it in all things, that it may bring together a new people of Christ, establishing there the Catholic and Apostolic faith." Truly the Pope, being the high priest of that year, prophesied. After having made every effort to secure a proper person, Vitalian finally fixed on a Greek monk who was in Rome, and who was as distinguished for his good life as for his learning, both sacred and profane.<sup>3</sup> This monk, named Theodore, resembled St. Paul not only in having been born at the same place, viz. Tarsus in Cilicia, but also in many points of his character. Both were learned, both men of fiery energy (though Theodore was nearer seventy years of age than sixty when he landed in England), and both eaten up with zeal for the glory of God. Such was the man whom Vitalian in his wisdom ordained<sup>4</sup> (March 26, 668) for the English Church, to

(3) Arch-  
bishop  
Theodore.

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Bede, iii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* "Festinet igitur, quæsumus, vestra celsitudo, ut optamus, totam suam insulam Deo Christo dedicare . . . qui (Christus) ei cuncta prospera impertiet, ut novum Christi populum coarcevet, catholicam ibi et apostolicam constituens fidem."

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 1; *Hist. Abbat. Wir.*, n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*



whom he subjected<sup>1</sup> all the churches in Britain, and whom he sent off to England (May 668) with letters of commendation to John, metropolitan of Arles. It is not for the historian of the popes to tell of the doings of Theodore in England. Suffice it to say that to him, and so to Pope Vitalian, who sent him, the English people owe the deepest debt of gratitude. By his energetic efforts to establish ecclesiastical unity in England, he did more than any other man to make us the united people we afterwards became. He inaugurated the golden age of England; "for our kings,<sup>2</sup> being very brave men and very good Christians, were a terror to all barbarous nations, and the minds of all men were bent upon the joys of the heavenly kingdom of which they had just heard, and all who desired to be instructed in sacred reading had masters at hand to teach them." Theodore ranks with those other great archbishops of Canterbury, Anselm, Lanfranc, and St. Thomas à Becket, to whom Englishmen owed the establishment and propagation of such religious maxims and practice as made this country known to the world as the 'island of saints,' and to whom Englishmen of the present day even are largely indebted for being the freest people on God's earth.

In the history of every widely extended empire we read of attempts, more or less successful, on the part of subordinate rulers to throw off or lessen their dependence on the supreme authority, and to make themselves as far as possible independent. It has been with the Church as with

Maurus, archbishop of Ravenna, aims at ecclesiastical autonomy, 666.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Vit. ad Theod., ap. Will. Malmesb., *De Gest. Pont.*, i. (ed. Migne, *P. L.*, 179, p. 1466). "Nobis visum est commendare tuæ sagacissimæ sanctitati omnes ecclesias in insula Britannicæ positas." (*V. sup.*, Pt. I. p. 272, etc.)

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 2. Vide Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, iv. p. 195 seq.; Lingard, *A. Sax. Church*, i. p. 66 seq.; Alzog, *Hist. of the Church*, ii. 61.

temporal kingdoms. The subject powers in the Church who carried matters to the greatest extremes were the patriarchs of Constantinople. Bishops of a city second to none in the empire, they thought that they themselves should be second to none in the Church, that they should be in the Church what the emperor was in the State. At the period of which we are now treating, Maurus, Archbishop of Ravenna, began to entertain somewhat similar views. To him the residence of the exarchs made Ravenna politically the first city in Italy, and himself at least as important as the other great bishops of Milan and Aquileia. He would therefore, like them, be more his own master; would be, as it was then grandly called, 'autocephalous.' In 649 Maurus was submissive enough, and came, or rather sent, his legates to Rome when summoned to the Lateran synod by Pope Martin. But in 666, despite the canons of the council of Nice and everything else, he refused to come to Rome to tender his respects<sup>1</sup> to the Holy See. Encouraged, perhaps inspired, by Constans, Maurus replied to a letter of the Pope excommunicating him, by insolently attempting the excommunication of the Pope. Both Vitalian and Maurus wrote to the emperor. As might have been expected, an imperial edict,<sup>2</sup> dated "Syracuse, March 1st,

<sup>1</sup> This affair has been handed down to us by Agnellus himself, a bishop of Ravenna, who about 840 wrote the *Lives of the Bishops of Ravenna*, in a spirit hostile to the See of Rome. These lives have been printed by Muratori, *R. I. S.*, ii.; Migne, *P. L.*, t. 106, and in the *M. G. H.* (Cf. Murat., *Annal.*, vii. 48.)

<sup>2</sup> A copy of this interesting document was found in the library that belonged to the house of Este. It began: "Kalend. Mart. Syrasusa. Imperantibus Dominis nostris piisimis perpetuis Augustis, Constantino majore Imperatore (sc. Constans), anno xxv.," etc. . . . "Privilegiis eam (Ecclesiam Ravennæ) munientes, quibus ab omni majoris sedis ditione exui et sui esse juris eam sanctamque ejus apostolicam ecclesiam sancivimus . . . Sancimus . . . et non subjacere (eam) pro quolibet modo patriarchæ antiquæ urbis Romæ, sed manere eam autocephalon . . . sicut reliqui metropolitæ." He is to be consecrated by the

the 25th year of the reign of Constans" (viz. 666), was straightway issued to Maurus, in which the emperor stated that orders had been sent to the exarch Gregory in favour of Maurus, and in which he decreed that the Church of Ravenna should in future not be subject to any ecclesiastical superior, especially to the patriarch of 'Old Rome,' but should be 'Autocephalous.' It is believed that this is the document which contemporary mosaics on the left wall of the 'mighty basilica' of St. Apollinaris in Classis (a sort of suburb of Ravenna) exhibit as being handed to Reparatus, the successor of Maurus, and marked 'Privilegium.' To as many as are not Erastians, but are lovers of justice and respecters of Canon Law, this act of Constans will be correctly set down as tyrannical, and fully justifies the reflection of Muratori:<sup>1</sup> "Ma di che non era capace quest' empio ed infelice Augusto!" Though Reparatus "again subjected<sup>2</sup> the Church of Ravenna to the Apostolic See," there was more or less friction till the Pontificate of Leo II., when Constantine Pogonatus<sup>3</sup> (the Bearded) undid the work of his father, and the bishop of Ravenna had to give up his 'Privilegium.'

To prevent any misconstruction as to the meaning of the decree of Constans, which has reached us only in a very corrupt condition, or any misapprehension as to the aims of the bishop of Ravenna, and to prevent it being

bishops of his own diocese, and '*nostræ divinitatis sanctione*,' have the use of the pallium (*Mon. Germ. Scr. Langob.*, p. 350). The archbishops of Ravenna wanted to be as the archbishops of Milan and Aquileia, and not to be included in the direct metropolitan jurisdiction of the See of Rome. They did not take up a schismatical attitude like the archbishops of Aquileia.

<sup>1</sup> *Annal.*, vi. 330.

<sup>2</sup> *L. P.* in Vit. Doni.

<sup>3</sup> *L. P.* in vit. S. Leo II. "Typum autocephaliæ, quem sibi elicuerant, ad amputanda scandala sedis Apostolicæ restituerunt." See on p. 46, and *cf.* Muratori, *Annal.*, vi. 328 *seq.*, 347; Hodgkin, *Italy, and her Invaders*, vi. 347.

thought that he had any intention of becoming a schismatic and cutting himself off from all subjection to Rome, a few facts connected with the various degrees of ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the Pope must be borne in mind.

Before the middle of the fourth century, the direct and immediate jurisdiction of the Pope, as a primate or metropolitan, extended over all Italy. All matters concerning the election of bishops, for instance, in the parts subject to his metropolitan jurisdiction, had to be referred to him directly. But before the middle of the fifth century the direct and immediate jurisdiction over northern Italy had passed into the hands of the metropolitans of Milan, Aquileia and Ravenna. The position of Ravenna, however, among the other metropolitans was peculiar. His metropolitan jurisdiction extended only over Aemilia, which was, therefore, outside the sphere of the Pope's authority as primate. The complex nature, then, of the position of the bishop of Ravenna lies in this, as Duchesne<sup>1</sup> explains. In the *primatial* province of Rome, in which his See of Ravenna was situated, he was but a simple bishop; whereas over Aemilia he was a metropolitan. To be thus inferior to his brethren of Milan and Aquileia did not suit the bishop of Ravenna. He, therefore, aspired to be *autocephalous*, *i.e.*, to be in all respects like the bishops just named. And this he sought for and obtained at the hands of Constans.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.*, i. p. cxxix and p. 348. Greenwood's conclusion (*Cathedra Petri*, i. 449) is to the same effect as that of Duchesne. "It appears, therefore, that neither Maurus nor the emperor intended any more than to secure to the ecclesiastical province of Ravenna the ordinary canonical privileges of all metropolitan churches; that, namely, of choosing and consecrating their own archprelate."

<sup>2</sup> And so the decree (*ubi sup.*): "Sancimus . . . manere eam (Ravennatem ecclesiam) autocephalon . . . sicut reliqui metropolitae per diversas rei publicae manentes provincias, qui et a propriis consecratus episcopis."

This difference will be noted between the results of the revolts of subordinate princes in temporal empires and in that of the Church. In the one case the dismemberment of the earthly kingdom has sooner or later inevitably been the consequence. In the case of the Church, the one result has been to strengthen the position of its Head, the Pope. The great ones in the supernatural realm of the Church, such as the patriarchs of Constantinople, who, from time to time in the course of its history have endeavoured to free themselves from subjection to the See of Peter—where are they now? So insignificant are they, that they are scarcely names in the civilised world.

For some cause, which is nowhere stated, John, The case of John, Bishop of Lappa, 667. Bishop of Lappa in Crete, had been condemned by his metropolitan Paul, Archbishop of Crete, and his suffragans. John appealed to Rome, and begged the Pope that, "in accordance<sup>1</sup> with the sacred canons and the institutions of the Holy Fathers," he would enquire into his case and pass sentence according to his deserts. The Pope accordingly summoned a synod (December 667); and, very indignant at the high-handed manner in which John had been treated, especially at the effort Paul had made to prevent the execution of John's appeal to Rome, the synod declared John innocent, annulled the sentence that had been passed upon him, and ordained that reparation should be made him for the losses he had sustained. Paul was exhorted by the Pope to carry out his sentence that he (Paul) might not experience the rigour of the canons.<sup>2</sup> Vitalian also wrote to Vaanus,

<sup>1</sup> "Nos obnixè postulavit . . . ut secundum sacratissimos canones, institutaque sanctorum Patrum ejus causæ meritum requireremus, et sententiam promulgaremus." Ep. 1 Vital., ap. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 87, p. 999; or Mansi, xi., etc. It is principally from this letter that this incident is known to us.

<sup>2</sup> "Itaque . . . statuimus per hujus nostræ præceptionis auctoritatem, omnia quæ a te tuaque synodo contra canonum instituta

the emperor's chamberlain, and to George, Bishop of Syracuse, to see that John was restored to his See. Where are we to find a part of the Church from which appeals have not been directed to the Holy See from the time that that part has had any Christian history at all? In all ages of the Church the wronged and the oppressed have ever felt that they had still a source of comfort and strength, and that hope was not dead for them as long as they had Rome to appeal to. To a Christian the appeal to the See of Peter is, and ever has been, as the appeal to Cæsar for the Roman.

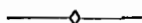
Death of  
Vitalian,  
672.

Vitalian was buried in St. Peter's, January 27, 672, and is on that day commemorated in the Roman Martyrology.

*contraque legum decreta gesta confectave sunt, vel sententiam promulgatam adversus eum, inania et vacua esse,"* wrote the Pope to the metropolitan. This letter is dated Aug. 27, 668.

# ADEODATUS.

A.D. 672-676.



*Sources.*—Practically the only source is the short 'life' in the *L. P.* Copies of two acts of this Pope exempting monasteries from episcopal control are to be found in Migne, *P. L.*, t. 87, pp. 1141-5.



EMPEROR OF THE EAST.	KING OF THE LOMBARDS.	EXARCH OF RAVENNA.
Constantine IV. (or V.) (Pogonatus), 668-685.	Perctarit (second time), 672-688.	Gregory, 664-677.

OF Popes Adeodatus and his successor Donus, it may be said in a word that we know nothing of them or their acts, save that they were good men, made a few improvements in the fabrics of some of the churches, and, with more or less wisdom, exempted a monastery or two from episcopal control.

Little known of this Pope and his successor.

Adeodatus was a Roman, and the son of Jovinian. So far resembling St. Gregory I., he was called to be Pope from being a monk in a monastery<sup>1</sup> on the Coelian Hill (viz., that of St. Erasmus). He was consecrated April 11, 672.

So consecration of Adeodatus, April 11, 672.

Of such a gentle and kind disposition was this Pontiff, that he allowed everyone, great and small, ready access to

His character.

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.* As *Adeodatus* and *Deusdedit* have the same meaning in Latin, Adeodatus is sometimes called Deusdedit II.

himself, was most affable to strangers, made everyone feel that they would get from him whatever they wanted, and increased the allowance or donative (*roga*) the popes were in the habit of making to the clergy and others.

Building  
operations.

Apart from additions he made to his monastery<sup>1</sup> on the Coelian, he restored the Church of St. Peter in the Campus Meruli, on the Via Portuensis, between the ninth and eleventh milestones from the city. The same locality is still known as the Campo di Merlo. His monastery of St. Erasmus was originally established in the house of the Valerii, perhaps the most honoured of all Rome's great patrician families. Adeodatus endowed it with the revenues of many estates, concerning which an inscription, some marble fragments of which were found by De Rossi, still exists.

Privileges  
to monas-  
teries.

Wilkins, in his collection of British Councils, and other editors of 'Councils,' have preserved for us a decree<sup>2</sup> of this Pope (*c.* 674), forbidding, at the request of Hadrian, the abbot and companion of Archbishop Theodore, the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury to be harassed by anyone, whether cleric or lay, and forbidding anyone to be foisted on the monastery as abbot but the one lawfully elected by the monks themselves.

About the same time the Pope addressed a letter to all

<sup>1</sup> Duchesne, *L. P.*, i. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Sprott, a Benedictine monk of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, who wrote about the year 1270, says of this decree, not in his *Chronicle* strictly so called (as the editor's note in Migne would lead one to suppose), but in his *Lives of the Abbots of Canterbury*, afterwards used by William Thorn a century later, in his continuation of the *Lives* down to his own time: "After Hadrian became abbot of the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, he obtained a privilege from Pope Adeodatus on the freedom of the monastery and on the election of its abbots. Of this document we have not the original (*sub plumbo*) but only a transcript." Of course, this statement is reproduced in Thorn, *Chron.*, c. 3, § 2. Cf. the introduction to Sprott's *Chronicle* by its first editor, Bell (Liverpool, 1851).



the bishops of Gaul, informing them that, though the Holy See<sup>1</sup> was not wont to exempt monasteries from episcopal control, still, as Crotpert, the bishop of Tours, had himself exempted the monastery of St. Martin, he would confirm the exemption of this house from the jurisdiction of the ordinary.<sup>2</sup>

In this connection we may remark that, however advantageous it was, not only for themselves but for civilisation at large, that at times the monks should be freed from dependence on the local bishop, there is no doubt that the general acquisition of this privilege was fatal to the best interests of the monks themselves. It is with communities as with individuals. They cannot think too highly of the good they do, nor too lightly of the harm. And it was much easier to hide a diminution of virtue and a growth of worldliness from the distant Bishop of Rome than from the local 'ordinary.' Hence, when with the lapse of time the degeneration, which overtakes everything of this earth, fell upon the monastic orders, the exemptions they had secured, ensured their ruin.<sup>3</sup>

Adeodatus was buried in St. Peter's, June 16, or 17 according to Duchesne, 676. Death of  
Adeodatus.  
676.

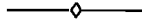
<sup>1</sup> Very wise was and is the custom of the Holy See not to free monasteries from the jurisdiction of the bishop in whose diocese they are. "Mos atque traditio sanctæ nostræ Ecclesiæ plus non suppetat a regimine episcopalis providentiæ religiosa loca secernere," writes Pope Adeodatus. The authenticity of this letter has been much debated in France. But Pagi (*Brev. Gest. P. R.* in vit. Adeod., n. 3) and others have shown it to be genuine.

<sup>2</sup> In renewing it, Gregory V. (*P. L.*, t. 137, p. 907) cites this privilege.

<sup>3</sup> Hence St. Bernard declared (*De considerat.*, iii. 4) that the only result of these grants of exemption was "quod inde episcopi insolentiores, monachi etiam dissolutiores."

# DONUS.

A.D. 676-678.



*Source.*—The ‘life,’ very short, in the *L. P.*



EMPEROR OF THE  
EAST.

KING OF THE  
LOMBARDS.

EXARCHS OF  
RAVENNA.

Constantine Pogonatus, 668-685.

Perctarit (second time),  
672-688.

Gregory, 664-677.  
Theodore, 677-687.

Consecra-  
tion of  
Donus,  
Nov. 2,  
676.

AFTER an interval of 138 days, during which, we are told, took place the most fearful storms in the memory of man,<sup>1</sup> there was consecrated as bishop of Rome, Donus, himself a Roman, and the son of one Maurice.

Repairs  
churches,  
etc.

During his short reign, of about a year and a half, Donus flagged the atrium or quadrangle<sup>2</sup> in front of St. Peter's with great pieces of marble, and restored the Church of St. Euphemia on the Appian Way, a church that no longer exists, and the basilica of St. Paul on the Ostian Way, or, according to the very probable conjecture of Duchesne, the little church on the left of the road going to St. Paul's,

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.* in vit. Adeod. : “Quales (tempestates) nullas ætas hominum meminit esse” ! It is astonishing how often such storms, nevertheless, do occur ! Had it not been, we are further informed, that God's mercy was won by daily ‘Litanies,’ the necessary pursuits of agriculture could not have been conducted.

<sup>2</sup> *L. P.* Paul the Deacon, *De Gest. L.*, v. c. 31. Cf. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 271.

*outside the walls*, where tradition tells that SS. Peter and Paul parted on their way to martyrdom. Discovering in a monastery, which was called after Boëthius, that there were a body of Nestorian Syrian monks there, Donus dispersed them through the various monasteries in Rome, to do penance or to prevent them from spreading their tenets in the city, and gave over the monastery to Roman monks.

As we have noted above, Reparatus, Archbishop of Ravenna, just before his death submitted to Pope Donus.<sup>1</sup> But if one great bishop showed himself dutiful to the Pope, it was not the case with Theodore, the patriarch of Constantinople, who, succeeding three successive Catholic prelates, became patriarch in the same year that Donus became Pope. A letter concerning the settlement of the Monothelite question, which Constantine Pogonatus addressed to Donus, but which was delivered to Agatho, as Donus was dead when the letter arrived,<sup>2</sup> informs us that Theodore, the patriarch of Constantinople, did not send a synodical letter to Pope Donus. "He feared,"<sup>3</sup> adds the emperor, "that it would be rejected by the Pope, like those of his predecessors had been." The patriarch confined himself to sending a letter exhorting to peace. Whether Donus returned any answer to this letter, or whether even he was alive when it reached Rome, is not known.

The very little that his biographer tells us of Donus terminates with the usual, "he was buried at St. Peter's"<sup>Death of Donus, 678.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.*, and Agnellus *in vit. Rep.*, c. 116; and note 5 of Duchesne, *L. P.*, i. 348-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Const.*, ap. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 87, p. 1147; also ap. Mansi, xi., etc. News must at times have travelled slowly between Rome and Constantinople. Though Donus was buried Apr. 11, 678, Constantine's letter addressed to him is dated Aug. 12, 678!

<sup>3</sup> "Suggestit (Theodorus) suspectum se esse, dirigere consueta synodica ad vestram paternam beatitudinem, ne forsitan non recipiantur, sicut et prædecessoribus ejus patriarchis factum est."

(April 11, 678). His portrait, with that of Honorius, was once to be seen in a mosaic which he himself erected in the Church of St. Martina, in the Forum. The present Church of St. Martina stands on the site of the mediæval Church, and that, again, stood on the site of the offices of the Senate House (*secretarium senatus*).

## ST. AGATHO.

A.D. 678-681.

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*Sources.*—A rather longer 'life' in the *L. P.*, the work of a contemporary (*cf.* Duchesne, *L. P.*, i. 356). A few letters of the Pope and others in connection with the Sixth General Council, *ap.* Migne, *P. L.*, t. 87; Theophanes in *Chron.*; Bede, *H. E.*, iv., for Agatho's relations with England.

*Modern Works.*—*Cf.* a learned, but prolix, dissertation, "Della patria, santità, e dottrina del Pontefice Santo Agatone," by M. Scavo (*Diss. IV.*, vol. 18 of Zaccaria's *Raccolta di Dissert.*).

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EMPEROR OF THE EAST.	KING OF THE LOMBARDS.	EXARCH OF RAVENNA.
Constantine Pogonatus, 668-685.	Perctarit (second time), (672-688).	Theodore, 677-687.

THOUGH Pope Agatho reigned but for a short time, his name is conspicuous in the history of the Church, not only because he is honoured as a saint<sup>1</sup> both by the Greeks and Latins, but because in his pontificate was celebrated the Sixth Œcumenical Council, the third of Constantinople (680), in which one more of the errors

Importance of the reign of Agatho.

<sup>1</sup> So great was his reputation for sanctity that he was honoured with the title of 'Thaumaturgus' or 'Wonder-worker' in the Menology of the emperor Basil, and in the Greek Menæon. (On the Menæon and the Greek Menologies, *cf.* *Introduc. to Butler's Lives of the Saints.*) In the Roman Martyrology (Jan. 10), we read of Agatho: "Qui sanctitate et doctrina conspicuus quævit in pace."

(Monothelism) that arose from a false view of the nature of Our Lord Jesus Christ was condemned.

As what is known of the actions of Agatho practically centres round this country and the General Council, his doings in connection with the Church in England, and then with the Council, will here be treated of after a little has been said of the Pope himself.

Early  
career of  
Agatho.

A Sicilian by birth,<sup>1</sup> and by profession a monk, Agatho was a man of remarkable affability and generosity. He had a cheerful word and a smile for everybody,<sup>2</sup> and was especially kind to his clergy. He would seem also to have had a turn for finance, as, 'contrary to custom,' when he became Pope, he took into his own hands the office of treasurer of the Roman Church, and, with the aid of a nomenclator, himself transacted the business of the treasury. Ill health, to which he alludes in his letter to Constantine, forced Agatho to appoint a treasurer with full powers as usual.

Agatho,  
Pope, June  
27, 678.

It is not quite certain whether Agatho was consecrated in June or July, as the data in the *Book of the Popes* do not tally. We are, however, disposed to agree with Pagi and Duchesne, and to assign that event to Sunday, June 27, 678.

Agatho  
and  
England.

For the fifth time the indefatigable abbot of Wearmouth, Benedict Biscop, appeared in Rome in the early days of the pontificate of Agatho to obtain "for the ornament<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> By the general tradition of Sicily, Palermo was the place of Agatho's birth. There seems to be some reason to believe that the Pope was the same Agatho concerning whom Pope St. Gregory I. wrote to Urbicus, abbot of St. Hermes in Palermo. Gregory wrote (vi. 47 al. 48) that the abbot was to receive Agatho into the monastery, if his wife also was willing to embrace conventual life. If this conjecture is well founded, it gives plenty of material for the imagination to build up a romantic early life of a centenarian pontiff! Cf. Dissert. of Scavo.

<sup>2</sup> "Tantum benignus et mansuetus fuit, ut etiam omnibus hilaris et jucundus comprobaretur." *L. P.*

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *Vit. abbat. Wiremuth.*, § 6, and *H. E.*, iv. 18.

defence of his Church" what he could not find even in Gaul. Acting in accordance with the wish of Egfrid, King of Northumbria, who had given the land for the Wearmouth monastery, Benedict obtained from the Pope a charter of privileges for the said monastery, and leave to take back with him to England John, the arch-chanter of St. Peter's, to "teach in his monastery<sup>1</sup> the method of singing throughout the year, as it was practised in St. Peter's at Rome.' John had, moreover, been commissioned by the Pope "carefully to inform himself concerning the faith of the English Church, and to give an account thereof on his return to Rome." "For," continues Bede, "the Pope was desirous of being informed concerning the state of the Church in Britain, as well as in other provinces, and to what extent it was chaste from the contagion of heretics."<sup>2</sup> To satisfy the Pope,<sup>3</sup> the famous synod of Heathfield or Hatfield was summoned by Archbishop Theodore (September 17, 680). The faith in England was found to be sound on all points. A profession of faith was drawn up and sent to Rome, "and most thankfully received by the Apostolic Pope and all those that heard or read it."

It is *said* that there was also read at this same synod a letter<sup>4</sup> of Pope Agatho, confirming, at the request of Ethelred, King of the Mercians, Archbishop Theodore

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Vil. abbat. Wiremuth.*, § 6, and *H. E.*, iv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> The heresy of the Monothelites is, of course, especially alluded to.

<sup>3</sup> "Quamobrem collecta *pro hoc* in Brittaina synodo quam diximus, inventa est in omnibus fides inviolata catholica," *ib.* This fact is *not* mentioned in the latest Anglican *History of the English Church*, by W. Hunt.

<sup>4</sup> To be found in full in *Haddan and Stubbs*, iii. 153 f.; and in part in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ad an. 675. We quote from the latter and use the translation of the Protestant editors of the series, *Church Historians of England*. Most writers agree that there are at least interpolations in the text of this letter; certainly where the abbot is made the Pope's legate!

and others, for the abbey of Medehampstede (afterwards known as Peterborough), of which we have spoken before, exemption from payment of taxes or military service to king, bishop, or earl; and forbidding the 'ordinary' or 'shire-bishop' to perform any episcopal functions within the monastery except at the request of the abbot. "And it is my will," says the Pope, "that the abbot (of Medehampstede) be holden as legate of Rome over all the island, and that whatsoever abbot shall be there chosen by the monks, be consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury. I will and concede that whatever man shall have made a vow to go to Rome, which he may be unable to fulfil through sickness or any other cause, let him come to the monastery of Medehampstede and have the same forgiveness of Christ and St. Peter, and of the abbot and of the monks, that he should have if he went to Rome." "This decree,"<sup>1</sup> says our earliest English chronicle, "Agatho and 125 bishops sent to England by Wilfrid, Archbishop of York."

But, as was noted under the *life* of Vitalian, full reliance cannot be placed on these details in connection with Medehampstede, as they are only to be found in the twelfth century *Peterborough MS.* of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

St. Wilfrid  
of York.

What brought Wilfrid to Rome in the days of Pope Agatho will now be ours to set forth as clearly as may be, but shortly, as the career of this glorious Englishman

<sup>1</sup> *A.-S. Chron., ib.* Wilfrid himself procured from Agatho various privileges for his own monasteries of Ripon and Hexham. (*Cf. Eddii, Vit. Wilf., c. 47, 51.*) And at the request of Erconwald, Bishop of London, the Pope is said to have given the right of electing the bishops of London to the monks of the monastery of St. Paul's, London (*Monast. Anglic., iii. 299*). The latter of these privileges is, however, marked as corrupt and spurious in Haddan and Stubbs (*Councils, iii. 161*).



and servant of God belongs rather to the history of the Church in this country than to the *Lives of the Popes*. Besides, his heroic life, his long undaunted struggle in the cause of freedom, have been well written<sup>1</sup> of in books that are easily accessible to the English reader. But as Wilfrid came to Rome and the popes three times; and as, towards the close of his days, he "thought<sup>2</sup> of returning once again to that See of Peter whence he had received justice and freedom, to end his life there," he cannot be passed over in treating of the popes from Eugenius to John VI. Nor indeed should we care to leave unnoticed him whom that noble Frenchman, the Count de Montalembert, so great an admirer of our nation, in the warm glow of his beautiful and eloquent language,<sup>3</sup> calls "the eldest son of an invincible race, the first of the English nation"; the first of "that great line of prelates, by turns apostolic and political, eloquent and warlike, brave champions of Roman unity and ecclesiastical independence, magnanimous representatives of the rights

<sup>1</sup> Lingard, besides a brief notice of Wilfrid's actions in his *History of England* (i. pp. 69-71), has a full account of them in his *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (i. pp. 117-132). See also Butler's *Lives of the Saints* for Oct. 12; Faber in the Puseyite *Lives of the English Saints*; and best of all, Montalembert in his *Monks of the West*, IV., bk. xii. The ancient authorities for Wilfrid's 'life' are of the first importance. Cf. his 'life' by his friend Eddi Stephen (ap. Mabill., *Act. S.S. O. S. B.*, iv., ed. Venice), and Bede, *H. E.*, iii. c. 25 *seq.* His 'life' was also written in poor Latin verse by Fridegode, an English Benedictine, in the tenth century, by order of St. Odo of Canterbury. Cf. Preface to vol. i. of the *Historians of the Church of York* (Chronicles and Memorials of G. Brit.), where these and other lives of St. Wilfrid are given together. Some authors rather distrust Eddi because he was so strong a partisan of Wilfrid; and, on the other hand, believe that Bede was not so well disposed to him; but for the latter idea there does not seem any well-founded reason. Cf. *English Hist. Rev.*, 1891, 535 f.

<sup>2</sup> Edd., c. 62. "Scitote cogitationem meam, ut S. Petri Ap. sedem iterum appellarem et viderem, unde *liberatus* fui frequenter."

<sup>3</sup> *Monks of the West*, iv. pp. 373, 368.

of conscience, the liberties of the soul . . . a line to which history presents no equal out of the Catholic Church of England; a lineage of saints, heroes, confessors and martyrs, which produced St. Dunstan, St. Lanfranc, St. Anselm, St. Thomas à Becket, Stephen Langton, St. Edmund the exile of Pontigny, and which ended in Reginald Pole." Would that in detailing in brief Wilfrid's splendid course we might be filled with the inspiring powers of expression of the illustrious author of the *Monks of the West*!

Of a noble Northumbrian family, born about 634, Wilfrid at the early age of fourteen joined himself to the monks of Lindisfarne or Holy Island. We have already seen, under the pontificate of Eugenius I., how his expanding mind led him to Rome to seek for truth at its source. Returned thence convinced of the importance of unity even in small matters, such as the shape of the tonsure to be worn by clerics, let alone in such graver questions as the time of celebrating Easter, and with his heart full of love for Rome and all its ways, he began at once to oppose the Roman to the Celtic customs. He was able to do this with the more effect that he was called to be the tutor of Alchfrid, the son of King Oswin or Oswy, the powerful sovereign of Northumbria. By his abilities,<sup>1</sup> his address, and the natural attractiveness of a handsome person, he soon obtained great influence, and succeeded in bringing about the famous assembly of Whitby (664), in which the 'Easter question' was settled for Northumbria. Naturally many of the defeated adherents of the traditions of Columba never forgot Wilfrid's share in their discomfiture at Whitby; and, acting on the

<sup>1</sup> Erat "pulcher aspectu, bonæ indolis." (Edd., c. 2); Bede, v. 19, where Bede, who was a contemporary and acquaintance of Wilfrid, has given us a sketch of his life, mainly from Eddius.

proverb that all is fair in love and in war, never lost an opportunity of opposing him. On the death of Bishop Tuda, Wilfrid was elected<sup>1</sup> to succeed him as bishop of Northumbria. To be quite free from any taint of schism, nothing would suit Wilfrid but that he should go to France and get consecrated (665) by Agilbert, Bishop of Paris. But during his absence a reaction had set in; and King Oswy, gained over by the Celtic party, had one Ceadda or Chad consecrated bishop of York. On his return Wilfrid made no protest against this unkind and tyrannical act, but retired to the famous monastery of Roman observance he had founded at Ripon. "Thus the saint begins to be visible in his character."<sup>2</sup> But in the year 669 there came to England, as we have seen, sent by Pope Vitalian, the heroic old Greek Theodore to be its metropolitan. And the old man, who was afterwards to do so much wrong to Wilfrid, began his ever-memorable pontificate in our island by restoring Wilfrid to the bishopric of York,<sup>3</sup> with the consent of Oswy, who yielded to the apostolic commission. After this, till the death of the great *Bretwalda* (670), Wilfrid was again in full favour with Oswy, and for some years with his son and successor Egfrid. Wilfrid was, however, destined again to remember that "faith was not to be put in princes." The dislike which Egfrid had begun to entertain for Wilfrid, on account of an intricate and delicate cause, with which this

<sup>1</sup> "Consenserunt reges et omnis populus huic electioni, et S. Wilfritho presbytero omnis conventus in nomine Domini accipere gradum episcopalem præcepit." Edd., c. 11-13. The kings were wishful for one "qui voluisset sedis apostolicæ disciplinam sibi facere," *ib.* In the first instance, Alchfrid had given Wilfrid lands, "finding him to be a Catholic," and because he had himself "always followed and loved the Catholic rules of the Church." Bede, v. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, iv. p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> "Veniens ad regem . . . statuta *judicia* apostolicæ sedis, unde emissus venerat, secum deportans." Edd., c. 15.

work<sup>1</sup> has nothing to do, was augmented by his (Egfrid's) second wife Ermenburga. Jealous of the wealth and influence of Wilfrid, this Jezabel, as the saint's biographer calls her,<sup>2</sup> contrived, by constantly harping on the one theme, to inspire her husband with the same base passion. The pair, in their resolve to degrade Wilfrid, had the art to engage Archbishop Theodore on their side. The archbishop had long been rightly convinced that one bishop for each of the eight Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was utterly inadequate to the spiritual needs of England.<sup>3</sup> Up to this time, however, he had done nothing in the matter. Now, gained over by Wilfrid's enemies, he greatly curtailed his jurisdiction (678); and out of his diocese formed three new ones, for each of which he consecrated<sup>4</sup> a bishop. Against this high-handed measure, which he denounced as 'mere robbery,' Wilfrid protested, and declared that he would appeal to the judgment of the Holy See.<sup>5</sup> To Rome accordingly Wilfrid journeyed; and there, after escaping many snares which his enemies had caused to be laid for him, he arrived in 679. There also arrived, with letters from Theodore, full of violent accusations against Wilfrid, a monk Coenwald.<sup>6</sup> To examine the affair thoroughly, Agatho summoned a council, in which some fifty bishops and priests took part,<sup>7</sup> and at which

Council at  
Rome, Oct.  
679.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Montalembert, *ib.*, iv. pp. 233-244.

<sup>2</sup> "Quasi impiissima Jezabel." Edd., c. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 5.

<sup>4</sup> "*Inordinate*, adds Eddi (c. 24), *solus ordinavit.*" Bede, iv. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Edd., *ib.* "Tali iudicio fraudabili non contentus, cum consilio co-episcoporum suorum, iudicium Apostolicæ sedis magis elegit, sicut Paulus Ap. sine causa damnatus a Judæis, Cæsarem appellavit."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Ep. Joan., iv., ap. Edd., c. 52, and ap. Malmesb., *De Gest. Pont.*, l. iii., ap. Migne, t. 179, p. 1568. Cf. *ib.*, p. 1558.

<sup>7</sup> *ib.*, Edd., c. 29; Bede, v. 19. The complete acts of this Council have perished; but part of its work has been preserved for us by Eddi (c. 29), William of Malmesbury (*De Gest. Pont. Angl.*, iii., ap. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 1558), etc. Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 136. The

he presided in person. Feeling that the proceedings of the court that listened to the first appeal to Rome from England must be of special interest to Englishmen, we will give them, as far as our sources will allow us, at some length.

The council was held in the Lateran basilica, and was opened by the Pope himself. Then the bishops of Ostia and Portus arose, and, after laying down that the "regulating<sup>1</sup> of all the churches was in the hands of the Pope, who was in the place of Peter," and declaring that they had carefully read over the charges made against Wilfrid by Theodore and others, and Wilfrid's defence, found that he had not been canonically deposed, and, on the contrary, had evinced his moderation by keeping clear of broils and quietly appealing to the Apostolic See, in which Christ founded the primacy of the priesthood. At the command of the Pope, Wilfrid was brought before the assembly, and his (Wilfrid's) petition read before the synod. It begins: "I, Wilfrid, the humble and unworthy bishop of the English,<sup>2</sup> have come to this Apostolic eminence, as to a tower of strength. And I trust that I shall get justice, whence flows the rule of the sacred canons to all the Churches of Christ." The memorial then goes on to show how uncanonically its author had been treated, though no accusation is made against Archbishop Theodore,<sup>3</sup> "because he had been commissioned by the Apostolic See." In conclusion, Wilfrid declares that he council given by these authors (p. 131 f.) as a separate council, I take to be only earlier sessions of the council spoken of in the text. It dealt with the needs of the Church in England in general.

<sup>1</sup> "Omnium quippe ecclesiarum ordinatio in vestræ apostolicæ auctoritatis pendet arbitrio, qui vicem b. Petri apostoli geritis," *ib.*, c. 29, ed. "Master of the Rolls" as usual.

<sup>2</sup> *Saxoniæ*. Edd., c. 30.

<sup>3</sup> "Quem (Theodorum) quidem, eo quod ab hac Apostolicæ summitatis sede directus est, accusare non audeo," *ib.*

will abide absolutely by the decision of the Holy See; "to the equity of which<sup>1</sup> he has come with fullest confidence." Full of admiration at the spirit that animated Wilfrid, the Pope and the synod decreed that he should be restored, that the bishops who had replaced him should be expelled; but that the archbishop should ordain as coadjutors to Wilfrid, such men as the saint thought proper to select himself in a synod assembled for that purpose. All bishops and princes alike were commanded to obey this decree, under pain of different penalties. Various other decrees were also passed at this synod for the better governing of the Church in England.<sup>2</sup> We can well understand that Wilfrid made no haste to return home. The journey to Rome was a very serious undertaking in those days, and there was much to be seen there, even at a time when the city was going to decay; and much to interest and astonish an enlightened man coming from this country. Wilfrid collected relics of the saints,<sup>3</sup> and purchased a large variety of things for decorating his churches on his return.

Present at  
the synod  
at Rome  
against the  
Mono-  
thelites,  
(680).

Wilfrid stayed long enough in Rome to be present at the synod of 125 bishops (March 27, 680), assembled by Pope Agatho (which will be spoken of presently), to select deputies to be sent to Constantinople to assist at a general council to be held against Monothelism. Wilfrid subscribed as "Bishop of York,<sup>4</sup> who had appealed to and had been absolved by the Apostolic See, and who, sitting as judge in synod with 125 other bishops, confessed by his signature the true and Catholic faith, in the name of all the

<sup>1</sup> "Ad cujus æquitatem, cum tota mentis confidentia properavi," *ib.*, Cf. also pp. 134, 193, 232, vol. i., *Historians of the Church of York.* for accounts of this synod by Fridegode, Eadmer, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.*, iii. 136 f.

<sup>3</sup> Edd., c. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Ed., c. 53. "Wilfrithus . . . . Apostolicam sedem de sua causa appellans, et ab hac potestate . . . . absolutus," etc.

northern parts of Britain, Ireland, and the islands inhabited by the Britons and the Angles, the Scots and the Picts.”

By the order of the Pope, Wilfrid returned to England after this council, and humbly showed to Egfrid the decrees in his (Wilfrid's) favour.<sup>1</sup> But the king and his councillors, pretending that they had been bought,<sup>2</sup> had Wilfrid imprisoned. In vain the king tried to bribe Wilfrid into acknowledging that the Apostolic briefs were forged. But, full of trust in the authority of the Holy See, Wilfrid declared that he would sooner have his head struck from his body than make such a declaration.<sup>3</sup>

After some months' imprisonment, Wilfrid was released from prison, but banished the kingdom of Northumbria. After having been driven from one kingdom to another, he was engaged in improving his exile by labouring for the conversion of the pagan inhabitants of Sussex, when Archbishop Theodore, made to examine into his conduct by the consciousness of approaching death, realised that he had, in his treatment of Wilfrid, been false as well to him as to the authority of the Holy See.<sup>4</sup> He became perfectly reconciled to him, and procured for him from Aldfrid, the successor of Egfrid, the restoration of his See<sup>5</sup> (686).

But Wilfrid's old opponents, the upholders of the Celtic traditions, had only been scotched, not killed. They excited

<sup>1</sup> Edd., c. 33, 34.

<sup>2</sup> “Diffamaverunt . . . . ut pretio redempta essent scripta, quæ ad salutem observantium ab Apostolica sede destinata sunt” (*ib.*, c. 34).

<sup>3</sup> “Cum fiducia Apostolicæ auctoritatis, respondit prius se capite truncandum esse, quam id unquam confiteri velle” (*ib.*, c. 36).

<sup>4</sup> “Auctoritatem apostolicæ sedis, a qua missus est, metu agitante honorificans cum b. episcopo . . . . amicitiam . . . . inire . . . non distulit” (*ib.*, c. 43).

<sup>5</sup> “Aldfrithus . . . . secundum Agathonis . . . . et sanctæ synodi iudicium, propriam sedem episcopalem in Eboraca civitate . . . reddidit” (*ib.*, c. 44).

enmities between Wilfrid and the king; and after some years of bickering, Wilfrid<sup>1</sup> was again an exile (691). Archbishop Brithwald also, the successor of Theodore, turned on Wilfrid; and at a great council at Ouestræfelda (703), probably Austerfeld, a little village on the borders of Yorkshire and Notts, and near Edwinstow in Sherwood Forest, Wilfrid was required to resign his bishopric. But asking them how they dared to resist the decrees of Popes Agatho, Benedict and Sergius in his behalf, and pointing out what he had done for the Church of Northumbria during his forty years' episcopate, he again appealed to Rome.<sup>2</sup> Arrived in Rome, "as it were at his mother's breast,"<sup>3</sup> he was summoned before a synod presided over by Pope John VI. (704).<sup>4</sup> In seventy sessions the points in dispute between the envoys of Brithwald and Wilfrid were thoroughly sifted. Wilfrid urged that now for the third time had he come to Rome for help, and asked for a favourable hearing, as he had received verdicts in his behalf from Popes Agatho, Benedict and Sergius, and as the action of the Apostolic See was wont to be even and consistent.<sup>5</sup> In the course of the proceedings, the assembly learnt with amazement from the testimony of the oldest among them that the venerable septuagenarian in their midst was the same Wilfrid who twenty-four years previously had subscribed to the decrees of the Roman council against the Mono-

<sup>1</sup> "Postremo maxima flamma exardescente, de regione Ultra-Humbrensi sanctus homo Dei a rege Aldfritho expulsus, recessit" (Edd., c. 46).

<sup>2</sup> "Fiducialiter sedem appello Apostolicam" (*ib.*, c. 47).

<sup>3</sup> "Ad hanc gloriosissimam sedem, quasi ad matris gremium, confugimus" (*ib.*, c. 50).

<sup>4</sup> "Tunc Johannes papa, cum coepiscopis suis undique congregatis . . . ad synodalem veniens, præsentato Wilfritho," etc. (*ib.*, c. 50); "Introductis quoque . . . a Sancto Berthwaldo archiepiscopo . . . viris directis ad Apostolicam sedem," *ib.*, c. 52.

<sup>5</sup> "Unitas apostolicorum virorum individua semper esse solet" (*ib.*, c. 51).



thelites! With one voice the astonished multitude expressed their sorrow that one who had for over forty years been a bishop should be treated with the indignity that Wilfrid had been. Whereupon the Pope, having declared that in all the careful examinations they had made of the case, the synod had found no crime in Wilfrid, declared him absolved from the charges brought against him.<sup>1</sup>

He then put into Wilfrid's hands a letter<sup>2</sup> for Ethelred, King of the Mercians, and Aldfrid, King of Northumbria. He tells them how grieved the whole Church was at the discord in their midst, exhorts them to be obedient, points out the care with which the case had been gone into at Rome, and orders<sup>3</sup> Brithwald to summon a synod, to bring before it Wilfrid and the usurpers of his See, and to settle the difference between them. If that cannot be done, they are to be sent to Rome to be tried, under penalty, if any refuse to come, of being deposed and excommunicated. At the command of the synod, Wilfrid set out for England.<sup>4</sup> The archbishop and King Ethelred<sup>5</sup> promised obedience to the Pope's orders. But Aldfrid declared that what he and the archbishop 'sent from Rome' had decided, he would never, while he lived, change on account of what it had been thought fit to call the

<sup>1</sup> Edd., c. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Edd. c. 54, and Will. Malms., *De Gest. Pont.*, ap. Migne, t. 179, p. 1568.

<sup>3</sup> "Commonemus Berchualdum, præsulem S. Cantuariorum ecclesiæ, quem auctoritate principis App. archiepiscopum ibidem confirmavimus, ut synodum convocet," *ib.* It may be noted in passing, that whence Brithwald received his authority is stated by Eddius, not only in the above quotation, but also in c. 53, where he is spoken of as: "ab hac sede apostolica emissus"; and "ab hujus apostolicæ sedis monarchia directus."

<sup>4</sup> Edd., c. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Ethelred, with the greatest humility, declared "Hujus Apostolicæ auctoritatis scriptis, ne unius quidem literæ apicem unquam in vita mea condemnabo," *ib.*, c. 57.

decrees<sup>1</sup> of the Apostolic See! But, quietly adds the biographer, from whose spirited pen we have all these most interesting details: "Afterwards he completely changed his decision, and was truly sorry for his conduct." Taken suddenly ill, he confessed the sin he had been guilty of against Wilfrid and the Apostolic See,<sup>2</sup> but died before he could make reparation (705). Eadwulf, the successor of Aldfrid, was even more violent than Aldfrid, but his reign was limited to a duration of two months; and under his successor Osred, the dying wishes of his (Osred's) father Aldfrid were carried out.

Brithwald summoned the synod (705) the Pope had ordered to meet, at the village of Nidd, on the river of the same name,<sup>3</sup> south of Ripon. In the presence of the bishops, of the king, and his nobles, the decrees of the Pope were read and explained. The bishops, after some consultation, became reconciled with Wilfrid, and his two great monasteries of Ripon and Hexham were restored to him; and he was restored to the See of Hexham. "And thus he lived<sup>4</sup> in peace four years, *i.e.*, until the day of his death" (709).

In this sketch of the life of St. Wilfrid, there is one fact that cannot fail to impress itself on the reader. In the histories which have come down to us of the struggle for liberty on the part of the people in the earlier days of the countries of Europe, Rome and the popes are always to be seen as most useful and trustworthy allies of its champions. The history of St. Wilfrid gives us a striking instance of this truth. In his long contest for his rights

<sup>1</sup> "Quod nos cum archiepiscopo ab Apostolica sede emisso . . . . judicavimus, hoc quamdiu vixero, propter Apostolicæ sedis (ut dicitis) scripta, nunquam volo mutare. Et hanc sententiam plene postmodum mutavit, et vere pœnituit eum" (Edd., c. 58).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, c. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, c. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, v. 19. *Cf.* v. c. 3, and Edd., c. 60.

as a bishop, Wilfrid was really fighting for the rights of every citizen against the arbitrary tyranny of kings. He was doing battle for that personal freedom we English value so highly ; and his allies were the popes of Rome. With their power behind him, he finally triumphed over despotism ; and in his victory the nation shared. Especially did they reap its fruits in the freedom he won for the episcopacy. "Thanks to him,<sup>1</sup> until the Norman Conquest, four centuries later, no English king dared arbitrarily depose a bishop from his See." In a bid for liberty, what chance have the people, when the king has the clergy at his beck ? Is it not hence strange to find freedom-loving Englishmen railing against men like St. Dunstan and St. Thomas à Becket ? It is due to the heroic resistance of such men against would-be absolutism that we are the free nation that we are to-day.

But we must return to Pope Agatho and the principal event in his reign—the Sixth General Council. Victor over the Caliph<sup>2</sup> Muaviah (or Moawyah) (678), and at peace with the Avars, thus causing "a universal<sup>3</sup> state of security both in East and West," Constantine determined<sup>4</sup> to try and bring about the same universal peace in the Church. He accordingly wrote (August 12, 678) a letter,<sup>5</sup> already several times quoted, to Pope Donus, "Archbishop of Old Rome and Universal Pope." It was

<sup>1</sup> Montalembert, *Monks*, etc., iv. p. 364 ; Stubbs, *Constit. Hist.*, i. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Theophanes in *Chron.*, ad an. 671 ; Bury, *Hist. of the Later Roman Empire*, bk. v., c. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, vol. ii. 313.

<sup>4</sup> Finlay, *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 381, who thinks his 'superior orthodoxy' to be the one only noteworthy point about Constantine Pogonatus, still calls him "an intelligent and just prince, who, though he did not possess the stubborn determination and talents of his father, was destitute also of his violent passions and imprudent character."

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Conc.*, ed. Labbe, vi., ap. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 87, p. 1147. Héfélé, v. p. 138, Eng. ed. "Tempus non recipit perfectam congregationem fieri."

received<sup>1</sup> by Agatho, and begins by observing that the Pope knows that he (the emperor) has been often asked to have a discussion on the question in dispute between the two Sees of Rome and Constantinople. He has never agreed, because partial discussion only made matters worse, and the times had hitherto been unfavourable for the holding of a general council. As, therefore, the times will not permit the summoning of a general council to end the unfortunate discussion, the emperor begs the Pope to send learned men, furnished with the needful books, and with full powers to speak in the name of the Pope and his council (*συνόδου*), in order to confer with the patriarch of Constantinople, and Macarius, patriarch of Antioch; and by the grace of the Holy Spirit to agree upon the truth. The emperor will show no favour to either party, but will receive the papal legates with fitting honour. He suggests that the Pope might send as deputies three clerics<sup>2</sup> to represent the Roman Church, and some twelve bishops and metropolitans, with four monks from each of the four Greek monasteries in Rome, to represent the rest of his patriarchate. The letter concludes with the assurance that the emperor has ordered the exarch Theodore to do

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.* "Hic suscepit jussionem . . . . missam Dono papæ, invitantem . . . . ut debeat . . . . missos suos dirigere in regiam urbem pro adunatione facienda," etc. In some letter, in connection with the calling of this general council, addressed to the Pope, and of which Pope Gregory II. has preserved us a fragment in his first letter to the emperor Leo, Constantine declared that he would not attempt to sit or speak as emperor among the bishops, but simply act as one of themselves, and carry out what they decided upon. "Neque cum illis tamquam Imperator sedebo, aut imperiose loquar . . . . et prout statuerint Pontifices, ego exequar" (Latin version).

<sup>2</sup> "Ex vestra sancta Ecclesia (si utique videtur ei) tres personæ sufficient; quod si et plures, quantæ ei placuerunt, dirigat," *ib.* The word 'synod,' which often occurs in this letter, simply means 'province.'

everything for the safety and convenience of those who should be sent to Constantinople.

Agatho at once fell in with these views of the emperor ; and to give the greater weight to the words of those who were to be his legates at Constantinople, he ordered synods to be held in the different countries of the West, so that his deputies would speak with its united voice. We know of synods being, in consequence, held at Milan,<sup>1</sup> and at Heathfield<sup>2</sup> in England. And in Rome there met together in synod 125 bishops, in the Easter week of 680.<sup>3</sup> After this assembly broke up, the priests Theodore and George, and the deacon John, who was afterwards to be Pope (John V.), representing the Pope, and three bishops, to speak for the whole West, set out for Constantinople<sup>4</sup> bearing two long letters for the emperor, one<sup>5</sup> from Pope Agatho himself, and the other from the bishops of the Roman synod.

Agatho orders the holding of synods in the West, preliminary to the General Council to be held in Constantinople.

In his letter to Constantine, Agatho says he would have sent the deputies before, but had been prevented, not only by his own illness, but chiefly by the time he had had to wait for the assembling of the bishops from the more distant parts of his patriarchate. The deputies he is now sending are not to be estimated by their scientific attainments. For how,<sup>6</sup> asks the Pope, can

<sup>1</sup> Cf. synodal letter, ap. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 87, p. 1261 : Mansi, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *H. E.*, iv. c. 17, 18. *Vide sup.*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vit. S. Wilfrid, c. 53. It is from this source alone that we know any of the details of this synod.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, *De sex œtat.*, sub. an. 688 ; *L. P.* ; ep. 1, Agath. ; and ep. Constant. ad Georgium Constant.

<sup>5</sup> These letters are to be found in Migne, t. 87, pp. 1161 and 1215 ; and in Mansi, t. xi., and Hardouin, t. iii., etc. Cf. Héfélé, v. 142 *seq.*

<sup>6</sup> We subjoin the original of this passage, as it is the one constantly quoted to show the decay of learning even in the Eternal City. No doubt something must be allowed to the 'modesty' of the Pope ; but on the other hand the prolixity of this very letter, and the length and complexity of many of its sentences, show, at any rate, the absence of

men who have to live in the midst of enemies and who have to earn their daily bread by the labour of their hands, find time for acquiring learning? Still they would be found men well able to hand on inviolate the deposit of faith they had received from their ancestors in the faith. He then lays down the doctrine of the two wills and operations, as he has received it from<sup>1</sup> his predecessors. This, he adds, is the true belief of Christianity, taught not by human wit but by the Holy Ghost through the princes of the apostles. This is the confession of him who was pronounced 'blessed,' in that he received his revelation from heaven, and of him to whom the Redeemer of Mankind thrice committed His sheep and under whose guidance this Church has *never* swerved from *the way of truth in any particular*—this Church, whose authority, as that of the prince of all the apostles, the whole Catholic Church and all the œcumenical councils have ever embraced and followed, and whom heretics have on the contrary ever attacked with falsehood and hatred. The rule of the true faith, the Apostolic Church will preserve perfect to the end in accordance with the prayer of Our Lord (St. Luke xxii. 31, 32) that Peter's faith might not fail.

Hence, continues the Pope, when the patriarchs of Constantinople endeavoured to introduce heretical novelties polish in the learning of the time. "Apud homines in medio gentium positos, et de labore corporis quotidianum victum cum summa hæsitacione conquiritentes, quomodo ad plenum poterit inveniri Scripturarum scientia?"

<sup>1</sup> "Quam percepimus per apostolicam apostolicorumque pontificum traditionem. . . . Hæc est Christianæ religionis vera atque immaculata professio, quam non humana adinvenit versutia, sed Spiritus S. per app. principes docuit." . . . Hæc est ejus confessio "cujus annitente præsidio, hæc apostolica ejus Ecclesia numquam a via veritatis in qualibet erroris parte deflexa est." This Agatho insists on several times in the course of this letter, whence we may infer, parenthetically, that he knew that Pope Honorius had not fallen into Monothelism.

into Christ's unspotted Church, my predecessors never ceased exhorting them to desist from their errors, at least by keeping silence (*saltem tacendo*, a clear allusion to the attitude of Pope Honorius towards Sergius). Agatho then proceeds to enlarge upon the 'two natural wills and operations,' adducing in support of his explanation testimonies from the writings of the Greek Fathers. He shows how Sergius and his heretical successors varied even in their errors, from which the Church must be withdrawn and all must 'with us' confess the truth founded on the firm rock<sup>1</sup> of that Peter who preserves his Church from error. In conclusion, the Pope earnestly begs the emperor to see that all be allowed freedom of speech at the forthcoming council.

The synodal letter, signed by the Pope and the 125 bishops present at the council, is quite to the same effect, insisting just as strongly and repeatedly on the infallibility of the See of Peter. The bearers of these letters reached Constantinople on September 10, 680, and were honourably received<sup>2</sup> by the emperor, who, the very same day, addressed a mandate<sup>3</sup> to the patriarch George, in which he gave his sanction to his summoning to Constantinople the bishops subject to his jurisdiction, for the purpose of discussing the question of the 'wills' in Our Lord. George was also informed that the emperor had given the same sanction to Macarius of Antioch.

In consequence of this energetic action on the part of the emperor, the Sixth Œcumenical Council was opened

Sixth  
General  
Council,  
Nov. 7,  
680-Sep.  
16, 681.

<sup>1</sup> "Quæ (b. Petri App. principis Ecclesia) ejus gratia atque præsidio ab omni errore illibata permanet."

<sup>2</sup> *L. P.*; Bede, *De sex ætat.*, ad an. 688.

<sup>3</sup> *Conc.* "Sancimus congregare vestram paternam beatitudinem omnes, qui ad ejus sanctissimam sedem pertinent, . . . episcopos in hanc regiam urbem." On the Sixth General Council, read Héfélé, § 312 f.

November 7, 680. Theophanes<sup>1</sup> assures us that 289 bishops and 'fathers' took part in it, but the minutes of the council only give us forty-three bishops as present at the first session, and 174 at the last. The council was held<sup>2</sup> in a hall of the imperial palace, known by the name 'Trullus,' from being furnished with a cupola or dome.

The proceedings were opened by the Papal legates<sup>3</sup>; and they signed first the minutes of the last session. The emperor was present in person at many of the sessions.

The Fathers, in council assembled, pronounced that the Monothelites had forged various documents; decreed the restoration of the name of Pope Vitalian to the diptychs; condemned and declared degraded Macarius of Antioch for his obstinate adherence to Monothelism; anathematised, in their thirteenth session, Sergius, Cyrus of Alexandria and the other Eastern leaders of Monothelism, and moreover Honorius, who was formerly Pope<sup>4</sup> of Old Rome; and in their eighteenth and closing session (September 16, 681) issued their decree relative to the two wills in Our Lord. The Fathers of the council, after declaring that they received with full trust (*πιστῶς*, *fideliter*), and greeted with

<sup>1</sup> Ad ann. 671-2, in *Chron.*; Bede, *De sex aetat.*, ad an. 688, gives 150 bishops, as does the *L. P.*

<sup>2</sup> *L. P.*; and the Acts of the Council. In the biography (*L. P.*) of Agatho, a summary of the doings of many sessions of the Sixth Council will be found, only *more or less* accurate.

<sup>3</sup> According even to Photius (*Mystagogia*, ap. Migne, *P. G. L.*, cii. p. 367): "Though not present in body Agatho summoned the sixth synod, and by his doctrine and ardent zeal was its ornament." Cf. also the *Liber Diurnus*, which gives (form. 84, ed. Sickel) 175 as the number of bishops present at the council; and brings out the position of the emperor (eo presidente) and the Pope at the council—"cui Agatho papa per legatos suos et responsales prefuit." Cf. form. 85, "in qua (sexta synodo) et apostolicæ sedis legatos presidere manifestum est."

<sup>4</sup> "Cum his vero simul projici a sancta Dei catholica ecclesia simulque anathematizari prævidimus et Honorium . . . eo quod invenimus per scripta, quæ ab eo facta sunt ad Sergium, quia in omnibus ejus mentem secutus est, impia dogmata confirmavit" (Actio 13).



uplifted hands the letter of Pope Agatho to the emperor, and the synodal letter of the bishops assembled under him, and that they followed the five preceding general councils, unfolded at length, and with great perspicuity, the Catholic doctrine of the two wills and energies in Our Lord.

At the close of the synod a letter was presented to the emperor, in which the bishops inform him that, inspired<sup>1</sup> by the Holy Ghost, in full agreement with one another, and following the dogmatic letter of their most holy father Agatho, and that of the synod held by him, they declare the two wills in Christ, and that they condemn Sergius, etc., and Honorius, as he followed them (*utpote qui eos in his secutus est*). They point out that the zeal of the Pope or the synod is not to be blamed, as they were merely acting on the defensive, and that in their behalf fought<sup>2</sup> the prince of the apostles, inasmuch as his imitator and successor is their supporter, and in his letter explained to them the divine mysteries. Peter spoke through Agatho.

A letter was also despatched to Pope Agatho, "the wise physician granted by Our Lord to banish disease from the Church and to restore health to its members." To him, as to the bishop<sup>3</sup> of the first See in the universal Church (*ut primæ sedis antistiti, ὡς πρωτοθρόνον*), and as standing on the firm rock of faith, the fathers of the council leave what has to be done. In accordance<sup>4</sup> with the sentence

<sup>1</sup> "Proinde inspiratione S. Spiritus conspirantes, et ad invicem omnes consonantes atque consentientes, et Agathonis sanctissimi patris nostri et summi Papæ dogmaticis litteris . . . consentientes, necnon et suggestioni sanctæ, quæ sub eo est synodi 125 Patrum, concordantes," etc., ap. Mansi, xi. 658; Hardouin, iii.

<sup>2</sup> "Nobiscum concertabat App. princeps; illius enim imitorem, et sedis successorem habuimus fautorem, et divini sacramenti mysterium illustrantem per litteras . . . et per Agathonem Petrus loquebatur," *ib.*

<sup>3</sup> "Tibi, ut primæ sedis antistiti universalis Ecclesiæ, quid gerendum sit relinquimus, stanti super firmam fidei petram," ap. Mansi, xi. 683.

<sup>4</sup> "Ex sententia per sacras vestras litteras de iis prius lata," *ib.*

previously passed upon them in the Pope's letters, they had anathematised the heretics, Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, Honorius, etc., and, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, and with the Pope's instructions to guide them (*ταῖς ὑμετέρας διδασκαλίαις ὀδηγούμενοι*), had proclaimed the doctrine of the two wills. And as with the Pope they have shed abroad the light of the orthodox faith, they beg him to confirm their action in writing.<sup>1</sup>

The emperor, on his side, issued an edict<sup>2</sup> enjoining all, whether cleric or lay, under pain of punishment to accept the decrees of the council. And with the returning papal legates, he also sent a letter to Pope Leo II., as word had reached Constantinople, before the Roman legates left it, that Pope Agatho had died (January 10, 681). Leo was informed of what had been done by the council, and of the contumaciousness and subsequent deposition of Macarius and others, who refused<sup>3</sup> to receive the letters of Pope Agatho, thus flying in the face, as it were, of Peter, the leader and prince. However, as Macarius and his supporters had all in writing begged him (Constantine) to send them to the Pope, he has done so, and leaves their case in the Pope's hands.

Leo in his reply (after September 682) confirmed the decrees of the Sixth General Council, and, as we shall see in

<sup>1</sup> "Quam (orthodoxæ fidei lucem) ut iterum per honorabilia vestra rescripta confirmetis, vestram oramus paternam sanctitatem," Ap. Mansi, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> "Renuit omnino sacratissimis Agathonis litteris assentiri, veluti in ipsum coryphæum ac principem Petrum insaniens." The emperor has a little joke against Macarius; he informs the Pope that Macarius, despite his name (which in Greek means *happy*), was not *blessed*!

"Omnes (Macarius, etc.) scriptis precibus Serenitatem nostram communiter precati sunt, ut eos ad vestram beatitudinem mitteremus. Sic igitur fecimus . . . vestro iudicio omnem ipsorum causam permittentes." Ep. ap. Mansi, etc. What confidence in the justice and clemency of Rome does not this appeal of Macarius show!

his *life*, notified them to the West. In his letter of confirmation to the emperor, Leo said that as the acts of the council were in agreement<sup>1</sup> with the faith of Pope Agatho and his synod, he therefore assented to what had been defined, and by the authority of Blessed Peter confirmed its decrees and received it as he did the five preceding general councils. Leo proceeded to condemn Theodore, Cyrus, and the other Monothelite leaders, and Honorius, who, by his teaching (*doctrina*) obscured the Apostolic See, and by a profane surrender would have overthrown the immaculate faith (*profana prodicione immaculatam fidem subvertere conatus est*); or, following the Greek version, permitted the spotless to be stained.

With regard to Macarius and his followers, the Pope had up till then not been able to effect much.<sup>2</sup>

The definitions of the Sixth General Council were practically the death-knell of Monothelism. The names of the heretical patriarchs from Sergius to Peter were removed from<sup>3</sup> the diptychs, and their portraits from wherever they were to be found either in the churches or in the public places. Deprived of State support, and receiving no encouragement from the higher clergy, Monothelism soon 'died the death'; for its attempted revival by the Emperor Philippicus partook of the ephemeral nature of the reign of that prince.

<sup>1</sup> "Sancta universalis et magna sexta synodus . . . apostolicam in omnibus regulam et probabilium patrum doctrinam secuta est, et quia definitionem rectæ fidei plenissime prædicavit, quam et apostolica sedes b. Petri Ap. (cujus licet impares ministerio fungimur), veneranter suscepit, idcirco et nos, et per nostrum officium hæc veneranda sedes apostolica concorditer et unanimiter his, quæ definita sunt ab ea consentit, et beati Petri auctoritate confirmat," etc. (Ep. Leo, ap. Mansi, xi., etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *L. P.* in vit. S. Leonis II. From that source we learn that, on the feast of the Epiphany (Jan. 6, 683), Leo received back again into Catholic communion two of those who had been sent to him. The rest, with whom he could do nothing, were shut up in different monasteries.

<sup>3</sup> *L. P.*, § 12.

What caused the emperor's proposed 'conference' to become an œcumenical council is not known. Perhaps it was because it was found that deputies from all the five great patriarchal Sees had arrived in Constantinople, and it was felt that the decisions of a general council would put an end to the 'one-will' heresy at once.

Decree  
regarding  
papal  
elections,  
680.

The Pope's legates at Constantinople were successful in their mission not only from a doctrinal, but also from a temporal point of view. They induced Constantine to lessen the tax the popes had to pay at their ordination—an impost first levied by the Gothic kings. He also did away with the delegated power by which the exarchs of Ravenna had confirmed the papal elections, again reserving that right to the emperors.<sup>1</sup> He even waived that right later on. It must not be forgotten, however, that, as already noticed, the exact meaning of this decree is not established. Those who believe that papal confirmation by the exarch did not begin till the time of John V. (685), hold that this decree of Constantine simply proclaims that, while he remitted the money payment for the imperial ratification, he made it clear that he only did so on the understanding that there was to be no alteration in the ancient custom of seeking for imperial assent to the election.

Theodore  
of Ravenna  
submits to  
Pope  
Agatho,  
680.

In the history of the intermittent struggle of the Archbishops of Ravenna for increased independence,<sup>2</sup> we read that Theodore (677-691) followed in the footsteps of his immediate predecessor (Reparatus), submitted<sup>3</sup> to the

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.*, § 13. "Hic suscepit divalem jussionem secundum suam postulationem, ut suggessit, per quam revelata est quantitas qui solita erat dari pro ordinatione pontificis facienda; sic tamen ut si contigerit post ejus transitum electionem fieri, non debeat ordinari qui electus fuerit, nisi prius decretus generalis introducatur in regia urbe, secundum antiquam consuetudinem, et cum eorum scientiam et jussionem debeat ordinatio provenire."

<sup>2</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 11 f.

<sup>3</sup> *L. P.* "Hujus (Agathonis) temporibus Theodorus archiepiscopus

Pope Agatho, and assisted at the Roman council of 680. We are assured by Agnellus, the episcopal historian of his predecessors in the See of Ravenna, that Theodore made an arrangement with Pope Leo II. (682), that the archbishops of Ravenna were not to be obliged to stay in Rome more than eight days at the time of their consecration, nor to come to Rome themselves afterwards, but were each year to send one of their priests to do homage to the Pope. However, it was during the same pontificate that Constantine Pogonatus decreed<sup>1</sup> the restoring of the Church of Ravenna to subjection to the See of Rome, and that the archbishop elect should, in accordance with ancient custom, go to Rome to be ordained. And the Pope himself decreed that the anniversary of Maurus, the first rebellious archbishop of Ravenna, should not be observed. For a time we shall hear no more, after St. Leo II., of the autonomy of Ravenna.<sup>2</sup>

The *Book of the Popes*, after telling us that Agatho<sup>3</sup> gave a large sum for lights for the churches 'of the apostles' and St. Mary Major, adds that he was buried in St. Peter's, January 10, 681. A fearsome<sup>4</sup> plague had devastated Rome during the summer of 680, and it is possible that Agatho may have died from its effects, direct or indirect. He is depicted on a painting (which Gregorovius assigns to the fifteenth

Ravennæ semetipsum sedi apostolicæ post multorum annorum curricula præsentavit." Cf. Agnell. in vit. Theod., c. 4, ap. Muratori, *R. I. S.*, II. ii.; and cf. Murat., *Annal.*, vi. 368 seq.

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.* in vit. S. Leo. II.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, under Pope Constantine, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Jaffé (*Regest. Pontif.*) quotes an interesting decree of Agatho's, addressed to all bishops, to the effect that "all the decrees of the Apostolic See were to be received as confirmed by the voice of Blessed Peter himself." "Sic omnes apostolicæ sedis sanctiones accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius d. Petri voce firmatæ sint." This fragment is to be found in the 'decrees' of Ivo and Gratian.

<sup>4</sup> "Qualis nec temporibus aliorum pontificum fuisse memoratur" (*L. P.*).

Death of  
Agatho,  
681.

century) on the walls of St. Peter 'ad Vincula,' as taking part in a procession for the cessation of the pestilence.<sup>1</sup> His epitaph, commonplace enough, ran as follows :

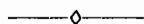
Pontificalis apex virtutum pondere fultus  
 Ut jubar irradiat, personat ut tonitrus.  
 Quæ monet hoc peragit, doctrinæ fomes et auctor ;  
 Format enim gestis quos docet eloquiis.  
 Dum simul æquiparet virtus et culmen honoris,  
 Officium decorat moribus, arte gerit.  
 Præditus his meritis antistes summus Agatho  
 Sedis apostolicæ fœdera firma tenet.  
 En pietas, en prisca fides ! insignia patrum  
 Intemerata manent nisibus, alme, tuis.  
 Quis vero dinumeret morum documenta tuarum,  
 Formula virtutum dum tua vita foret ?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gregorovius, *Rome in the Middle Ages*, ii. 167-8 ; Ciampini, *Vet. Monument.*, p. ii., c. 17, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Grisar, *Analect.*, i. 126 ; Duchesne, *L. P.*, i. 358.

# ST. LEO II.

A.D. 682-683.



*Sources.*—The *L. P.* Some half dozen letters in connection with the Sixth Council.

EMPEROR OF THE  
EAST.

Constantine Pogonatus, 668-685.

KING OF THE  
LOMBARDS.

Perctarit (second time), 672-688.

EXARCH OF  
RAVENNA.

Theodore, 677-687.

ST. LEO II., like his predecessor, a Sicilian by birth, and the son<sup>1</sup> of a certain Paul, though elected, according to custom, soon after the death of Agatho, was not consecrated till August 17, 682, an interval of 584 days. Probably the business of the Sixth General Council and the negotiations carried on by the papal legates to obtain freedom from imperial *confirmation* were the causes of the emperor not confirming the election in good time. The *Book of the Popes* has bestowed a very beautiful character on this Pontiff. It depicts him as a man of great eloquence, as possessed of a good knowledge of the Scriptures, as well versed in Greek and Latin,<sup>2</sup> and in the theory and practice of music. Not only was he learned

Election and consecration of Leo.

His character and learning.

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* "Græca, Latinaque lingua eruditus, cantilena ac psalmodia præcipuus," etc.

himself, but he was an earnest teacher of others, and he was at once a preacher and a doer of good works. For he was a lover of poverty and the poor. In a word, he was both pious and hard working. The fact that Leo is praised for his knowledge of Greek is a further proof not only that it was no longer the common possession of 'society' in Rome, as it was in the days of Rome's power, but that individual knowledge of it was becoming rare in the West. The barbarians on the one hand, and religious differences on the other, were rapidly severing the last bonds that united the Latin-speaking portion of the empire with the Greek. We have already seen different popes complaining of the difficulty of getting Greek documents translated. The time was approaching when almost all knowledge of it was to be lost in the West.

The Pope confirms the Sixth General Council.

On his election, Leo wrote<sup>1</sup> to the emperor, probably to notify his election and to ask the imperial confirmation. As we saw under Pope Agatho, Constantine wrote<sup>2</sup> to the Pope—his letter is dated December 13, 681—and sent him, along with the letter, his approval (dated December 23, 681) of the Sixth General Council. The legates of Pope Agatho, who were to be the bearers of these letters to his successor, would seem to have spent the winter at Constantinople. At any rate they did not reach Rome till July 682. After his consecration<sup>3</sup> in the following

<sup>1</sup> This fact is to be gathered from the end of Constantine's letter to the Pope.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. ap. Mansi, xi., etc. Héfélé, Eng. ed., v. 179.

<sup>3</sup> The *L. P.* tells us that the third consecrating bishop of the Pope was the Bishop of Velitræ, as Albano had no bishop at the time. The other two consecrators were the bishops of Portus and Ostia. "The Bishop of Ostia placed the Gospels on the neck, and laid his hands on the head of the Pontiff elect, the Bishop of Albano began the first prayer (*Adesto supplicationibus nostris*), and the Bishop of Portus the second prayer (*Propitiare Domine*)," says Gregorovius (*Rome in the Middle Ages*, Eng. trans, ii. p. 173 note), following the



month, Leo sent off<sup>1</sup> to the emperor his confirmation of the decrees of the Sixth Œcumenical Council some time before the end of the year 682. He then took steps to have the decrees of the council published throughout the West, and there are still extant<sup>2</sup> four of his letters which he sent into Spain by the notary Peter. One was addressed to the Spanish bishops in general, another to Bishop Quiricus, one again to King Ervig (though some MSS. ascribe this letter to Benedict II.), and another to Count Simplicius. Sends its decrees to Spain.

These four letters are practically all to the same effect. Leo knows that those to whom he is writing are anxious about the purity of the faith, for which the apostolic See, the mother of all the churches,<sup>3</sup> has ever toiled, and for which it would be ready to suffer the last extremities rather than see it defiled. He then tells of the doings of the council at Constantinople, at which there were bishops from all the world,<sup>4</sup> what was defined and who were condemned. He explains most carefully that Honorius was condemned for not at once extinguishing the flames of heresy, as became his apostolical authority, but for rather fanning them by carelessness.<sup>5</sup> He sends the 'definitions' of the council and one or two of the letters in connection with the council; that is, such portions of the acts as had up to that time been translated into Latin. In his letter

old 'ordos' in Mabillon, etc. It may be observed that practically the same is done at the consecration of any bishop at the present day. Cf. *Pontificale Romanum* and *sup.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *sup.* 46.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Mansi, xi., etc.

<sup>3</sup> "Pro qua (Christiana religione) hæc sancta Ecclesiarum omnium mater apostolica sedes usque ad victimam desudavit semper et desudat . . ." (Ep. ad Epp. Hisp.)

<sup>4</sup> "Episcopis ex totius mundi partibus aggregatis," *ib.*

<sup>5</sup> "Qui (Honorius) flammam hæretici dogmatis, non ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit sed negligendo confovit," *ib.*; and his letter to King Ervig: "Qui (Honorius) immaculatam apostolicæ traditionis regulam, quam a prædecessoribus suis accepit, maculari consensit."

to the bishops he exhorts them to subscribe the decrees of the synod.

The result of these letters was the fourteenth council<sup>1</sup> of Toledo, which met in November 684, and which heartily accepted the faith of the Sixth Œcumenical Council.

Leo and  
the Church  
of  
Ravenna.

Mention has already<sup>2</sup> been made of how Leo obtained from Constantine the revocation of the decree of Constans II., making the bishops of Ravenna 'autocephalous.'

Leo as a  
church-  
builder.

Before speaking of the Pope's death, mention has now only to be made of the fact that he dedicated (February 22, 683) to St. Paul a church, which he built near that of St. Bibiana, and in which he placed the relics of many martyrs. He also built,<sup>3</sup> near the 'velum aureum,' a church which he dedicated to SS. Sebastian and George—the Church of St. George in Velabro, a church of great interest to Englishmen, as it was the titular church of the late venerated Cardinal Newman. It is close to the arch of Janus Quadrifrons and the Cloaca Maxima. "The building of Leo II. (the entrance hall is of later date) still preserves its original outlines, and is a small basilica of three naves, with sixteen ancient granite or marble columns. Scarcely any other church within the city is so pervaded by the atmosphere of early Christian times. The original form of the church—that of a basilica—its simplicity, its sculptures, its inscriptions, some of them in Greek, dating from the first centuries of Christianity, its air of spell-bound tranquillity, its situation in the valley between the Capitol and the Palatine, hallowed by so many historic associations, com-

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, xi. Héfélé, *Hist. of the Councils*, v. p. 215, Eng. trans.

<sup>2</sup> *Sup.*, p. 47. The Pope on his side, by a decree, still preserved in the archives of the Roman Church in the days of 'Anastasius,' abolished the money payment that used to be made when the archbishops of Ravenna received the pall. *L. P.*

<sup>3</sup> *L. P.*

bine to form a powerful impression on the mind of the beholder."<sup>1</sup>

Leo was buried in St. Peter's, July 3, 683. According to Butler,<sup>2</sup> he is commemorated as a saint in the Roman and other martyrologies on the 28th of June. For on that day his body was translated (688) into the church proper of St. Peter.<sup>3</sup>

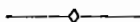
<sup>1</sup> Gregorovius, ii. pp. 171-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives of the Saints*, vi. 343. Cf. Acta SS. Boll., 28 Jun., v. p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> Jaffé, *sub. an.*

## ST. BENEDICT II.

A.D. 684-685.



*Source.*—The 'life' in the *L. P.*

EMPEROR OF THE  
EAST.

Constantine Pogonatus, 668-685.

KING OF THE  
LOMBARDS.

Perctarit (second time), 672-688.

EXARCH OF  
RAVENNA.

Theodore, 677-687.

Consecration of Benedict, 684.

AFTER another long interval — over eleven months — Benedict II., a Roman, the son of one John, was consecrated June 26, 684. He had served the Church from his infancy, and both as a youth and a priest, says his biographer,<sup>1</sup> had shown himself worthy of his name.

His character.

For in him abounded the grace of heavenly 'benediction.' Like his predecessor he was skilled in the sacred Scriptures and in music. He was also a lover of poverty, humble and gentle, patient and generous. What matter for regret that the pontiffs of this period, with the charming characters which history has handed them down as possessing, should have reigned for such short periods, and that the records of their deeds should occupy such little space in the world's history!

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.* "Se sic . . . exhibuit, ut decet virum suo nomine dignum, in quo vere supernæ benedictionis gratia redundavit."

Mention has already been made of the formalities which preceded the consecration of a pope in the days when imperial confirmation, direct, or indirect through the exarch, had to be awaited before the consecration could take place. The formulas used for the despatch of the necessary business in connection with the affair were given at the same time.

The 'liberation' decree of Constantine the Bearded necessitated the drawing up of fresh formulas. It was, of course, necessary to send information to the emperor as to the result of the papal elections, even if his consent to the papal consecration had now no longer to be asked. Hence in the *Liber Diurnus* we find another set of *forms* (82-85) in connection with the election of a new pope. In the construction of the new *forms* the old ones were not unnaturally brought into requisition. Consequently many portions of the new productions are like the old ones. There is, however, this important difference between the two sets. There is no request for confirmation in the new *forms*. Many of the phrases of these new forms point to the conclusion that they were drawn up for Benedict II. The Sixth General Council (681) is alluded to as recently (*nuper*) over; and Constantine (IV.) the Bearded (†September 685) is still spoken of in them as alive. We may suppose that these formulas were in use to proclaim the election of the new pope till the compact of 817 between the Papacy and the new empire in the West.

The first of the formulas (82) is described as *Decretum Pontificis*. It is the decree of election which, duly signed by *N.*, humble priest of the Holy Roman Church, and all the clergy, nobility and soldiery (or honourable citizens), was deposited in the archives<sup>1</sup> of the Lateran. After

<sup>1</sup> "Hoc decretum . . . . in arcivo domine nostræ sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, scilicet in sacro Lateranensi scrinio . . . . recondi fecimus," f. 82.

a preamble about the goodness of God in turning their sorrow for the death of their late pastor into joy for the new one He has given them, the decree records how, after long prayers for heavenly guidance, all met together, and, on account of his merits, unanimously elected the deacon (Benedict).

Before his consecration the new Pope-elect made a public profession of faith—*Indiculum Pontificis*, formula 83. He declared that even to death would he guard the faith given by Jesus Christ, and handed down to him by the successors of St. Peter. He professed his adhesion to the doctrines of the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation, and the other doctrines of God's Church, as they have been unfolded (*commendata*) by the œcumenical councils, the constitutions of the popes, and the writings of the approved fathers (*probatissimorum doctorum*) of the Church. With the other general councils he acknowledged the sixth, lately (*nuper*) called together by his predecessor Agatho, under the Emperor Constantine 'of pious memory.'<sup>1</sup> Particularly would he stand by the decrees of his predecessors; preserve the discipline, rites and goods of the Church, and never alter the *tradition* he had received from those who had gone before him. The profession was signed with his own hand by the Pope-elect.

When consecrated, the new Pope announced (form. 84) his accession "to the whole people of God, his most reverend brethren and most well-beloved children." He would beg the prayers of all to assist his unworthiness, would guard the faith (which is professed at considerable length), and condemn those whom the councils had condemned, viz., Sergius, Paul, etc., "along with Honorius, who

<sup>1</sup> This phrase shows that Constantine IV. was then dead; and so that in this form this particular formula could not have been used at Benedict's election.

gave encouragement to their profane doctrines." A copy of this public profession of his faith, also signed by the Pope's own hand, was deposited in the *confession* of St. Peter.

The last of the formulas in question (85) takes the form of a homily addressed by the Pope to the faithful assembled in St. Peter's on the day of his consecration. After an exhortation to Christian peace, it concludes with a profession of faith, like those of the preceding formulas, and with prayers for the prosperity of the empire.

As no Spanish bishops had been present at the Roman council under Pope Agatho, we saw how earnest Pope St. Leo II. was to inform them of the definitions of the Sixth General Council, and to secure their adhesion to them. St. Benedict followed in his footsteps, and one of his first acts, though only "a priest, and in God's name the elect<sup>1</sup> of the Holy See," was to send a letter<sup>2</sup> to the notary Peter, urging him to fulfil to the best of his ability the commands of St. Leo, "and procure with all zeal the subscriptions of the bishops to the decisions of the Council." Whether or not in consequence of greater activity on Peter's part, King Ervig summoned<sup>3</sup> the fourteenth council of Toledo

Benedict  
and the  
faith of  
'Spain.'

<sup>1</sup> From this letter and from his decrees in behalf of St. Wilfrid (ap. Eddius), it is plain that the government of the Church was now in the hands of the Pope 'elect,' during the *vacancy* of the Holy See, and not, as before, in the hands of the archpriest, etc. (see above, Pt. I. 354). In the *absence* of the Pope, the Roman Church continued to be governed by the 'three,' the archpriest, etc., till the days of Pope Zachary. Cf. Cenni, Diss. V., ap. Zaccaria, *Raccolt. di Diss.*, t. xviii. We may account for decrees running in the name of 'Benedict elect,' by supposing they were issued after the reception of Constantine's edict of privilege, and before his consecration; and that previous to Benedict's reception of Constantine's charter of exemption from imperial confirmation, the Church was governed as before by the 'triumvirate'; or perhaps, what is simpler, the emperor's consent—never known to have been refused—was taken for granted.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Mansi, xi., 1085, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Acts of the Council, ap. Mansi, etc. Héfélé, v. 215, Eng.

(November 684). The council discussed the business for which, in accordance with the papal letters, they had been assembled. Monothelism was condemned. St. Julian, the Archbishop of Toledo, who presided at the council, drew up in its name and sent to the Pope an 'Apology' of their faith (*Liber Responsionis fidei nostræ seu<sup>1</sup> Apologia*). It was sent to Rome by the notary Peter, and consisted of four parts.<sup>2</sup> The document itself is now lost. Benedict was not satisfied with some of the phrases used by the Spanish bishops in their 'Apology.' He did not care for the expression: "will begot will," or that there were "three substances in Christ," and he accordingly sent back the 'Apology' for revision.<sup>3</sup> At another council of Toledo (the fifteenth), at which both bishops and nobles took part, and which met May 11, 688, the Spanish bishops defended the expressions the Pope had complained of. They explained them in an orthodox sense, and urged that similar phrases were used

trans. "Nos . . . . causæ hujus ordinem, et totius rei negotia retexentes, quibus Romanæ sedis fueramus literis invitati," etc.

<sup>1</sup> This document is alluded to in the fourth canon of the fourteenth council. That it was written by St. Julian is known from his 'life' by Felix, fl. 693, Bishop of Toledo (Ap. Bolland. *A. SS.* ad diem Mart. 8). Cf. also the acts of the fifteenth council discussing this document.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. acts of the fifteenth council of Toledo. Héfélé, v. 217 seq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *De rebus Hisp.*, iii. 13, of Roderic Ximenes, who was Archbishop of Toledo from 1208-1245. The archbishop is not accurate in making Benedict receive the second apology of St. Julian. Cf. the acts of the fifteenth council, from which it is clear that Benedict was dead when that council met. "Ad illa nos illico convertimus contuenda capitula, pro quibus muniendis ante hoc biennium (?) *beatæ memoriæ* Romanus papa Benedictus nos literarum suarum significatione monuerat." As the fifteenth council of Toledo, which uses these words, was held in 688, and Pope Benedict II. died in 685, the word 'biennium' presents a chronological difficulty that seems to have escaped the notice of Héfélé and other writers. It may be supposed that we should read 'triennium' or 'quadriennium' for 'biennium.'



by the fathers. And, nettled apparently at being considered heterodox even in language, they concluded their defence of their first 'Apology' with the tart remark that they would not dispute with any who chose to dissent from their doctrine, founded as it was on that of the fathers; and that if their doctrine seemed objectionable to ignorant rivals, it would seem, they *modestly* add, 'sublime' to lovers of truth! However, St. Julian drew up a second Apology and sent it to Rome in charge of some very learned men. This was accepted as orthodox by Pope Sergius.<sup>1</sup>

This Pope seems to have had as good an understanding with Constantine the Bearded as his predecessors. He

Obtains full freedom (?) for the consecration of the Popes, 684.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Roderic, *ubi sup.*, where at the close we should read Sergius for Benedictus. As some writers see in every act of disrespect or rebellion against the Holy See, not merely an isolated act of disobedience but an indication of complete independence of the authority of Rome, it is to the point to repeat that at this period the whole West acknowledged the spiritual supremacy and jurisdiction of the Bishops of Rome. With regard to Spain in particular sufficient has already been said of its relations towards the Popes to make it obvious that it was no exception to the rule. We will, however, add one more voice to the chorus we have already heard speaking of the spiritual position of Spain. It is an authoritative one, and uttered on a solemn occasion. It is the voice of Spain's king; and it was spoken when trying to convert another Teutonic ruler, the Lombard Adalwald, from Arianism. To him wrote, in language more lengthy and, at times, more fervent than clear, the Visigothic monarch Sisebut (+620). He explained to his would-be convert that his faith must be founded on the rock against which the winds and rains of error will break in vain; and that, in consequence of the words of Our Lord—S. Mat. xvi. 18, no one can be held blameless unless he maintain the apostolic profession in its entirety. He then told him that that profession was the one which the *Roman Church* had received from the Apostles and gave to those who rightly sought it. "Clare lucideque permonuit (doctor gentium), unam ad cultum venerationis esse confessionem credentium, quam sequax ecclesia ab apostolis traditam Romana suscepit et recte petentibus, hereticorum segitibus extirpatis, maternis effectibus tradidit" (Ep. Sis. ap. *M. G. Epp.* iii. 674). This was the belief of the Visigoths till their national extinction.

obtained<sup>1</sup> a decree from that just prince that the Pope-elect might be consecrated at once, without having to wait for any imperial confirmation.

It has already been noted that the question with regard to the confirmation of papal elections by emperor or exarch is a most complicated one. The meaning of this decree of 684 or 5 is, as previously stated, disputed.<sup>2</sup> According to some, in doing away with confirmation by the emperor it substituted that by the exarch, while others contend that by it all necessity of applying to any secular authority for confirmation was abrogated. Certainly that is the more obvious meaning of the decree, and is the one maintained by those who hold that the exarch had confirmed papal elections before the year 684. The supporters of this view, however, have further to suppose either that this decree was modified almost immediately after its publication, or that, when in the *Book of the Popes* there is mention in the life of Conon (687) of a *customary* deputation to the exarch after Conon's election, it is only meant that thereby official notice of the accession of the new Pope was given to the imperial government. While, therefore, it is clear that the decree of Constantine effected some change in the existing custom as to imperial confirmation of papal elections, the reader must decide for himself what he supposes that custom to have been.

Whether we consider the princes who arrogate to themselves this right of confirming the election of the popes or the candidates for the sacred office of supreme pastor of Christendom, it must be confessed that, generally speaking,

<sup>1</sup> "Hic suscepit divales jussiones clementissimi Constantini magni principis ad venerabilem clerum et populum, atque felicissimum exercitum Romanæ civitatis, per quas concessit, ut persona qui electus fuerit ad sedem Apost. e vestigio absque tarditate ordinetur." *L. P.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vide sup.*, Pt. I. p. 40 and p. 354 f.

the interference of the secular power in these elections can only be fraught with evil ; and this, if only on the general principle of the detrimental effect produced on any business or corporate body when outside influence can be brought to bear unduly on its concerns or deliberations. The door is at once opened to bribery and corruption of all sorts. Certainly the history of the Church has proved this abundantly. When secular influence in the papal elections has been greatest, the rulers of the Church have been the most indifferent. The Papacy was never at a lower ebb than it was in the tenth century, and the interference of the powerful in papal affairs never greater.

Constantine gave the Pope another proof of his regard for him. He would have the Pope adopt his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius. This he effected by sending locks of their hair (*mallones*)<sup>1</sup> to the Pope, who received them in State accompanied by the clergy and the 'army,' *i.e.*, the commanders of the army. In the early Middle Ages,<sup>2</sup> it was the custom that those who first cut the hair of children, or to whom such first-cut tresses were sent, adopted the said children. Muratori<sup>3</sup> thinks that this act would also signify the submission and obedience which kings professed towards the successors of St. Peter, after the manner of slaves, whose hair used to be cut. And he quotes the famous Anastasius,<sup>4</sup> who tells of a king of the Bulgarians, in his devotion to the Holy See, with his own hand cutting off his hair and handing it to the legates of the Pope, saying : " Know ye, nobles and people of Bulgaria,

The Emperor's sons made the adopted children of the Pope, 684.

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.* in vit. ; Muratori (*Annal.*, ad an. 684) notes that the word 'malloni' is still in use in the Modenese dialect.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* Paul. Diac., vi. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Annal.*, ad an. 684.

<sup>4</sup> Præfat. ad *Concil.*, viii., ap. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 20. "Omnes primates et cuncti populi Bulgarorum terræ cognoscant, ab hodierno die me servum fore post Deum b. Petri et ejus vicarii."

that from this day forth I am the servant, after God, of Blessed Peter and his vicar!"

Macarius,  
ex-bishop  
of Antioch,  
685.

It may be remembered that Pope St. Leo II. failed to make any impression on Macarius of Antioch and his heterodox views. On the death of Theophaues (685?), who was appointed to fill the See of Antioch in place of Macarius, Benedict made an effort to induce the heretical bishop to subscribe to the orthodox faith, with a view of having him restored to his See. For forty days the Pope caused Macarius<sup>1</sup> to be visited by one of his special advisers (*consiliarius*). But Macarius died, as he had lived, in obstinate heresy.

Favours  
for the  
clergy.

A brief list of this Pope's church restorations may be read in the *Liber Pontificalis*. He was very good to the clergy. The *Book of the Popes* notes three classes who received the last dying gifts of the Pope, viz., the various orders of the secular clergy, the monasteries which were deaconries (*monasteria diaconiae*), and the *mansionarii* or lay sacristans. From the letters of Gregory the Great,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that there were deaconries not only in Rome but in other cities as well, and that their object was to distribute corn and other necessaries of life to the needy and to look after the poor generally. Evidently some at least of the deaconries were monasteries, and some of them were presided over by monks. The one who presided over the deaconry was known as its *dispensator*; and so the recent (1900-1) excavations in the forum have brought to light an inscription of one Theodotus, *primicerius defensorum*, and *dispensator* of the deaconry of St. Maria Antiqua. Whether or not there was at this period more than one deaconry to each

<sup>1</sup> Act. i., *Conc. Gen.*, vii., ap Mansi, etc.; Migne, *ib.*, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> V. 25 (28); x. 8 (21); xi. 17 (27); xiii. 23 (19). "Fertur . . . . quod annonas atque consuetudines diaconiae . . . . eminentia vestra substraxerit," x. 8; "Te Johannem religiosum . . . . mensis pauperum et exhibendæ diaconiae elegimus præponendum," xi. 17.

region is not known. Under Hadrian I. (772-795) two more were added to the sixteen he found already in existence, scattered, in irregular proportion, throughout the different regions.

After then, in accordance with custom, bestowing various favours on the clergy on Easter Day, March 26, of 685, he fell ill,<sup>1</sup> and died a short time after. He was buried (May 8, 685)<sup>2</sup> in St. Peter's.

Death of  
Benedict  
II.

His epitaph ran as follows (Duchesne, *L. P.*, i. 365).

Magna tuis, Benedicte pater, monumenta relinquis  
 Virtutum titulos, O decus atque dolor !  
 Fulguris in specimen mentis splendore coruscas  
 Plura sed exiguo tempore cœpta fluunt.  
 Cuncta sacerdotum præstantia munia comples  
 Et quo quisque bono claruit unus habes.  
 Quippe quod a parvo meritis radiantibus auctus  
 Jure patrum solium pontificale foves.  
 Non hoc ambitio rapti tibi præstat honoris  
 Indolis est fructus quam comitatur honos.  
 Et quia sollerter Christi regis agmina pastor  
 Percipe salvati præmia celsa gregis.

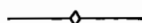
The *jure patrum* would seem to imply that it was after passing regularly through the various degrees of the clerical state that he at length reached the rank of supreme pontiff.

<sup>1</sup> The custom of bestowing money on the clergy on Easter morn, which is known to have been practised by St. Gregory I. (in vit Joan. Diac., ii. 25), was continued, at least, till the thirteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Acta SS. Boll. 7 Mai, vol. ii. 197—the day on which he is commemorated in the Roman Martyrology.

# JOHN V.

A.D. 685-686.



*Source.*—The *L. P.* is practically our only authority for the short life of this Pope.



EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	KING OF THE LOMBARDS.	EXARCH OF RAVENNA.
Constantine Pogonatus, 668-685 (Sept.). Justinian II. (Rhinot- metus), 685-695.	Perctarit, 672-688.	Theodore, 677-687.

Election  
and con-  
secration,  
July 685.

NOTHING very important marks the reign of John, the Syrian, of the province of Antioch, the son of Cyriacus. As a deacon<sup>1</sup> he was one of those who represented the See of Rome at the Sixth General Council. Elected some time between May and the close of July, he was consecrated (July 23, 685) by the bishops of the same three Sees that consecrated his predecessor—viz., Portus, Ostia and *Velitrae*. We may suppose for the same reason, viz., the vacancy of the See of Albano. In his election there was, as the *Liber Pontificalis* expressly informs us, a reversion

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.* "Hic . . . representans locum apostolicæ sedis in sancta synodo," etc. "Vir valde strenuus, atque scientia præditus, et omnino moderatus." John must also have been very generous, for the *L. P.* assures us that he gave 1900 solidi to the clergy, monasteries, and mansionarii, or those who looked after the churches.

to the earlier mode of proceeding in the matter of electing the popes. Elected<sup>1</sup> by the people 'at large' in the Church of St. John Lateran, John was thence taken to the adjoining palace and enthroned *at once*, without having to wait for any imperial confirmation. This was, of course, in virtue of the decree of Constantine just obtained by Benedict II.; though, as we have seen, not a few authors of repute hold that his election had been confirmed by the exarch in the emperor's stead.

<sup>1</sup> John V. is the first Pope of the Middle Ages the method of whose election is mentioned in the *L. P.* As a help to the student to form his own conclusions as to the manner of electing popes in the Middle Ages, we will bring together the scant notices in the *L. P.* from John V. to Leo III. inclusive.

*John V.*—"A generalitate in Ecclesia Salvatoris electus est."

*Conon.*—"Sacerdotes et clerus unanimiter elegerunt (Cononem). E vestigio autem omnes iudices una cum Primatibus exercitus pariter ad ejus salutationem venientes, in ejus laude omnes simul acclamaverunt. (Demum) videns exercitus unanimitem cleri, populique, et ipsi consenserunt in persona prædicti viri." (An important passage.)

*Sergius I.*—"Primates iudicum, et exercitus Romanæ militiæ vel cleri plurima pars et præsertim sacerdotum atque civium multitudo . . . in personam Sergii concordantes se contulerunt."

*Gregory III.*—"Quem (Greg.) viri Romani seu omnes populi elegerunt."

*Stephen II.*—"Stephanum . . . cunctus populus sibi elegit, et intra Lateranense patriarchium misit."

*Stephen III.*—"Cunctus Dei populus . . . congregatus est intra basilicam S. Die Genitricis ad Præsepe. Ubi et omnes misericordiam Dei petentes (Stephanum) sibi eligunt. Quem omnes cum laudis præconiis in basilicam Salvatoris, deportaverunt, et exinde intus venerunt et in Patriarchium juxta morem intromiserunt." (Another important passage.)

*St. Paul I.*—"Plurima pars iudicum et populi . . . quoniam (pars) validior et fortior erat (Paulum) elegerunt."

*Stephen IV.*—"Christophorus . . . aggregans 'in tribus Fatis' sacerdotes ac primates cleri, et optimates militiæ atque universum exercitum et cives honestos, omnisque populi Romani cœtum . . . (Stephanum) elegerunt. Quem et cum vocibus acclamationum in Lateranense deportaverunt patriarchium."

*Leo III.*—"A cunctis sacerdotibus seu proceribus et omni clero, necnon et optimatibus, vel cuncto populo Romano, (Leo) electus est."

John V. is set down by his biographer as a man of great energy and learning, but withal as a very moderate man. This last exceptional good quality may account, to some extent at any rate, for the success of John's dealings with the Emperor Constantine. His biographer attributes to his exertions, while at Constantinople, the obtaining of imperial rescripts from Constantine, by which the taxes that had to be paid by the 'patrimones' of the Church in Sicily and Calabria, and other imposts that weighed very heavily on the See of Rome, were reduced.

The  
Church of  
Sardinia.

The step of the greatest moment taken by this Pope, at least so far as history has recorded his doings, was his action in bringing back the Church of Sardinia to his direct jurisdiction. This direct jurisdiction the popes had handed over, at least to some extent,<sup>1</sup> to the archiepiscopal See of Cagliari. Pope Martin I. had, however, to withdraw this concession, as it was being abused. Notwithstanding this, Citonatus, the Archbishop of Cagliari, without asking any permission of the Pope, calmly consecrated Novellus for the See of Torres (Turrus Libisonis, now Porto di Torre). To this insolence the Pope replied by summoning a council, and by a special bull, which in the days of the Pope's biographer was still to be found in the archives of the Roman Church, placed Novellus under the immediate jurisdiction of the Holy See.<sup>2</sup>

Death of  
Pope John,  
Aug. 686.

After a long illness, and so severe a one that he could

<sup>1</sup> For it appears from the letters of St. Gregory I. (xiii. 21, al. x. 17) that the bishops of Sardinia had to come to Rome to be consecrated. Speaking of the election of two bishops—one to this very See of Turrus, in the south of the island near Sassari—he writes: "Qui dum fuerint postulati, cum sollemnitate decreti omnium subscriptionibus roborati . . . . ad nos *sacrandi* occurrant."

<sup>2</sup> The *L. P.* is our authority for all this. "Antiquitus ordinatio fuit sedis apostolicæ, et ad tempus concessa fuerat ipsa ordinatio eidem Ecclesiæ (Caralitanæ)."



scarce perform the customary ordinations, Pope John died in 686, and was buried in St. Peter's (August 2).

From the short reigns of the popes of this period, we can only conclude that it must have been usual then to elect very old men. Indeed, the age of Conon and Severinus is especially mentioned, as are the great infirmities of Agatho, John, etc. And if there is any truth in the conjecture of some, that Pope Agatho was no other than the Agatho about whom Pope St. Gregory I. wrote to Urbicus, the abbot of the monastery of St. Hermes at Palermo, he must, as we have already noted, have been a centenarian when he became pope.<sup>1</sup>

In John's epitaph, of which we quote a few lines, his <sup>Epitaph.</sup> position at the Sixth General Council as Agatho's legate is commemorated.

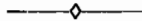
Hic et in extremis sollers fidusque minister  
 Claruit et primus jure levita fuit.  
 Missus ad imperium vice præsulis extitit auctor,  
 Hunc memorant synodus pontificisque tomus.

(Duchesne, *P. L.*, i. 367.)

<sup>1</sup> St. Peter Damian wrote a little pamphlet, *On the Shortness of the Lives of the Roman Pontiffs* (Opusc., 23, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 471 f.). The first reason he assigns for this fact is that the brief reigns of the popes may impress the human race with the fear of death. For the death of kings does not produce the same effect. There are so many of them. And when one of them dies only his own kingdom is in distress; but when a Pope dies the whole world is in grief, because the whole world knows him and is interested in him. The Saint also concludes that, because kings often die by the sword, people are less affected by the news of their death than they are by that of the Pope who dies by the ordinary laws of nature. At any rate God wishes that men should draw benefit as well from the deaths as from the lives of the popes—ideas characteristic of an age the very antithesis of our own, which looked outside the natural for explanations of everything. No doubt the unhealthiness of Rome during the Middle Ages was one of the principal reasons of the fact in question. Innocent III. used to say it was hard to find a man of forty, impossible to find one of sixty in Rome. Cf. Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 444.

# CONON.

A.D. 686-687.



*Source.*—The *L. P.*

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EMPEROR OF THE EAST. Justinian II. (685-695, first time.) (705-711, second time.)	KING OF THE LOMBARDS. Perctarit, 672-688.	EXARCHS OF RAVENNA. Theodore, 677-687. John Platyn, <sup>1</sup> 687-702.
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Conon is  
elected  
after a  
division.

ON the death of John V. there was disunion among the electors on the question of his successor. The clergy favoured the archpriest Peter, the army the priest Theodore. As the gates of the Lateran basilica were in the hands of the soldiers, the clergy had to meet outside that noble church. The leaders of the army held their assemblies in the curious circular church of St. Stephen, with its very striking, if not very beautiful, frescoes. After message after message had passed to no purpose between the two parties, the clergy at length, entering the Lateran palace, unanimously elected Conon. The grey hairs<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> It is clear from the *L. P.* in vit. Conon. that John had succeeded Theodore before the death of Pope Conon.

<sup>2</sup> *L. P.* in vit. "In quo (Conone) vere aspectus angelicus, veneranda canities, sermo verus, propecta ætas, simplex animus, quieti mores, religiosa vita, qui se nunquam aliquando in causis, actibusque sæcularibus commiserat."

the angelic beauty of Conon, combined with the well-known beauty of his character—his candour, his simplicity, his piety, his freedom from secular concerns—produced a powerful impression. The judges and the military commanders at once recognised Conon, and offered the usual salutation and acclamation.<sup>1</sup> Some think that Conon was a soldier's son, and that this had some weight in the eyes of the military. They suppose that the remark of 'Anastasius,' that Conon was "oriundus ex patre Thraceseo," does not mean that he was born in Thrace, or that his father's name was Thraceseus, but that he was a son of an officer of the Thracesian troop.<sup>2</sup> Wherever he was born, Conon had been educated in Sicily. He afterwards came to Rome and was ordained priest.

When the rank and file of the army saw the unanimity of the clergy and their own leaders, they also acknowledged Conon after a delay of a few days. Then, in conjunction with the 'clergy and people,' they sent off to the exarch Theodore notice of the election of Conon 'according to custom.'<sup>3</sup>

As to the meaning of these words of the *Book of the Popes*, enough has already been said. It may therefore suffice to remind the reader that those who believe that Constantine Pogonatus gave absolute freedom of choice to the electors of the popes think that this notice in the life of Conon merely signifies that official documents were sent to the exarch, as the emperor's representative, to let him know who the new pope was. The opponents of this view maintain, on the contrary, that the documents

<sup>1</sup> "Judices unacum Primatibus exercitus ad ejus salutationem venientes, in ejus laude omnes acclamaverunt" (*L. P.* in vit.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Duchesne's edit. of the *Liber Pontif.*; and Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vi. p. 351 note.

<sup>3</sup> "Missos una cum clericis, et ex populo ad excellentissimum Theodorum exarchum, ut mos est (exercitus) direxerunt." *L. P.*

were sent to seek for the exarch's confirmation of the election. Certain it is, at any rate, that the interval between the election and consecration of a pope now becomes uniformly shorter than before, and that Conon was consecrated October 21, 686.

The electors of the popes at this period.

Mention has already been made of the mode of electing the popes from the third to the ninth century, and of those who had the right of election. It was then stated that throughout those ages the right of electing the popes lay with the clergy and people. However, as at this period there is frequent mention of the 'army' as a sort of third electing body, it will be convenient here to add a few more remarks on the same subjects. We are of opinion that the distinction between the 'army' and the 'people,' at the period of which we are now treating, is more apparent than real. Just as in the days of the Roman republic, the 'people,' except the youths and old men, were the 'army.' During the 'Decline' of the empire the Roman 'people,' by the wholesale introduction of conquered nations into the forces of the empire, and the disinclination of 'Roman citizens' to serve in the army, became a class quite separate from an army composed, for the most part, of foreigners. Hence in the first centuries the popes were said to be elected by the clergy and people. After the 'Fall' of the empire, the inhabitants of Rome—Romans we cannot now call them—had to look to themselves for protection against enemies from without. The emperors at Constantinople were unable to send troops for the protection of the old capital of the Roman empire. Consequently the 'people' of Rome had again to become soldiers, and by the close of the seventh century it would seem that 'the people,' 'the citizens' (*honesti cives*) were completely organised; and, with the universal

exception of youths and old men, were all soldiers, were the 'army.' Hence in the *Liber Pontificalis* mention is made sometimes (generally indeed from the close of the seventh century) of the 'clergy,<sup>1</sup> army and people,' and sometimes of the 'clergy and army.' After what has been said as a proviso, it may be correct to speak of the 'three electoral bodies'<sup>2</sup> that took part in papal elections in the earlier Middle Ages. From all this, it may be concluded with Mabillon,<sup>3</sup> that the order of electing and consecrating the popes before the eleventh century was as follows. First they were elected by the clergy; then followed the salutation and acclamation of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *L. P.* in vit. S. Bened. II., where Constantine's decree about the elections of the popes is addressed to the 'clergy, people and army' on the one hand; and where, on the other, only the 'clergy and army' are spoken of as receiving the 'locks of hair' of the emperors' sons. And so the *Liber Diurnus*, f. 61, speaks of the "viro honestos cives, et de exercitali gradu," and says that the "clerus, optimates et milites seu cives" sign the act of election, where 'seu' means *and*, and 'optimates' marks out the nobler citizens. And in the life of Pope Valentine (A.D. 827), mention is only made of the clergy and the people with their more distinguished representatives. "Collectis igitur in unum . . . episcopis, et . . . proceribus, omnique . . . populo" (*L. P.*). Later on in the same life, Valentine is said to have been elected by the people, and 'both branches of the military service,' viz., imperial and local. "Almæ plebis et lætis utriusque militiæ Romanorum electus est vocibus."

<sup>2</sup> Where in the *Liber Diurnus* the election of the popes in the seventh century is described, the different classes mentioned as taking part in it may be reduced to three, viz., the clergy, the army, and the people, viz., the old and young; for the other classes mentioned are only subdivisions of these three. "Convenientibus nobis (i) cunctis sacerdotibus ac proceribus ecclesiæ et universo clero, atque (ii) optimatibus et universa militari præsentia, seu civibus honestis, et (iii) cuncta generalitate populi." Cf. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, ii. 176-178. The 'proceres,' or 'primates' cleri, were the officials of the papal court, such as the Primicerius and Secundicerius of the Notaries, the treasurer, etc. (Cf. Cenni, *Diss. V.*, ap. Zaccaria, *Raccolta di Diss.*, t. xviii.).

<sup>3</sup> *Comment. in Ord. Rom.*, § 18, ap. Pagi, *Brev. Gest. P. R.*, in vit. Conon.

the judges and nobles, the consent of the army, and, in fine, before the decree of Constantine IV., the subscription of all to the notice of the election, which was sent to the emperor (or, for a time, to the exarch) for confirmation. When the election was confirmed, the Pope-elect was consecrated in the basilica of St. Peter's on the Vatican, and enthroned in the Lateran basilica. In some cases, however, the enthronisation preceded the consecration.

Justinian II. and the Acts of the Sixth General Council.

This Pope received an imperial rescript of Justinian II., writes 'Anastasius,' in which the emperor says that he has recovered the acts, *i.e.*, the original copies, of the Sixth General Council. This letter is still extant<sup>1</sup> in a poor, scarcely intelligible Latin translation, and was addressed to Pope John V., though dated February 17, 687, a circumstance which may be used to show once again how slowly at times news travelled to Constantinople. "We have learnt," runs the rescript, "that the acts (*viz.*, the original copies) of the Sixth Œcumenical Synod have been sent back to some of our 'Judges' (*judices*) who had lent them. We had not indeed imagined that anyone would be bold enough to keep possession of them, without our consent, for God, of His abundant mercy, has made us the guardians of the immaculate faith of Christ." The rescript adds that the emperor summoned together the patriarchs, the papal apocrisiarius, the metropolitans and bishops who were staying in the city, the senate, and various State officials and officers of the various army corps, stationed in different parts of the empire. Then he (the emperor)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Mansi, xi., etc.

<sup>2</sup> "Jussimus præfatas synodalium gestorum chartas in medium adduci, et coram supradictis omnibus lectionem eorum fieri, omnesque diligenter audientes signare ipsas fecimus" (Ep. Just. ad Joan. V.).

caused the copies of the council to be read before them, and then caused all to sign them. The documents were then handed over to the emperor's care, that "it might never be in the power of those who do not fear God, to corrupt or change them." This decree had been sent to the Pope, that he might know what was being done.

This imperial letter is particularly interesting as showing the great care taken by the ancients to preserve intact the decrees of the general councils.

It would almost seem as if, for a time at least, some of his father's good feeling for the Roman See must have found its way into the rude breast of Justinian. For, by two decrees,<sup>1</sup> he remitted two hundred measures (*capita*) of corn which the 'rectors' (*custodes*) of the 'patrimony' in Bruttium and Lucania had to pay every year; and he ordered the serfs belonging to the same patrimony (*familia patrimonii*) and of Sicily, and who were held in pledge by the military, to be restored. Duchesne (*L. P.*, i. 370) observes that this patrimony is not expressly mentioned in the letters of St. Gregory I. But it is clear from several of them (Ep. ii. 3 (1); v. 9; ix. 129, 134, 110 (47, 48, 60), etc.) that the notary Peter and the sub-deacon Sabinus, who are spoken of in these letters, or to whom they were actually addressed, were evidently 'rectors' of a 'patrimony' in those parts.

Age, it appears, does not always bring that experience and prudence which is looked for from it. And so we read in 'Anastasius' of the aged Conon neglecting to follow the safe custom<sup>2</sup> of taking advice of the clergy; being deceived by designing men; appointing, in spite of the opposition of his counsellors, a certain Constantine, a deacon of the

Justinian  
remits  
dues from  
'patrimony'  
of the  
Roman  
See.

Conon  
makes an  
unfortu-  
nate  
appoint-  
ment.

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.*

<sup>2</sup> "Hic (Conon) ultra consuetudinem, absque consensu cleri," etc. . . . "hominem perversum et tergiversutum." *L. P.*

church of Syracuse, as 'rector' of the important 'patrimony' of Sicily, and granting him an exceptional privilege, viz., the use of the coveted 'mappulum' (horse trappings or cloth) for riding. But it was not long before this 'sly and wicked man' got into trouble. His extortions raised seditions, and the governor of the province had to step in and send Constantine to prison. "So dangerous is it," moralises Pagi,<sup>1</sup> "for popes and bishops, without taking counsel, to promote to ecclesiastical offices and dignities men who have not been sufficiently tried."

Conon  
sends  
St. Kilian  
to preach  
in Fran-  
conia.

If Conon got no glory from the deacon Constantine, the same cannot be said of his connection with St. Kilian and his companions. At the time when Conon mounted the Throne of the Fisherman, most of Germany was still pagan, especially in the North. Round about the Rhine, through the action of the Franks, who had accepted Christianity in the course of the preceding century, there were Christians, as there were, too, in the countries Helvetia, Noricum, Rhætia, south of the Danube—the remains of the Christian churches which were there when the frontier of the Roman empire was the Danube itself. And no doubt in other parts of Germany there were Christians also, but isolated, and in many cases infected with pagan superstitions or with the Arian heresy. But throughout the seventh century missionaries from the Franks, Irish, and Anglo-Saxons brought the faith of Christ to different parts of Germany, and, particularly in its southern half, undermined the power of paganism.

About the year 685 there arrived at Herbigopolis, now Würzburg on the Main, in Franconia, a band of mission-

<sup>1</sup> *Brev. Gest. P. R.*, n. 7, in vit. Con. Baronius, following an inferior MS., and thereby leading Pagi and others astray, makes Conon consecrate Constantine as Bishop of Antioch! Cf. Muratori, *Annal.*, ad an. 687.



aries, among whom were SS. Kilian and Colman, priests, and Totnan, a deacon. They were a division of that great company of missionaries who left Ireland in the century of the greatest glory of the Church in that country (the seventh), and overran the continent of Europe, spreading everywhere the hope-kindling faith of Christ. When the saint and his companions arrived in Franconia among the Eastern Franks, his biographer, who seems to have lived about the end of the ninth century, tells how Kilian was greatly struck by the beauty of the country and its inhabitants, but correspondingly saddened by the reflection that they were in the power of 'the old enemy.' "My brothers," said he, "you see how charming is this land, and how fair its people, in error though they are. If you think it well, let us do as we decided whilst at home! Let us go to Rome and visit the threshold (*limina*) of the Prince of the Apostles. Let us present ourselves before the Blessed Pope John; and then, with the advice and leave of the Apostolic See, let us return here and preach the faith." To this exhortation all agreed, and betook themselves to Rome to obtain the Pope's sanction that they might preach the Gospel with authority. Arrived in Rome, they found that John V., whom they had set out to see, was dead.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Dedit illi a Deo et S. P. Principe App. licentiam et potestatem prædicandi et docendi." Cf. his 'Life.' "Eamus Romam, et præsentemus nos obtutibus B. P. Johannis; et si Domini voluntas sit, ab Apostolica sede accepta licentia . . . prædicemus illis nomen D. N. J. Christi." The men who gave Europe its Christianity recognised that a 'mission' or leave was necessary before they could exercise the function of preaching. They knew they had to be *sent* by Our Lord through His vicar on earth. If *all* Christians who wished nowadays to preach the gospel to the heathen had first to obtain the sanction of the Pope, the scandals caused by the acts of so many so-called missionaries would be avoided. Two ancient lives of St. Kilian are printed ap. *Acta SS.*, 8 Jul., ii. p. 612 f. The first and shorter life, from which are the above quotations, dates from about the end of the ninth century; the second from the eleventh. Cf. Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, July 8.

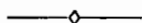
They were, however, most kindly received by the venerable Conon, who ordained Kilian bishop, without assigning him any particular See. Armed with the papal permission to preach and teach, back to Wurzburg returned this noble band, feeling strong in the mission that Christ's vicar had imparted to them. Great success attended their efforts, and the Duke of Franconia himself, Gosbert, was baptised. But when Geilana, whom Gosbert had taken to wife, though she was the widow of his deceased brother, learnt that Gosbert was preparing to dismiss her at the exhortation of the missionaries, she had them secretly slain in 689. But the work of conversion went steadily on under the son and successor of Gosbert, and in later times the descendants of Kilian's converts venerated his relics. For his biographer tells how his sacred remains were translated to an honourable place by the joint action of St. Boniface and Burchard, first bishop of Wurzburg, and at the command of Pope Zachary.

Death of  
Conon,  
687.

After a long illness, which was so severe as almost to prevent him from holding the usual episcopal ordinations—a trial which is also related to have befallen his predecessor John V.—Conon died and was buried in St. Peter's, September 21 (22 according to Jaffé), 687. The donation to the clergy, which, to the same amount as his predecessor, Conon had set aside for them, we shall see, in the life of his successor, they never got.

# ST. SERGIUS I.

A.D 687-701.



*Sources.*—A rather longer 'life' in the *L. P.* The exact details given therein clearly show a contemporary author. The various *Acts of the Councils*, and Héfélé, v. pp. 221-242 (Eng. trans.), for the Quinisext or Trullan Synod.

Bede, *H. E.*, l. v. ; Eddius, etc., for notices of Sergius' dealings with this country.

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EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	KINGS OF THE LOMBARDS.	EXARCH OF RAVENNA.
Justinian II., 685-695 (first time).	Perctarit, 672-688.	John Platyn, 687-702.
Leontius, 695-698.	Cunincpert, 688-700.	
Tiberius III. (Apsimar), 698-705.	Aripert II., 700-712.	

AGAIN we have to chronicle election troubles. Men there will ever be whom the hope of 'thirty pieces of silver' will lure on to sell their friends, their country and their God. And, on the other hand, the temptation to offer bribe is much intensified by the known willingness of the person to be gained over to accept it. The subsequent conduct of the exarch John Platyn will show that he was a man with an 'itching palm.' All this the archdeacon Pascal understood well. While Conon was lying on his death-bed, Pascal sent off to the exarch to

Disturbed election of Sergius I.

Double election of Theodore and Pascal.

promise him money, if he would secure his election as Conon's successor. Gold was bait enough for Platyn. Instructions were at once issued by him to the 'judges' he had appointed in Rome, to make order that Pascal should be the next Pope.<sup>1</sup> Through their efforts Pascal was accordingly elected by a certain section of the people. It would seem, however, that he was not the first candidate in the field. Whether Pascal's proceedings during Conon's lifetime had been discovered, and good men were anxious to thwart them, or simply because the party that had elected the archdeacon Theodore, before Conon's election, were faithful to him, and very wishful that he, now archpriest, should be Pope—at any rate, a party elected Theodore. From the fact that his party occupied the *interior* section of the Lateran palace, where were the Pope's private apartments, it may perchance be inferred that Theodore was first elected. Pascal held the 'exterior' portion<sup>2</sup> of the palace. To explain these terms 'interior and exterior,' we may cite the following from Duchesne (*L. P.*, i. 377):—The Lateran palace was divided into two groups of buildings. The one to the west occupied more or less the site of the modern palace; the one to the east, beginning at the façade of St. John Lateran, extended to the existing 'Sancta Sanctorum.' On the north this latter range of buildings projected beyond the former; and on the north façade of this more easterly group, towards its north-west corner, was the grand entrance staircase. Now Theodore had 'the interior portion,' *i.e.*, the left of the

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.* in vit. Conon. "Paschalis . . . scribit Joanni novo patricio et exarcho, promittens ei dationem si persona ejus ad pontificatum eligatur; qui statim mandat . . . suis judicibus, quos Romæ ordinavit, et direxit ad disponendam civitatem ut . . . (archidiaconus) eligatur."

<sup>2</sup> Partem exteriorem "ab oratorio S. Silvestri et basilica domus Juliæ, quæ super campum respicit, occupat" Paschalis. *L. P.*

grand staircase; Pascal, the right of the staircase, *i.e.*, the site of the modern palace, embracing the oratory of St. Silvester and the Julian basilica, and which abutted on the nave of the great Lateran basilica.

To put an end to the deadlock produced by the obstinate refusal of both candidates to yield their pretensions, the least factious, and consequently more numerous<sup>1</sup> and sounder portion of the community, met together in the palace of the emperors (*ad sacrum palatium*), and, after much discussion, chose a third candidate in the person of the priest Sergius. They first took him into an oratory (that of St. Cesarius M.) in the imperial palace, and then by force established him in the Lateran palace. The archpriest Theodore at once submitted and did homage to Sergius; and Pascal was made to do likewise.<sup>2</sup> No sooner, however, was Pascal left to himself than he spared no promises of money to induce the exarch to come quickly and secretly to Rome. Quite unexpectedly, accordingly, Platyn arrived in Rome. So secretly did he come, that the usual procession, with crosses and standards, which went out of the city some distance to greet the exarch on his coming to Rome, was only able in this instance to get just outside the city by the time Platyn was upon it. And though he did not feel himself strong enough to set at naught the wishes of the people at large in their choice of Sergius, he insisted that the 100 lbs. of gold (about £4200), promised him by Pascal, should be paid by Sergius. It was to no purpose that Sergius declared that he had given no such undertaking, and that he had not the money to give. The exarch would have his bond. As a guarantee that the sum should be

Election<sup>1</sup> of  
Sergius.

<sup>1</sup> "Primates iudicum, exercitus, cleri plurima pars, atquæ civium multitudo." *L. P.*

<sup>2</sup> "Theodorus . . . . se humiliavit . . . . (Sergium) salutavit; (Paschalis) coactus . . . . volens nolens S." (salutavit), *ib.*

ultimately paid, Sergius offered to pledge the 'canthari' (*candelabra*) and crowns which for ages had hung before the altar and confession of St. Peter. In vain, Platyn would have his pound of flesh, no more or no less. And not until the money<sup>1</sup> was actually raised and paid over would the ex-arch permit Sergius to be consecrated (December 15, 687).

Miserable  
end of  
Pascal,  
692.

Not long after, for certain magical practices,<sup>2</sup> Pascal was deprived of his archdeaconate, and shut up in a monastery, where he died impenitent in 692 or 693.

Character  
of Sergius.

The priest thus picked out like a 'brand from the burning to rule the Church of God was a Syrian of Antioch. His father, Tiberius, had apparently emigrated to Sicily, perhaps in consequence of the Mohammedan incursions; and Sergius was educated at Palermo. Coming to Rome he was received into the ranks of the Roman clergy by Pope Adeodatus. And, because he was zealous and clever at music, he was handed over<sup>3</sup> for training to the 'head cantor' (*priori cantorum*). At that time he must have reached man's estate, as he became Pope about sixteen years after his arrival from Sicily. And though the 'schola cantorum' was at this period reserved for youths in the *minor orders*, it is supposed that the phrase in the *Book of the Popes* just quoted means that Sergius was attached to that school. He was at length ordained priest (June 27, 683) by Leo II., for the 'title' (Church) of St. Susanna 'ad duas domos' on the Quirinal. Whilst a priest he was distinguished by his love for saying Mass in the catacombs.<sup>4</sup> For in this century pious interest

<sup>1</sup> *L. P.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* "Paschalis ab officio archidiaconatus pro aliquibus incantationibus . . . privatus est; . . . post quinquennium impenitens defunctus est."

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* "Priori cantorum pro doctrina est traditus." *Cf.* ep. 41 Paul. I (ed. Gundlach).

<sup>4</sup> This paragraph from the *L. P.*

in these cemeteries of the early Christians seems to have fallen off considerably.

Passing over his reception (688) of St. Julian's second apology on the orthodoxy of certain phrases used by the fourteenth council of Toledo,<sup>1</sup> we will review in succession his relations with this country. Some time in the latter half of 688, Cædwalla, 'the strong-armed,' the powerful king of the West Saxons, "quitted his rule for the sake of Our Lord and His everlasting kingdom," and went, the first of our royal pilgrims, to the successors of St. Peter, to Rome to be baptised 'in the church of the apostles.' His conversion was one of the results of the indefatigable exertions of St. Wilfrid. Arrived in Rome, he was baptised by the Pope, taking, 'at Father Sergius' word,' the name of Peter (April 10, 689). And while 'still in his white garments,' he fell ill and died (April 20); thereby having had fulfilled for him his wish of immediately passing to the joys of heaven in his baptismal innocence. We can only imagine the interest and joy with which Sergius looked on this barbarian prince, whom religion had changed so rapidly from a revengeful warrior into a gentle and tender follower of the crucified Lamb of God. The Pope ordered the remains of the royal convert to be buried in St. Peter's, and an epitaph to be placed over his tomb, so that men might be induced to be imitators of his virtue.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *V. sup.*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *V. Bede, H. E.*, v. 7; *A.-Sax. Chron.*, ad an. 688; and *De Gest. Lang.*, vi. 15. From the concluding part of the epitaph, given by Bede, it is clear that the date of Cædwalla's death was 689, and not 688, as the *A.-Sax. Chron.*, and others who have followed it, would make out. "Hic depositus est Ceadwalla . . . . indictione secunda, . . . . pontificante . . . . Sergio . . . . anno secundo." A line or two of the epitaph runs:

"Cædual armipotens, liquit amore Dei,  
Ut Petrum, sedemque Petri rex cerneret hospes . . . .  
Barbaricam rabiem, nomen et inde suum

(ii) St.  
Wilfrid  
and Brith-  
wald.

Sergius was one of the many popes who favoured St. Wilfrid<sup>1</sup> in his long struggle against the 'Celtic customs.' And he supported him, not only by ordering that his dignity should be restored to him, but by approving of Brithwald as St. Theodore's successor in the See of Canterbury. For Brithwald showed himself a friend to Wilfrid. In the new archbishop's behalf the Pope wrote two letters.<sup>2</sup> The first was addressed to "Ethelred, Alfrid and Aldulf, kings of the Angles." In it Sergius bids them rejoice that the first of the apostles and the most firm rock of the faith, Peter, is mindful of them, and bids them gladly receive Bishop Brithwald, the primate of all Britain, bestowed on them by his (St. Peter's) authority. In his letter to all the bishops of Britain, Sergius rejoices in the good repute in which they are, informs them that Brithwald has, on account of his merits, obtained from him,<sup>3</sup> that is from Blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, the primacy of all the churches of Britain, and exhorts them to receive

Conversus convertit ovans, Petrumque vocari  
Sergius antistes jussit," etc.

The epitaph is given best in Mai's *Classic. Auctor.*, v. p. 404. Though the first to accomplish this pilgrimage, Cædwalla was not the first of our kings to form the intention of making it. We read in Bede (*H. E.*, iv. c. 4) that Oswy "bore so great affection to the Roman and apostolical institution, that, had he recovered of his sickness, he had designed to go to Rome, and there to end his days at the holy places."

<sup>1</sup> *Sup.*, p. 26 f.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Malmesb., *De Gest. Pont.*, l. i., ed. Migne, pp. 1467-8. "Exsultate quod . . . egregius ac primus app. Petrus fidei firmissima petra, . . . nominum quoque vestrarum reminiscitur. . . . Et vos, igitur, ejus auctoritate collatum vobis antistitem Brithwaldum Cantiae sedis praesulem totiusque Britanniae primum pontificem . . . mente devota suscipite."

<sup>3</sup> Hence the *L. P.* says simply: "Hic ordinavit Berectualdum Britanniae archiepiscopum"; where by "ordinavit archiepiscopum" the conferring of the primacy must be understood, as in the text.



