

POPE INNOCENT I

The framework of this study is formed by Innocent's letters. These, though presenting few personal traits and no biographical details, are yet sufficiently varied to enable the student to gauge from them the relationship of the church of Rome to the rest of Christendom and to assess Innocent's handling of the various crises with which he was confronted.

His first letter was addressed to Anysius of Thessalonica. The ties between Anysius and Rome were unusually close, since he had demonstrated in the past, as he was to do again under Innocent, that he was willing to look to Rome for guidance on all major matters. This willingness on Anysius' part led Innocent to develop the concept of the *papal vicariate* which he was able to impose, more or less successfully, on Rufus, Anysius' successor. It is a development which was to prove fruitful for Innocent's successors in other areas of the West.

In conformity with his policy of encouraging the Western churches to look upon Rome as the source of discipline and doctrine, Innocent was anxious to encourage the habit of consultation of Rome in cases of doubt or disagreement. He therefore replied fully to such enquiries and requested that his replies be given the widest circulation. His letters to Victricius of Rouen, to Exsuperius of Toulouse, to the Macedonian and Dacian bishops and to Decentius of Gubbio are thus most instructive as to current Roman practice in liturgy and church order. They are also found in a very large number of canon collections, which suggests that Innocent's aim was successful.

The African church was, outside Italy, by far the most highly organised of any diocese in the West. As a result, the Church there did not find it necessary to call on Rome in all cases of difficulty. For example, the decisive act in the Donatist controversy, in 411, was played out without Roman participation. But matters of faith were different. Such questions could not, of their very nature, be settled by one part of Christendom acting alone. When, therefore, Pelagius' opinions seemed to be gaining ground in the East, the Africans condemned them unequivocally and reported their decision to Innocent, asking him to add his authority to theirs. Innocent chose to regard their letters as a consultation, and replied confirming the stand they had taken. The Africans were thus put in a subordinate position, to which they could scarcely object without harming their campaign against Pelagius. But that they by no means accorded to Rome authority to intervene in African affairs or to dictate to them on matters of faith, is amply shown by the experience of Zosimus and Boniface after Innocent's death.

The Eastern church had never accepted Roman primacy in a jurisdictional sense. Rome's help had, nevertheless, been called upon repeatedly in the previous century by one side or another in times of conflict. So when John Chrysostom was exiled, his supporters besought Innocent's aid. Rome's long-standing friendship with Alexandria prevented him from taking sides initially, and he called instead for a council of both East and West to examine the issues at stake, a council at which his representatives would play a leading part. But the government of Arcadius had already committed itself to persecution of the Johannites, and refused even to consider Innocent's request. The latter had no option, therefore, but to declare for John's cause, and after John's death in 407 to insist on his recognition in the liturgy as rightful bishop of Constantinople.

Innocent's firmness and patience were rewarded when Alexander of Antioch acceded to the Roman demand in 413, but Atticus and Cyril still remained out of communion, perhaps even after Innocent's own death in 417.

The pre-eminence enjoyed by the Roman church throughout the West was naturally reflected in its wealth and power in the City. The endowment of its numerous basilicas as well as the number and organisation of its clergy are sufficient testimony to this. Further, the social position of the bishop was given a powerful boost when in Innocent's generation the resistance of the pagan aristocracy collapsed and its members found their way into the Church. Innocent's role during the sieges of Rome by Alaric and his membership of the Senate's embassy to Ravenna foreshadow the part played by Leo before Attila.

Again and again we are led to compare Innocent with Leo as we watch him at work. But Innocent recognised that only time could bring to completion the hierarchic structure of church government under Rome's headship, the foundations of which he was so carefully laying. Zosimus had not this insight, and consequently met opposition to his decisions on all sides: in Gaul, in Africa, even among his own clergy. Boniface, though a man in Innocent's mould, found it necessary to devote his energies during his three year reign to repairing the damage caused by the Eulalian schism, and no advance on Innocent's achievement was possible.

Innocent's letters are thus capable of throwing more light than might at first be supposed, both on the state of the Church in the early fifth century and on the capabilities of the man himself. One task remains, however, to which this study offers only a preliminary contribution: the establishment of a definitive text of the letters.

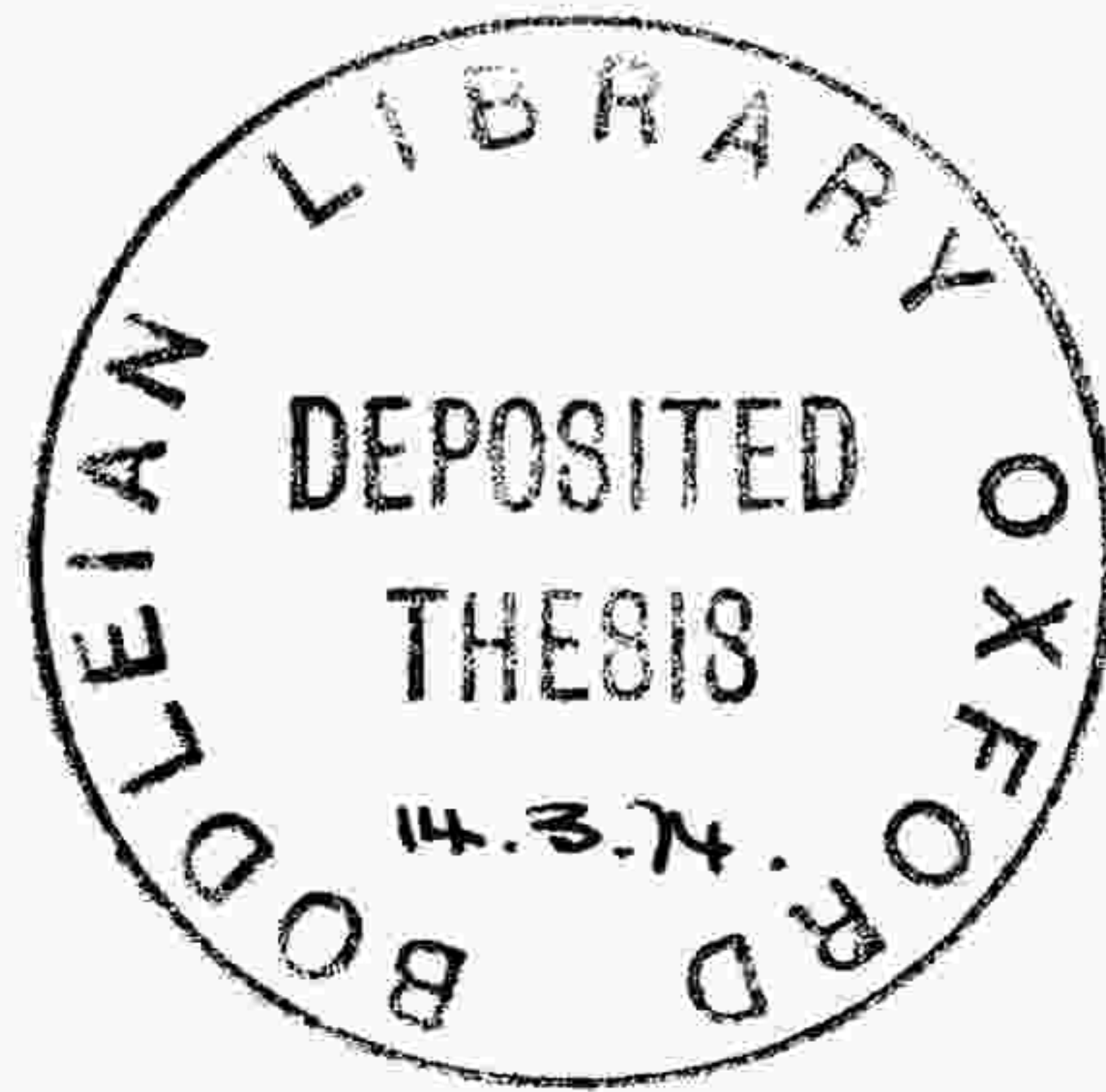
Chapter II sets out the basis and the limitations of Coustant's text as reprinted in Migne, P.L. XX, and describes virtually all the manuscripts of any importance which contain Innocent's letters. The Latin of all the papal letters of this period abounds in such peculiarities, not to say, apparent impossibilities, that a critical text might well produce some surprises.

POPE INNOCENT I

The Church of Rome in the early Fifth Century

A Thesis

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FOREWORD

In the case of a thesis as long in preparation as this the debts of gratitude must be many. My attention was first drawn to Innocent by the late Professor A.H.M. Jones, and the idea thus sown given form by another scholar also unhappily no longer with us, Dr. F.L. Cross. Practical advice and encouragement were offered at the beginning by my former tutors, Mr. G.E.M. de Ste Croix and Mr. C.E. Stevens, and by Mr. P.R.L. Brown. Dr. Henry Chadwick guided as Supervisor the production of the first chapter to appear on paper. My greatest debt, however, is to Professor W.H.C. Friend, who has industriously supervised the writing of most of the thesis during the past three years. His boundless energy and infectious enthusiasm for his subject were a welcome stimulus during the dry periods which all research entails. Finally, I should like to pay tribute to those back-room workers upon whose efforts all scholarship depends yet who receive so little recognition: the staff of the University library. It is no exaggeration to say that without their cheerful assistance, given beyond the call of duty, this work could scarcely have been written.

The first quarter of the fifth century was eventful for both State and Church in the Western Empire. It was a period which saw the northern frontier decisively breached by the Germanic hordes and their settlement, in numbers too great for the imperial government to control, on vast tracts of Gaul and Spain. A period in which West and East, whose union had been the lasting achievement of the generals of the Roman Republic, finally reasserted their separate identity and drifted apart. A period when invasion and rebellion continually stared the government in the face, and when the Empire's citadel was captured and pillaged. Yet as the western provinces of the Empire passed through the death-throes, the Church there went from strength to strength, winning fresh converts, consolidating its organisation, developing its theology. In particular, the church of Rome took decisive steps towards that absolute headship of Western Christianity which we call the Papacy.

Innocent was Roman bishop during most of this time. What part did he play in this process? What was his individual contribution to the growth of the power and influence of his church? Certainly he was highly regarded in antiquity. Theodoret calls him "distinguished for shrewdness and intelligence",¹ a judgment which, coming from an Easterner, must testify to his reputation in the Church as a whole. And this judgment has been echoed by modern scholars. TILLEMONT called him a man of "exceptional talent".² For BARMBY he was "eminently the man to enter into, and make the most of, the position he was called upon to occupy..... able and resolute."³ LANGEN speaks of his "diligence", his "force of character", and the "excellence of his intellectual abilities",⁴ AMANN of his "sagacity and steadfastness of purpose".⁵ BÖHMER drew attention to the remarkable "skill and tenacity" with which he pursued the goal he inherited from his predecessors.⁶ SEPPELT noted the tremendous self-assurance and the far-sightedness which characterise

his actions.⁷ CASPAR portrayed him as a "marble figure, firm, clear and cold".⁸

This unanimous chorus of praise of Innocent's ability makes desirable a close study of his reign, and in particular of his letters which form the bulk of the evidence upon which we must base our judgment. Yet there have been few such. There is the thesis of GEBHARDT, now over seventy years old,⁹ and the monumental work of CASPAR.¹⁰ This paucity is due to the fact that neither the writers of general Church histories nor the contributors to dictionaries and encyclopaedias have had the space to examine the text of these letters in detail. Moreover, ecclesiastical history is studied for a variety of reasons. The aim of the canon lawyer or the theologian is not necessarily that of the historian. Their interest is in what is valid today, whether for the institution or for the doctrine of the Church. And this period of history has in the past served as an armoury for confessional polemic. By contrast, the historian is concerned, much more than they, to view the past, so far as he can, through the eyes of contemporaries of his period of study. His should be, therefore, the greater appreciation of the development of ideas and institutions. This has been my purpose in this study. I have attempted to utilize the advances made in the last two generations: for example, the studies of the style and text of papal letters made by SILVA-TAROUCA, supplemented by my own collation of a number of Vatican manuscripts; and the work of A.H.M. JONES and E. STEIN on the secular history of the Late Empire. It has been a fascinating and, I hope, a worthwhile task to trace the thoughts and steps of a man whose influence on the history of his own and subsequent times was so profound.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- 1) H.E. V.23.12:
- 2) Memoires t.X. 6 : Durant sa vie il témoigne que ses mérites extraordinaires le rendoient vénérable.
- 3) In Smith and Wace. DCB III.242-9.
- 4) Geschichte der römischen Kirche p.665: Die lange Dauer seiner Thätigkeit, die Energie seines Characters und die Tüchtigkeit seiner geistigen Anlagen befähigte ihn, auf der Bahn, welche seine Vorgänger.....betreten, mächtige Fortschritte zu machen.
- 5) DTC VII (1923). 1940-50: la prudence et la fermeté de ce pontife.
- 6) Hauck's R-E³ IX (1901).108: ungewöhnlich ist das Geschick und die Zähigkeit, mit der Innocenz ihn (den Anspruch auf die Leitung der Gesamtkirche) 15 Jahre hindurch.....zur Geltung zu bringen gesucht.....hat.
- 7) Geschichte der Päpste I p.135: diesem von hohem Selbstbewusstsein erfüllten tatkräftigen und weitblickenden Mann.
- 8) Geschichte des Papsttums I p.343: vielmehr wie ein Marmorbild: fest, klar - und kalt, so mutet seine Erscheinung den historischen Betrachter an.
- 9) Die Bedeutung Innocenz' I. für die Entwicklung der päpstlichen Gewalt, Diss. Leipzig 1901.
- 10) Op.cit.pp.296-343.

THE CHURCH IN ROME

On his election in December 402,¹ Innocent took over the government of a church rich both in material possessions and in the number and organisation of its clergy. Indeed, already by the middle of the third century the Roman church had been displaying the qualities of administration that were to characterise its later development. According to the Liberian catalogue, a mid-4th century document of Roman origin,² bishop Fabian (236-250) gave his seven deacons each responsibility for a part of the city,³ a territorial division which was continued by his successors.⁴ The Liber Pontificalis adds to this notice that seven sub-deacons were also created by Fabian.⁵ However this may be, Fabian's successor Cornelius was able to boast that the Roman church possessed 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 sub-deacons, 42 acolytes and 52 exorcists, readers and door-keepers.⁶ The list forms an impressive count of a clerical body, organised apparently into five grades,⁷ serving a catholic Christian community of perhaps 30-50,000.⁸ That community was put to a severe test in 250, when its bishop, Fabian, lost his life in the Decian persecution, but its leadership remained unimpaired. The presbyterate assumed control, and communicated with other Christian communities in the name of the Roman church.⁹ Cyprian exaggerated, of course, when he declared that Decius feared the elevation of an imperial usurper less than the election of a Roman bishop, but his testimony to the solidarity and courage of that church during the persecution is worthy of credence.¹⁰ During the following fifty years of peace which saw a rapid growth in the Church everywhere,¹¹ the Roman presbyterate received its own measure of organisation. Bishop Dionysius (259-268) divided the presbyters on a regional basis, assigning them severally to the places of worship in and around the city, including the

cemeteries where the martyrs of the Roman church were buried and received honour on their anniversaries.¹² Marcellus (309-9) is credited by the *Liber Pontificalis* with the organisation of 25 churches within Rome *quasi dioeceses*, on account of the large number of pagan converts.¹³ If a genuine historical tradition lies behind this statement, it may be that from this time there begins the practice of carrying the consecrated elements of the Eucharist from the bishop's church to the other churches to be dispensed there to the faithful by the resident presbyters,¹⁴ which was a further stage in the gradual decentralisation of the bishop's liturgical functions to the presbyterate.¹⁵

The accession of Constantine to supreme power in the West produced a profound and permanent change in the Church's relationship with the rest of society. After being for so long a minority, at best tolerated by the State, and occasionally persecuted, Christians now became a favoured community, and their leaders found themselves courted by the Emperor. The Roman church in particular benefited handsomely from his munificence, receiving gifts that were to give a powerful boost to her nascent claim to headship of the whole Christian world. No less than six basilicas were placed at the service of the church, each magnificently ornamented and richly endowed with the revenue of estates for the upkeep of their worship.¹⁶ The earliest Roman Christians had worshipped in private houses. In the course of the third century, when the new religion began to permeate the upper classes, wealthy Christians would sometimes make over their houses by gift or testament to the Church for its sole use.¹⁷ Each of these buildings retained, however, the name of its former owner, for they continued to be known as the *titulus* of whoever had gifted it.¹⁸ These palatial residences were large enough to permit the assembly of a local congregation in the main hall, while the adjacent rooms would provide accommodation for the resident priests and lower clergy. The

number of these *tituli* at the beginning of the 4th century can be roughly estimated from the statement of Optatus, that when Donatus, the leader of the rigorist party in Africa, went to Rome to minister to his adherents there, he found the catholic community in possession of over 40 basilicas.¹⁹ If Optatus is excluding the Constantinian and post-Constantinian foundations from his estimate, he may well be reckoning the 20 or so catacomb shrines into the total, and the number of *tituli* would thus be about 20.²⁰ By the beginning of the 5th century the number had risen to 25, and at that figure, it remained, for no new *tituli* were consecrated after that date.²¹

Constantine's foundations were specifically designed as places of worship, and the Church thus for the first time acquired edifices constructed with an opulence worthy of the pagan temples.²² Their example caused the Roman church to turn its attention to the existing *tituli* with a view to adapting them to serve the new role of Christianity as the religion of the State. The fourth and early fifth centuries witness the transformation of most of the old house-churches, by the building of grand new basilicas either in place of or alongside them.²³ Sometimes the bishop would take the initiative in building,²⁴ sometimes a private individual would bear the cost of the new construction.²⁵

The rapidly increasing numbers of the faithful required more clergy to serve them, and by the end of the fourth century they numbered about 70.²⁶ But the college of deacons remained at seven, the number which had become traditional, hallowed as it was by the New Testament account of the original foundation of the office in Jerusalem.²⁷ The stabilisation of the diaconate at this figure was a peculiarity of the Roman church. Elsewhere the number grew in proportion to the work of charity among the poor and needy of the community.²⁸ In Alexandria, for example, at the beginning of the fourth century there were 56 deacons.²⁹ Yet in spite of this the Roman bishops continue to describe the clerical career as

proceeding from exorcist to acolyte to sub-deacon to deacon to presbyter, as though each grade were a necessary preliminary to the next. Now this appears to run counter to the practice of the Roman church, in which there were 70 priests but only 7 deacons.³⁰ Scholars have therefore been exercised to discover how the two systems can be reconciled. Hamack's theory was that the majority of acolytes went straight into the priesthood without actually becoming deacons; only a select number became sub-deacons and thus deacons. For most Roman clerics, therefore, the sub-diaconate and diaconate was a transitional, purely nominal office, which they held for only a short time.³¹ This theory, however, gives rise to the obvious objections that this concept of a title without office is nowhere to be found in the ancient sources. One should probably explain the larger number of acolytes and priests in Cornelius' letter simply by the fact that most clergy finished their career in one or other of these grades.³²

It is a fact, however, that the fixed number of the diaconate gave it considerable power. We noted above how, after the martyrdom of bishop Fabian the priests are found acting as a body representing the Roman church. Yet at the outset of the interregnum it was not they but the deacons who took over the leadership of the church. This is implied in the greeting at the conclusion of the letter to the church of Carthage, written in that year: *salutant vos fratres qui sunt in vinculis et presbyteri et tota ecclesia.*³³ The deacons must, therefore, be the authors of the letter. Only later do the priests assert themselves. Such action on the deacons' part is fully explicable, since we must regard them as directly subordinate to the bishop, and therefore a privileged group sharing with him the administration of the church.³⁴ They would therefore be in an excellent position to act in the bishop's stead in a crisis like that of 250.³⁵

Whether the creation of such a powerful group lay behind Fabian's decision to divide the city into 7 regions each under the control of a deacon, is impossible to say. But the fact is undoubted that from his time the diaconate begins to play an increasingly important role among the clergy at Rome. It may be no coincidence that along with Sixtus II the imperial government executed all seven of his deacons,³⁶ for they and not the priests formed the administrative core of the church. Clearly, there was to be a great temptation for the deacons to over-reach themselves, and the fourth century gives us several examples of this happening. We hear of deacons attempting to usurp the liturgical functions of the presbyterate, and two synods in the early part of the century thought it necessary to formulate canons against the practice. At Arles in 314 it was ruled that no deacon was to presume to offer the eucharistic sacrifice.³⁷ Likewise it was reported to the synod of Nicaea that in several churches the deacons distributed the sacred elements to the priests, and even received the elements themselves before the bishop. This, declared the bishops, must cease: deacons are to remain within the limits of their office, recognising that they are servants of the bishop, and inferior in rank to the priests.³⁸ Possibly, therefore, it was not only in Rome that the diaconate was liable to overstep the bounds of its functions, but that Rome was the prime example of this tendency is shown by the explicit reference to Roman deacons in the 18th canon of the Arles synod: the Roman deacons must not arrogate so much to themselves, but reserve honour to the priests, so as to do nothing of the kind without their knowledge.³⁹ The precise reference of this canon is uncertain, but the growing power of the diaconate is clearly illustrated.

The scattering of the presbyters among the *tituli* of the city will have weakened their cohesiveness, while the importance and responsibility

of the deacons grew apace with the enormous increase in the income and property of the Roman church, of which they were stewards. The close proximity of each of them, and especially of their chief, the archdeacon,⁴⁰ to the bishop, gave them great influence over the election to the episcopal throne. This explains why many of the 4th and 5th century bishops were elected directly from the diaconate.⁴¹ Their influence was naturally unpopular in some quarters, and their arrogance attracted severe criticism. Jerome insisted that deacons must accord greater honour to the priesthood, for priests are equal to the bishop in respect of their ministry (*eiusdem meriti, eiusdem et sacerdotii*). Such indeed is the testimony of Scripture and the custom of the Church. Roman practice cannot be allowed to stand against it, for *orbis maior est urbe*. The small number of Roman deacons compared to the number of priests breeds arrogance among them : *diaconos paucitas honorabiles, presbyteros contemptibiles facit.*⁴² Of course, Jerome had reasons to feel personal resentment against the Roman diaconate, for they had been largely instrumental in preventing his election as Damasus' successor, in favour of their own nominee Siricius.⁴³ But the same criticism comes also from the anonymous author of the *Liber Quaestionum Novi et Veteris Testamenti*.⁴⁴ Someone appears to have argued - perhaps in a pamphlet⁴⁵ - in favour of a measure of equality between deacons and priests. The detail of his argument escapes us, but the author of the *Liber Quaestionum* is concerned to rebut vigorously the suggestion that deacons are anything more than servants of the priesthood.⁴⁶ It is clear that, in Rome at any rate, the diaconate had come to wield power and influence considerably greater than their nominal status warranted. Their college has been compared, not unjustly, to the Senate of Republican Rome.⁴⁷

The Roman Church had been able, then, to develop its organisation to meet both the increased demand for the celebration of the liturgy

and the instruction of the faithful, and the need for a tight administrative control over its material possessions. That those possessions multiplied many times in the century following Constantine's victory over Maxentius is attested both by the *Liber Pontificalis* and by the archaeological remains.⁴⁸ For the imperial favour in which the Church basked after 312 gave it opportunity for the first time to proselytize among the highest class of society - the senatorial aristocracy. The Spanish poet Prudentius represents the senatorial order hastening en masse to Christian baptism at the exhortation of the victorious Theodosius.⁴⁹ Literally, of course, the picture is false. The conversion of the aristocracy could never have been produced by an imperial edict. But the point it makes is correct. For with the defeat of Eugenius and the suicide of Flavianus the last champions of paganism had gone. Nothing further could be gained by holding out.⁵⁰ The descendants of Annius, the Probi, Paulini Bassi, the Gracchi were the most notable houses to follow the example of Annius Anicius, traditionally the first noble to embrace Christianity.⁵¹

It is the women of these families who play the leading role in the conversion process. Annius Bassus married a daughter of Anicius and their son Anicius Auchenius Bassus becomes a Christian.⁵² Petronius Probinus marries a daughter of Anicius Paulinus *junior*, and their son, Sextus Petronius Probus, became the leader of the Christian aristocracy in Rome.⁵³ Similarly, Christian wives brought about the conversion of the Caeionii.⁵⁴ Their devotion to the new religion is well attested. Marcella, a rich widow, devoted herself to the Roman church soon after 340.⁵⁵ Faltonia Betita Proba wrote a Virgilian canto *de laudibus Christi* at about the same period.⁵⁶ That the womenfolk were capable of acting as a body is illustrated by their successful petition of Constantius to allow the return of Liberius.⁵⁷

When the wave of asceticism swept over the West in the last quarter of the 4th century, the women's acts of faith became more spectacular. After Probus' death his widow Anicia Faltonia Proba converted her house into a monastery for widows and virgins.⁵⁸ Paula, the young widow of Toxotius, did likewise in the East.⁵⁹ Melania the elder founded a monastery in Palestine, and on returning to Rome disposed of her remaining estates.⁶⁰ Her grand-daughter Melania and the latter's husband Pinianus sold off estates in Italy, Sicily, Africa, Britain and Spain for charitable purposes, property which brought in 120,000 solidi a year.⁶¹

How far the generous piety of Melania and her compatriots contributed to the material wealth of the Roman church is difficult to assess. One may assume that the *sancti et probati viri* who distributed the money resulting from the sale of her Italian estates included the Roman deacons.⁶² When the family arrived in Africa they found no such organisation on hand to assist them, and they had eventually to be advised by Augustine, Alypius and Aurelius against haphazard distribution to relieve immediate needs, but to use the money to endow the churches with buildings and lands.⁶³ The Roman deacons, we may be sure, will have acted on the same principle. The noble lady Vestina authorised the sale of property in her will for the construction of a richly ornamented basilica.⁶⁴ Apart from these examples, our literary sources are silent, but the building activity which archaeology has traced in most of the *tituli* during the 4th century implies a steady stream of such gifts and bequests.⁶⁵ Even in the reign of Damasus the wealth of the Roman church was proverbial. Ammianus sees it as the mainspring of the bloody rivalry between Damasus and Ursinus.⁶⁶ Praetextatus, the leader of and driving-force behind the senatorial group which formed the last bastion of paganism in Rome, is said to

have twitted Damasus on his wealth by declaring that he would embrace Christianity immediately if he could become bishop of Rome.⁶⁷

Of equal importance, however, for the power of the Roman church was the influence that the conversion of the aristocracy was able to exercise on its behalf in the highest circles. Once again we are left to conjecture the details, but it is clear that the representations of Innocent to Honorius regarding the ill-treatment of Chrysostom's supporters was backed up by the Christian ladies of Rome.⁶⁸ Similarly, the letter of Honorius to Theodosius requesting the withdrawal of the rescript placing the churches of Illyricum under the direction of Constantinople may have owed something to noble influence in high places.⁶⁹ The friendship of Melania and Pinianus with Serena is attested by the Vita of Melania, and they were able to secure through her influence an ordinance from Honorius enabling them to sell their estates.⁷⁰ There are two letters of Innocent which illustrate the intimacy between the aristocracy and the Roman bishop, but both are unfortunately too short to tell us more than that. Letter XV is addressed to Anicia Juliana, and praises her piety which is more illustrious even than her birth. The second, Letter XXXV, advises a Probus (probably the son of Sex. Petronius Probus, and consul in 406)⁷¹ on a question of church law, namely the status of a wife carried away by barbarians, who returns home to find her husband has given her up for dead and married again.

Rome had always, as the capital of the Empire, attracted to herself proponents of religions of every kind, among them the heretical and schismatic sects of Christianity.⁷² It might be expected, therefore, that Innocent would have to exercise constant vigilance to keep his church pure and undivided. Certainly Rome had its schismatic groups, Donatists had early formed a community there⁷³ and are attested under a bishop Claudian in the time of Damasus.⁷⁴ But Innocent seems to have

been little troubled by them. The Novatians, followers of the Roman presbyter Novatianus who had separated himself from the main body of the Roman church after the Decian persecution on the question of allowing the *lapsi* back into the church, had maintained their identity into the 5th century, especially in Rome, Constantinople and Asia Minor and Alexandria.⁷⁵ Elsewhere in the West, however, they seem to have died out.⁷⁶ Socrates, who knew the Novatians at first hand in Constantinople, tells us that Innocent "persecuted the Novatians and took away many churches from them".⁷⁷ From the *Liber Pontificalis* we learn that he "*multos Catafrigas invenit, quos exilio monasterii relegavit*".⁷⁸ If this statement is to be believed,⁷⁹ the author may have confused Cataphrygi with Novatians, since the two groups are often cited together.⁸⁰ Innocent mentions the Novatians several times in his correspondence, branding them as heretics, the harshness of whose discipline is to be rejected, but whose baptism is to be regarded as authentic.⁸¹ Nothing can be gathered, unfortunately, from these references as to the extent of the Novatians' following. The sect seems, however, to have largely disappeared in both East and West in the course of the 5th century.⁸² Apart from the Novatians, only the Photinians, the followers of Photinus of Simium,⁸³ claimed Innocent's attention. The *defensores* of the Roman church expelled some itinerant preachers of this persuasion from the city, and Innocent saw fit to write to Laurentius bishop of Siena forewarning him against their arrival there.⁸⁴

The defeat of Eugenius and Flavianus' suicide involved the disintegration of the pagan party that during the previous twenty years had striven to maintain the older forms of religious observance alongside Christianity.⁸⁵ After 395 such an attitude had no future and the pagan families gradually conformed to the official religion with greater or less conviction. The process, of course, had its effect

upon the Church. In particular the traditions surrounding the concept of *Roma aeterna* and the place of the imperial city in history now found their way into Christian thought.⁸⁶ Prudentius mirrors this change in attitude perfectly. For him Rome's Christian present is not a break with the pagan past but continuous with it; the Roman who renounces paganism for the new faith is not betraying his inheritance - rather he is honouring it, by his willingness to discard the inferior for the better when it is offered.⁸⁷ Symbolic, too, of the change this process wrought upon the Roman church can be seen in the position occupied by Innocent within the city during the crises of 409-10, when Roman society found itself thrown back upon its own resources.

During the first siege of the city by Alaric and his Goths in 408, a number of refugees who had arrived from the Etruscan town of Narnia reported that the Goths had been put to flight by thunder and lightning from heaven, consequent upon prayers and sacrifices being offered to the ancestral gods. This added fuel to the charge being made by many pagans, that the ills of the present ~~time~~ were due to neglect of the gods, and led to a demand that sacrifices should be performed in Rome. The urban prefect, Gabinius Pompeianus, is said to have consulted Innocent on the question whether this demand should be met. According to Zosimus, our only authority for this incident, Innocent agreed to close his eyes to a celebration of the pagan rites in private. He refused, however, to give his consent to any public sacrifice, so firmly in fact that no one dared press the matter further.⁸⁸ The historicity of this account has been impugned by some scholars,⁸⁹ and it undoubtedly comes from a non-Christian source. However, if there is any truth in the story, the significant feature is that Innocent was approached by the prefect of the city, and a pagan at that,⁹⁰ as to how the city should fulfil its religious obligations. Such an action would have been inconceivable twenty years before. The bishop has now become the city's spiritual head.

Consonant with this new position occupied by the Christian bishop in Roman society, Innocent found himself asked to accompany a senatorial delegation to the court at Ravenna, when Alaric again encircled the city and renewed his demands. The purpose of the mission was to attempt to persuade Honorius to make the necessary concessions, and so free the city from the horrors of another siege. In the eyes of the emperor's principal advisers, however, Rome was expendable, and negotiations with Alaric were deliberately prolonged in the expectation of help from the East. In the face of this procrastination Alaric grew impatient, and when his brother and enemy Sarus made a sudden attack on his forces, he determined to force the issue to a head. Marching straight on Rome he secured a speedy entry through treachery, and for three days the imperial city was pillaged for its treasures of silver and gold (August 23-26, 410.)⁹¹

Innocent was therefore away from the city during its final trial, and his absence was treated by contemporary writers in widely differing ways. For Orosius, his absence was providential. The Lord did not wish him to share the fate of the sinful city, and so removed him, like Lot from Sodom, to a safe distance.⁹² Jerome, however, lamenting the fall of the city, finds consolation in the fact that Anastasius, Innocent's predecessor, was spared the shameful experience⁹³ - a statement which cannot fail to cast an implied slur upon Innocent. Jerome, it appears, never forgave Innocent for refusing to continue Anastasius' policy of wholehearted support for Jerome's campaign against Origenism.⁹⁴ Orosius' words, on the other hand, have an air of apologetic about them. It may be that the Christian nobility who had made their way to Africa or the East after 410⁹⁵ spread criticism of Innocent's role during the crisis and particularly of his absence during the sack⁹⁶ - though this would have come ill from those who had

themselves abandoned the city. What Innocent accomplished during his stay in Ravenna is unknown, and we cannot assume that he personally possessed no influence with the government.⁹⁷ The attack by Sarus was unexpected, and without it Alaric's march on Rome might have been prevented. It is certain, however, that Innocent did not allow the disaster to affect the position of his church within the city or within the Church as a whole. His correspondence makes only the most general reference to the troubles of the empire.⁹⁸ After 410, as before, the discipline of the Church is his prime concern, the good order and organisation of an institution that must always remain, so far as possible, independent of and untouched by the vicissitudes of the secular power.

It is possible that Innocent was present in Ravenna on at least one other occasion. In a letter to Marcianus of Naissus he speaks of himself as resident in Ravenna "*propter necessitates populi Romani creberrimas*".⁹⁹ This has usually been taken to refer to the Gothic troubles of 410,¹⁰⁰ but modern scholars have usually failed to notice the difficulty created by this assumption. Tillemont long ago pointed out that the letter to Marcianus speaks also of a previous letter to Rufus of Thessalonica; and if, as seems certain, Letter XIII is to be regarded as a reply to Rufus' intimation of his consecration, this letter must precede the one to Marcianus. Now Letter XIII is dated 27 June 412. Therefore, either we emend this date, or Innocent must have been at Ravenna on some occasion subsequent to 412. Tillemont opted for the first, altering Honorio IX Theodosio V to Honorio VII Theodosio II, i.e. 407.¹⁰¹ Coustant rightly regarded this as an arbitrary change, and suggested a visit by Innocent to the imperial court in 413, during the crisis created by Heraclian's blockade of Rome's grain supply.¹⁰² The only good manuscript of Letter XIII in fact reads Honorio X Theodosio V, but this suggests a date of 412 rather than 407. The only way to defend the ascription of Letter XVI

to 410 is therefore to impugn the date of Letter XIII as a whole, regarding it as an erroneous scribal addition. Of the letters of the *Collectio Thessalonicensis*,¹⁰³ of which this letter forms part, some are dated, others not, and Damasus' and Siricius' letters and Innocent's own earlier letter to Acholius are among the undated ones.¹⁰⁴ Since the letters all come from originals, one would expect all to be dated, but the scribe who prepared the dossier for Theodore of Echinum in 531 might possibly have omitted them as irrelevant to the case. The occasional date may therefore have been added by a later transcriber of the proceedings of the Roman synod. All this adds up to nothing like a convincing argument, and it would be simpler to accept Coustant's hypothesis of an otherwise unattested visit to Ravenna, possibly in 413.¹⁰⁵

As a bishop, Innocent stands very much in the tradition of the Roman church at this period. That church produced no theologians and little scholarship,¹⁰⁶ but by contrast a succession of extremely capable administrators and ecclesiastical statesmen graced the bishop's chair. This was the inevitable result of the tremendously cohesive unity of the Roman clergy, which we have traced at least as far back as the middle of the third century, and in particular of the diaconate. No outsider could hope to become bishop of Rome. Even Jerome, for all his talents and close as he was to Damasus, found himself shut out of the succession by the system. A continuity was thereby assured which was able to build steadily on what had gone before, building up with unswerving consciousness of purpose the right of the *ecclesia Romana* to address the whole Church militant as its head. Innocent's part in this process will be the subject of investigation in the following chapters.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

The best insight into the personality and policies of an ancient statesman is usually afforded by his own words. They may be contemporary with the situation out of which they spring or reflexions composed long afterwards; they may be informal, or official. They may be written or spoken. All may be of enormous value in assessing the aims and the methods with which the man directed policy while in office, and the greater the variety of such remains as have come down to us the greater our understanding is likely to be. In the case of Innocent I these remains are of a single type - letters, almost all of them official,¹ containing information or requests from the Roman see to other clerics, usually bishops. There are thus no sermons, for example, such as the valuable ones of Leo, and no theological works like those of Gregory the Great; but the letters are numerous (36 in all)² and they are usually called forth in response to some controversy or crisis in the Church. Innocent is the first Roman bishop, therefore, for whom we possess this kind of direct evidence in sufficient abundance to enable us to trace the development of a policy over a long period.³

However, the corpus of Innocent's letters, as with that of all those of the fourth and fifth century popes is not offered to us in a simple form. There is no manuscript or group of manuscripts entitled *Innocenti Epistolae*, which might be collated relatively easily and a definitive text produced. Most of the letters are transmitted as a part of collections of texts drawn up as handbooks of canon law. From the mid-fourth century onwards⁴ such canon collections began to be drawn up in the East, containing the decisions of the major synods of the Church, and when such collections began to circulate in the West it was natural that they should include papal letters also, for these often served, and were intended by the popes to serve, as authoritative texts for the

regulation of faith, liturgy and discipline within the different churches. It was in the nature of these collections that they should be added to from time to time as canon law developed, and indeed altered or abbreviated to suit changing circumstances. Amplification and even forgery of texts is to be met with, since such texts were the weapons with which ecclesiastical battles were fought.⁵ The prospective editor of Innocent's letters is faced, therefore, with a score of different collections, each with its own manuscript tradition, some consisting, it is true, of only a single manuscript, but the largest and most widespread of them, the various forms of the Dionysiana, being represented by approaching a hundred exemplars. There is the constant difficulty of contamination of one tradition by another, and because of their history these collections often display a considerable variety of readings. All this adds a whole extra dimension to the task of producing a critical edition.

In these circumstances, it is scarcely surprising that the texts of the editors of the 16th and 17th centuries rest on quite insecure foundations. Yet to this day the only edition constructed on critical principles is that produced by the French Benedictine Pierre Coustant in 1721.⁶ This, as subsequently reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XX, is the standard text which all students of the early papal letters must use. It deserves the name of "critical" because Coustant did make a genuine effort to compare and evaluate as many manuscripts as he could, instead of being content, like so many of his predecessors, to choose what they thought was the oldest manuscript and print it as it stood.⁷ Yet the number of manuscripts he was able to inspect personally, or of which he was able to obtain copies, was extremely limited, and in general confined to those available in France. Nor, of course, was he able to classify his MSS according to their contents and

readings, and so a further prerequisite for the establishment of a reliable text escaped him.⁸

Working as they did at a time when textual criticism was in its infancy, the scholars of the 16th and 17th centuries were not always precise in their references to the manuscripts they were using. Library catalogues were not always available, and guesses at the age of manuscripts were often totally inaccurate. Coustant in this respect was a child of his time, and the reader of his text experiences considerable difficulty in appreciating the critical notes he gives.⁹ What I propose to do here is to list the canon collections in which Innocent's letters are found, indicating which letters are found in each, and then to describe briefly the materials from which Coustant built up his text. In this way I hope it will become clear how much reliance can be placed on the text of each letter.

A. The Dionysian Collection¹⁰

This collection, about the origin of which more is known than is the case with any other,¹¹ was drawn up by the Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus in Rome in the first half of the 6th century. He was conversant with Greek, perhaps through a stay in Constantinople, and was thus well qualified for his task. It falls into two parts, a collection of councils and a collection of papal decretals from Siricius to Anastasius II. Only two manuscripts, however, preserve the original form of Dionysius's edition,¹² for most of our codices which contain Dionysius's collection stem from a copy of the two parts of the collection made by Pope Hadrian I and presented to Charlemagne in the year 774. This version, normally known as the *Dionysio-Hadriana*, is characterised by the omission of Dionysius's own prefaces to the two sections of his work and by various additions.¹³ Only one, however, affects Innocent's

letters (the addition of the letter to the Carthage Council Coustant XXIX, J-K 321),¹⁴ so that the Dionysian and its Hadrianic form may be classed together for our purposes.¹⁵ Of Innocent's correspondence the Dionysian collections contain the following:

- to Decentius of Gubbio (Coustant XX V, J-K 311)
- Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286)
- Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)
- Felix of Nocera (Coustant XXXVII, J-K 314)
- Maximus and Severus (Coustant XXXVIII, J-K 315)
- Agapitus et al. (Coustant XXXIX, J-K 316)
- Rufus, Gerontius et al. (Coustant X VIII, J-K 304)
- Florentius of Tibur (Coustant XL, J-K 317)
- Probus (Coustant XXX VI, J-K 313)
- Aurelius and Augustine (Coustant X, J-K 297)
- Juliana (Coustant XV, J-K 302)
- Aurelius (Coustant XIV, J-K 301)
- Boniface (Coustant XXIII, J-K 309)
- Alexander of Antioch (Coustant XX, J-K 306)
- Maximianus (Coustant XXII, J-K 308)
- Alexander of Antioch (Coustant XIX, J-K 305)
- Alexander of Antioch (Coustant XXIV, J-K 310)
- Acacius of Beroea (Coustant XXI, J-K 307)
- Laurentius of Siena (Coustant XII, J-K 318)
- Marcianus of Naissus (Coustant XVI, J-K 299)
- Rufus and the bishops of Macedonia and Dacia¹⁶
(Coustant XVII, J-K 303).

B. The Freisingen Collection¹⁷

This collection of canons and papal decretals is represented by a single 8th century manuscript, which in the 12th century was in the cathedral chapter of Freisingen. It is now in Munich (Cod. Lat. Monac. 6243).¹⁸ Of Innocent's letters it contains the following:

To Decentius of Gubbio (Coustant XXV, J-K 311)

Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286)

Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Rufus and the bishops of Macedonia and Dacia

(Coustant XVII, J-K 303).

C. The Quesnel Collection¹⁹

This important collection of canons and decretals was first edited in 1675 by Pasquier Quesnel and takes its name from him. It is represented by 8 manuscripts:

Arras, Town Library 572 (644) (8th-9th cent.)

Cod. lat Paris 3848A (8th-9th cent.) - Ep. XXX, J-K 322 missing

Cod. Einsidl. 191 (8th-9th cent.)

Cod. Vindob. 2141 (9th cent.)

Cod. lat. Paris. 1454 (9th-10th cent.)

Cod. lat. Paris. 3842A (9th-10th cent.)

Cod. Vindob. 2147 (9th-10th cent.)

Cod. Oxon. Oriel Coll. XLII (8th-9th cent.)

Maassen mentions several other manuscripts as now lost:²⁰ two codices of the church of Beauvais (Bellovacum), known to Pithou, a codex from the monastery of St. Bavo at Ghent, known to Crabbe, a manuscript of the monastery of St. Vast at Arras and one from the monastery of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, both known to Coustant.

Turner later proved that the St. Bavo manuscript is none other than the Burgundian Manuscript (Brussels, Cod. Burgund.2493), described by Maassen op.cit. pp.636-8, and does not therefore belong to the Quesnel collection. The Arras manuscript was rediscovered by Duchesne,²¹ and linked by Turner with Einsiedeln.191. Of the Beauvais and St. Hubert manuscripts there is now no trace.

The Quesnel Collection is especially important as containing a number of documents relating to the Pelagian controversy, including 4 letters of Innocent. The list of Innocent's letters contained in the whole collection is as follows:

To Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Rufus and the Macedonian and Dacian Bishops

(Coustant XVII, J-K 303)

Decentius of Gubbio (Coustant XXV, J-K 311)

Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286)

The Carthaginian Council (Coustant XXIX, J-K 321)

The Numidian Council (Coustant XXX, J-K 322)

Aurelius, Alypius et al (Coustant XXXI, J-K 323)

Aurelius (Coustant XXXII, J-K 324)

(Cod.Vindob.2147 contains J-K 312 at the end, an addition from the Hispana).

D. The Dionysiana of Bobbio²²

This collection takes its name from the Chieti collection, the single manuscript representing it, written in the 9th century in Chieti in South Italy (now Vat.Reg.1997). It is justly prized as containing the earliest and best text we have of the Sardican canons, where they run straight on from those of Nicaea in continuous sequence. The collection of canons which it contains displays the so-called Prisca version, and in this it is related to

three other canon and decretal collections, those of St. Blaise, the Vatican MS and the Justel MS.²⁴ However, each of these collections has its own individual decretal collection,²⁵ so that for our purposes they can be listed separately.

F. The St. Blaise Collection²⁶

Named after its principal codex, a 7th cent. Manuscript in the monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia (XXVa/7). Also represented by:

Cod.lat.Paris 3836 (c.700 A.D.)

Cod.Colon.chapter library ccxiii (8th cent.)

Cod.Lucan.chapter library 490 (end of 8th cent.)

Cod.lat.Paris 4279

Cod.Cheltenham,Phillipps 17849 (c.800 A.D.)²⁷

Of Innocent's letters the collection contains the following:

To Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286)

Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Rufus and the bishops of M. & D.

(Coustant XVII, J-K 303)

Decentius of Gubbio (Coustant XXV, J-K 311)

- only in the Paris MS 3836.

G. The Collection of the Vatican MS²⁸

Named after its chief representative, Cod.Vat.1342 (10th cent.)

Other exemplars are:

Cod.Barberini lat.679 (XIV.52) - 9th cent.

Cod.82.bibl.aedil.Florent.eccl, (10th cent)

(Cod.Bodleian 893)

(Cod.Novar.XXX) - these last two manuscripts contain only the index to the collection.

Of Innocent's letters it contains the following:

To Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Rufus and the bishops of M & D (Coustant XVII, J-K 303)

Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286) - omitted
by the Florence manuscript.

Decentius of Gubbio (Coustant XXV, J-K 311)- omitted
by the Florence manuscript.

The Carthage Council (Coustant XXIX, J-K 321) -
omitted by the Florence manuscript.

H. The Collection of the Corbie MS²⁹

Again, only a single manuscript exemplifies this collection, Cod.lat.Paris 12097. In all probability the nucleus of the manuscript was copied somewhere in Provence in the mid-6th century from an archetype of a generation earlier. The manuscript was then added to in several stages over the following fifty years.³⁰ Of Innocent's letters it contains the following:

To Decentius of Gubbio (Coustant XXV, J-K 311)

Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286)

Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Rufus and the M, & D, bishops (Coustant XVII, J-K 303)

The synod of Toledo (Coustant III, J-K 292)

I. The Collection of the MS of Cologne³¹

This 7th century manuscript, Cod.Colon.chapter library ccxii, was copied from an archetype of the mid-6th century, as is apparent from the papal catalogue which it contains.³² It is probable that the original form of the Corbie MS was available to the writer of this Cologne manuscript. Of Innocent's letters are contained the following:

To the Synod of Toledo (Coustant III, J-K 292)

Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Rufus and the M. & D. bishops (Coustant XVII, J-K 303)

- only chapters 1-6.

Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286).

J. The Collection of the Lorsch MS³³

This manuscript, now in the Vatican (Vat. Pal. 574) originated in Lorsch in the 9th century. Its collection is represented also by Cod. Gotha I. 85 of the 8th century.³⁴ One of the sources of the original compiler was a collection related to those of Corbie and Cologne. Of Innocent's letters are contained:

To Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

- fragments of c. 2 ("*Quid de his observari debet - priventur*"), of c. 9 (*et illud - videatur*) c. 10 (*super hoc condemnat*), and c. 12 (*de his etiam - detegantur*).

To Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286) - fragments.

K. The Collection of the Albi MS³⁵

Two manuscripts alone preserve this collection, Albi, Town Library 2, and Toulouse, Town Library 364. Turner, who had the opportunity to compare the two manuscripts at the end of the last century, proved beyond doubt that the Toulouse manuscript, which today is defective at both beginning and end,³⁶ is the exemplar of the Albi manuscript, and dates from the first half of the 7th century.³⁷

Of Innocent's letters are preserved the following:

To Rufus and the M. & D. bishops (Coustant XVII, J-K 303)

Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286) - defective.

These last two letters are found in fragmentary form, their chapters divided up and distributed throughout the section of the collection entitled *canones urbi cani*.

L. The Collection of the Pithou MS³⁸

This collection of canons and decretals, peculiar to a single 9th century manuscript, Cod. lat. Paris 1564, was first described by Pierre Pithou in his *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, published posthumously in 1687. It is closely connected with the collection exemplified by the Corbie manuscript,³⁹ from which it takes those of Innocent's letters which it contains, i.e.

To Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286)

Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Rufus and the M. & D. bishops (Coustant XVII, J-K 303)

The Synod of Toledo (Coustant III, J-K 292)

M. The Collection of the St. Maur MS⁴⁰

This collection takes its name from the principal manuscript embodying it, Cod. lat. Paris 1451, of the 8th century, once the property of the monastery of St. Maur des fosses. Since Maassen's day two more manuscripts of this collection have been described by Turner, Vat. Reg. 1127 of the 9th century and Cod. no. 9 of the Meermann-Westreenen Museum in the Hague. This latter has been demonstrated by Turner to be the common ancestor of the other two manuscripts.⁴¹ As with the Quesnel collection, with which it shows familiarity, the original home of the collection was the Arles district and its date of composition the 6th century.

It contains the following letters of Innocent:

To the Synod of Toledo (Coustant III, J-K 292) -

a fragment: *Post haec si - unius uxoris virum.*

Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286).

N. The Rheims Collection⁴²

Cod. Berol. lat. 84 (formerly Phil. lat. 1743) is the only exemplar of this collection, a manuscript which once belonged to the abbey of St. Remigius in Rheims. Maassen⁴², who had not seen it, could give only a defective list of its contents from the statements of Sirmond and Thiel, but Turner⁴³ and Dobschütz⁴⁴ and latterly Silva-Tarouca⁴⁵ have described it in more detail. Of Innocent's letters it contains the following:

To Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)

Rufus and the M. & D. bishops (Coustant XVII, J-K 303)

- as far as *Nec loquentem admiserit*, c. 15 Coust.

O. The Collection of the Diessen MS⁴⁶

This manuscript, Cod. lat. Monac. 5508, written in the monastery of Reichenau⁴⁷ in the mid-9th century, was at Diessen before coming to Munich. Its importance to the canonist lies in its preservation, along with the Freisingen, Würzburg and Rheims⁴⁸ manuscripts and Cod. Vindob. 2141 of the *Gesta de nomine Apicarii*,⁴⁹ but the decretals it contains are peculiar to itself. Under Innocent's name we have the following:⁵⁰

To Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286) - a fragment,

breaking off with the words: *a baptismatis*

officio vacent

Rufus and the M & D bishops (Coustant XVII, J-k 303)

- fragment, beginning with the words:

nec loquentem admiserit

Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293) - a fragment,

as far as: *arbitrati sunt voluptatem.*

P. The Collection of the Colbertine MS⁵¹

This collection is represented by a single manuscript, Cod. lat. Paris 1455. It consists of the entire St. Blaise collection with additions from the Quesnel. Of Innocent's correspondence the following letters are included:

- To Victricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286)
- Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)
- Rufus and the M. & D. bishops (Coustant XVII, J-K 303)
- Decentius of Gubbio (Coustant XXV, J-K 311)
- The Carthage Council (Coustant XXIX, J-K 321)
- The Numidian Council (Coustant XXX, J-K 322)
- Aurelius, Alypius etc. (Coustant XXXI, J-K 323).

Q. The Spanish Epitome⁵²

Long before the drawing up of the most comprehensive of all canon collections to originate in Spain, the Hispana, Spanish synods make reference to collections of canons, and from one such an epitome was made in the early 7th century,⁵³ which is preserved in the following manuscripts:

- Cod. Veron. IX I (about 700 A.D.)
- Cod. Lucan. chapter library 490 (end of 8th cent.)⁵⁴
- Cod. Merseburg. 104 (10th cent.)
- Cod. Vat. 5751 (10th cent.)

The epitome falls into two parts, the first containing councils the second papal decretals, arranged in chronological order of their authors. Of Innocent's letters we have the following:

- To Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293)
- The Synod of Toledo (Coustant III, J-K 292)
- Victiricius of Rouen (Coustant II, J-K 286)
- Rufus and the M. & D. bishops (Coustant XVII, J-K 303)
- Decentius of Gubbio (Coustant XXV, J-K 311)
- Aurelius (J-K 312)

All these letters are, of course, preserved in an abbreviated form containing short sentences, giving disciplinary directions or decisions.⁵⁵

R. The Hispana⁵⁶

Like the Epitome this collection falls into two parts, councils and decretals, the latter being arranged chronologically by popes. The collection achieved great popularity and underwent a number of subsequent additions. It is represented by the following manuscripts:

Cod.Argentorat. (Strassbourg) - end of 8th cent.

Cod.Passioneus

Cod. Vat. Pal. 575

Cod. Escorial. I. D. 2. - end of 10th cent.

Cod. Vidob. 411 - 9-10th cent.

Cod. Escorial. I. D. I. - end of 10th cent.

Cod. Escorial. I. E. 12 - 10th-11th cent.

Cod. Matrit. P. 21 - 10-11th cent.

Cod. Urgel. chapter library - 10th-11th cent.

Cod. Tolet. X V. 16 - 11th cent.

Cod. Tolet. X V. 17 - 11th cent.

Cod. Gerund. chapter library - 11th cent.

Cod. Escorial. I. E. 13 - end of 11th cent.

Cod. Escorial II. D. 20.

Of Innocent's letters the collection contains:

Innocent's letters as in Dionysius ("pure" form), but with the addition of the letter To Aurelius (J-K 312) and (at the end) the letter To the synod of Toledo (in a shortened form).⁵⁷

S. The Collection of the Paris MS⁵⁸

This collection of Greek and African canons is found in a manuscript of the 13th century, Cod.lat.Paris 3858C. The African material contains a number of letters, but only one from Innocent's hand, To the Carthaginian Council (Coustant XXIX, J-K 321).

T. The Verona Fragment⁵⁹

Cod. Veron LIX of the end of the 6th century contains a collection of items pertaining to the doctrinal disputes of the 4th and 5th centuries, and in addition a number of decretal letters, among them Innocent's letter to Rufus and the M. & D. bishops (Coustant X VII, J-K 303). The manuscript is deficient at the beginning, but it is unlikely that any material from Innocent's hand was contained in the missing portion.

U. The Collection of the Angers MS⁶⁰

This systematic collection of extracts from canons and decretals is so called by Maassen after the exemplar used by Simond in his *Concilia antiqua Galliae*, and since lost. It is represented by the following manuscripts:

Cod. Burgund. 10127-10144 (9th cent.)

Cod. Einsidl. 205 (9th cent.)

Cod. Sangall. 675 (9th cent.)

Cod. Vindob. 2171 (9th cent.)

In addition to these manuscripts known to Maassen, Schulte described two more from the Stuttgart Hofbibliothek (Nos. 112 & 113), of the 9th and 8th centuries respectively.⁶¹

Excerpts from Innocent's letters are contained here as follows:

To Exsuperius of Toulouse (Coustant VI, J-K 293) -

cetera autem - damnanda

To Decentius of Gubbio (Coustant XX V, J-K 311) -

Si instituta - dum ad cons. vid. resp.

Lectio actum ap. - sp. paracl.

De poen. autem - comm. discedant

Boenit. a temp. - non negandum

De poenit. id placuit - ordinetur.

V. Cod. Vercell. CXV.

This 9th century manuscript contains, besides the Breviatio Canonum of Fulgentius Ferrandus,⁶² additional material amongst which is included Innocent's letter To Aurelius (J-K 312).⁶³

W. The Thessalonica Collection⁶⁴

This collection, the character of which is described in the chapter on the Vicariate of Thessalonica (pp. 36-7), is represented by only one good manuscript, Vat. 5751, of the 10th century.⁶⁵ It contains Innocent's two letters to the successive bishops of Thessalonica, Anysius and Rufus (Coustant I, XIII, J-K 285, 300).

X. The Avellana Collection⁶⁶

This valuable collection contains more than two hundred letters of Popes and Emperors, which are preserved nowhere else.⁶⁷ There are only two good manuscripts, both in the Vatican: Cod. Vat. 4961 - this manuscript previously belonged to the monastery of Santa Croce at Fonte Avellana; Cod. Vat. 3787.

Maassen respects Thiel's opinion that Cod. Vat. 3787 is copied from Cod. Vat. 4961. Guenther, however, in his edition of the collection in the Vienna Corpus (CSEL XXXV),⁶⁸ has shown clearly that the reverse is the case, so that the former is our principal source for the text. Of Innocent's letters are contained the following:

To Aurelius, Alypius ets (Coustant XXXI, J-K 323)

Hieronymus (Coustant XXXIII, J-K 326)

John of Jerusalem (Coustant XXXIV, J-K 325)

Aurelius (Coustant XXXI, J-K 327)

The last three letters are found only in this collection.

From the foregoing list it is clear how impossible it would have been for editors of the 18th century and earlier to inspect a sufficient number of manuscripts to produce a critical text. Coustant, we know, did try to obtain the readings of manuscripts he knew of in Italy, but met with little success,⁶⁹ and his text betrays no first-hand knowledge of any manuscript outside France. For the rest he was compelled to rely on printed editions. It will be convenient here to examine the relevant manuscripts he mentions, so that the variety of readings available to him may be seen.

Of the *Dionysiana* he cites a cod.Reg., which today is numbered Cod.lat.Paris 3837 (formerly Cod.Reg.3837). The Hadriana he knew also, and was fully aware of the distinction between it and the "pure" *Dionysiana*.

Of the *Hispana* he mentions three codices, Laudunensis (from Laon), Noviomensis (from Noyon), Bellovacensis (from Beauvais), and he knew a fourth from Soissons (now lost).⁷⁰

Of the *Quesnel* collection he had Quesnel's printed edition before him, based as it was on the Cod.Oxon.Oriel College 42, and in addition he knew the Arras manuscript, a manuscript from the monastery of St. Hubert in the Ardennes (now lost),⁷¹ and Cod.lat.Paris 3832A, which he calls Colb.932.

The exemplar of the Corbie collection he used carefully throughout - it is his *pervetustum exemplar Corbeiense*, which he believed to date from the 6th century.

He frequently mentions two *Colbertine* manuscripts: *unus et alter Colb.* The former ("*Langob.Litteris scriptum*") is the St. Blaise collection manuscript Cod.lat.Paris 3836 (formerly Colb.784); the latter the Colbertine collection manuscript, Cod.lat.Paris 1455 (formerly Colb.3368).

The *Pithou* manuscript, he cites several times as Cod.Fossat or Cod.Colb.

Of the *Avellana* he seems to have had reports of readings of one of the two Vatican manuscripts in which the collection is preserved, for he cites *ms. Vatic.* several times, and once (col.599) speaks of *ipsius archetypi Vaticani recognitio* as supporting a conjectured reading of his own.

We have already mentioned the difficulty experienced in trying to establish from Coustant's references in his notes the manuscripts he was using (see note 9). Again and again we meet phrases like "*plerique mss.*" or "*alii mss.*", "*in uno ms.*", and even "*sex antiqui mss.*" (col.496), which sometimes defy accurate resolution until all the relevant manuscripts are examined. Further, manuscripts are sometimes introduced without warning. For example, In the letter to Rufus and the Macedonian and Dacian bishops a *ms. Pith.* appears, whose identity is difficult to establish. A reference to *unus Colb.* in the letter to Alexander (EpXIX 15, J-K 305) is probably to one of the Paris manuscripts of the Dionysiana, since only this and the Hispana collections preserve the letter, but it is difficult to know which of the three it might be.⁷³ In some cases one wonders if his references are accurate. In Ep.XXXIV, J-K 310) the Corbie manuscript is cited for a reading, yet the letter is not found there. (co.548). Ep. XXIX (J-K 321) presents us with "*mss. Remig., Corb. et Germ*". The

Rheims manuscript appears not to contain the letter, so some other must be meant by Remig; and Germ. is likewise obscure.⁷⁴

Though he relied, of course, chiefly on his manuscripts, Coustant was well aware that there were many manuscripts in existence that were inaccessible to him, and he therefore made constant reference to the various printed editions of councils and papal letters, in order to glean evidence as to their readings. It will be convenient here to list the chief of these editions.

J. Merlin. Collection of Councils. Paris 1524. The 1st volume is a simple impression of a 13th century manuscript of the pseudo-Isidore collection.⁷⁵

P. Crabbe. Collection of Councils and Decretals. Cologne 1538.

Correctores Romani (Coustant's edit. Rom.). The papal commission set up to investigate the manuscript treasures of European monasteries, with a view to producing a definitive edition of councils and decretals. They did not, unfortunately, make as much use as they should of the source material thus made available to them. The 1591 edition, published in Rome, entitled *Epistolae decretales summorum pontificum*, was largely the work of Cardinal Caraffa. It was the first edition to make use of the *Collectio Avellana*.⁷⁶

C. Baronius. *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Rome 1588-1607. Made use of the Arras manuscript of the Quesnel collection.

J. Sirmond. *Concilia antiqua Galliae*, Paris 1629.

L. Holste. *Collectio Romana bipartita*, Rome 1662. Published after his death from his papers by editors whose work leaves much to be desired. The first to print the *Collectio Thessalonicensis*.

Labbé & Cossart. Collection of Councils in 17 volumes, Paris 1671.

E. Baluze. Published a supplementary volume to Labbé & Cossart in 1683.

J. Garnier (Gamerius). Edition of Marius Mercator, 1673.

Contains the letters dealing with the Pelagian controversy.

P. Quesnel. *Opera S. Leonis Magni*, 1675.

P. Pithou. *Corpus iuris canonici*, Paris 1687 (published posthumously
- Pithou himself died in 1596).

The edition of the works of St. Augustine, published under the auspices of the congregation of St. Maur (1689).

From this survey it is clear at once how great an advance was made by Coustant on his predecessors, in an honest attempt to produce the first critical edition of the decretal letters,⁷⁷ and at the same time how far short his achievement necessarily fell of what would today be considered satisfactory. Nevertheless, despite the fact that Coustant's work remains the only critical edition of the collected papal letters down to Sixtus III, individual letters or groups of letters have been subjected to textual study. Among Innocent's letters a modern critical text exists of the following:

Ep. XXXI To Aurelius, Alypius et al. (J-K 323)

Ep. XXXIII To Hieronymus (J-K 326)

Ep. XXXIV To John of Jerusalem (J-K 325)

Ep. XXXV To Aurelius (J-K 327)

- in the edition of the *Collectio Avellana* (Nos. 41-44) by Guenther (CSEL XXXV, 1895).

Ep. XXIX To the Carthaginian Council (J-K 321)

Ep. XXX To the Numidian Council (J-K 322)

Ep. XXXI To Aurelius, Alypius et al. (J-K 323)

Ep. X To Aurelius and Augustine (J-K 297).

- in the edition of Augustine's letters (Nos. 181-4) by Goldbacher (CSEL XLIV 1904 and IVII 1911). This edition makes use of several manuscripts which contain Augustine's letters rather than canon collections:

Cod.Paris.nov.acq.1443 (9th-10th centuries) for Ep.XXX

Cod.Paris 12220 (10th cent) for Ep.XXIX

Cod.Monac.6266 (10th cent) for Ep.XXIX.⁷⁸

And in addition two manuscripts of canons not mentioned above :

Cod.Colon.113 (10th-11th centuries)

Cod.Paris 3852 (10th-11th centuries), closely connected with one another, and containing letters XXIX, XXX, XXI and X.⁷⁹

Ep.I To Anysius (J-K 285)

Ep.XIII To Rufus (J-K 300)

- in the edition of the *Collectio Thessalonicensis* by C.Silva-Tarouca (Rome 1937).

Useful critical notes on Epp. II, VI, XVII and XXV can be found in the study of the Dionysian collection by H. Wurm: *Studien und Texte zur Decretalensammlung des Dionysius Exiguus*, Rome 1939.⁸⁰ Wurm has also produced a critical text of Ep.VI in *Apollinaris XII* (1939) pp. 46-78.

It only remains to add a note on the letter of Innocent to Aurelius of Carthage (J-K 312). This letter was not printed by Coustant, because he thought it a letter of a successor of Innocent wrongly attributed to him.⁸¹ It was preserved alone in the Spanish collections, from which it was copied into Cod.Vindob. 2147 of the Quesnel and Cod. Vercell.CIXV of the *Breviatio* of Fulgentius Ferrandus. The Ballerini demonstrated its authenticity (P.L.56.col.226), and a text by Gonzalez, editor of z the *Hispana*, can be found in P.L. 84. coll.657-8.

Additional Notes:

1. The four letters of Innocent and Arcadius, printed by Coustant in an appendix and by Migne, P.L. 20.coll.629-636, are forgeries of Greek origin, perhaps of the 6th century.⁸²

2. The fragment of a letter of Innocent to Severian of Gabala, printed by Migne (P.L.20.Coll.611-2) comes, not from Coustant but from Mai (Spicilegium III.702), and is a Latin translation of an Arabic text.

THE VICARIATE OF THESSALONICA

The first recorded act of Innocent after his consecration was to write to Anysius, bishop of Thessalonica, informing him of the fact. This was a perfectly normal procedure for a consecrated bishop, to establish personal contact with those episcopal colleagues who had a special interest in or relationship with his see. But in Anysius' case there was more involved than this. Innocent had to take a decision with regard to Anysius, for the relationship between Rome and Thessalonica was an unusually close one. This is what he says: "Eminent men in the past, my predecessors as bishop, that is, Damasus and Siricius and Anastasius of blessed memory, delegated to your holiness, full of justice as it is, the right to take cognizance of all transactions in those parts, and you should be informed that I too hold to this decision and have the same policy."¹

The sense of these words is that Innocent stands by the decision of his predecessors to grant a general oversight of ecclesiastical affairs in Illyricum to Anysius as bishop of Thessalonica. Now none of the ancient ecclesiastical historians have anything to say on the existence of this special relationship between the two sees at this time. In order, therefore, to explain the nature and origin of this phenomenon, we can draw only upon collections of episcopal and imperial letters,² and for the most part only upon one such collection, that from which Innocent's letter to Anysius is taken.³

The only good manuscript of this collection⁴ contains the relevant documents as its concluding section. They are part of a verbatim record of a synod held in Rome under Boniface II in 531, in which the case of Stephen, bishop of Larissa in Thessaly, was examined. This man had been accused before the bishop of Constantinople, who had

decreed his deposition and had had him arrested, in spite of Stephen's protest that the bishop of Rome had supreme jurisdiction in Illyricum. Stephen had, however, managed to send letters to Rome by one Theodore of Echinum, asking for Rome's support, and to these letters he had added a collection of documents taken from the archives of the church of Thessalonica which were to justify his claim that Rome, not Constantinople, had the right to judge his case.⁵ These letters were read before the synod and written into the record. The manuscript is unfortunately incomplete, so that we have no documents later than Leo, nor do we know the judgment of the synod, but letters of Damasus and Siricius are cited as well as two of Innocent, so that we have some directly relevant material with which to begin.

The two letters of Damasus⁶ contained in the collection both have reference to the attempt during 380 of Peter of Alexandria to have his nominee Maximus elected to the vacant see of Constantinople. This man had been surreptitiously consecrated by some visiting Egyptian bishops, but finding that his support in the capital was minimal, had fled to Thessalonica to seek Theodosius' recognition. This was refused, and Maximus departed for Egypt. Damasus was informed by Acholius of Thessalonica concerning these events and he replied, urging the latter to do all he could to prevent Maximus becoming bishop. Acholius was, of course, well placed to do this, since he had become the Emperor's spiritual mentor during Theodosius' stay in the city and had actually baptised him during a serious illness.⁷ Acholius' influence was in the event unnecessary, for Maximus found very little support for his claim even in Egypt, and was finally banished by the Augustal prefect. Damasus' second letter, therefore, asks Acholius to keep a close eye on events in Constantinople, to ensure that nothing similar occurs again.

There is nothing more to the correspondence than this. No mention of jurisdiction over Illyricum or delegation of powers by Rome. Damasus' relationship with Acholius was a close one. The latter had been in Italy, and had been present at the Roman Council of 382⁸ Damasus clearly felt him to be a thoroughly trustworthy man, sound in both doctrine and concern for good order in the church in the interests of the West.

With Siricius, however, we are on firmer ground. Only one letter from his is included in the Thessalonica collection,⁹ but this has direct reference to the episcopal power of the bishop of Thessalonica. Siricius writes to Anysius, the successor of Acholius,¹⁰ granting him a veto over all episcopal consecrations in Illyricum. The occasion for such a grant, he says, is the confused situation in some of the churches in that area, where in one case three bishops had apparently been elected to a single see. To deal with such situations, therefore, Anysius is charged by Siricius to ordain all bishops himself or to give his consent to other bishops to act as his deputy. The wording of this letter is very cautious. Siricius carefully avoids using any word such as *iubemus* or *praecipimus*. He says simply *litteras dederamus... ut* and *vigilare debet instantia tua.....ut*. Siricius is not here claiming any jurisdictional authority over Thessalonica. He is throwing the moral authority of the see of Rome behind Anysius, for the purpose of resolving the disorders in Illyricum. Anysius is being encouraged to take firm action and is assured of Roman support if he does. We are still short, therefore, of Innocent's claim *omnia traderent cognoscenda*, but the trend is unmistakable.

There is no letter of Anastasius preserved in the collection. This may be due simply to chance, since numerous other letters from Rome to Thessalonica are not preserved.¹¹ The probable reason, however, is that during his short reign Anastasius was not required to intervene

in any dispute in Illyricum, and thus, while his attitude towards Thessalonica could be presumed to be in line with his predecessors', no direct testimony to it was available to Stephen of Larissa in 531.

We come therefore to the letter of Innocent written shortly after his consecration; in which two basic questions confront us: first, by what right could Thessalonica claim powers over the whole episcopate of Illyricum? and secondly, what authority had Rome to delegate¹² any such right?

The starting-point for consideration of the first of these questions is found in the fourth and sixth canons of Nicaea. The former declares that confirmation of the election of a bishop shall lie with the metropolitan in each province.¹³ The church was by this time fully on the way to developing a hierarchical and institutional structure based on the civil pattern.¹⁴ The Diocletianic division of the Empire's administrative area into dioceses and provinces made possible and even desirable the formation of ecclesiastical provinces corresponding to the civil ones; and, as a natural consequence, would come the designation of one particular city as the chief see or ecclesiastical "capital" of the area, corresponding to the seat of the provincial governor. The bishop of this chief see is referred to as *μητροπολίτης*, without explanation, which suggests that the council was confirming an institution which, for the East at any rate, was a perfectly familiar one. It was otherwise in the West, however, for at this date outside Italy and Africa, the church still consisted for the most part of scattered bishoprics whose mutual relationships were relatively informal.¹⁵ However, as Christianity increasingly became the religion of the masses over the whole Empire, one would expect to see a parallel development of a hierarchical structure in the West also.¹⁶

The Eastern church had also at the time of Nicaea two sees possessing traditional prerogatives which set them above even the metropolitans, and to them, Alexandria and Antioch, the council gave its confirmation in the Sixth canon. It reads as follows: Let the ancient customs be maintained in Egypt, Libya and the Pentapolis, so that the bishop of Alexandria has authority over all these, since this is customary also for the bishop of Rome,; and similarly their traditional prerogatives be preserved to the churches of Antioch and in the other provinces.¹⁷ This canon has long been the subject of vigorous controversy, chiefly because the Nicene fathers do not specify what they regard as the sphere of the bishop of Rome.¹⁸ Nor does the canon indicate what customs and rights were envisaged. But in the case of Alexandria it is clear from other evidence that what was intended was the ordination of metropolitans and their suffragans, and also their right to convoke synods of all the bishops of the provinces of Egypt. Similarly, Antioch, whose sphere was the civil diocese of Oriens, possessed the sole right to ordain metropolitan bishops.¹⁹

But for our purposes it is regrettable that the canon does not specify what it means by the prerogatives (*πρεσβεῖα*) in the other provinces. For we should like to know what rights, if any, Thessalonica might have claimed, either in 325, or later on the basis of this canon. Further, did the "other provinces" include any part of Illyricum, so that we might presume an incipient hierarchic organisation within that area?

The most notable attempt to demonstrate such a condition was made by F. Streichan.²⁰ He saw Thessalonica as one of the sees envisaged by this Sixth canon, and maintained that the rights thus granted were comparable to those of Alexandria within Egypt. His arguments were these.²¹

- 1) Since about 346, with the exception of short periods under Julian and Valentinian, the two dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia formed a single *praefectura Illyrici*;
- 2) This prefecture possessed a natural capital in Thessalonica;
- 3) The Church of Thessalonica was an apostolic foundation;
- 4) Acholius' presence at the (Eastern) council of Constantinople in 381 makes it probable that the see of Thessalonica belonged to the group of "exarchates" which possessed powers superior to ordinary metropolitan sees.

On examination, none of these points have been found convincing. The first is clearly mistaken. Dacia and Macedonia never formed by themselves a separate praetorian prefecture before 395. Together with the diocese of Pannonia they did so for two periods, 357-361 and 376-9, but otherwise they formed part of the great central prefecture of Africa-Italy-Illyricum.²² Streichhan's second point derives some support from the 20th canon of Sardica,²³ *non ignoratis quanta et qualis sit Thessalonicensium civitas*, but there is no evidence that it was regarded as a civil centre for the whole of Illyricum. On the contrary, Simium was for long the seat of the prefect of Africa-Italy-Illyricum.²⁴ And in fact, even when Dacia and Macedonia became a separate prefecture in 395, it seems probable that the prefect's seat was in Dacia, not Macedonia.²⁵ The third point is a true one, and of some importance, but by itself can prove nothing. There were other apostolic foundations in Illyricum, Corinth for example, but no-one supposes that they too possessed exarchal status. The presence of Acholius at the council of Constantinople, while relevant to the present discussion, does not prove anything as to the ecclesiastical status of Thessalonica, certainly not for the period before 379-80. Acholius' presence and

the consequent prestige accruing to his see was a direct result of Theodosius' stay in that city and Acholius' personal relationship with him.²⁶ Finally, it should be remembered that the Sixth Canon of Nicaea is confirming not granting powers, and therefore a proof that Thessalonica was intended by the Nicene fathers here would require evidence from the period before 325.

So the theory that Thessalonica was regarded as an exarchate as early as 325 must be rejected.²⁷ Illyricum as a whole conformed to the relatively undeveloped Western organisation which recognised no metropolitans and *a fortiori* no exarchs at that date, with the two exceptions of Rome and Carthage. Rome's authority over the civil diocese of Italia suburbicaria was traditional and confirmed at Nicaea.²⁸ But Nicaea said nothing of Carthage, and yet it is clear that by the mid-3rd century²⁹ she had gained a primacy over all the churches in the diocese of Africa. The rights she exercised included the power to ordain a bishop to any vacant see, to announce the date of Easter to the churches of Africa, and to preside over the annual council of all the bishops of the diocese.³⁰ Clear precedent existed, therefore, in the West as well as the East, for the establishment in Illyricum of a metropolitan and patriarchal structure. And the last twenty years of the fourth century provided the opportunity for just such a development.

The history of the dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia has been much discussed since the end of the last century.³¹ Until Rauschen's paper of 1897 it was generally believed, on the basis of Sozomen's statement (H.E. VII.4.1.) that Dacia and Macedonia were transferred to the government of Theodosius in 379, and remained part of the Eastern Empire from that time on. Now it is an indubitable fact that from 396 Dacia and Macedonia formed an separate praetorian prefecture under the government of Constantinople.³² It is the intervening period that

presents the difficulties. Illyricum (that is, the three dioceses of Pannonia, Dacia and Macedonia) seems to be attested as under Western administration in July 382,³³ January 383³⁴ and July 386³⁵. Numismatic evidence, too, indicates that apart from 383-4 the area was controlled politically by the West.³⁶ And ecclesiastical sources confirm this picture. Acholius and the Macedonian bishops are said to have been called *de occidentalibus partibus* to the council of Constantinople in 381.³⁷ And the law of 30 July 381, promulgated at the conclusion of that council, while it named in every area of the East a local bishop communion with whom would guarantee orthodoxy, does not mention Illyricum or any bishop of the West.³⁸ Further, the council of Aquileia, meeting in 381 to judge the cases of two bishops from Dacia accused of the Arian heresy, finds itself hampered in coming to a decision because Palladius and Secundianus, the two accused, declare that they will only plead their case before a general council of Eastern and Western bishops, while Ambrose insists that they belong to the West and therefore a council of Western bishops is competent to judge their case.³⁹ Nowhere do Palladius and Secundianus claim that as subjects of the Eastern Emperor only an Eastern council may examine them.⁴⁰ And in the synodical letter, penned by Ambrose to Gratian at the close of the council, Ambrose explicitly refers to Dacia and Macedonia as *occidentales partes*.⁴¹ A further indication that Dacia/Macedonia belonged to the West in theory (even in 394) ~~is~~ that at the synod of Constantinople in 394 (29 Sept.) no bishop from Dacia/Macedonia was present.⁴²

It is not necessary to rehearse all the evidence for the political vicissitudes of the Illyrian dioceses during these seventeen years. This has been done admirably by Grumel,⁴³ with whose main conclusions I am in full agreement. These are that Macedonia and Dacia were controlled by Theodosius from January 379 to September 380, by Gratian

or Valentinian until the latter's flight in 387 (apart from a brief period in 383-4, during Theodosius' military preparations against Maximus,⁴⁴ and by Theodosius, whether from West or East from 387 until his death in January 395.

The intentions of Theodosius for Illyricum when he died have also been the subject of considerable debate. For the older historians there was, of course, no problems: Dacia and Macedonia continued to form the prefecture of Illyricum orientale. But the evidence placing Dacia and Macedonia in the West for most of the period 380-395 caused scholars to assume that these two dioceses must have been ceded by the West, either on Theodosius' death or later that year as a consequence of the fall of Rufinus.⁴⁵ However, it has most recently been convincingly argued by Grumel⁴⁶ and Cameron⁴⁷ that Theodosius' intention before his last illness was to leave Honorius under Stilico's regency in charge of the Gauls, Italy and Africa, while reserving for himself and Arcadius in Constantinople the East and the three dioceses of Illyricum. Rufinus' fall, engineered by Eutropius⁴⁸ in concert with Stilico, resulted in a concession to the West of Pannonia, and the consequent formation of the separate praetorian prefecture of Eastern Illyricum.

It seems well established, therefore, that at no time before 395 did Dacia and Macedonia form a separate praetorian prefecture, under either East or West.⁴⁹ *That an* If we regard it as probable/administrative unity of the area lies behind the granting of supra-metropolitan authority to the bishops of Thessalonica, we are driven to the conclusion that only from 395 did such a situation exist. There is good reason, therefore, to assign Siricius' letter to Anysius to the period 396-8, that is, to the last years of Siricius' life.⁵⁰ This is contrary to the received opinion, which, possibly because it

regards Damasus as the first to grant these exarchal rights to the bishop of Thessalonica, prefers to place the letter at the beginning of Siricius' reign, in 385 or 386.⁵¹ The only internal clue to its dating is the death of the bearer of a previous letter from Siricius to Anysius, a bishop named Candidianus, a circumstance which caused Siricius to write this letter, since he could not know whether his former letter had reached its destination. Unfortunately, nothing certain is known of this man, so we are thrown back on external evidence.⁵²

This must predispose us in favour of the later dating, for the Council of Capua in 392 expresses its decision concerning Bonosus of Sardica in the following words: *ut finitimi Bonoso atque eius accusatoribus iudices tribuerentur et praecipue Macedones, qui cum episcopo Thessalonicensi de eius factis vel scriptis cognoscerent.*⁵³ The bishop of Thessalonica is here accorded a special mention, it is true, but it is only as leader of the Macedonian bishops not as exarch of Illyricum. And when, after his condemnation by the Macedonian bishops Bonosus refused to vacate his see, the bishop of Thessalonica wrote to Ambrose asking if they need press the matter.⁵⁴ Now if Siricius' letter to Anysius preceded this case, one would have expected some claim by Anysius to jurisdiction over Bonosus to be embodied in the council's letter, or at least that Anysius would have appealed to Siricius instead of to Ambrose.⁵⁵ The whole affair betrays no trace of the situation envisaged by Siricius' letter 4. For though that letter speaks only of the authority of the bishop of Thessalonica in the matter of episcopal ordinations, it is difficult to believe that with the wider powers of the other patriarchates before them as an example, neither the bishops at Capua nor Ambrose⁵⁶ would allude to his special position, when to do so would probably have simplified and shortened the matter.

We can only conclude that Siricius' letter 4 postdates this particular affair, though the controversy it describes, three bishops elected to one see, could have been an aftermath of the Bonosus affair. If so, it would most naturally be dated to the period after Ambrose's death, that is between April 397 and November 398⁵⁷.

The foregoing discussion makes clear the great step forward that Innocent took when he sent that first letter to Anysius. He grasps immediately the logic of the situation and lends his authority to a development that had been only foreshadowed by Anastasius and Siricius - the hardening of this relationship between Rome and Thessalonica into one in which Thessalonica's authority over Illyricum was regarded as fully equal to that of the exarchates of the East over their dioceses, but yet was derived from that of the Roman see, not independently exercised. This is the implication of Innocent's words *ut omnia in illis partibus generentur, sanctitati tuae, quae plena iustitiae est, traderent cognoscenda*.

Innocent expresses himself more clearly still in his letter to Rufus, written soon after the latter succeeded Anysius, probably in the first half of 412.⁵⁸ Using as parallels the appointment by Moses of deputies to share some of the burden of hearing the Israelite lawsuits (Exodus XVII) and the selection by the Apostles of deacons to carry out the day-to-day tasks of the church (Acts VI), Innocent formally commits to Rufus' charge all cases which arise in the churches of Achaia, Thessaly, Epirus vetus, Epirus nova, Crete, Dacia mediterranea, Dacia ripensis, Moesia, Dardania and Praevalitana.⁵⁹ That is, the whole prefecture of Illyricum with the exception of Macedonia - and the two provinces of Macedonia are omitted from the list because Thessalonica's metropolitan rights over the churches in this area, is assumed.⁶⁰ It is supra-metropolitan powers that are in question here, for Innocent

goes on to say that Rufus' oversight of all Dacia and Macedonia does not destroy the primacy of the metropolitans of all these provinces. They retain their individual positions of primacy within their own areas, but of all the primates Thessalonica is to be the chief.⁶¹ Rufus is to judge which cases to decide himself (and presumably therefore which cases to leave to the individual metropolitan) and which to refer to a higher authority even than himself, namely the bishop of Rome.⁶²

It is made quite explicit in this letter to Rufus that the latter's authority in Illyricum is derivative and personal. Rufus is to exercise his powers *nostra vice*. And just as in the cases of Acholius and Anysius it is the individual merits of the bishop that secure him this grant,⁶³ and not any traditional primacy attaching to his see. It is clear from the difficulties Thessalonica experienced in maintaining its position during the fifth century that its primacy over Illyricum did not go undisputed.⁶⁴ It is true of the history of the papal vicariate of Thessalonica (as we must call it from now on) that in fact as well as theory Thessalonica's authority rested on that of Rome. We are not therefore to explain the origin of this relationship simply as a consistent attempt on the part of the Roman bishops to force their authority on an unwilling see which would have preferred to remain independent. Rather we must see the bishops of Thessalonica aspiring to exarchal authority over Illyricum but, realising that they could never exercise it effectively on their own, asking for Rome's wholehearted and continued backing for their claim.

This Rome was only too ready to give, for she was herself facing at this period a serious and growing challenge to her own primacy from the see of Constantinople. The increasing importance of the bishopric of the capital of the Eastern half of the Empire had been given formal

recognition in the Third canon of the Council held there in 381.⁶⁵ Disputed from the first by Rome, this virtual primacy over the East, backed as it was by the civil power, had yet grown even under Nectarius' peaceful reign until the bishop of Constantinople was the acknowledged head of the dioceses of Thrace, Asia and Pontus. John Chrysostom's summary deposition of a group of Asian bishops ~~has already been~~ ^{will later be} mentioned.⁶⁶ Though that episode brought retribution down upon his head later, it is significant nonetheless of what might be attempted by, or even expected of, a bishop of the capital city.

But Constantinople was far away, and ruled by another Emperor. Much nearer home, Rome's authority had been in eclipse for a generation while Ambrose held the see of Milan and the ear of the ruler. In Gaul and Illyricum, as well as in the diocese of Italia annonaria Milan's influence was predominant. Palladius and Secundianus, bishops of Dacia, plead their case before a council dominated by Ambrose.⁶⁷ To him also the Gallic bishops turn, unable to resolve the conflict between supporters and opponents of Priscillian.⁶⁸ At Capua in 392 Ambrose is predominant, putting the Western view regarding Flavian's claim to the see of Antioch.⁶⁹ The intellectual and physical energy of this powerful man dominated the Church in the West for a quarter of a century. And yet Damasus and Siricius, though unable to match the *éclat* with which Ambrose acted, had been quietly and steadily forging links with groups of churches in the West, which time would render unbreakable. Both these bishops issued in the form of letters authoritative statements concerning ecclesiastical rules, in answer to enquiries as to the Roman practice in various matters - for Rome was believed to have best conserved the authentic teaching and practices of the Early Church on such matters.⁷⁰ The episcopates of Gaul, Spain, Illyricum, even of Africa, were the recipients of these letters of advice and instruction from the Roman bishop. Their tone is polite,

but firmness and even threats are employed where necessary.⁷¹

The basis used by the Roman bishops for the authoritative tone of their pronouncements is of course the promise given to Peter in the Gospel (Matt.16.18) that his decisions to bind or loose will be confirmed in heaven. Upon the bishops of Rome, therefore, as his successors, is laid "the care of all the churches" - a general oversight of the whole Church, not based upon any conciliar decision or the result of an historical development, but founded upon the word of the Lord Himself.⁷²

The death of Ambrose in 397 gave the Roman bishops the opportunity to harden this consultation process into a system. In the case of Thessalonica we have seen how Innocent takes a step in this direction immediately on his consecration. He does not detail the powers to be exercised by Anysius - the time for that had not yet come. Innocent is here breaking new ground, laying the foundation on which Rome's relationship with Thessalonica might be built. The letter to Rufus a decade later represent a further step along the road. The delegated nature of Rufus's powers is emphasised, and he is given sole authority to decide which cases to refer to Rome and which to judge himself. The latter power was likely to be a source of some confusion, given the persistent tendency of bishops (and lower clergy too) to appeal direct to the highest authority. Further, what if an accusation involved the bishop of Thessalonica himself? In such cases, the Roman bishop might well find himself making a judgment without reference to his vicar.⁷³ This might well be a useful ambiguity, however, from Rome's point of view, for she could then exercise some measure of control if a vicar appeared to be growing too powerful.⁷⁴ Innocent himself did not shrink from receiving petitions direct and passing judgment on the case. In 413, while at Ravenna⁷⁵ he was approached by a priest and deacon on behalf of the clergy of Naissus, with a complaint that they had been

refused communion by Marcianus their bishop, on the ground that their ordination had been at the hands of Bonosus, a condemned heretic.⁷⁶ Their ordination, they said, took place prior to Bonosus' condemnation, and therefore should be recognised as valid. Innocent's letter to Marcianus, therefore, reminds him that the Illyrian council which condemned Bonosus granted such a dispensation, and asks that, if the facts concerning the priests and deacons are correct, he should receive them into communion. A year or two later we find Innocent revising in some way a decision of a Macedonian council concerning Bubalius and Taurianus, presumably members of the lower clergy.⁷⁷ This action clearly caused extreme annoyance among the Macedonians, and in Innocent's reply to their representation on this point we can detect a hint of embarrassment at the reaction he had provoked. Hardly surprising, for he had acted against the spirit, if not the letter, of his initial charge to Rufus.

However, Epistle 18 is an exception, for in general Innocent's dealings with Thessalonica were carefully thought out and firmly executed. The self-confident authority with which he speaks should not blind us to the fact that what is involved here, albeit embryonically, is an entirely new departure in papal policy. Though he represents himself as treading in the broad path laid down by his predecessors, what is foreshadowed here is a structure of church government whereby Rome, through a network of vicariates, exercises firm control over the whole of the Western empire as well as Illyricum in the East. This would take time, perhaps generations, to realise. But the letter to Rufus looks forward to a time when Gaul, Africa, and Spain, and even Britain and the barbarian lands beyond the Rhine, would each have its exarch holding sway as Rome's vicar.⁷⁸

Innocent's policy, therefore, gave a powerful boost to the development of the hierarchic, centralist principle in church government, as opposed to the older, conciliar system.⁷⁹ It also helps to explain why Innocent was apparently so anxious to build up the power of the church of Antioch within the diocese of Oriens. In a letter to Alexander, bishop of Antioch,⁸⁰ Innocent urges him, just as he already consecrates the metropolitans in the various provinces, so to exercise a right of confirmation on the election of suffragan bishops also. The provincial bishops should no longer have the complete freedom to elect whom they will to fill a vacant see. Of course, Rome was concerned at this time to bolster up the power of Antioch in any way she could, as a bulwark against the pretensions of Constantinople.⁸¹ But more than this is involved: *ut longe positos litteris ordinari censeas ab his, qui nunc eos suo tantum ordinant arbitrato* means a shrinking of local power to the benefit of the central authority. It reminds us strikingly of Siricius' commission to Anysius.⁸²

Such are the ramifications of Innocent's policy towards Thessalonica. Careful and far-sighted as he was, he took pains to build up a dossier of documents, which might serve to justify the vicariate if it were challenged. He ordered that the Roman archives be searched for all material which might establish firmly Rome's (and Thessalonica's) claim.⁸³ This dossier he sent to Rufus along with Epistle 13, by the hand of the trusty Senecio.⁸⁴ By this means the ties binding the two sees would grow stronger, and the concept of the vicariate, so vital in Innocent's view to the growing power of the Roman see, become securely established.

THE CHRYSOSTOM AFFAIR

The death of Theodosius the Great in 395 saw the final, and indeed inevitable, partition of the Empire into East and West. Since 337 in fact it had been the normal state of affairs for the Roman world to be governed from two centres, Rome and Constantinople, and the interests of the two halves might and frequently did conflict. Inevitably too, the Church became intimately involved in such struggles: as the bishop of the capital grew in influence and prestige, it became a matter of real political concern to the ruler to ensure that the most powerful among the Church's leaders could be relied upon to further his aims. So too did the ecclesiastical hierarchy try to use its influence to gain secular backing for its own purposes.

On the surface, the division of the Empire in 395 might have seemed to herald peace and harmony between East and West. The respective Augusti, Arcadius and Honorius, were brothers, young,¹ and generally devoid of ambition or ability.² But it soon became clear where the real power lay. Both the Augusti were under tutelage,³ and it is these guardians who hold the stage for the rest of 395. They were enemies,⁴ the one, Rufinus, being *praefectus praetorio* in the East, the other, Stilicho, holding the supreme military command of the Western armies as *magister utriusque militiae*. They clashed decisively even before the year was out; Stilicho's claim to regency over the Eastern government was the issue; and thanks to the support of the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in Constantinople, the eunuch Eutropius, the victory went to Stilicho. Rufinus was murdered by Gothic auxiliaries before the eyes of the Emperor, and Eutropius succeeded to his position of dominance at the Court.

Such was the political scene when Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, died in 397.⁵ two halves of an Empire, each gradually evolving a different administrative system;⁶ two courts, neither controlled by the Augustus,

and a Gothic auxiliary army capable of being used by either side against the other, and a perpetual danger to both.

The Council of Constantinople called by Theodosius shortly after the commencement of his reign to settle finally the Arian controversy which had racked the East for so long, had resulted in other decisions besides this, the chief of them concerned with the definition of ecclesiastical authority, that is, with the powers of bishops to interfere in other ecclesiastical dioceses - a definition long overdue, after the confusions and upheavals of the previous half-century. Broadly speaking, the churches of each civil diocese were to be autonomous, and the bishops of the diocese were forbidden to perform ecclesiastical functions beyond the diocesan boundaries; recognition was given to provincial synods, though it was stressed that their decisions must accord with the canons of Nicaea.⁷ As a general principle, however, this was neither new nor controversial. What was, however, both an innovation and fraught with potential discord, was the declaration of the Third Canon - that "the bishop of Constantinople shall hold the first rank after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome". We shall have occasion later to refer to the attitude of the Roman church towards this canon. Here it will suffice to remark that from 381 the Church of Constantinople has official recognition as the principal see of the East.⁸ Alexandria, therefore, while its primacy over the churches of Egypt and Libya was expressly confirmed, was firmly denied all right to interfere elsewhere; a snub which was made doubly clear by the deposition, contained in another canon of the Council of Constantinople - ordained by Peter - from the episcopal chair of Constantinople. A source of contention was thus created between Alexandria and the capital, for the bishops of the former city were not likely to accept without a struggle the supremacy of a city which a generation or two earlier had possessed no ecclesiastical prominence at all.⁹

The question of a successor to Nectarius was therefore an important matter for both State and Church in the East. Eutropius was at this time all-powerful at Court, and it was his influence that secured the consecration of a priest of the church of Antioch in the episcopal chair of the capital. John, the man thus chosen, had already a considerable reputation as a preacher and teacher in his own city, but, we may believe, was scarcely known outside.¹⁰ Why did Eutropius make this choice? We know there were many place-seekers eager for the appointment¹¹ and willing to spend effort and money in all directions to achieve it. There is no obvious explanation; we can only presume that the secular authorities wanted the comparative calm of Nectarius' reign to continue, and therefore preferred a man who seemed both able and dedicated to the spiritual responsibilities of the priesthood, and not likely to become identified with any party, religious or secular, in the capital; in other words, a man who would rule the Church efficiently without interfering in matters of State politics.

Such may have been their intention. But a man of John's righteous zeal could not help affronting those, both ecclesiastics and laymen, who had grown used to the tolerant ways of his predecessor. Alexandria, too, was hostile to him from the start. Theophilus, the energetic and unscrupulous successor of Timotheus, had done everything possible to damage John's reputation and secure the promotion instead of Isidore, a priest of his own church; and it was only the threat of Eutropius that otherwise he would disclose documents which would render him liable to trial for treason, that finally persuaded Theophilus to ordain John bishop.¹²

John showed himself energetic from the start. It is quite likely that it was he who took the initiative in bringing about a final reconciliation between the Western Churches and the see of Antioch. There had been no fellowship between Flavian and Rome since the former's

consecration on Meletius' death in 381. On the ground that Flavian had broken his oath that Paulinus should be allowed to rule as sole bishop in the event of Meletius' prior death, Rome preferred to recognise Paulinus as sole bishop.¹³ Unfortunately for Rome, however, Flavian's support in Antioch was overwhelming, and when Paulinus eventually lay dying,¹⁴ he could find no bishop in whose presence he could consecrate his successor, Evagrius. This placed Rome in a considerable difficulty, for clearly she could not recognise Evagrius as bishop,¹⁵ thus consecrated contrary to the canon.¹⁶ Evagrius, however, did not survive long, and, as Paulinus contrived successfully to prevent the ordination of a successor, the way now lay open for eventual recognition. Now Rome did not at all wish simply to accord this to Flavian in a manner which might imply that she had been wrong to press her doubts about the orthodoxy of the Meletian party for so long; neither was Flavian for his part minded to submit his claim to the ^{Roman} see for judgment. So the break in fellowship continued. Efforts to get Flavian to appear in Rome failed.¹⁷ A council at Capua (early in 392)¹⁸ favoured Evagrius, but entrusted a decision in the matter to Theophilus of Alexandria.¹⁹ A council of Eastern bishops now took cognizance of the matter at Caesarea in Palestine and recognised Flavian as lawful bishop;²⁰ and soon afterwards, in 394, Flavian, Nectarius and Theophilus met at the dedication ceremony of the basilica of SS. Peter and Paul at Rufinus' villa near Chalcedon, where they took the opportunity to hold a council. Flavian was now recognised throughout the East, of this we can be certain; but our sources disagree as to the date of the reconciliation moves towards Rome.

Socrates mentions two visits of Isidore to Rome, one in 388, the other about ten years later,²¹ the former being the "treasonable mission" (see Note 12), the latter the "reconciliation mission". Sozomen mentions both missions also,²² but without following Socrates' error of making

Damasus the recipient of the "reconciliation mission". He also casts John as the prime mover in the reconciliation process, soon after his installation in 398. Theodoret gives the same story, but declares that Flavian was first recognised at Rome during the papacy of Innocent (i.e. not before 402).²³ Similarly, Palladius speaks of a 20 year break in communion, which seems to point to 402.²⁴ Now circumstantially we should expect an attempt at restoration of communion with Rome in 394, the year in which Theophilus recognised Flavian.²⁵ Duchesne, therefore, advanced reasons for conflating the two missions, and locating the single resulting embassy in 394, supposing a confusion by Socrates of Maximus' with Eugenius' usurpation.²⁶ Brooks, on the other hand, regarded the testimony of Theodoret as weighty (he was closely connected with Antioch), and opted for 401.²⁷ It is better, however, to follow the best source, Palladius. According to his account, Acacius came to Rome with the news of John's ordination, i.e. in 398.²⁸ In another context, Isidore is said to have come to Rome "on ecclesiastical business", and (it is implied) on another occasion to have brought the communion of Flavian with Theophilus to Rome in company with Acacius, thus ending a twenty years' break.²⁹ Now it was communion between Alexandria and Antioch, not Rome and Antioch that was thus restored, so nothing can be reduced from this as to the date of reconciliation with Rome. While, therefore, Duchesne's hypothesis of a single mission is to be rejected, the question remains difficult whether 394 or 398 is the date of the "reconciliation mission".³⁰ Yet why should Acacius, an old man, have made the journey to Rome, simply to announce John's ordination? One suspects some more important business was to be transacted. An involvement of John may therefore be perfectly possible. Theodoret, it may be noted, speaks of a "seventeen years" hostility over Flavian, which would indicate 398. His mention of Innocent as bishop of Rome at the time may be safely regarded as a chronological error, since earlier in the same chapter he speaks of Anastasius as

bishop during the lifetime of Theodosius the Great.³² Schwartz³³ pointed to the evidence of a letter of Severus of Antioch,³⁴ which quoted part of a letter of Theophilus to Flavian. From this it is clear that Anastasius was still in communion with the minority church in Antioch. Schwartz assumed that this indicated that Rome had not yet recognised Flavian, and thus Theodoret's involvement of Innocent would be confirmed. Such a conclusion is, however, unwarranted. Indeed, if one may understand Brooks' translation literally, it offers explicit evidence to the contrary.³⁵

The evidence, therefore, points to 398, but only conjecture can supply reasons for the four year delay. Whether or not John was responsible for seizing the initiative in this matter in 398, the Gothic Arians were not long in experiencing the eagerness of his desire for the unity of the Church. He made strenuous efforts to obtain their conversion to the Nicene faith, by assigning a church and native-speaking presbyters for their service.³⁶ His firmness, too, was not in doubt. He did not hesitate to oppose Gainas' request that he be assigned a church within the walls of Constantinople, where the Arian rite could be celebrated.³⁷ This did not prevent him, if Theodoret may be believed,³⁸ from undertaking an embassy to Gainas, at a time when the barbarian general was openly threatening the city.

But it was his strictures against the life and manners of the highly-placed in the capital which were to prove fatal to him. John was himself inclined to asceticism; indeed he had at an earlier period of his life retired from Antioch to the desert for the space of six years,³⁹ two of them in solitude. His body, it appears, not his mind, had succumbed to the rigours of cold and lack of sleep, causing him to return to the church at Antioch. So now as bishop he practised a stern frugality at table and was conspicuous by his absence at banquets.

Socrates and Sozomen⁴⁰ attribute this persistent refusal of such invitations to a weakness of the stomach, but this fact, even if known, will not have gone far to mitigate the annoyance of those who expected their presence of their bishop on such occasions. He was outspoken against extravagance and immorality of all kinds, within and without the church.⁴¹ Thus, while he gained the support and goodwill of the common people and of those who had the true precepts of religion at heart, the rich laity, numbers of his fellow-bishops, and many of his own clergy and of the monks took his strictures ill, and were before long ready to lend a sympathetic ear to any plan to replace him. In fairness to his opponents, it may be said that John had the reputation of being an irritable and irascible man on occasions, and, though his motives were always of the highest, he was apt to be tactless, not to say naive, in his methods; so that both in public and in private he was liable to cause needless offence to those he sought to guide.⁴²

John did not confine his attempts at reform to the capital. Theodoret⁴³ tells us he encouraged a number of fervent ascetics to make their way to Phoenicia and destroy the pagan temples there; even adding that they were furnished by John with imperial edicts authorising the mission. This is probably to be connected with the representations made to John by Porphyry, bishop of Gaza, through his deacon Mark, which resulted in the closing of almost all Gaza's pagan places of worship.⁴⁴ Far more serious, however, was his direct personal intervention in the ecclesiastical affairs of Asia.⁴⁵ It appears that Antoninus, bishop of Ephesus, had fallen under suspicion of having sold bishoprics for money, and Eusebius, bishop of Valentinopolis, had published a pamphlet accusing him of this and other misdeeds. An enquiry was set on foot into these matters, particularly the charge of simony, but before any judgment could be arrived at the accused bishop died. John now took matters

into his own hands and set off (probably in the winter of 400-01)⁴⁶ to settle the matter once and for all. As a result of the enquiry he held, six bishops convicted of having obtained their sees for money were deposed, and Heraclides, one of John's own deacons, was consecrated bishop of Ephesus. In acting thus, John seems to have been perfectly within his rights. The oversight of the churches of Asia belonged in the first instance to the bishop of Ephesus, but since it was his see that was in question, the bishop of Constantinople was clearly the one on whom the responsibility devolved, in view of the 3rd canon of 381. It was John before whom Eusebius accused Antoninus; it was he to whom the clergy of Ephesus and the bishops of Asia appealed after Antoninus' death, to come down and regulate their affairs. And it appears that when the case of Heraclides was brought up at the Synod of the Oak, the burden of the accusation was concerned with Heraclides' unworthiness to be consecrated, not with John's lack of right to consecrate him to the see.⁴⁷ However, there is no doubt that John made enemies through this enterprise, and the chief of them was likely to be the bishop of Alexandria, who could not but regard this as a clear demonstration (perhaps the first since 381), of the practical effect of the controversial 3rd canon.

When John returned to the capital he found himself distinctly less favourably regarded than before. Severian, bishop of Gabala, had insinuated himself into the Empress's favour, and had quarrelled with John's archdeacon and confidant Serapion.⁴⁸ Antiochus of Ptolemais and Acacius of Beroea were also in the city, each of them working against the archbishop.⁴⁹ Indeed there was fuel for them in the situation already through the furious hostility towards John on the part of several prominent ladies at court.⁵⁰ And, though the exact chronology is unfortunately uncertain, we have the testimony of Porphyry's deacon Mark to a rupture of relations between John and the Empress at this time.⁵¹

It was at this juncture that a quarrel arose in Egypt between Theophilus and a number of monks under his spiritual overlordship. According to Palladius, who describes the origins of this quarrel in some detail,⁵² it originated with the priest Isidore, whom Theophilus had a few years before attempted to place on the episcopal throne of Constantinople. Isidore had incurred the wrath of his bishop on account of some money given to the Church by a rich woman; when to escape his wrath he fled to the monastic community in the Nitrian desert, Theophilus pursued him virorously, accusing the monks who sheltered him of favouring the works of Origen. He went so far as to summon a synod, have the three chiefs among them excommunicated, and employed a military force from the prefect to expel them from Egypt. The raid on their cells was so violent, however, that some three hundred monks decided to leave their country; and took the road for Palestine. Even now Theophilus was not content, but wrote a letter to the bishops of Palestine and Cyprus accusing them of heresy, hatred and violence.⁵³ Even Anastasius, bishop of Rome, was moved to congratulate him on his unceasing efforts against the errors of Origen.⁵⁴

Thus pursued and harried, many of the monks arrived eventually at Constantinople to seek the protection and favour of John. The latter was thus placed in a difficult position: to grant them communion or to seem in any way to judge their cause would be to offend their bishop. ^{he} So acted diplomatically, offering them hospitality and writing to Theophilus on their behalf. He, however, was not minded to desist from the course he had chosen, and sent some clergy to Constantinople with a formal letter of accusation. The monks now decided to resist. They placed a writ of accusation against Theophilus in the hands of John. Unwillingly, John was being drawⁿ into this quarrel, which threatened to assume major proportions. He tried to mediate; but neither the monks nor Theophilus would withdraw. At this point John tried to wash his

hands of the matter. The monks, therefore, seeing no help for it, if they were ever to free themselves from suspicion and return to their homeland, decided to take their accusation before the highest secular authority. They petitioned the Empress in person as she was returning from a church festival. It was successful. The imperial command went forth that Theophilus must present himself at Constantinople to answer the charges laid against him, before a clerical court presided over by the bishop, John. We may surely assume from this decision to refer the matter for settlement to a court under John's presidency that the quarrel to which deacon Mark bears testimony had now been forgotten, or at least had not caused a break in all relations between bishop and Court.

It was now the summer of 402.⁵⁵ What could Theophilus do to avoid or mitigate the charge against him? He could scarcely excuse himself from coming altogether.⁵⁶ What he could and did do was to utilise the discontent and bad feeling which John's strict behaviour had aroused in many quarters, so as to direct blame away from himself. Indeed he must have prepared his ground well even before he left Alexandria, for he is said to have declared: "I am going to the Residence to depose John".⁵⁷ He had written to the Syrian bishops in Constantinople to set on foot an enquiry into John's earlier life in Antioch, so as to discover if possible material for accusations.⁵⁸ Yet although Theophilus had managed ~~by~~ the time he finally arrived in Constantinople to arrange the presence in the capital of many who would be willing to support an accusation against John, definite grounds for such an accusation were lacking. Theophilus' friends in Constantinople therefore set about searching John's sermons, where by unscrupulous falsification they were able to find passages which made it appear that he had slandered the Empress and other persons of the Court.⁵⁹ Further,

he was able to suborn both the archdeacon and many of John's clergy.⁶⁰ John was now in deep trouble. Yet even at this crisis he might by vigorous action have defended himself against these falsehoods. But it was not in his character to stoop to the level of his calumniators. Nor does he seem to have appreciated fully the game Theophilus was playing. At all events, when Theophilus had been in the capital some weeks, John deliberately refused a request from the Emperor that he press ahead with the original case against Theophilus.⁶¹

The writing was on the wall. Theophilus had brought from Egypt twenty-nine bishops and many costly gifts. These he was able to use to support his request for a synod to judge the case against John. It was granted, and the latter's enemies gathered at the place known as At the Oak near Chalcedon.

The charges laid against John at the Synod for the Oak are fortunately preserved for us in detail. Photius read a formal document giving an account of the trial, and included it in his *Bibliotheca*.⁶² The true nature of Theophilus' synod is thus made clear. A deacon of Constantinople and Isaac the abbot each laid accusations, forty-six in all, against John. Nothing was said about Origenism or the reception of the Long Brothers.⁶³ Most are of a frivolous nature, at least in the circumstances, though they bear eloquent testimony to the serious effect of John's stern behaviour on his ecclesiastical colleagues. The bishop was summoned by the Synod; he refused to appear, so long as those who should judge him included his declared enemies, Theophilus, Acacius and Severian. Theophilus, however, had provided against the contingency of John's refusal to appear, and had obtained beforehand an order of the Emperor commanding him to present himself for trial before the synod constituted just as it was. So the synod proceeded in his absence, resulting in a unanimous verdict of condemnation. This the bishops

deemed sufficient for sentence of deposition. Yet they knew that without the backing of the secular power John's expulsion from his see could not be effected. They therefore wrote to the Emperor, informing him of what they had done, and asking that the accusation of high treason be judged by the Emperor, and a sentence of banishment be imposed.⁶⁴

Their appeal was successful. John's banishment was ordered by imperial decree, and carried out not more than three days after the synod verdict.⁶⁵ he was conveyed to Praenethus in Bithynia to spend the night. Yet scarcely one day had passed when he was recalled by the Empress following some personal mishap she had suffered in the meantime.⁶⁶ John was now in something of a dilemma. For all he regarded the judgment of the Synod of the Oak as unjust, yet a man of scrupulous character such as John was would naturally feel compunction about over-riding the decision of thirty-six bishops on his own authority. He will have wanted a definite authorisation from a number of bishops before resuming his episcopal chair.⁶⁷ Yet popular feelings proved too strong: in triumph he was conveyed back to his cathedral by his rejoicing people. Theophilus, now so unexpectedly defeated and in fear for his own safety, departed with his bishops for Alexandria.

John, however, pressed his demand for a fresh synod to reverse the judgment passed on him at the Oak. Now restored to favour, he petitioned the Emperor for the summoning of the bishops once more. Theophilus was now able to excuse himself on the ground that his people would not readily allow him to leave them so soon after his lengthy absence before, and he was not pressed further. His suffragan bishops did not therefore come to Constantinople, and neither apparently did any of the other enemies of John. When the gathering finally took place, therefore, the sixty-five bishops there present

declared the Synod of the Oak null and void and confirmed John in possession of his episcopal see.⁶⁶

So the Synod and the intrigues which surrounded it had been erased. Yet, what of the causes which produced a favourable climate in which such plots could come to fruition? Might there not be further conflict with the Empress or the Court ladies? Two events combined to bring this about. A silver statue in honour of the Empress was dedicated with great festivity one Sunday near the cathedral, and John felt moved to express his displeasure at the noise and profanity of the celebration. Soon after this John preached on the occasion of the feast of the beheading of John the Baptist. Whether John on this occasion used words intended to be understood as comparing Herodias and the Baptist with Eudoxia and himself, or whether his words were distorted by his enemies, cannot now be determined. Yet these two occurrences were sufficient to set in motion a train of intrigues, involving the same circle of John's enemies as before. Theophilus was contacted; his reply was to send three Egyptian bishops with a copy of the canons of the Synod of Antioch in 341, one of which was that a bishop might not resume his see after deposition by an episcopal synod. This canon had been formulated by those opposed to the Nicene creed, who wished to keep Athanasius exiled and silenced. It is difficult to see how such a canon could be held binding for all time just as it stood, given the back-and-forth nature of ecclesiastical struggles in the East. However, it was a useful tool for Theophilus' purpose, and he made full use of it.

So the two sides mustered their forces in the capital. They were more evenly matched this time. John had at least forty-two bishops supporting him.⁶⁹ Both parties sent a deputation to the Emperor, which proved inconclusive as the enemies of John could obviously not defend

the orthodoxy of the Antioch bishops whose authority they wished to invoke. But they were more successful in their private intrigues, so successful in fact that before Easter 404 Arcadius signed a decree ordering John to leave his church. John replied refusing to forsake his charge; whereupon he was sent word from the imperial palace that he was to consider himself deposed, but that he could remain in his episcopal residence for the time being. Thus Easter approached, and at last, under pressure from Acacius and the others, Arcadius ordered John's banishment.

The imperial decree was not put into effect for some weeks. Despite the bloody affray during the baptism of catechumens on Easter day,⁷⁰ John was allowed to remain in his palace, possibly while Eudoxia waited, hoping that force would not be necessary to compel him to leave. Finally, the pleas of Acacius, Antiochus, Severian and Cyrinus prevailed, and Arcadius sent word to John ordering him to quit the city or be expelled by military force. The bishop bowed to the inevitable, and on 20 June⁷¹ departed under military escort to the harbour and exile.

What hope was now left to John? He had clearly refused all along to curry favour with the court by unworthy means, and he would not do so now.⁷² The bishops of the East had proved powerless to defend him. The bishop of Rome was the only influential figure who might possibly assist him to secure a fair decision on his case and a return to his see. Even before his final expulsion from the city, John had written to Rome, and his letter had been conveyed by four bishops loyal to him. Along with this letter, went two others, one from the forty bishops who formed his chief support in the capital at that time, another from the clergy of Constantinople, who had remained loyal to their bishop.⁷³ In this long communication John described⁵ to Pope Innocent the progress of events from the original accusation laid against Theophilus to the

present; protests his innocence and the flagrant injustice of his treatment; expresses his willingness to have his case examined before an impartial synod, and asks that the Roman bishop work zealously to secure this. Clearly John had not thought of any peculiar right vested in the see of Rome to pass judgment throughout the Church. The fact that only now did John see fit to write to Rome, when all hope in the East had gone, and he also sent the same letter to Venerius, bishop of Milan, and to Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia. John was asking the most distinguished, most influential, prelates of the West to see that the dangerous precedent set by the manner of his deposition was not allowed to stand.⁷⁴ Theophilus, however, had not been idle in the meantime. He had received word of this embassy of John's supporters, and hastened to forestall them. Till now he had given no official intimation to the West of what he had done. To do so would only have been to complicate matters for himself; if he was to succeed in having John expelled from his bishopric once more, it could only be as a result of intrigue in the capital, not by stirring up powerful ecclesiastics whom he would not be able to control.⁷⁵ Now, however, he was forced to act. Sending off a priest to Constantinople to fetch from there the acts of the Synod of the Oak, upon which his case against John depended, he then immediately despatched a second messenger to Rome with a letter declaring that he, Theophilus, had deposed bishop John, and requesting that Innocent therefore refuse communion to the latter.⁷⁶ The abrupt tone of this letter is at first sight surprising: Theophilus makes no attempt to justify his action or to persuade Innocent to support him. Yet it is at least consistent with Theophilus' behaviour throughout this quarrel. By what right did an Alexandrian bishop initiate an enquiry into the alleged misdemeanours of a bishop in another province, in another diocese even? Only by right of an assumed primacy over all the Churches of the East, a primacy which had been rejected by 3rd canon of

the Council of Constantinople in 381. Theophilus was behaving as though this canon had never been promulgated. Now Rome also did not recognise this decree of the council, though for different reasons, and had indeed expressly confirmed the second place of honour to Alexandria, the see of Mark.⁷⁷ Theophilus might therefore have hoped that his right to act as judge over the bishop of Constantinople would pass unchallenged by Rome.⁷⁸

If such was his thought, he miscalculated. Innocent was surprised and indignant at the tone of the letter, even though not until three days later did he receive the embassy of the Johannites.⁷⁹ When eventually the entreaties of both sides had been presented to him, he gave his decision in writing to both John and Theophilus. He declared illegal the judgment of the Synod of the Oak, and called for an impartial Synod of both Eastern and Western bishops to pronounce definitely on the case. In truth, this was too good an opportunity to miss, and Rome's answer was predictable. To act, if not as judge, at least as honest broker, was both flattering to herself and a means of extending her influence. So Pope Julius had in an earlier generation taken up the cause of Athanasius;⁸⁰ so Damasus supported Peter, sending him back to Alexandria with letters sanctioning his ordination;⁸¹ just so had Siricius intervened in the schism at Antioch, ~~the latter~~ having no doubt been responsible for an imperial demand that Flavian present himself at a council in the West.⁸² Innocent was thus treading in his predecessor's footsteps when he requested the calling of a fresh synod in which he himself should be represented. Moreover, he had corresponded with John on friendly terms even before this.⁸³

shortly after the despatch of these letters, Theophilus' second messenger arrived bearing the acts of the Oak Synod. Upon reading the account of the proceedings there, together with Theophilus' covering

letter, heaping invective upon John,⁸⁴ Innocent wrote again to Theophilus.⁸⁵ His position was as before: he maintained communion with both John and Theophilus, and invited the latter to call a synod which should pass judgment according to the Nicene canons - "for the Roman church recognises no other law."⁸⁶ Innocent had no axe to grind in the matters in dispute between Theophilus and John. If Sozomen's account of the restoration of the Roman communion to Flavian has any truth in it, then both bishops will have corresponded with Rome on friendly terms as recently as 398. Further, though Rome's prestige would increase enormously if she could take a bishop of Constantinople successfully under her wing, victory for either side after an ecumenical synod would be acceptable to Rome. Therefore Innocent could judge the case impartially, which meant that he could hardly fail to support John, at least until the case was examined afresh.

So far only the ecclesiastical authorities in the West had been concerned with John's deposition. Now, whether on Stilicho's or Innocent's prompting it is impossible to say,⁸⁷ Honorius wrote to his brother a letter containing his own complaints⁸⁸ as well as those of the Johannites.⁸⁹ Both Innocent's and Honorius' letters arrived at Constantinople in October,⁹⁰ where they no doubt greatly encouraged John's supporters. However, the authorities were unmoved. John had now, of course, been banished months since, and a persecution of the Johannites was under way. No reply was given by Arcadius to his brother; indeed the persecution was intensified, as the law of 18 November makes plain.⁹¹ Those who refused to communicate with Arsacius as bishop of Constantinople in succession to John were subjected to fines and torture.

As a result, the last months of 404 saw a steady stream of messengers and exiles from the East reporting to the Roman church on the sufferings visited on the Johannites. Innocent, in response to all these representations, wrote again to John and to the clergy of Constantinople.⁹²

His counsel was patience - they could be sure of the rightness of their stand in support of John; for the rest they must trust in God. Clearly there was no immediate hope at this time of the ecumenical synod being called. The East seemed impervious to entreaty or to righteousness. Yet Eudoxia was now dead.⁹³ She who had been primarily responsible, at any rate initially, for the success of Theophilus' plans, could no longer be offended by anything John might say or do. Possibly we are to see in the increased vigour of the persecution a product of the conflict between East and West: "to harry the Johannites was the East's way of asserting its independence; to support them was for the West a means to force the Eastern government into tutelage."⁹⁴

Innocent did not give up all hope, however. He convened in Rome a synod of Italian bishops, probably in January 405,⁹⁵ which pronounced invalid the decision of the Oak Synod, and demanded a fresh synod of Oriental and Western bishops to examine the matter. It proposed that Thessalonica should be the meeting place for such a synod, as being a convenient half-way point between East and West.⁹⁶ Of course, Thessalonica was highly convenient from the Western point of view for another reason: its bishop, Anysius, was virtually a legate of the Roman see,⁹⁷ and had already sent Innocent word that in this matter he would follow the judgment of Rome.⁹⁸ It was decided that an embassy of bishops should bear this formal decision to Constantinople, in the hope that this time a more favourable reception would be accorded the Western representatives. Honorius also sent a letter by their hand, begging Arcadius to accede to the request of the Roman Synod.⁹⁹ Late^e in 405, therefore, the bishops set off for Constantinople.

How was this embassy likely to be received in the East? Admittedly, the prospects did not appear favourable. Anthemius and Stilicho were

not on good terms at this time.¹⁰⁰ Further, the request for a synod necessarily involved John's return from exile and his restoration to his see and full dignities. Theophilus could not be made the sole scapegoat if the East had wished to come to an accommodation; nothing less than a humiliating climb-down on the part of the government was being requested by Innocent and Honorius. Small wonder that it was regarded as an affront to the Eastern Empire.¹⁰¹

The contents of the letters must have been known in the East before the embassy set off. The envoys were prevented from breaking their journey at Thessalonica to deliver a pontifical letter to Anysius; and when they arrived at Constantinople they were immediately interned,¹⁰² and the letters they bore forcibly taken from them. However, they steadfastly refused to yield either to intimidation or to bribery, and when finally no progress seemed to have been made against their stubbornness the Eastern authorities decided to send the Western bishops home and the Orientals into exile.

Four months after the departure of the embassy, the Western contingent returned to Rome, and the story of their humiliating treatment was recounted. Both the ecclesiastical and the secular authority of the West has been ignored and shamed. The government could do nothing by way of retaliation, distracted as it was by the invasion of Radagaisus into Northern Italy.¹⁰³ The Roman see reacted in the only way it could: it broke off all ecclesiastical relations with Theophilus, Atticus, Porphyrius and all the other chief opponents of John.¹⁰⁴

The East, for its part, redoubled its drive against John's supporters: more than eighteen bishops were shortly expelled from their sees;¹⁰⁵ and John himself was eventually taken from Arabissus,

which had become a place of pilgrimage for his supporters,¹⁰⁶ and put on the road for Pityus, at the foot of the Caucasus mountains. Clearly, John was an embarrassment of the government. Whether whoever was responsible for removing him from Arabissus actually intended his death is impossible to say; but certainly that event would have been not unwelcome to many in the capital. At all events, to subject the already weakened bishop to the rigours of so long a journey in high summer¹⁰⁷ was tantamount to a death sentence. And so it transpired, for in the course of the journey, on 14 September 407 near the small town of Comana, John breathed his last.

His death made the calling of the ecumenical synod pointless. Yet the Johannites and their opponents remained out of all communion and fellowship. Now that each side had taken up such an entrenched position, only time and the death of the principal actors in the drama could bring about a reconciliation. The West suffered grievously in the next years from Alaric's ravages, so it was left largely to the East to soothe the bitterness of the past and foster the climate of concord. The chief question at issue was now the inclusion of John's name in the diptychs, the register of the dead whose names were read aloud in the liturgy. The question was whether John should be included in this list as bishop, signifying that he had departed this life in that office.¹⁰⁸

It appears that Anth^emius accorded the Johannites an amnesty after John's death, which meant that those Eastern bishops who still refused to communicate with Atticus, Porphyrius and Theophilus would suffer no further molestation from the government.¹⁰⁹ A further weakening of the anti-Johannite resistance is given by a letter of Theophilus, in which he asks Atticus to cease his persecution of them.¹¹⁰

In 412 Theophilus died, followed in the next year by Porphyrius. The latter's successor Alexander was quick to insert John's name in the diptychs, whereupon he was warmly granted the fellowship of the Roman bishop and of the West.¹¹¹ Seeing that circumstances were favourable to a reconciliation, Innocent wrote to his envoy in Constantinople, inviting Atticus to follow Alexander's example.¹¹² Atticus, however, could not bring himself to do this. Yet the tide was against him; eventually, pressed by the people and his fellow-bishops, for the sake of peace he consented to inscribe John's name in the registers and resume communion with Rome.¹¹³ Eventually Cyril too capitulated and agreed that the Alexandrian church should recognise John as bishop.¹¹⁴

So communion was restored between church and church in the East, and between East and West. The long and bitter quarrel was over. Yet its significance in the history of both Church and State is profound. Christianity in the East had displayed the division, Christianity in the West the unity and order, which characterised then during the Arian struggles of the previous century.

It was inevitable that Alexander and Constantinople would eventually clash on the issue of the latter's growing power and potential claim to dominance over the whole Eastern Church. The reign of Nectarius the elderly courtier had offered no opportunity for open conflict. He had no desire to impose himself on other churches, and his position at the imperial court rendered him impregnable against attack. It was quite otherwise with John. Fired with a burning desire to purge the Church of everything unworthy, he made full use of his position to intervene both in Bithynia¹¹⁵ and in Asia.¹¹⁶ Theophilus cannot but have been alarmed at the precedent set by such actions, and it is scarcely surprising that he left no stone unturned to secure

John's deposition and the humiliation of the church of Constantinople.

That he was able to succeed was due largely to the support that the civil power brought to bear on his behalf. The direct involvement of the Eastern court in matters of religion was, of course, nothing new. Since Constantine's edict calling the bishops to Nicaea, it had been the Emperor's traditional prerogative to convoke the universal synods whose task was to decide matters of more than local importance. Constantius II had deposed and set up bishops at will, in an attempt to impose unity of faith on the Church. In a moment of exasperation he is even said to have remarked "What I will, let that be regarded as a canon."¹¹⁷ Valens' reign, too, was marked by persecution and harassment of bishops whose creed differed from that favoured by the emperor. Theodosius found the Church weary of the Arian struggles, and willing to accept the Nicene formula. He was thus spared the disorders which his predecessors had encountered. But that his attitude to his ecclesiastical responsibilities in no way differed from theirs is proved by the edict of 30 July 381 requiring conformity to the faith of Nectarius and Timothy.¹¹⁸ Similarly, he felt no compunction in proposing Nectarius to the synod of Constantinople as a worthy candidate for the capital see.¹¹⁹ It was quite in accordance with tradition, therefore, that the court should decide who was to take Nectarius' place in 397/8. And he who selects a man for an office is likely to think himself entitled to remove him from it.

The contrast between John's experience and that of Ambrose springs readily to mind. Ambrose could successfully withstand an edict requiring him to give up a basilica for the use of Arians.¹²⁰ He could defy the emperor Maximus in front of his own court.¹¹¹ He could compel Theodosius to rescind the order to restore the synagogue at Callinicum burnt down during an anti-Jewish riot,¹²² and, by refusing him communion,

would force him to do public penance for the crime of the massacre of Thessalonica.¹²³ In the juxtaposition of the careers of the two bishops we may see in embryo the trends that were to distinguish the Western from the Eastern Church in their relationship with the State: the West asserting with Ambrose that the divine can be distinguished from the secular and that the emperor's power extends only over the latter,¹²⁴ the East accommodating itself gradually to the doctrine that the emperor is head also of the Church.¹²⁵ But we should beware of over-stressing this difference in the early fifth century. Ambrose's statement of the duties of the Christian prince laid upon him the responsibility to preserve the orthodox Nicene faith in both Church and empire.¹²⁶ The exponent of such a doctrine might criticise an emperor's involvement in support of heresy, but he could hardly object to the principle of State intervention in matters of faith. And in practice few objected when the State was on their side.¹²⁷ That was inevitable so long as it was generally believed that the temporal welfare of the empire depended directly upon its doctrinal orthodoxy.¹²⁸ The interventions of the Eastern as of the Western¹²⁹ court into the Church's affairs were usually solicited by a faction within the Church itself. As we have seen, it was the urgent entreaties of Acacius and Severian that moved Arcadius to exile John. Further, they did not charge him before the emperor with the alleged breaches of ecclesiastical discipline for which they had deposed him at the Oak synod; they knew that only the charge of insulting the emperor and his household could impel him to support them.¹³⁰ Ambrose was a member of the highest nobility, the social equal of any at court, including the emperor himself. The boldness he permitted himself was born of a familiarity with successive emperors, and could have been imitated by few, if any, of his contemporaries.¹³¹ John Chrysostom

was a man of equal courage. He too boldly refused to leave his church when the emperor commanded him to do so. But his position was far weaker than that of Ambrose in face of a similar command in 386. Ambrose had his clergy, his people and even influential persons at court on his side.¹³² John's uncompromising, not to say, tactless condemnation of moral laxity had alienated the court and many of his clergy, as well as a good number of bishops. Though he still retained the devotion of the people, they were powerless against armed force. Ambrose was spared such a trial of strength. Valentinian's preoccupation with Maximus' warlike preparations made it advisable for the government to call off the confrontation.¹³³

Once John was exiled for the second and final time, the civil disorders and the resistance offered by his supporters to the new bishop Arsacius soon placed the government in a difficult position. It had either to back down or enforce its decision, and it chose the latter. So a vigorous persecution was waged against all who would not recognise Arsacius and the latter's successor Atticus. Naturally, the Western Church was powerless to offer more than consolation to the Johannites. Even the representations of the Western court, hamstrung by the deteriorating relations between it and the East as a result of Stilico's policies,¹³⁴ proved futile. All that Innocent could do then was to maintain his position and await a more favourable climate in the East. And when it came, due more to the continuing popular agitation^{in the East} on John's behalf than to outside pressure,¹³⁵ he employed that consistency and firmness that characterise all his dealings, to vindicate both the name of John and the stand which the Roman church had taken in his support.

PETAGIANISM¹

Since the Origenist controversy died down with the death of Anastasius² the Roman church had experienced no major doctrinal conflict. The political troubles of the years 408-10 and the subsequent flight of many of the nobility to more tranquil parts had dissipated the energies that in more peaceful times had been devoted to theological disputation. But Innocent's pontificate was not destined to play out its last years in unbroken calm: for at the close of the year 416 there arrived from Africa three letters, all requesting action from Innocent on an urgent doctrinal matter which the African church clearly regarded as of the highest importance.

At their regular synod³ in Carthage, the bishops of the province of Africa Proconsularis⁴ had been addressed by a Spanish presbyter Orosius, recently returned from the East.⁵ He had brought with him a letter from two Gallic bishops Heros and Lazarus, the reading of which put the assembled bishops in mind of a doctrinal case which had been judged by themselves at a similar synod five years before. On that occasion, a layman recently arrived from Rome, together with other refugees from the ravages of Alaric, Celestius, had been accused by Paulinus, a deacon of the church of Milan, on various counts, chiefly that he held guilt to be incapable of transmission from one individual to another, and therefore denied that infant baptism redeemed from sin.⁶ Though Celestius had put up a vigorous defence, his views were condemned and the priesthood he was seeking thereby denied him.⁷ This condemnation, however, had not prevented Celestius' opinions from spreading, and the letter of Heros and Lazarus seemed to confirm this.

This letter has perished, but we can hazard a guess as to its substance, since the two bishops had been in 415⁸ the authors of an accusation against Celestius' teacher, Pelagius, laid before the

metropolitan bishop of Caesarea in Palestine; and about the subsequent proceedings at a synod held at Diospolis we are extremely well-informed.⁹ Heros and Lazarus had been unable through the ill-health of one of them to be present at Diospolis, and the charges against Pelagius were therefore read from their written deposition.¹⁰ These charges were that Pelagius held the following opinions: that a man could, if he so willed, be without sin, provided he knew the divine law, and that, just as there had been perfect men in the past, so today the Church on earth was a company of the spotless and sinless;¹¹ that the guilt of Adam's sin affected only himself, and that infants who die unbaptised may enjoy eternal life;¹² that God's grace was to be seen in his gift of freewill and his law, not in specific aid to keep that law, and therefore victory over sin was a human achievement; further, the divine forgiveness was given to those who earned it through penance.¹³ The first group of accusations consisted of alleged quotations from a work of Pelagius, a *Liber Eclogarum*, consisting of doctrinal statements elucidated by scriptural proofs.¹⁴ Since this book was not available to the synod, Pelagius was able to satisfy them that his meaning in such statements was innocuous. The second and third groups were admitted by the accusers to be words written by Celestius, and Pelagius was therefore merely invited to disavow them. This he did,¹⁵ whereupon the synod pronounced his doctrine in conformity with that of the catholic faith.¹⁶

So far as we know, Orosius was not present at the Diospolis synod, but its conclusion was of immense concern to him. He had gone to Palestine to counter Pelagius' teaching and had secured an interview with bishop John of Jerusalem, which had, however, turned out less than successfully for him.¹⁷ Now that Pelagius had been acquitted (albeit at the cost of condemning many of the views objected to him), Orosius took the first opportunity of returning to Africa. There his news was bound to cause considerable dismay, especially to Augustine, who had

already composed several treatises against the opinions Pelagius was said to hold.¹⁸ For it appears that Pelagius regarded his absolution as a vindication of his teaching, and some months later a letter was circulating, said to be from his pen, which declared, among other things, that the decision of fourteen bishops had approved the opinion "that a man could be without sin, and could easily keep the divine commandments if he wished."¹⁹ Pelagius even sent a pamphlet to Augustine, defending himself, but the latter considered it contained a misleading account of the Diospolis synod.²⁰ At any rate, Orosius' report was that Pelagius' sympathisers in the West were jubilant,²¹ and Augustine and Orosius resolved on action. While the former prepared the anti-Pelagian case for the Numidian synod to be held at Milevis, Orosius departed for Carthage to argue the matter at the synod there. The two moves were carefully concerted. The synodal letter of the Carthage council was brought to Milevis,²² where the 61 bishops then signed a letter of their own to the Roman bishop, and both were entrusted to a visiting bishop Julius for delivery to Rome.²³ And to make the matter quite certain, Augustine and four of his fellow bishops,²⁴ one of whom was Aurelius, the primate of Carthage, drafted a personal letter to Innocent, in which they developed the arguments in favour of divine grace in a much fuller fashion than was possible in the synodal letters.²⁵

It was a sizable bundle of documents that Innocent received from Julius in the winter of 416-7. In addition to the three letters the Africans had included the *gesta* of the Carthaginian synod of 411 which condemned Celestius, a copy of Pelagius' treatise *De Natura* with the controversial passages marked, and Augustine's own treatise *De Natura et Gratia*, written the previous year in response to it.²⁶ In addition, there was enclosed a letter of Augustine to Pelagius²⁷ and the latter's

pamphlet in his own defence written after the Diospolis synod.²⁸

So far we have traced the principal events that preceded the sending of the African letters. We must now enquire into the doctrinal background of Pelagius' thought, in an attempt to assess how Innocent might have been expected to react.

Pelagius was of an ascetic temperament, and his teaching corresponded to his manner of life. There was nothing unusual in this in the fifth century Church. Men everywhere were turning from the secular world and embracing the religious life, in order to find spiritual solace here and eternal life hereafter. It was a movement which gripped not only the humble, who had little to lose materially, but the high-born and wealthy. It drove men into the deserts of Egypt or Syria to live singly or in community the life of manual labour, prayer and meditation. Young men and women of good family might renounce the world by giving up public office and turning their homes into a kind of monastery.²⁹

Part of this intense concern for the salvation of their souls was a renewed study of the commandments contained in Scripture. Men were asking continually "What must I do to obtain eternal life?" and turning to their spiritual leaders, whether bishops or laymen of proven sanctity, for the answer. Pelagius was an example of the latter, men who made it their business to study the law of God and to exhort others to keep it.³⁰

This asceticism was, however, only one aspect which characterised the Christianity of the early fifth century. For the Christian Church was now receiving into itself the last elements of paganism - the Roman aristocrat and the conservative rustic peasant. Recognised for three generations as the official religion of the Emperor, Christian doctrine and worship were becoming the normal background to men's thinking and practice. As the converts poured in, relaxation of the moral standards

expected by the Church of the individual believer was inevitable. He could no longer be exhorted to keep a standard different from that of his pagan neighbours when all his neighbours were now Christian. Now that the Church embraced the whole of society, the old concept of the Church as a society within a society had to be rethought or discarded. Now that Christianity was the religion of the masses, those who felt the urgency of the question "What do ye more than others?" turned to more severe ascetic practices to find a sense of fulfilment.³¹

It is partly, therefore, in reaction against the effects of the triumph of Christianity that the wave of asceticism swept over the Roman world. The rewards of the Gospel could not be available without effort; therefore men must strive to fulfil the divine commands, for it is on whether a man has kept these or not that his ultimate salvation depends. These commands must be capable of fulfilment by man, otherwise we accuse God of injustice, and man as created must therefore be endowed with the necessary capacity for righteousness. The Church is not thus to be identified with those who profess themselves Christian, but with those whose lives bear out their profession.³² This line of thinking is the chief characteristic of Pelagius' teaching. It displays a strongly legalistic attitude, and its themes are justice, law, rewards and punishment.³³ Its inspiration is the teaching of Christ, and its practice based upon a profound study of Scripture.³⁴ Yet it was bound, when its implications were drawn out, to find itself in conflict with traditional Christian thought. Most obviously, there was the Pauline discussion in the New Testament on the relationship of Law and Grace, where it is clearly established that Christ's Passion and Resurrection have in some way made possible the attainment of a standard of righteousness that was not possible before.³⁵ With this Pelagius had to come to terms,³⁶ for he accepted, as did all his followers, the supreme authority of Scripture in the establishment of doctrine. His reply was

that men are helped to the attainment of righteousness through Christ's coming, in that a new and better standard is held before them, in that forgiveness of sins is promised to those who repent, and in the encouragement to virtue afforded by the promise of eternal life or the threat of eternal destruction.³⁷ Then there was the question of the sin of the first man, Adam. Scripture pointed clearly to a legacy of pain, toil and death as the punishment for that sin, and to baptism as in some way redeeming the individual from a legacy of sin which was his as a descendant of Adam. Pelagius found it hard to accept this literally. To him it was scandalous to assert that God should impute guilt to and exact punishment from one man for the sin of another.³⁸ For Pelagius it was axiomatic that a man's responsibility for his conduct was absolute.³⁹ The punishment or reward he received was strictly proportional to his merits.⁴⁰ He could accept that, through the long ages since the Creation, the wickedness of men had obscured the divine teaching, and had built up a habit of sin, a *mala consuetudo*,⁴¹ that made each succeeding generation liable to sin. But that was very different from saying that the guilt of Adam's sin attached to every human being from the moment of his birth. This latter point arose for Pelagius when he was forced to consider how the practice of infant baptism could be justified according to his theological standpoint. For the baptism of infants was by now a common and approved practice in the Church, and was administered with the same formula as in the case of adults, *in remissionem peccatorum*, the vows being made by sponsors on the child's behalf.⁴² The infant could hardly be said to have committed sins of his own, and baptism for the remission of sins could in this case hardly be explained except in terms of inherited guilt. Of course, the Church's practice could be dismissed as nonsense. But Pelagius was unwilling to do this, for it is characteristic of him

that he had no desire to impugn what he saw as clearly the established practice and doctrine of the Church.⁴³ Further, it was clearly stated in the Gospel that the Kingdom of God was open only to the baptised.⁴⁴ What then was the fate of unbaptised infants? There were only two ways out of this dilemma: either to suppose that infants have in some way sinned in their own person since birth,⁴⁴ or to attempt to draw a distinction between the Kingdom of God and "eternal life", whereby the latter could be available to the unbaptised who had yet committed no sin, though the former remained closed to them.⁴⁶

It must be pointed out that not all these arguments were devised by Pelagius himself. The question of infant baptism, particularly, appears to have held little interest for him.⁴⁷ His supporters or disciples were compelled to enlarge and extend his basic teaching as they met counter-arguments to it, and they did not always agree among themselves as to the correct answer.⁴⁸ Pelagius' over-riding concern was with the adult and responsible, not with the infant;⁴⁹ with practice, not speculation. He viewed with distaste the moral laxity of the average Christian, who was, as he saw it, far too happy in this world ever to be fit for the next. While the Gospel commanded renunciation of wealth, power, luxury, marriage, most Christians were happy to indulge in them. The material, not the spiritual, was their preoccupation.⁵⁰ But what especially moved him to anger was the way, time and again, these so-called Christians would plead the incapacity of human nature to fulfil the divine commands.⁵¹ We must ask God, they would say, to give us the necessary grace, and until it is granted we are powerless.⁵² This attitude seemed little short of blasphemous to Pelagius,⁵³ for if the grace of the Almighty must be petitioned before men can keep the commandments, and was sufficient when it came, what room was left for human effort? Where was the freewill which distinguished man from

the beasts?⁵⁴ And what meaning had the joys of heaven or the fires of hell?⁵⁵ Either they were a child's fancy, or God must be thought unjust if He assigned men to one or the other with no consideration of whether or not they had made any serious attempt to live righteously. To Pelagius, this doctrine of divine grace bestowed freely on men without consideration of merit, and without which man was helpless, struck a death-blow at the root of Christian morality, and he threw every effort into the struggle against it.

To return to the African letters to Innocent. The Africans clearly write as to one unaware of the danger represented by Pelagius and Celestius.⁵⁶ This seems surprising when we recall that until his arrival on the shores of Africa in 411 Pelagius had lived most of the previous thirty years in Rome. Though of British origin, he seems to have left his native country at an early age, and to have migrated to Rome for his education and his career (possibly as a lawyer). While still a young man he took monastic vows of poverty and chastity and devoted himself to study and teaching, especially among the nobility.⁵⁷ How came it about, then, that his opinions seem to have excited no criticism or even comment in Rome or Italy, and that it needed the African church to alert the Roman bishop to their danger? Recent studies have attempted to account for the apparent security in which Pelagius lived by pointing to his links with the powerful aristocratic family headed by the elder Melania.⁵⁸ Now it is certainly true that it is in the company of the elder Melania, her daughter-in-law Albina, her granddaughter Melania the younger and grandson-in-law Pinianus, that Pelagius left Rome, first for Sicily, and the Africa, during the pressure of Alaric's presence in Italy.⁵⁹ Timasius, the one-time Pelagian who later sent Augustine a copy of Pelagius' *De Natura*, is found in Pinianus' entourage.⁶⁰ Detailed studies of Pelagius' theology,

based largely on his early work, the Expositions on the Pauline Epistles, have shown Pelagius' dependence for some of his ideas on the translation made by Rufinus of the works of Origen.⁶¹ It will be remembered that the family of Melania had formed a protective ring around Rufinus when the latter was assailed by Jerome, and when the condemnation of Origen's doctrines by Anastasius of Rome and the subsequent banning of the Greek master's books by the imperial government could have made things very unpleasant for him.⁶² Outside this immediate circle, a more distant member of the family, Paulinus, was in correspondence with Pelagius.⁶³ Paulinus was also a close friend of the subsequent leader of the Pelagians in Italy, Julian of Aeclanum.⁶⁴

Pelagius can therefore be identified as a member of a family group which showed an interest in the theology of the East and kept up contacts with the East, both no doubt acquired during the elder Melania's stay in the East from 372 to 397.⁶⁵ His teaching as well as his manner of life clearly pleased his patrons, and they will have wished to hear nothing but good spoken of him.⁶⁶ But Pelagius was a teacher, a man who did not shun public debate,⁶⁷ and though his aristocratic patrons could have shielded him against the effects of criticism, they could not have stifled criticism itself. We are forced to the conclusion that his ideas did not cause scandal in Rome, or apparently anywhere, until Celestius' appearance in Carthage in 411. It must be emphasised that, in contrast to Celestius' manner, Pelagius was by no means anxious to appear as an innovator or to stir up needless dispute. The bent of his mind was strongly practical, and his theological statements were made only insofar as they were important for exhortation to virtue or castigation of vice. But even so it is hard to avoid the conclusion that his ideas escaped criticism in Rome because they were

propagated among people who were either more liberal in theological outlook than the Africans or simply not sophisticated enough (in theological matters) to see the difficulties they raised.

One should beware, however, of over-emphasising such difficulties. In the theological climate of Rome in the first decade of the fifth century minds were still open on questions where a dozen years later a clear line existed between orthodoxy and heresy.⁶⁸ The transmission of original sin is a case in point. Under examination in Carthage in 411 Celestius claimed he had heard divergent views on the matter from persons of orthodox faith.⁶⁹ Similarly, to believe in the possibility of sinlessness for mankind or to maintain that even before the coming of Christ some men had lived perfect lives, could not have excited the suspicion such ideas were later to do. The study of Pelagius' theology by Bohlin, based on the philological researches of Smith and Souter,⁷⁰ has shown in considerable detail the dependence of Pelagius on the translation of Origen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, which appeared from Rufinus' pen in 405.⁷¹ Of course, Origen's books had been formally condemned by both Pope and Emperor,⁷² but to little effect. The writings of the Alexandrian doctor were too important, too varied, to be ignored; and even those most prominent in attacking him admitted the value of much that he wrote.⁷³ It is significant that it was in the house of Pammachius, the instigator of the campaign against Origen in Rome, that Celestius heard Rufinus the Syrian arguing against the transmission of sins.⁷⁴ Pelagius himself may have frequented both camps during this period, for he was no uncritical admirer of Origen.⁷⁵

But, if such questions could be debated openly in Rome, it was otherwise in the theologically tradition-conscious African church.⁷⁵ Celestius, at any rate, was to find that his opinions provoked there a very different reaction from what he had experienced elsewhere. The

long years of the Donatist schism had sharpened minds and hardened opinions to a degree unimaginable in the leisured senatorial circles of Rome or Sicily. Within a very few months controversy was seething.⁷⁶ A book of his was searched for heretical statements, an accusation document was drawn up and Celestius was summoned before the bishops of the whole province to answer the charges. On his refusal to retract the marked statements he was excommunicated by the council. Marius Mercator tells us that he considered an appeal to Rome, but did not pursue it and departed for the East.⁷⁷

Pelagius, as we have said, was not especially interested in the theology of infant baptism.⁷⁸ Though it is clear from his Expositions that he has no theory of original sin,⁷⁹ he was not concerned to develop the implications of such a view in relation to the rest of his teaching. Indeed, he seems to have strenuously avoided any personal involvement in the case of Celestius. Augustine could later find no one in Hippo who recalled Pelagius' teaching any of the suspect doctrines during his visit there.⁸⁰ And some time later in the summer of 411 he too had departed for the East.⁸¹

However, their departure by no means calmed the situation in Carthage. In the late autumn of 411 Marcellinus wrote to Augustine, asking for guidance on the whole question of original sin and infant baptism.⁸² Augustine, of course, was familiar with the general situation, having been in Carthage in September of that year,⁸³ and the speed and detail of his reply shows how seriously he took the matter.⁸⁴ He did not, however, wish to give the questions raised any exaggerated publicity: hoping always that the controversy would die down,⁸⁵ he confined himself to replying to the questions of friends.⁸⁶ Only when he saw that the situation was as disturbed as ever, did he come forward into the open. In 413 he seized the occasion of an invitation to preach on the Feast

of the Nativity of John the Baptist and publicly attacked those who denied the original guilt of the newly-born.⁸⁷ The reaction was immediate: Augustine was accused of innovation,⁸⁸ and it was threatened that those who held such views as his would be condemned by the churches of the East.⁸⁹ A second sermon was necessary the following week to elaborate Augustine's position and to defend him against the charge of innovation. He concluded his sermon by reading part of Cyprian's 64th letter in which Adam's sin was clearly stated to attach to every infant. Before the congregation of Cyprian's own church Augustine was able to show that their greatest bishop had taught exactly the doctrine he had expounded the week before.⁹⁰

The problem as Augustine saw it was not confined to Africa. From Sicily there came a request from bishop Hilarius of Syracuse, indicating that the same debate was taking place there.⁹¹ In Palestine, too, Jerome was finding himself in close proximity to Pelagius, who had become the guest of John, bishop of Jerusalem.⁹² The sparks were bound to fly as the old scores of the feud between Jerome and Rufinus were revived.⁹³ The correspondence between Jerome and Augustine of the years 414-5, while it contains no explicit reference to Pelagius, nevertheless betrays a preoccupation with issues that were involved in his distinctive teaching.⁹⁴

In the year 415 Augustine first publicly attacked Pelagius himself,⁹⁵ and took measures to counter the spread of his ideas in the East. Orosius was sent to Jerome to report to the Palestinian bishops on the African condemnation of Celestius, and departed armed with Augustine's letter to Hilarius as well as the two epistolary treatises addressed to Jerome.⁹⁶ Orosius could also report that Augustine was at that moment penning his *De Natura et Gratia* in answer to Pelagius' book *De Natura* communicated to him by Timasius and Jacobus, two noble disciples of Pelagius now having doubts about their master's orthodoxy.⁹⁷ Why did Augustine only

now attack Pelagius himself as the author of such perverse doctrines? Later, Augustine wrote, that until the receipt of the *De Natura* he had no firm proof that Pelagius held the views attributed to him.⁹⁸ However, we have Augustine's own testimony that already in 412 he possessed a copy of Pelagius' Expositions.⁹⁹ It has been suggested that the real reason was the departure of Melania and Pinianus from Africa.¹⁰⁰ It would have been embarrassing to attack Pelagius personally while his patrons were resident in the vicinity. Possibly it was the *De Natura*, with its attempt to demonstrate by quotation from Ambrose and Cyprian the orthodoxy of Pelagius' teaching on grace, that stung Augustine into more direct action.¹⁰¹ Most probably, we should see the process as a cumulative one, with Augustine stepping up his attack progressively as reports indicated that his counter-measures had so far failed to quieten the opposition.

In this context it is easy to see why Orosius' return from Palestine in 416 provoked such a flurry of action on Augustine's part. His letters during these previous three years leave no doubt that, as he saw it, Pelagius' teaching raised issues that went to the heart of the Gospel, and if allowed to go unchecked would nullify the salvation offered by the New Testament.¹⁰² The full authority of the whole Church must now be brought against it. Hence the two councils of the summer and autumn 416, and the despatch of bishop Julius to Rome.

A major question for modern scholars has been the exact interpretation to be put upon this appeal to the Roman bishop.¹⁰³ What is it exactly that the Africans ask Innocent to do? Do all three letters ask for the same thing? And how can they be fitted into the general context of the relationship between the African episcopate and the Roman see? This last question will be reserved for fuller treatment elsewhere, the others deserve closer examination here.

The synodal letter of the Carthage council sets out first of all the circumstances which occasioned its writing: the charges against Pelagius and Celestius laid by Heros and Lazarus, the evidence afforded by the examination of Celestius five years before, and the decision that Pelagius and Celestius should be declared anathema, unless they themselves anathematized the doctrines attributed to them. "*Hoc itaque gestum*", they continue, *domine frater, sanctae caritati tuae intimandum duximus, ut statutis nostrae mediocritatis etiam apostolicae sedis adhibeatur auctoritas pro tuenda salute multorum et quorundam perversitate corrigenda.*¹⁰⁴ That is, they have seen fit to inform Innocent of their proceedings, in order that their authority of the Roman see may be added to their own decisions (*statuta*). An explanation of the nature of true divine grace follows, backed by Scriptural proofs, for which the bishops excuse themselves, since Innocent himself proclaims the same truths with a greater degree of acceptance (*maiore gratia*).¹⁰⁵ Therefore, even if the *gesta* of the Diospolis council seem to Innocent to absolve Pelagius personally, the heretical teaching is to be anathematized by the authority of the apostolic see. For Innocent should have compassion on the Church's flock, grievously assailed by this doctrine so destructive of prayer and the priestly blessing.¹⁰⁶ Infant baptism, too, is declared by these people to be unnecessary for eternal life. Therefore, even if no heresy can be proved against Pelagius and Celestius personally, anyone who does hold such doctrines is to be anathema (*anathema sit*). Finally, if there is any other matter raised by the *gesta* of Diospolis, they trust that Innocent will judge it in such a way as to give them all cause for rejoicing.¹⁰⁷

The letter of the Milevis council¹⁰⁸ opens with a plea to Innocent to apply his pastoral concern to the great trials of the weak members of Christ's flock. It then expands on the nature of the attack on divine

grace and the necessity of infant baptism. Pelagius and Celestius are said to be the authors of this most pernicious error; the former has deceived some people in Jerusalem, and the latter has even been ordained priest in Asia; but the record of the Carthage council and the fact that Jerome and others are defending the catholic faith in the East shows that many more have seen through their deception.¹⁰⁹ But, they conclude, we trust they will bow more readily to your authority, drawn as it is from the authority of Holy Scripture, so that we may rather rejoice over their correction than grieve for their destruction. (*Sed arbitramur....auctoritati sanctitatis tuae de sanctarum scripturarum auctoritate depromptae facilius eos....esse cessuros, ut de correctione potius eorum congratulemur, quam contristemur interitu*).¹¹⁰

The five bishops in their letter¹¹¹ set out the false teaching of Pelagius, as they see it, and explain how it was that Pelagius was acquitted of heresy at Diospolis.¹¹² However, it is not a question affecting Pelagius alone: the weak and uninstructed may be led astray by such teaching. Pelagius should therefore be summoned to Rome and examined as to his definition of grace; or this should be taken up with him by letter. Thus it will be clear beyond doubt whether his view is in accordance with the Church's teaching or peculiar to himself.¹¹³ They then carefully expound the distinction between the two, and adduce Pelagius' *De Natura* as evidence of his stated position on the subject. And they bring their long letter to a close by stating their confidence that Innocent will judge the other matters raised against Pelagius according as he sees them defended in the *gesta*; and excusing themselves for their prolixity. For, they say, it is not our intention to swell your ample fount with our tiny brook; but we wish you to examine whether our scanty and your abundant stream emanate from the same source, and by your answer to be consoled through our common participation in the

one (divine) grace. (*Non enim rivulum nostrum tuo largo fonti augendo refundimus; sed....utrum etiam noster licet exiguus ex eodem, quo etiam tuus abundans, emanet capite fluentorum, hoc a te probari volumus, tuisque rescriptis de communi participatione unius gratiae consolari*).¹¹⁴

There is no question from these letters that Rome possesses a special kind of status and a special authority in the eyes of the Africans. Innocent's *gratia*, his standing in the eyes of the whole Church, is greater than theirs; his authority will more easily sway their opponents; the divine grace he enjoys is compared to theirs as a mighty stream to a tiny brook. This special position of the Roman see amongst the churches of the whole earth was acknowledged everywhere in the fifth century.¹¹⁵ For Peter, by Scriptural testimony the leader of the apostles, had founded the church in Rome, and his church was in some sense heir to his position.¹¹⁶ Yet the Africans have no doubt in their minds that the decision they have taken in respect of the views attributed to Pelagius and Celestius is correct: they are heretical and are to be condemned.¹¹⁷ There is no suggestion in the synodal letters that their decision is in any way provisional, or that Innocent is to review it. Only in the case of Pelagius himself do they leave the matter open. For to contradict the decision of another synod on the mere statement of his accusers, before the official record of the proceedings was available to them, would have been presumptuous in the extreme. They therefore leave the question of Pelagius personally to Innocent's own decision,¹¹⁸ but on the (to them, much more important) question of the heretical nature of his views they want the Roman bishop to pronounce as unequivocally as they have done. And because they would hardly expect him to do so without knowing what those views were, they explain both them and the reasons for their decision. There is nothing in the letters of either council which goes beyond this.

It must be admitted, however, that the concluding words of the third letter, from the five bishops, do seem to go further. They explicitly ask Innocent to test (*probare*)¹¹⁹ whether their grace flows from the same source as his. Does this mean that they are submitting their doctrinal judgment to Innocent for correction? Scholars have so understood it, and have been puzzled by its apparent divergence from what is said in the other two letters.¹²⁰ Their difficulties have sprung partly from reading it in the light of the way Innocent himself chose to understand its meaning, partly from misunderstanding the character of the letter. It is essential to remember that, in contrast to the two others, this is a private letter,¹²¹ signed by five bishops though doubtless drafted by Augustine. He wrote it to make crystal clear to Innocent the exact point at issue. He knew Pelagius had supporters in Rome to plead his case,¹²² and he knew also how easily he could deceive the unwary.¹²³ He would leave no room for doubt, therefore - Pelagius must be made to state how he understands the divine grace by which men live and act justly.¹²⁴ It is difficult to over-emphasise the importance the condemnation of Pelagius' doctrines held for Augustine. Not his critical faculties, but his pastoral concern was driving him on.¹²⁵ So the letter unfolds as proof after proof is cited and argument succeeds argument, until finally the case is proved beyond doubt. But such a lengthy document had almost assumed the proportions of a treatise, and both etiquette and tactics demanded that such prolixity be apologised for. Innocent must not be allowed to take offence. And so the deprecation of their own wisdom and learning follows quite naturally - one of those elaborate touches by no means unusual in correspondence of this type.¹²⁶

The synodal letters must therefore be clearly distinguished from this private epistle. In the former, the collective African episcopate

announces its decision and requests the greater authority of the Roman see in its support. In the latter the tone is different. Its authors, having fulfilled their episcopal function in the councils, now speak as individuals, and it is in that light that their words should be understood.

The Africans' request was not unwelcome to Innocent. We have noted elsewhere his eagerness to involve the Roman see in the disputes of other churches, with the aim of establishing the right to be consulted and to pronounce judgment in all major ecclesiastical matters.¹²⁷ He replied to all three letters on the same day, January 27, 417, and each of his replies is instructive as to the use he made of his opportunity.¹²⁸ To the Carthaginian council he leads off with an involved sentence praising them for so carefully adhering to tradition in referring the matter for his judgment, for such is the due of the see of that apostle from whom the whole episcopate draws its authority. Indeed, they have observed the rule that no question anywhere should be finally settled until the Roman see has been informed; so that all other churches may know what to teach, whom to receive and whom to avoid.¹²⁹

Innocent has chosen to understand the Carthaginian letter as a consultation,¹³⁰ a deferment of judgment, instead of the notification of a decision already taken; and in justification of this the familiar statements of the Roman prerogative are brought out: the tradition of consultation, the primacy of Peter as guarantor of episcopal authority, and the canons of Sardica.¹³¹ Innocent then gives a long medical analogy, whereby it is shown that the health of the body sometimes demands the removal of a diseased part. He expresses surprise that there are those who impute their righteousness to themselves instead of the divine grace, declares the constant necessity of that grace for the avoidance of sin,

and finally pronounces unworthy of the Roman communion such enemies of the catholic faith.¹³² They are to be removed from the body of the church, lest their error grow beyond curing.¹³³ It is noteworthy that, though Innocent names Pelagius and Celestius in the letter as apparently holding the perverse doctrine in question,¹³⁴ they are not specified in the section of excommunication. Innocent, too, wishes to reserve judgment as to their personal guilt.

To the Numidians he writes in similar vein, praising their pastoral concern for their own churches, as well as their diligence in observing the ancient rule that all questions, especially those of dogma, be reported for decision to the apostle Peter, the origin of their episcopal office.¹³⁵ So to act is consistent with the apostolic dignity of the Roman see, the mystery of that dignity upon which rests the care of all the churches.¹³⁶ The attack on the necessity of divine grace is labelled a "new heresy", and Pelagius and Celestius are solemnly to be deprived of the Church's communion until they should mend their ways. A similar sentence is pronounced against those who defend them.¹³⁷ The letter concludes by reverting to the pastoral analogy with which it began, and expresses the hope they may condemn their error and be once more received into the fold.¹³⁸

Comparing this with the previous letter, two points of difference stand out. First, the emphatic, not to say, laboured, manner in which Innocent states the duty of all bishops to report to Rome before taking any major decision. Second, that Pelagius and Celestius are excommunicated by name, rather than by implication as in the Carthage letter. Both these points can be explained by reference back to the original letter. The more pleading tone of the Numidians gave Innocent the opportunity to state the Roman prerogative more boldly than was appropriate in reply to the more self-confident Carthage council. As

for Pelagius and Celestius, we saw that the Numidians associated them more directly than the Carthaginians with the heresy they denounce, and Innocent feels able therefore to commit himself more fully.

Innocent sent two other letters back to Africa with bishop Julius: a letter in reply to that of the five bishops, replying to the special points they had made to him,¹³⁹ and a short letter of conventional greeting to Aurelius personally.¹⁴⁰ This whole bundle, containing Innocent's definitive judgment on Pelagius and his teaching, cannot fail to impress, no less by its craft than by its tone of confident self-assertion. For the Africans the matter concerned Pelagius, Celestius and heresy; to Innocent it was much more an opportunity for propaganda, the aim of which was to impress on the Africans, whose own tradition was very different,¹⁴¹ the claim of Roman pre-eminence. Note how cleverly he picks up the analogy of the two streams, large and small, and twists it so that, instead of both springing from the same fountain-head in Christ, Rome becomes the fount, the Africans the recipients of the pure water flowing therefrom.¹⁴² And he uses it, not of course in his reply to the five bishops whose letter suggested it, but to the bishops of the Carthage council. Noteworthy, too, is the way the Roman-African relationship in this matter, as seen by Innocent, is subtly conveyed by the use of the terms *relatio* and *rescribere*. These terms had a technical use in the imperial civil service for the process whereby an official would consult the emperor, reporting on the facts of the case that had come to his notice and requesting the emperor, as supreme law-giver and law-interpreter, to pronounce. The emperor would then reply (*rescribere*), and his *rescriptum* would form the basis of the official's subsequent action.¹⁴³ Neither *relatio* nor *referre* are used by the Africans, yet Innocent employs one or other of these terms in each of his replies.¹⁴⁴ And in the letter to the five

bishops, which, for reasons we noted, was the most deferential of the three, he goes further and describes his action as *rescribere*.¹⁴⁵

Perhaps nowhere in Innocent's correspondence are we able to watch him at work as instructively as in these Pelagian letters. Cleverly, he has attached his controversial statements on Roman primacy to a complete acceptance of the Africans' request in the matter at issue - thus depriving them of any opportunity to protest. Further, he knew that the interest of the Africans in any further conflict with Pelagian teaching would suggest the presentation of the Roman decision exactly as Innocent wished - as a decision from the highest authority in the Church, comparable to that of the emperor in civil matters. To illustrate this, we need look no further than the sermon Augustine preached in Carthage in October of that year.¹⁴⁶ "Two councils sent to Innocent of Rome", he declares triumphantly. "The answers (*rescripts*) have arrived. The case is finished".¹⁴⁷ Much ink has been expended in an attempt to elicit Augustine's meaning here; especially to explain how his words can be reconciled with his otherwise attested concept of the plenary council as the highest ecclesiastical authority.¹⁴⁸ Some scholars have seen a contradiction here;¹⁴⁹ others think both can be fitted into a simple system of thought. The matter will be discussed in the next chapter.¹⁵⁰ Let us simply note here that the use of the term *rescripta* in the letter drafted by Augustine on behalf of himself and his friends gave Innocent the cue which that shrewd prelate did not miss. He exploited to the full the opportunity presented to him, and stamped on each of his letters the impression he wished to convey. The effect of his words on Aurelius of Carthage or Silvanus of Numidia is unknown. But on the most influential of all the African bishops the result was profound. Innocent's aim had been successful. Could he have heard Augustine preaching he would have been well satisfied.

In the last week of his life Innocent had to concern himself once more with the Pelagians. An outbreak of popular feeling had led to an attack on Jerome's monastery in Bethlehem, in the course of which some of the buildings had burnt down and a deacon had been killed.¹⁵¹ It was a confused situation, and difficult to establish who had been responsible. Jerome, however, had no doubt that Pelagius was behind it, and lost no time in writing both to Africa and to Rome, making no definite charges,¹⁵² but leaving little doubt of his own opinions. Innocent had not yet declared himself on the subject of Pelagian doctrines,¹⁵³ and Jerome hoped that the known hostility of the Africans towards them would influence the pope's judgment. He therefore sent his messenger to Rome by way of Africa. At the same time Paula and Eustochium also wrote to Innocent, possibly directly.¹⁵⁴ Jerome's letter is unfortunately not preserved, but its narrative of the disorders was blood-curdling.¹⁵⁵ Augustine, when he learnt of them, expressed his horror in a postscript to the *de gestis Pelagii*. By way of reply, Innocent despatched a letter to Jerome,¹⁵⁶ assuring him of his fullest sympathy for what had happened, and promising vigorous action if definite individuals should be accused. John of Jerusalem also received a letter, accusing him of culpable negligence in failing to protect the innocent and urging him to take steps to prevent any recurrence.¹⁵⁷ *Prorsus enim sacerdotis gravitatem condemnat tantum nefas in ecclesia fuisse completum.* Strong words, and uncharacteristic of Innocent unless he felt sure of his ground. The combined testimony of the Africans against Pelagius' views and of Paula, Eustochium and Jerome against his followers had clearly convinced Innocent that no good was to be expected from that quarter. Aware of this, Pelagius took steps to rehabilitate his reputation in the eyes of Rome. It was to prove an unexpected aid to his efforts that Innocent was shortly afterwards removed from the scene by death.

THE GROWTH OF THE PAPACY

We have already noted, in discussing the manuscript tradition of Innocent's letters, how all his correspondence is couched in a formal style. There is little which on the surface betrays any trace of the personal or intimate.¹ Yet the letters are in themselves testimony to the powerful and determined personality of their author, in that both style and content are perfectly adapted to the furthering of the claims of the popes of Rome to full authority over the whole Church in every sphere. Innocent's letters enable us to follow the working out of this grand strategy, especially those which were early known as *epistulae decretales*.² The first part of this chapter will therefore be occupied with a detailed examination of these, and the second part will survey the reaction of the churches of both East and West to the papal claims as Innocent expresses them.

After announcing his election to Anysius of Thessalonica, Innocent's epistolary activity does not resume for more than a year. The invasion of Italy by Alaric, interrupting the normal land communications between Rome and the provinces north of the Alps, may have been responsible. But by the summer of 402 this danger had been removed.³ In December 403 Honorius came to Rome to celebrate a triumph and a large number of dignitaries, both civil and ecclesiastical, took the opportunity of visiting Rome also.⁴ One of these was Victricius, bishop of Rouen, a man who had travelled widely in the missionary cause in both Gaul and Britain and who had established contacts in the city of Rome.⁵ What his business was is unknown, but that he was not there for pleasure is perhaps indicated by the fact that he had no time to visit Paulinus at Nola, who was a warm admirer of his.⁶ Before leaving for home, however, he requested Innocent to furnish him with a statement of the discipline of the Roman church in certain controversial matters. Some time later⁷

Innocent wrote in answer, and his letter is preserved as Epistle II in Coustant (Jaffe-Kaltenbrunner 286).

The letter opens by praising Victricius for the dignity with which he adorns his sacerdotal office, a dignity which leaves him in no need of instruction in clerical discipline; and expresses the desire that the rules contained in the letter may be made known to the bishops and congregations in the neighbourhood. They are to regard them as their "text-book and guide" (*didascalium et monitorem*), and are to use them as their pattern in face of new situations as they arise. Thus will the Church be kept free from spot or wrinkle, as those who now, through ignorance or laziness, do not keep the Church's rule are brought to observe the Roman form. For no new rules are here commanded, only those precepts laid down by the apostles and fathers of the Church. Avoiding, therefore, the example of those who, in deference to popular favour, desert the statutes of the fathers and thus pollute the Church, every catholic bishop should study to observe the following rules.⁸ 1) No bishop is to be ordained without the approval of the metropolitan, nor by a single bishop; 2) no one is to be admitted to the ranks of the clergy who has served in the army or in an executive capacity in the imperial civil service;⁹ 3) when disputes arise, they are to be settled by the assembled bishops of the province and by no one outside the province - saving, of course, the respect due by all to the Roman Church. Serious cases are to be referred to the apostolic see of Rome after the provincial synod's decision; 4) no cleric is to marry a widow; 5) a man who has married a widow before or after baptism may not be admitted to the clergy, nor 6) may anyone who marries a second time; 7) no one from another church may be ordained without the approval of the other bishop; 8) those coming over to the catholic Church from the Novatians or Donatists are to be admitted by the laying-on of hands, no re-baptism

being necessary. Those, however, who have previously been members of the catholic Church, and subsequently lapsed into heresy, may be re-admitted only after a long penitence; 9) clerics are not to cohabit with their wives; 10) monks who are subsequently ordained must continue in the observance of their vows; 11) members of the curial class should not be ordained: they are often required by imperial edict to be returned to their curial duties, and in any case are rendered unfit by virtue of the devilish public functions in which their duties involved them; 12) widows or virgins who by taking the veil have dedicated themselves to chastity, if they subsequently betray their vows, may only be admitted to penance when their spouse has died; 13) those who have devoted themselves to virginity without taking the veil may, however, if they marry, be re-admitted to communion after penance.

This code of discipline, if faithfully kept, will be the means of quelling all ambition, dissension, heresy and schism, and concord and truth will prevail. Thus, Innocent declares, the Apostle's word will be fulfilled, that the Church be of one mind in Christ, pleasing God rather than man.

The most striking feature of this letter is that the bulk of it is copied verbatim from a letter of Siricius to the bishops of Africa.¹⁰ Apart from the opening paragraph, the chapter on ecclesiastical disputes (5 and 6) and the chapters on monks, curiales and widows and virgins of the Church (13-16), all the subjects dealt with stand as in Siricius' letter. There is no need to regard this verbal coincidence as evidence against the authenticity of one or the other letter.¹¹ Innocent is conscious here, as throughout his decretal letters, that he is repeating, not his personal opinions, but the tradition of the Roman church. There is nothing incongruous, therefore, in repeating his predecessor's judgment word for word: indeed, there is every advantage in so doing. We do,

nevertheless, find Innocent making a number of highly significant additions of his own. At the beginning of 2), where the earlier letter is first picked up, we find, not Siricius' words: *Cum in unum plurimi fratres convenissemus ad sancti apostoli Petri reliquias, per quem et apostolatus et episcopatus in Christo cepit exordium, placuitque.....* but: *Incipiamus igitur, adiuvante sancto apostolo Petro, per quem et apostolatus et episcopatus in Christo cepit exordium, ut.....* A change was necessary, for no synod preceded the sending of Innocent's letter, but the reference to Peter is retained, as the chief of the apostles and first of bishops is pictured standing alongside his Roman successor, shielding him from all error as he sets down the authentic teaching of the Church. This does not necessarily mark a development of the doctrine of the relationship between Peter and the incumbent of the bishop's chair in Rome: a similar thought may lie behind the mention of the meeting at the resting place of Peter's remains. A martyr's earthly effects were from early times thought of as fraught with power an inspiration, which might be tapped by those coming into contact with them. But it makes such a concept more explicit, and represents a half-way stage towards the final development, when Peter is thought of, no longer as alongside the bishop, but inside him, speaking through his mouth.¹²

From here on the text follows Siricius until 5), where a chapter is inserted setting out the procedure for settling ecclesiastical disputes. It is hard not to see in the provision that no Church from outside the province be called in to adjudicate a quarrel an attempt to limit the influence that the see of Milan had exercised over neighbouring regions during the previous twenty years. The synods of Milan and Aquileia (381) and Turin (398) are outstanding testimony to Milan's authority and prestige in Illyricum and Gaul, where the

hierarchical principle of Church government was as yet only embryonic.¹³ To counter this Innocent states that the only outside authority to which appeal may be made is Rome. Further, in all major matters (*causae maiores*) reference is to be made to Rome as a matter of course for confirmation of the provincial decision (*post iudicium episcopale referantur*). No mention is made even of metropolitans of the provinces, an indication that in northern Gaul at this date they did not exist, at any rate in some of the provinces.¹⁴ So there can be no question as yet of a patriarchate or vicariate acting as intermediary between Rome and the provinces. There is therefore no contradiction between Innocent's policy as evidenced by his letters to Rufus of Thessalonica or Alexander of Antioch,¹⁵ and the system he is advocating here: each is adapted to the circumstances prevailing locally.

Siricius' text is now followed to the end of 12), apart from a long section (Sec.9) meeting the objection that a marriage contracted before baptism should not count towards a disqualification from orders, and a short sentence in Sec.11, making explicit what terms are to be offered to rebaptised Novatians and Donatists wishing to return to the catholic Church.¹⁶ Thereafter Innocent inserts four chapters (Secs. 13-16) before the final paragraph, three of which deal with the question of marriage. Monks who wish to proceed to clerical orders must not forsake their vow not to marry; and *a fortiori* any who have committed fornication before baptism and thereafter taken monastic vows may not marry, if they subsequently wish to proceed to orders.¹⁷ This latter is declared to be an ancient rule of the Church, but it is difficult to find a previous statement of such a rule.¹⁸ That the matter is felt to be of importance by Innocent, while it does not occur in Siricius' letter reflects the growing importance of the monastic movement in the West. Similarly, those who dedicate themselves to virginity, whether

or not they take the veil as public testimony to their vow, are to be condemned if they fall short of their purpose and subsequently marry or are corrupted. If they have taken the veil, they can only be admitted to public penance on the death of their spouse; if they have not yet been veiled, they are to be allowed penance straightaway. The virgin's or widow's dedication had always been regarded as a spiritual marriage to Christ, and a lapse was regarded as equivalent to adultery. Innocent's judgment is thus in line with previous synodal decisions.¹⁹

The matter of the ordination of *curiales* has, however, a direct contemporary relevance. Throughout the fourth century imperial legislation had attempted to bind individuals in essential occupations to the trade or function in which they found themselves. It was a policy dictated by the need to maintain the fiscal system of a state whose burdens became yearly more heavy. The class of *curiales* was responsible for the collection of taxes due from their fellow-citizens in the municipalities of the Empire, and as their duties became more and more difficult to discharge many sought refuge in clerical orders. A string of legislative enactments from Constantine onwards testifies to the unceasing efforts of the government to reclaim such deserters. A dispensation had, however, always been allowed, namely that those who made over their property to a satisfactory substitute who would see to the discharge of their obligations would be allowed to remain in the clergy.²⁰ A law of 399²¹ had, however, cancelled this option, at least for the lower clergy. Subdeacons, lectors and exorcists were to be compulsorily returned to their duties. Laws of one half of the Empire were not necessarily applied in the other,²² and Sec.4 of Innocent's letter speaks of the struggle that was then going on, as churches besought the Emperor on the occasion of his visit to Rome, that they be allowed to keep their threatened clergy. Innocent was the spokesman for

many of them; indeed, he reminds Victricius, even priests were threatened with removal. He counsels, therefore, that in order to forestall the upheaval and grief caused when such petitions fail no *curialis* is to be admitted to the clergy.

Innocent concludes his letter with Siricius' closing words, but it is noticeable that he stops short. Altering *placeamus* to *placentes*, he adds the conventional ascription of praise: *cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.* and there ends his text. He omits, therefore, the threat which Siricius' letter contained: *si quis sane inflatus mente carnis suae, ab hac canonis ratione voluerit evagari, sciat se a nostra communione seclusum, et gehennae poenas habiturum.* The threat of excommunication, appropriate in a synodal letter containing canons, might be thought inapt in a private letter, however much of its contents were intended to become public knowledge, and Innocent may have omitted it for that reason. However, a similar threat is expressed twice in Siricius' letter to Himerius,²³ and we must therefore conclude that Innocent deliberately omitted it, as being incongruous with the tone of his own letter, which is much lower than that of Siricius to Himerius.

We have noted Innocent's emphasis on the relationship of the apostle Peter with the Roman bishop, his eagerness to encourage churches to appeal to Rome for guidance and confirmation of their decisions, and his avoidance of the threat of excommunication. The letter to Exsuperius of Toulouse of the following year (Feb. 20, 405), though it contains no reference to Peter, certainly expresses the other two aspects characteristic of Innocent's style.

Little is known of Exsuperius, and such information as we have comes from Jerome. Two letters of the latter mention Exsuperius as a man of proven sanctity and an ascetic manner of life, and he is recommended by Jerome as a source of instruction and a fine example of saintly living.²⁴

From the fact that the earlier letter is addressed to a Roman widow we may conclude that he lived in Rome before his episcopate. He may therefore have been personally acquainted with Innocent. A prior acquaintance would certainly account for the more personal tone which is in evidence here.

He had addressed, presumably by letter, a number of queries to Innocent on points of discipline. Innocent begins by congratulating him on this. "You have preferred to refer your doubts to the apostolic see, rather than to presume on an answer by yourself. He who asks to be taught will always learn something. Even I myself have learnt something as I am required to frame a reply".²⁵ Then follow the questions and the answers to each.

1) What is to be done about deacons or priests who have begotten children after their ordination? To this Innocent replies by reminding Exsuperius both of the testimony of Scripture and of Siricius' letter to Himerius, that those who have thus shown themselves incontinent should be deposed from office. There follows Scriptural justification for this rule, much as in the letter to Victricius. Since it is possible that Siricius' letter did not reach some churches, some clerics will have an excuse for their lack of continence. In such cases they may keep their orders, but may not rise to higher office. 2) To those who after baptism have lapsed into evil ways is penitence or communion to be denied if they request it when dying? Innocent observes here a difference between the harsher ancient practice during the persecutions and the milder one that has prevailed since. Both are justified in their time, the harsher, which granted penitence but not communion, because it kept men from falling away, the milder, granting communion also, because it may save them from eternal destruction. 3) What now of those who after baptism have held civil office, involving the ordering of

torture or capital punishment? No firm ruling has been handed down in this case, observes Innocent. Scripture informs us that the civil power is the servant of God for the punishment of the wicked. All we can do, therefore, is accept that such actions are sometime necessary, and leave the justice or injustice of each case for God to decide.

4) A further question: why do Christian men repudiate their adulterous wives, when women continue to live with their unfaithful husbands?

Innocent replies that the Christian religion condemns equally the adultery of either sex. However, it is not in practice so easy for a woman to accuse her husband, as for a man to accuse his wife, for proof is harder to obtain. When proof is forthcoming, however, communion will be denied in exactly the same way.

5) What of those who after baptism demand punishment or death for an offence before the chief magistrates?

The chief magistrates, replies Innocent, never grant such a request without a preliminary hearing; the case is then remitted to judges for decision, and sentence is pronounced accordingly. The prosecutor is therefore blameless, when a malefactor is punished.

6) Next, may a divorced person remarry? A categorical No is Innocent's answer. Both parties in the remarriage are equally guilty of adultery in such cases, and are to be denied communion. 7) Finally, the Scriptural canon is requested by Exsuperius, and Innocent appends the required list.

Although this is a decretal letter, giving the Roman judgment and practice on the matters in question, we have already noted its more personal touches: the application by Innocent to himself of the concept of *docilitas*; the admission that sometimes the traditional differed from contemporary practice, or that tradition could sometimes be silent. The same semi-personal tone no doubt accounts for the omission of any mention of Peter. Innocent knows how to drop the mask and speak as an ordinary mortal. Likewise, no mention is made of a general copying of

the letter for circulation to the neighbouring churches, such as we met in the letter to Victricius. It is left to Exsuperius' discretion how he communicates its contents. Yet it is noteworthy how Innocent expects Siricius' letter to be known and obeyed without question. The only excuse for disobedience to it is ignorance, and even that is to be punished. The claims of the Roman see are not therefore forgotten here, though they are kept in the background.

We are on very different ground with the third decretal letter, to the Macedonian and Dacian bishops (Ep. XVII, J-K 303). Some nine years later than Ep. VI, it is at once more formal and the product of more intense feeling than the latter. "I was very glad", Innocent begins, "when, after so many disasters engulfing practically the whole world, the archdeacon Vitalis brought your letter. I ordered it to be read as soon as it was handed over. In it I perceived much that seemed simply astounding and made me seriously wonder whether I understood it correctly or whether things really were as they sounded. When I had had it repeated several times, I realised that an injury was being done the apostolic see, to which your report was directed, as to the head of the churches, in that its judgment was being called in question. The repeated query, therefore, contained in your letter compels me to go over once more the instructions I wrote to you some time ago, this time with clearer arguments."

Neither Innocent's previous letter nor the letter of the Illyrian bishops is preserved, and we are thrown back on surmise as to their contents. Clearly, however, a large part of them concerned the case of those ordained by Bonosus at Naissus²⁶ who now wished to return to the catholic Church. Were they to be retained in their orders, or simply granted lay communion? Now Innocent mentions such cases in another letter, Ep. XVI. There he recalls to bishop Marcianus of Naissus how he

wrote to him (Marcianus), Rufus and his colleagues concerning the clerics of Naissus who had been ordained by Bonosus before the latter's condemnation in 392. The letter referred to by Innocent here cannot be our Ep.XVII, for Innocent mentions those ordained before Bonosus' condemnation only in passing in the latter place, while in Ep.XVI he declares he treated it *plenius*. It might well, however, be the "former letter" of Ep.XVII. If so, this would add weight to the dating of Ep.XVI to 413.²⁷ If Innocent now reproaches the Illyrians with too great laxity in admitting former heretics to orders, it could well be that Innocent himself had counselled a policy of conciliation in his earlier letter which the Illyrians had pushed further than he intended.

The first point which Innocent tackles is the familiar one of clerical marriage. Apparently clerics, and even bishops, are found to have married widows. This may well be the custom in Illyricum, replies Innocent, but it is contrary to the divine authority of Scripture as well as to the universal practice of the Church, which is not to admit such persons to even the lowest order, and to remove them from office if they have somehow attained it. Secondly, baptism does not annul a previous marriage, making a man twice married eligible for orders. Innocent finds it necessary to argue this at length, and one must assume that the Illyrians had found difficulty in accepting it. The third point is the case of Bonosus' clerics. Innocent makes a full statement of his attitude in this regard: 1) ordination by a heretic conveys no honour; 2) the rule of the Roman church is that lay communion only be granted to returning heretics, while those who have lapsed from the catholic Church must undergo penance first; 3) Anysius and the synod of Capua did agree to accept Bonosus' ordines, as did the Nicene fathers in the case of the Novatians, but these were temporary expedients, dictated by the necessities of the time and recognised as such. The

ancient and apostolic rule observed by the Roman church and transmitted to those accustomed to hear her was as Innocent has stated; 4) those ordained by force, if they are proved to have immediately returned to the Church without exercising clerical functions, are to be dealt with as the Illyrians see fit. And as a general rule he recommends them to see that exceptional measures do not become established practice. Finally, two individual cases are dealt with. Photinus,²⁸ condemned by Siricius and Anastasius, had been recommended to Innocent for rehabilitation. "Since, as you affirm, the verdict of my predecessors was influenced by a false rumour and procured by bribery, the matter having already righted itself: for condemnation we grant pardon, so to speak, with our apostolic mouth, considering it too harsh not to accede to your protestations." Eustathius, apparently a deacon of an Illyrian church, had appealed to Innocent after condemnation, presumably by his bishop, on the accusation of two sub-deacons. Innocent informs them that he is not prepared to divest him of his office, for he has found no heresy in him. He appeals to the Illyrians, therefore, to respect his judgment, and for his sake to let the quarrel be buried and restore Eustathius to their fellowship.

It is now time to draw together the threads and summarise the characteristic features of Innocent's decretal style.

It has long been recognised that the Christian Church, when it began to acquire an institutional framework embracing the whole Empire, turned for the stylistic model of the documents embodying its decisions to the civil institutions with which it was familiar, the Senate and the imperial chancery. This can be seen already in the earliest Latin synodal letters we possess, those of Carthaginian councils under Cyprian. Terms such as *statueramus*, *censuimus*, *placuit*, the technical vocabulary of the official legislative style, appear here repeatedly.²⁹ But by

contrast the epistolary style shows little ^{evidence} ~~style~~ of such influence. Only where a bishop is making a disciplinary judgment can we discern a trace of a different style. A letter of Cyprian excommunicating a refractory cleric illustrates this perfectly (Cyprian, Ep.XLI.2):

cumque post haec omnia nec loci mei honore motus nec vestra auctoritate ...proripuerit se cum plurimis... ut abstentum se a nobis sciat... quisque se conspirationi et factioni eius adiunxerit sciat se in ecclesia nobiscum communicaturum non esse. The similarities between this and the official style are patent.³⁰ But we find in episcopal letters, including those of the Roman bishops, no general tendency to accommodate the essentially private tone of their correspondence to the official style or that of the synod until the time of Siricius.

Siricius' letter to Himerius of Tarragona, almost his first act as newly-consecrated bishop, astonishes by the departure it makes from the hitherto customary form. He begins with a preamble expressing his care for the whole Church,³¹ just as the Emperors proclaim their duty to guard the peace of all their subjects. Then follow the individual points and Siricius' decision: *sacram ergo paschalem reverentiam in nullo decimus esse minuendum (Sec.3); omni volumus celeritate succurri (ib.); quicumque...expetitae regenerationis praemia consequantur (ib.); iubemus abscidi (Sec.4); hoc ne fiat, modis omnibus inhibemus (Sec.5); quam formam.....servandam esse censemus (Sec.6); has ergo impudicas... personas...eliminandas esse mandamus (Sec.7); noverint se ab omni ecclesiastico honore...apostolicae sedis auctoritate deiectos (Sec.11); quid ab universis posthac ecclesiis sequendum sit, quid vitandum, generali pronuntiatione decernimus (Sec.12).* The style is terse and impersonal throughout, and although reference is constantly made to Scriptural authority, synodal decisions or the tradition of the Church, the emphasis is always on Siricius' pronouncement itself as commanding

obedience by its own authority. The threats of excommunication in Secc.2 and 3, which we have already noted, serve to remove any doubt on this score. Siricius speaks in true monarchical style as head of the Church, whose interpretation of divine law may not be questioned.

We may ask why this sudden change should occur at this point. Siricius' own character may be partly responsible, though none of his other letters betray such a style. The rescript of Gratian of 378/³² granting the Roman bishop powers of appeal and giving him the right to pass judgment on the metropolitans of provinces may also have contributed to a growing self-confidence on the part of the Roman church. But Siricius' style goes far beyond what was granted by the Emperor. It accords in fact perfectly with his own statement of his position vis-à-vis the rest of the Church. He is the head, guiding and directing the limbs of the body,³³ he bears the burdens of all who are afflicted;³⁴ indeed, in a sense, he is the body also, for all churches are in him.³⁵ With such a concept of his position how could his style be anything other than imperial?

The Himerius letter, however, remains an anomaly until well after the time of Leo. It was followed neither by Anastasius nor by Innocent. Yet Innocent does not retract the claim to Roman primacy which Siricius made so explicit. The apostle Peter is still the guardian and inspiration of his own church and especially of its bishop.³⁶ In token of this Innocent may claim to speak *ore apostolico*,³⁷ and the Roman tradition is to be regarded as a pure and uncorrupted inheritance from the apostles. *Nostrae lex est ecclesiae*, he declares, and this is sufficient to warrant its universal observance. No local practice elsewhere may count as evidence against it. The Illyrian bishops are sharply reminded that *vestra consuetudo* is no justification for a practice.³⁸ The *iniuria* to the Roman see of which he speaks was probably an attempt by the

Illyrians to set their own tradition alongside that of Rome. Yet Innocent prefers to use argument rather than threats to secure agreement. He is prepared to demonstrate from Scripture or the Nicene canons³⁹ or more generally the universal practice of the Church⁴⁰ that the rule he is enunciating is worthy of acceptance. We see him prepared also to be flexible in his approach to disciplinary problems, and even to admit that the Roman see could be deceived on a matter of fact.⁴¹ Above all, Innocent wishes to cultivate the practice of appealing to Rome, whether for guidance on general rules or for confirmation of local decisions. When such a tradition had become established practice Siricius' concept would become a reality and the Roman bishop could in fact bear the burdens of all. But that lay in the future, for the letter to Himerius was premature by several generations. Only when a fully-developed ecclesiastical hierarchy had developed in every part of the West could such a practice become a universal reality.

For the nature of Rome's relationship with other churches varies widely from one area to another at this period. It will therefore be the task of the second half of this chapter to examine the dealings of the Roman church with the churches of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa and the East, in an attempt to determine the contribution Innocent made in his contacts with each to the development of Rome's supremacy.

The authority which he inherited on his accession had undergone a considerable accretion during the latter half of the fourth century. The way for this had been paved by the council of Sardica, which in its third canon had affirmed the right of a bishop to appeal to the bishop of Rome after judgment by his fellow provincials. The Roman bishop might then order a retrial before the bishops of a neighbouring province.⁴² Of course the canon had a contemporary situation in view, the case of Athanasius, condemned, as many thought, by a packed synod. So it was

that when the immediate situation had passed, it was quietly forgotten.⁴³ But the Sardican canons had been carefully entered in the Roman registers after those of Nicaea, and stood ready for use when the occasion offered.⁴⁴ Liberius, Julius' successor, had troubles enough of his own to have much opportunity to act as judge in the affairs of other churches. But when Damasus had secured his throne after 368 we hear the claims of Roman primacy affirmed with increasing confidence. The Roman synod of 378 writes to the Emperor Gratian: "though the bishop of Rome is the equal of other bishops in virtue of his office, the prerogative of his apostolic see places him above them".⁴⁵ And in fact this designation of Rome as the *sedes apostolica* par excellence begins to become general at this time, fostered by the Roman chancery.⁴⁶ It was an age of absolutism, when the lines of command in the institution with which men were familiar ran universally downward from an apex. It was a system which the increasing military and financial difficulties of the Empire served only to harden. So in ecclesiastical organisation men in the West, particularly, looked for a head of the huge, disparate and potentially explosive body which the Church had now become. The Roman church was ready to fill such a vacuum, and her claim found increasing acceptance in the West.⁴⁷ For Ambrose, Rome is the *caput orbis Romani*,⁴⁸ and though he recognises no Roman *primatus iurisdictionis* in an absolute sense, the Roman see is nevertheless the guarantee of catholicity.⁴⁹ Augustine also speaks of the Roman bishop as enjoying a primacy among other bishops,⁵⁰ and under the stress of the Donatist controversy he was driven to list the Roman bishops as heirs to the Dominical promise to Peter,⁵¹ in order to rebut his opponents' claim to be the true Church.⁵² Imperial recognition, too, was not long in coming. Gratian's rescript in answer to the synodal letter of 378 granted the Roman bishop the right to judge metropolitans accused.⁵³

Rome was too far-sighted, however, to rely on imperial rescripts or even synodal decisions as the basis of her primacy. Rescripts were cancelled, synodal canons superseded or forgotten. Useful as these were in their time, the basis of Rome's claim rested upon the sure foundation of the unalterable word of Scripture. The Gospel declared unequivocally that to Peter the apostle were given the keys of heaven and earth, and upon him the Church was to be built.⁵⁴ The Roman bishop, as Peter's successor, was heir to that promise and all that it implied. The Roman synod of 382 declared explicitly that this text, and no word of man, assured Rome of her pre-eminence. Likewise their connexion with Peter assured Alexandria and Antioch of second and third place respectively.⁵⁵

Such was the theory Innocent inherited, and we have seen how from Siricius he had received the vocabulary in which to express it, if he wished to do so. Let us now turn to his correspondence with the churches of Italy.⁵⁶

Italy

In the spring of 416 Innocent found it necessary to write a long letter to Decentius, bishop of Gubbio in Umbria,⁵⁷ detailing a number of points at which the liturgy in that local church differed from Roman practice, and requesting that conformity to the Roman usage be strictly observed forthwith. We have notice of Innocent insisting in faith and on discipline, but nowhere has he so far claimed to dictate the liturgy to be followed in a particular church. The relationship, however, between Rome and the churches of central and southern Italy was an extremely close one. Diocletian divided Italy into two civil dioceses, each containing a number of provinces, but the system of provincial metropolitans did not take root during the fourth century, for the Roman church functioned as metropolitan for the whole of the diocese of Italia suburbicaria, and in Ambrose's time we find Milan in the same position in

Italia annonaria.⁵⁸ The sixth canon of Nicaea referred to a Roman primacy comparable to that of Alexandria over Egypt and Libya, but in such tantalisingly vague terms that the area involved cannot be determined with certainty.⁵⁹ Rufinus' translation of the Nicene canons as is well known, glossed this canon with a reference to the *diocesis suburbicaria*,⁶⁰ and this reflects the state of affairs at the beginning of the fifth century when Rome's metropolitan rights (i.e. the right to confirm the ordination of bishops, to convene synods, to issue *litterae formatae* to clergy wishing to travel etc.)⁶¹ did in fact extend only so far. The ties binding these churches to Rome were strengthened year by year as the bishops assembled in Rome on the anniversary of the Roman pontiff's election.⁶²

It is not surprising, therefore, to discover Innocent's direction of Italian affairs extending even into the liturgy. The terms in which he justifies his action are worthy of note. "If priests and bishops faithfully adhered to the institution handed down from the apostles, there would be no diversity or variety in the orders or the worship of the Church... For who is unaware that what was delivered to the Roman church by Peter the prince of the apostles and has been preserved to this day ought to be observed by all. Nor should anything be added or inserted which has no authority or appears to derive from elsewhere. For it is clear that no one founded churches anywhere in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily and the islands, but those ordained by Peter and his successors... Therefore they ought to follow the tradition of the Roman church to which they owe their origin, lest while they pay heed to outside claims they should appear to neglect the fount of their institutions."⁶³ Innocent appears at the outset to espouse the view that the entire body of the liturgy and church order was handed down intact from the first generation of Christians. But it appears as he continues that that is not his meaning. His concern is with uniformity, and innovations may be made if they have authority. The only legitimate

authority is the Roman church, on the ground of its intact preservation of Petrine tradition. It seems that what Innocent is hinting at here is the adoption of liturgical customs from Milan by the church of Gubbio and perhaps other churches also.⁶⁴ However, in at least one point, the position of the kiss of peace during the Eucharist, the usage Innocent criticises is not an innovation at all, but the preservation in a local church of a custom which had been reformed at Rome.⁶⁵ Rome in fact was the innovator here. That apart, however, the letter is testimony only to the continuing influence of Milan in the northern part of the Italian peninsula, that influence which reached its apogee under Ambrose.⁶⁶ But the implications of Innocent's words go further. For the whole of the West Rome is declared to be the *caput institutionum*, the source and point of reference for every aspect of church order.

The remaining letters to Italian bishops⁶⁷ reveal familiar topics and a familiar form of words. Another Umbrian bishop, Felix of Nocera, is praised for consulting Innocent (*quasi caput et apex episcopatus*)⁶⁸ on doubtful points: the qualifications and disqualifications for ordination. The Calabrian bishops are sent a copy of a *libellus* denouncing certain priests in their churches who have defiled their office by begetting children.⁶⁹ They are reproached for allowing such practices to go unpunished and are requested to summon the said priests, and if the charge is proved, to divest them of their office. Similar reports and accusations were laid before Innocent by bishops concerning a certain Modestus, who was said to have been ordained after undergoing penance. Innocent writes therefore to three Apulian bishops,⁷⁰ reminding them of the Nicene canon forbidding such ordinations,⁷¹ and ordering Modestus to be summoned before them to answer the charge. Florentinus, bishop of Tibur, is addressed in another letter,⁷² following a complaint by a neighbouring bishop that he had celebrated in a parish belonging to the latter without his knowledge. Florentinus is ordered, either

to refrain from repeating the act, or, if he thinks he has a just case, to present himself in Rome that a judgment on the dispute may be given. Finally, on receiving a report from Laurentius of Siena⁷³ that supporters of Photinus had appeared in his diocese, Innocent replies,⁷⁴ bidding him save his flock from being corrupted by them, by imitating the example of the *defensores*⁷⁵ of the Roman church in expelling them.

Gaul

The close relationship that existed at this period between Gaul and Rome is well attested in the letters to Victricius and Exsuperius, But we have also noted the tendency of the Gallic churches corporately to submit their disputes for arbitration to Milan,⁷⁷ and the efforts of Innocent to break this practice. There is, however, a further piece of evidence of Innocent's activity in this direction, which has received too little attention in church histories of this period. The exemplars of a group of Gallic canon collections (the Corbie, Albi, Cologne and Burgundian collections) contain the Nicene and Sardican canons in a single numeration, and at the end the following sentence: *expliciunt canones CCCXVIII patrum Niceni transcripti in urbe Rome de exemplaribus sancti Innocenti episcopi.*⁷⁸ Turner,⁷⁹ followed by Schwartz,⁸⁰ was the first to draw attention to this statement, and their opinion was that it refers to a fresh recension of the Roman canon material made under Innocent. Schwartz later abandoned this explanation, preferring to regard the manuscript statement as evidence that Rufinus' abbreviation of the Nicene canons, which he published as part of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*,⁸¹ was received into the papal archives, from which copies were then made.⁸² Whichever explanation is correct, it is clear that Innocent did not rely simply on letters to individuals to foster the habit of reference to Rome, but encouraged the transcription of the canons from the Roman archives, as a result of which they found a

wide circulation, especially in Gaul. The Roman exemplars, of course, had long claimed Nicene authority for the Serdican canons, especially those which granted Rome an appellate jurisdiction.⁸³

It may be an instance of the success of Innocent's policy that at the end of his reign Patroclus, bishop of Arles, was in Rome, seeking, no doubt from Innocent what he was later to so easily gain from Zosimus: recognition of his claim to a primacy over southern Gaul. Innocent was too shrewd a judge of the probable result of such a grant to give him what he asked. But Patroclus, too, was not without practical wisdom. He knew the weight Innocent's authority carried in Provence, and calculated that deference to Rome on the part of Gallic bishops would continue to increase. A grant of primacy from Rome was the surest way of achieving his ambition. Perhaps nothing marks the decline of Milan's status in Gaul and her substitution by Rome more sharply than this. It is a development for which Innocent could take much of the credit.

Spain

Innocent's contacts are naturally less close than with Gaul. On only one occasion is Rome known to have been involved in the affairs of Spain during his pontificate. The execution of Priscillian had repercussions in Gaul, which were still to be dealt with at the council of Turin in 398. Spain, and in particular Galicia, continued to be embarrassed by the presence of his followers. A council at Saragossa,⁸⁴ held about 395, decided to appeal to Ambrose and Siricius. The terms of reconciliation were set out by them, and at a second synod at Toledo in 400, the persistent Priscillianists finally consented to be received back into communion. It was decided that the reconciliation thus achieved be submitted to the bishops of Rome and Milan for approval. Presumably that approval was forthcoming. However, some bishops of

the provinces of Baetica and Carthaginensis refused to accept the Toledo synod's terms and broke off communion with those who had restored communion to the former Priscillianists. News of this schism was conveyed to Innocent by a bishop Hilarius and a priest Elpidius, and he expressed his reaction in a letter to the bishops of the Toledo synod.⁸⁵ The letter reveals that, in addition to the schism, violation of canon law had taken place; ordinations had been performed by bishops in another's church, disqualified persons had been ordained, and the like.

Innocent's reply is a model of practicality and tact. While deploring the schism and urging that the decision of the Toledo synod be respected, he refrains from prescribing the manner in which the reconciliation is to be effected. Exhortation, not dictation, is the manner he prefers. Similarly, in cases where persons have been ordained in good faith though they have after baptism held executive positions in the imperial service or are of the curial class, he contents himself with insisting that such irregularities are to be forbidden in the future, but because of their large number nothing can be done about those already irregularly ordained. Because his desire is to heal the churches, disturbance and scandal must be avoided.⁸⁶ However, elsewhere, Innocent is more firm. Where two bishops have performed ordinations in churches other than their own, those they have ordained are to be deposed. This was, of course, in accordance with the sixth canon of Nicaea,⁸⁷ but it is clear that Innocent only recommends this course as judging that its effect will be beneficial to the Church in Spain. In general, Innocent limits himself to calling attention to an alleged abuse, and asking that it be fully examined by the Spanish bishops. He is too shrewd to act precipitately on the sole basis of the reports of Hilarius and Elpidius.

This one letter does not allow us to build up any conclusions concerning the development of Roman relations with Spain. It is possible that there were other letters written prior to 410 which perished in the Gothic sack, but it is safe to assume that none will have been of the character of the letters to Victricius or Exsuperius, or they would certainly have found their way into the Gallic canon collections. As it is, even in the present crisis of the Spanish Church, Innocent was consulted only by two individuals acting on their own initiative. Rome's links with Spain were clearly weaker than with Illyricum or Gaul, and Innocent's approach is correspondingly more cautious.

Africa

The source material from Africa for the examination of our question is both abundant and early. Yet, paradoxically, it is not thereby made easier to define the African attitude towards Rome's claim to primacy. There is not space here to treat in detail the passages from Tertullian and Cyprian which bear on the matter, nor to comment on the many scholarly attempts which have been made to elucidate them over the last sixty years.⁸⁸ However, it can safely be said that, though disagreement on many points of detail remains, scholarly opinion is united in seeing no acknowledgement of a Roman primacy in a jurisdictional sense in Cyprian's thought. He was passionately convinced of the unity of the Church and saw that unity as embodied in the bonds of fraternal charity binding its bishops to one another.⁸⁹ It was in this light that he saw the position of the apostle Peter and particularly the grant of the power of the keys in Matt. 16.18.⁹⁰ For Peter is the type and symbol of the fundamental unity of the episcopate, and therefore of the Church.

Clearly it is no great step from the view that the unity of the Church is mystically present in Peter, to the view that that unity can be empirically realised through communion with Peter's church, the see

of Rome. It is a step which Cyprian did not take, but he made it easier for his successors to do so. One of them, Optatus, under the stress of the Donatist controversy, did so.⁹¹ Augustine, however, did not. To the end of his life he interpreted Matt.16.18 in the figurative, Cyprianic sense: Christ is the rock on which the Church is built; Peter, in confessing Jesus to be the Messiah, represents the Church (*ut Petrus... personam ecclesiae figuraret*)⁹² We have discussed elsewhere⁹³ the places where Augustine gives practical expression to his attitude to the Roman primacy, during the Pelagian crisis: the letter of the five bishops (Ep.177) and the famous *causa finita est* from Sermon 131. One could, however, contrast with them the letter to Celestine of 424,⁹⁴ which displays a high degree of self-confidence on the part of the African church. Can we see a contradiction here, or can both traits be harmonised in a single logical system? Scholars have attempted both approaches,⁹⁵ but have not always been able to free themselves from the danger of over-schematising their explanations.⁹⁶ The question of jurisdictional authority in the Church as a whole had not yet been settled.⁹⁷ There was a fine theory enunciated by Augustine,⁹⁸ whereby disputes could be considered by provincial, then regional and finally plenary councils, but the practical difficulties of calling together plenary or ecumenical councils made it necessary to evolve a more convenient way of ascertaining the opinion of the whole Church. So in practice it became customary to look to the great sees Alexandria, Constantinople and Rome, and to regard their agreement as a sign that the whole Church was of that mind. It is here that the distinction between matters of faith and matters of discipline becomes important. A disciplinary case is essentially a question of fact - whether the person or persons accused have committed certain actions. Here there was no doubt in the mind of the African church that it must be mastering its own house.⁹⁹ But a dispute about the faith was a different matter, for it could not but involve the whole

Church. The African tradition inherited from Cyprian the firm conviction of the unity of the Church, and this made it inconceivable that one part of the Church could teach doctrines different in any significant respect from the rest. A decision involving the faith must therefore, of its very nature, be confirmed by the rest of the Christian body. It is entirely logical, therefore, that the Africans should seek Innocent's confirmation of their decision regarding Pelagius' teaching, while remaining adamant that disciplinary matters must suffer no outside interference.

One final word. We have drawn attention to the concern for the unity of the Church which is so strong a feature of African Christianity. The other feature that stands out from its dealings with Rome in the crisis over Pelagianism and the Apianus affair is the consummate tact with which matters were invariably handled by Aurelius and Augustine. The organisation of the proceedings of the Carthage synod of 25 May 419 is a brilliant example of how to win a case while causing the opposition the minimum of embarrassment.¹⁰⁰ And the letter to Celestine of 424, drafted by Aurelius, though the annoyance at Rome's high-handedness is scarcely veiled, never abandons its tone of courtesy. It was a sharp rebuke, but intended to correct, not to alienate.

The historian of the early Church cannot but feel grateful for such a series of events, since they illuminate far more effectively than conclusions drawn from treatises the true African attitude towards Rome at this period. From the Roman point of view, however, the handling of the situation by Zosimus, Boniface and Celestine was disastrous. How much more carefully Innocent would have proceeded is amply illustrated both from the cordial letters to Aurelius,¹⁰¹ which show how highly he regarded that primate whose abilities matched his own,¹⁰² as well as his own handling of a similar affair to Apianus' - the appeal of

Eustathius the Illyrian deacon (Ep.X VII.15).¹⁰³ Innocent was prepared to be patient, for he knew the tide of history was on his side: the hierarchic principle of Church government was destined to prevail. His successors were less far-sighted, and risked jeopardising his work. It was left to the Vandal invasion and its consequent disruption to knock the stuffing out of the catholic church in Africa, and render it more amenable to Roman claims.¹⁰⁴

The East¹⁰⁵

The events surrounding the deposition of John Chrysostom left a deep wound in the Church, which was a long time in healing. In practical terms its principal effect was a break in communion between Rome and the churches of the Western Empire on the one hand and the sees of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch on the other. Not until all the chief actors in the drama were dead was there talk of restoring John's name to the official lists of past bishops of Constantinople, the principal condition laid down by Rome for a restoration of normal relations.¹⁰⁶ The first move was made by Alexander of Antioch. A delegation from his church arrived in Rome in 414 or 415, bringing with them the assurance that John's name was now included in the diptychs at Antioch, and requesting the communion of the Roman see.¹⁰⁷ There was more to the legation's message, however. Alexander had taken steps immediately on his ordination to reconcile the former followers of Paulinus and Evagrius. Their clerics he had received into his own clergy without loss of status;¹⁰⁸ and he let it be known that he was willing to allow their colleagues living abroad to return to Antioch on the same terms. This offer had been successful in its object, and for the first time in almost a century the Antiochene church was one body.¹⁰⁹

There can be no doubt that Alexander was pursuing a considered policy in taking these steps. His aim was nothing less than the restoration of his see to its former pre-eminence in Oriens, a position which its chronic schisms had badly shaken. His first task was to reconcile the Evagrians, and then to re-assert his patriarchal rights over the whole diocese.¹¹⁰ For this the support of Rome was essential, for neither Alexandria ~~and~~ Constantinople had reason to welcome a revitalised Antioch. The rehabilitation of John was a small price to pay. Innocent, for his part, was delighted with this turn of events. Alexander's acceptance of the Western terms for restored communion surely made it only a matter of time before Alexandria and Constantinople followed suit. An irksome and embarrassing situation would thereby be resolved, and Rome's firm stand completely vindicated. And as for Alexander's ambitions for his own see, with them too Innocent was in full accord. Roman policy had steadfastly refused Constantinople's claim to a status as "New Rome",¹¹¹ and Alexandria, once Rome's staunchest ally, had lately adopted an inflexible hostile stance. The solid front which the East had for a decade presented to Western demands had now cracked, and the way was open for Roman influence to make itself felt once more.¹¹²

Innocent's relations with the other two great Eastern sees are naturally hardly attested. Alexander's initiative by no means pleased Cyril: we have a letter from him to Atticus protesting vigorously against the Antiochene move.¹¹³ It seems safe, however, to assume that by 419 communion had also been restored between Rome and Alexandria, for the Carthage synod of that year resolved to send to all three Eastern patriarchates for authentic copies of the Nicene canons, and we hear of no difficulty mentioned, even by the Roman legates present, arising from a break in communion. No letters regarding the restoration survive,

however, so the circumstances remain a mystery. The restoration of relations with Atticus is likewise unattested in Innocent's letters, except for a short letter to an Illyrian bishop Maximianus, rebuking him for asking that Innocent send a letter to Atticus, presumably offering a reconciliation. No letter, no guarantee that the necessary conditions had been fulfilled, was offered, though Maximianus knew well the terms on which alone communion could be restored.¹¹⁴ Innocent had no hesitation, therefore, in rejecting his request; it was for Atticus to make the first move. There was a further reason, however. Maximianus was clearly acting as a go-between on Atticus' behalf, and to accede to his request would have been to compromise the position of the bishop of Thessalonica which Innocent had himself built up with such care.¹¹⁵

To conclude, our examination of the style of Innocent's letters has shown us a man fully conscious of the position he has inherited from his predecessors and of the way in which that position might be developed; yet aware that a structure built carefully and in stages is likely to be more enduring than one whose foundations are hastily and inadequately laid. He rejects, therefore, the blunt approach of Siricius' decretal, and instead pursues a policy of insinuation, of constant re-iteration of Rome's prerogatives, coupled with wise and cautious decisions. When he requires the sharper tone of rebuke, he uses again and again the verb "*mirari*".¹¹⁶ Few terms could have been better chosen, both psychologically to put the recipient at a disadvantage and to overawe him with Rome's unshakable assurance of her prerogatives. Though Innocent aschews the monarchical style, always, whether he praises or blames, he speaks as a superior. One cannot but concede the effectiveness of his weapon.

THE LEGACY OF INNOCENT

The foregoing chapters have attempted to illustrate the various aspects of Innocent's policy during his fifteen-year tenure of the See of Rome, and to bring out the contribution he made to the foundation established by his predecessors, and in particular to the recognition of Rome by the rest of the Church as the final court of appeal in doctrinal and disciplinary matters. As we have come to expect, the Roman church proved capable of continuing the broad lines of his policy after his death, but the very different character of his *immediate* successor caused developments of that policy in surprising ways.

Gaul

The consecration of Zosimus followed six days after Innocent's decease, on 18 March 417.¹ Almost immediately afterwards, on 22 March, there issued from the papal chancery a letter addressed to the bishops of Gaul and the Seven Provinces that was to have serious repercussions throughout the rest of Zosimus' reign.² "It has pleased the apostolic see," it begins, "that all clerics of whatever grade who propose to come from Gaul to Rome or anywhere else, should not set out without receiving from the metropolitan bishop of Arles formal letters stating his ordination, accompanied by the latter's seal...Without this no cleric can be received in Rome, and any who flout this ordinance will be excommunicated". Secondly, the letter orders the bishop of Arles to resume the right of ordination of bishops in the three provinces of Viennensis, Narbonensis prima and Narbonensis secunda, which, says Zosimus, he has always possessed. Thirdly, the two parishes of Citharista and Gargarium, which are within the civil jurisdiction of Arles, are to be incorporated into the territory of the church of Arles.

For to that metropolitan city was sent from Rome bishop Trophimus, who was responsible for the evangelisation of the whole of Gaul. Thus all parishes that see has anciently possessed, even outside its own provinces, are to remain in its inviolate possession. Finally, any matter that arises in those parts should be brought to its notice, unless the importance of the case requires the examination of the Roman bishop.

The first thing that strikes us about this letter is its authoritative tone. The words of command meet us at every turn: *placuit, statuimus, iussimus, censemus*. The phrases *sciat se, cognoscat se* are borrowed from the legislative vocabulary of the imperial chancery. And the threat of excommunication is twice levelled against any who presume to ignore the directives embodied in the letter. The whole tone is reminiscent of the Letter of Siricius to Himerius, and marks a sharp departure from the style of Innocent's correspondence.³ Nothing could have demonstrated more clearly that the Roman see was now in new and very different hands.

We noted earlier⁴ that Innocent's first recorded act was to commit to Anysius of Thessalonica the general oversight of affairs throughout Dacia and Macedonia; and that from this commission developed the concept of the vicariate, which found full expression in his letter to Rufus. Whether Zosimus sent a letter to Rufus immediately on his consecration is unknown. One may reasonably assume that he did. Indeed, it may well have been the writing of such a letter that prompted him to involve the authority of the Roman church in another area where the ecclesiastical organisation was still relatively undeveloped: Gaul.

Throughout the fourth century the Church had been steadily evolving its own hierarchical system of government, accommodating itself in the process to the secular pattern. The position of the bishop of the

metropolis within each province had been recognised and confirmed at Nicaea.⁵ The large number of provinces, however, drove the Church in the course of the Arian controversy to seek a more centralised control of its affairs, and the larger sees began to claim and exercise supervision over metropolitans. Certain sees had, of course, always possessed a very wide authority which went far beyond provincial boundaries. Carthage and Alexandria are cases in point. In fact the synod of Nicaea (Canon 6) explicitly confirmed the rights of the latter over all the provinces of Egypt and the Pentapolis.⁶ Later in the century Jerome could write of Antioch as the *metropolis totius Orientis*,⁷ and the synod of 381, while not mentioning metropolitans of civil dioceses (or patriarchs, as they came later to be called),⁸ clearly envisages the civil diocese as an ecclesiastical unit.⁹ And of course the famous third canon of that Synod gave expression to a higher authority still - that of Rome and Constantinople, corresponding to the twin centres of imperial government.¹⁰

It appears, however, that this hierarchical structure was late in developing among the churches of Gaul. Though Christianity had early taken root in parts of that country, it is probable that until the end of the fourth century only in the larger urban centres of the south (Lyons, Arles, Vienne, Marseilles) did Christians form a large element in the population. Martin of Tours, for example, found very few Christians in his diocese when he took over.¹¹ There was, of course, provincial and inter-provincial councils held from time to time. Ambrose tells us he himself attended a number.¹² But only three councils for this period have left any trace in our sources: Valence (374),¹³ Nîmes (394 or 396)¹⁴ and Turin (398).¹⁵ The principal indication that the ties binding the Gallic churches were as yet relatively flexible and undefined comes from the canons of this last synod of Turin.¹⁶ Besides putting the finishing touches to the process

of reconciliation between the supporters and opponents of Felix of Trier, the assembled bishops had to decide two questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. First, Proculus, bishop of Marseilles, claimed metropolitan rights over the churches of Narbonensis secunda. His argument was that these churches (or at least some of them) were parishes of the church of Marseilles or had had their bishops ordained by him. For their part, the bishops of Narbonensis secunda protested that Marseilles was situated in Viennensis and Proculus was therefore disqualified from acting as their metropolitan. The problem arose from the creation of the province of Narbonensis secunda out of the eastern part of Viennensis, which had been effected between 375 and 381 by Gratian.¹⁷ Should traditional prerogatives be respected or the newer principle of one metropolitan to every province? The second dispute concerned the churches of Arles and Vienne. Each claimed metropolitan rights over Viennensis. Again, civil changes had led to disagreement. Almost certainly, the cause of the dispute was the recent removal of the office of the praetorian prefect of the Gauls from Trier to Arles.¹⁸ While Arles now possessed the prefecture, Vienne continued to be the residence of the vicarius of the Seven Provinces, and both claimed the right to be metropolitan of the province.

The lack of a tight system in the ecclesiastical organisation of Southern Gaul is clearly in evidence here. Not until twenty years after the creation of Narbonensis secunda do we hear of the cities of that province challenging the right of the bishop of Marseilles to perform ordinations there. And the fact that Arles could claim metropolitan rights so soon after the increase in its civil status indicates that Vienne was by no means universally recognised as the ecclesiastical metropolis, though it undoubtedly would have been had the spirit of the Nicene canon been applied.¹⁹ Our conclusion must be that, though

metropolitan powers had been exercised by the more important cities (ordination of neighbouring bishops, summoning of councils etc.), their exercise had not always conformed to provincial boundaries; each city had enjoyed its prerogatives in its own area.²⁰

Turin produced no permanent solution to these problems. The bishops there seem indeed to have been ignorant of the situation in southern Gaul, and to have felt themselves quite unable to make definitive rulings.²¹ With regard to the Marseilles claim on Narbonensis secunda they were unwilling both to over-ride traditional practice altogether and to disregard the general rule that a city could not exercise metropolitan rights in another province. So they compromised, granting Patroclus permission to continue as before, but insisting that this was an exception granted to him personally, not to his see.²² Even more of a compromise was the decision regarding Arles and Vienne. Recognising that the canons envisage only one metropolis per province they invite the two cities to prove which is the (civil) metropolis, on the understanding that that city shall then enjoy the rights of an ecclesiastical metropolis. For the present, however, in the interests of concord, each city is to exercise these rights in its own area.²³

For twenty years this *ad hoc* solution endured, and no further trouble is recorded. But in 417, immediately on his accession, Zosimus determined to impose, by virtue of his own authority, a solution to the questions which Turin had failed to resolve. In his letter to the bishops of Gaul and the Seven Provinces, he elevates Arles to the position of metropolis of Narbonensis prima, Viennensis and Narbonensis secunda, thus deciding both issues at one stroke. And in addition, as we have seen, he confers upon Patroclus the right to issue *litterae formatae* to clerics travelling abroad from any part of Gaul, and requests that any dispute be brought to the knowledge of that bishop for his

judgment.

What was Zosimus' intention in producing so startling and unexpected a plan? It is interesting to note that Patroclus was resident in Rome during this period,²⁴ and it cannot be doubted that his presence influenced Zosimus' decision to write as he did. Caspar, indeed, goes further, and sees Patroclus as partly responsible for Zosimus' own election as bishop the previous week, and the grant of metropolitan rights as a *quid pro quo* for his services.²⁵ Though the argument on which this view is based will not bear examination,²⁶ Patroclus' previous career reveals him as an able man, adept at seizing his opportunities. When Heros, bishop of Arles, had compromised himself by offering protection to the defeated usurper Constantine, Patroclus had stepped into his place, and as Constantius' star waxed brighter in the following years, he knew how to make the best use of his friendship with the patrician.²⁷

It seems likely, therefore, that Patroclus was in Rome to press the Roman bishop to take a fresh initiative in Southern Gaul, and to resolve the situation in favour of Arles. Since the location of the prefect's *officium* in the city was not a conclusive factor, Patroclus added a further argument, the tradition that a certain Trophimus had been sent from Rome to Gaul, and, having become bishop of Arles, had directed the spread of the Gospel from there to the rest of the country. Arles might thus be regarded as the mother-church of Gaul, and could claim metropolitan rights as her due. Trophimus is indeed a shadowy figure, to be assigned, if we can be sure of his existence at all, to the third century.²⁸ As to his evangelising activity or any headship of the churches of Gaul, there is no evidence prior to 417, and no mention was made of it at Turin. It appears to have been a local tradition of the Arles church, worked up for the purpose in hand by Patroclus.

Zosimus' letter gives the see of Arles metropolitan rights over Viennensis, Narbonensis prima and Narbonensis secunda. The exact wording is important: *praecipuam, sicut semper habuit, metropolitanus episcopus Arleatensis in ordinandis sacerdotibus teneat auctoritatem. Viennensem, Narbonensem primam et Narbonensem secundam provincias ad pontificium suum revocet.* Clearly it would have been absurd for Zosimus to pretend that Arles had exercised all the rights of metropolitan over this area. e.g. the convocation of general synods or the right to settle disputes. He therefore declares the right of ordination to belong to Arles, and always to have so belonged. This must have reference to the Trophimus tradition, mentioned a little later. If Trophimus had played a leading role in the evangelisation of Gaul, he must have performed many episcopal ordinations. His successors might also be expected to have done so, and even if in recent years other sees had arrogated to themselves this right, this could only be a temporary usurpation. It was now time for the bishop of Arles to reassert (*revocet*) his rights. Clearly, Zosimus was here taking a bold step, and he judged it best to use as justification a precedent firmly rooted in the mists of a venerable antiquity, beyond the scrutiny of memory or written records. The Trophimus tradition may also explain why Arles is made metropolitan of three provinces. Canon law knew of only one province per metropolitan, and if Arles were to have primatial (i.e. supra-metropolitan) rights, the diocese of seven provinces would be its natural area of competence. The three provinces in question had in fact once formed a single unit, more than a century before. Up to the reign of Diocletian, the province of Gallia Narbonensis had comprised just this area. Trophimus of Arles would therefore have wielded especial authority here.²⁹

The restoration of metropolitan rights to Arles and the confirmation of the full rights of that see over Citharista and Gargarium and certain other (unnamed) *paroeciae* elsewhere in Gaul were only part of the package drawn up by Zosimus. He insists at length that only Patroclus has the authority to issue valid *litterae formatae*, recommending a Gallic cleric to a church abroad; and he gives him a general charge to watch over any major matters arising anywhere in Gaul. Both these privileges relate to the whole of Gaul, not just the three (or the seven) provinces, but it would be wrong to see Patroclus as here created Primate of Gaul,³⁰ for none of the other primatial rights are mentioned.³¹ What Zosimus intends is that Arles shall become the headquarters of communication between Gaul and the outside world. It is noteworthy that in both contexts Rome is mentioned: clerics travelling to Rome must obtain Patroclus' clearance, and weighty matters arising in Gaul are to be referred by Patroclus to Rome. This provides the answer to the question why Zosimus should have come down so heavily in favour of Patroclus' claims. In return for Roman support for his position as metropolitan, Patroclus was to accustom the Gallic churches to look to Rome as the source of ultimate authority. For Trophimus was a disciple of the Roman see, and it is the authority of that see that Patroclus will exercise in fulfilling these functions. *Placuit apostolicae sedi* the letter begins, and this motif runs through the whole text.³² Those scholars are correct, therefore, who have seen here an attempt to create a vicariate of the kind that already existed in Rome's interest in Illyricum.³³

The audacity of this manoeuvre is breathtaking. It cuts clean through the problem of the disputed metropolitan rights in the three provinces, establishes an embryonic primatial authority, and at the

same time spells out Rome's claim to ultimate jurisdiction. But so bold a solution could not hope to find easy acceptance in Gaul. Not only was the status enjoyed by Narbonne, Vienne and Marseilles thus rudely diminished - and Narbonne at any rate had only recently obtained from Rome some recognition of its metropolitan claim³⁴ - but an established principle of canon law was infringed, that requiring a metropolitan to be bishop of a city within his province. This made it doubly necessary for Zosimus to lay great stress on the Trophimus legend in an attempt to justify his action.

The opposition was not long in coming. Each of the three rival sees to Arles protested vigorously at this curtailment of their customary rights, indeed they continued to assert their right to ordain bishops on neighbouring sees. During the course of the summer, Patroclus found it necessary to hasten to Rome with news of his difficulties, whereupon Zosimus summoned Proculus of Marseilles to present himself in Rome for examination of his conduct. Hilary of Narbonne and Simplicius of Vienne may also have been invited to appear, but neither did so, the former contenting himself with sending an embassy to state his case.³⁵ Proculus was indeed the most dangerous rival, for he had immediately proceeded to counter the assignment of the two parishes Citharista and Gargarium to Arles by ordaining bishops in both places.³⁶ He further added to his defiance by refusing to come to Rome, despite being given an extension of time to which to appear.³⁷ Zosimus now lost patience. His anger against Proculus had been further sharpened by the fact that one of that bishop's principal helpers was Lazarus, the former bishop of Aix and opponent of Pelagius' teaching,³⁸ and Celestius, who had recently gained Zosimus' ear, had lost no time in reminding the pope of Heros' and Lazarus' dubious conduct during Constantine's usurpation in 409-11. The last days of September saw

~~recently gained Zosimus' ear, had lost no time in reminding the pope of Heros' and Lazarus' dubious conduct during Constantine's usurpation in 409-11. The last days of September saw~~ six letters despatched from the papal chancery to the churches of Africa, Gaul and Spain.

Zosimus had examined Celestius in a council held in Rome at about this time, and his two letters to the African bishops communicated his feelings on the matters raised. They will be examined in more detail later, but it is worth noting here that both contain a vigorous attack on Heros and Lazarus; in Zosimus' eyes they are both bad characters with a history of malicious accusation against innocent men.³⁹ At the same time Zosimus determined both to reaffirm the prerogatives granted to Arles the previous March and to make known his displeasure at the opposition his Gallic policy had encountered.

These points he embodied in a circular letter drafted on 22 September, destined for the churches of Gaul, Africa and Spain.⁴⁰ Ursus and Tuentius, the two bishops ordained by Patroclus, are condemned as unworthy of office in the Church, and their ordination is declared invalid because performed without Patroclus' consent and contrary to canon law. Zosimus therefore pronounces them excommunicate and warns against their being received by any church. He concludes by quoting from his letter of March 22 the paragraphs relating to Arles' metropolitan rights, her claim to Citharista and Gargarium, the Trophimus legend and the general supervision to be exercised by Arles in Gaul. Four days later, Zosimus dictated a letter to Hilary of Narbonne,⁴¹ stressing that Trophimus' status in Gaul, as inherited by his successors in the see of Arles, invalidated every other claim to metropolitan rights in Narbonensis prima, and in particular Hilary's own which he had avowed had been accepted by Rome. He wrote to Patroclus also, on the same day.⁴² That bishop

was assured of Rome's support for his status as metropolitan,⁴³ and his right to issue *litterae formatae* for the whole of Gaul was confirmed. Further, Zosimus stressed that no cleric must be ordained to the bishopric without having served in each of the lower grades; and, rather surprisingly, he warns Patroclus that not even he may presume to act contrary to this instruction. Finally, on 29 September, Zosimus addressed the bishops of Viennensis and Narbonensis secunda, advising them of Proculus' illicit ordinations and reaffirming the metropolitan rights of the bishop of Arles as the heir of Trophimus.⁴⁴

The difficulties into which Zosimus' policy had run are obvious. He was beset by a stream of clerics from Gaul protesting against the new state of affairs. Many of them, quite naturally, presented themselves at Rome without *litterae formatae* signed by Patroclus, and caused considerable embarrassment in Rome.⁴⁵ Moreover, Patroclus himself, eager to assert his right to ordain, had difficulty in finding willing and suitable candidates from the clergy of the churches concerned, and was compelled to ordain neophytes. Hence the rebuke in Zosimus' letter to him. Proculus too showed no sign of giving way. Undeterred by the quashing of his ordination of Ursus and Tuentius, he continued to stir up opposition to Patroclus. At some point during the winter of 417-8 Zosimus had Proculus formally deposed from his see,⁴⁶ but not even that sufficed to bring him to heel. Two more letters were written in the spring of 418 and despatched to Gaul by the same messenger. Patroclus was once more reminded of his metropolitan status and urged to take more vigorous measures against Proculus.⁴⁷ The other letter was addressed to the clergy and people of Marseilles. Since Proculus, though no longer legally their bishop, does not cease to cause trouble to the church and to behave as though he still held office, Zosimus commends them to the care of Patroclus,

that together they may elect a new bishop.⁴⁸

We hear nothing more of Gallic affairs for the remainder of Zosimus' reign, and we can only guess at how matters developed. Probably they continued in the same confused, uncertain state, with Patroclus unable to win general consent to his claims.⁴⁹ Zosimus' policy has, therefore, been severely criticised by modern scholars. The usual view is that Zosimus was rash,⁵⁰ though it is often conceded that the net result of his action was to accustom the churches of southern Gaul to look to Rome as leader and guide.⁵¹ It is clear enough that he had in mind the creation of a situation analogous to that which was working reasonably well in Illyricum. Unfortunately, conditions in the two areas were different. Arles did not possess undisputed metropolitan rights over her province, and so Zosimus, prompted by Patroclus, decided to use his authority to accord them to her. And it was on this point, not on the ground of the right of *litterae formatae*, that opposition arose. Zosimus trusted in the authority of the Roman see to overcome that opposition. Though Trophimus was the argument that he needed to stress, it was his own authority that was to back it up. And when the recalcitrant Gallic bishops spurn even that, he cries with scarcely concealed anger and frustration: Why do they not consider whence you (Patroclus) derive your power?⁵² How differently Innocent would have acted! We recall that in his charge to Rufus, he warned him against precisely this error: *arripe, frater, per suprascriptas ecclesias, salvo earum primatu, curam.*⁵³ That shrewd ecclesiastical statesman recognised that metropolitan rights were jealously guarded, and that any infringement of them would jeopardise his whole policy. In contrast, Zosimus trampled heedlessly on them, and paid the price.

His successor Boniface was wiser. Both his recorded interventions in Gallic affairs were in response to complaints from deputations of clergy, backed up by documentary evidence. The first concerned the church of Valentia in Viennensis, whose clergy had lodged a series of complaints against their bishop Maximus. These charges had apparently been made before, but though frequently cited to appear before councils locally he had failed to present himself for examination. In despair, therefore, they turned to Rome, asking for a clear pronouncement against him. This would appear not to have been the first occasion that notice of the matter had been brought to Rome, but Rome's answer had hitherto been to refer the matter back for local judgment.⁵⁵ Though clearly under strong pressure to condemn Maximus outright, Boniface deliberately refuses to do so, observing merely that his repeated refusal to defend himself is *prima facie* evidence of guilt. He therefore orders a fresh synod to be convoked in Gaul before a fixed date and sentence to be passed whether or not Maximus appears.

This was in 419. Three years later another Gallic delegation arrived in Rome to pour out its tears and pleas before Boniface. Patroclus had ordained a successor to the vacant bishopric of Lodeve in Narbonensis prima, and the clergy and people objected. Boniface now wrote to Hilary of Narbonne, informing him of the situation and requesting him as metropolitan to act in accordance with the wishes of the local church by deposing the unpopular nominee of Patroclus and ordaining a successor acceptable to them.⁵⁶ What is significant is the weighty emphasis laid in the letter on strict observance of canon law, in particular that which forbids a metropolitan to exercise his authority outside his province. This is the sole ground adduced

for quashing Patroclus' action, and conformably with it Hilary is recognised as metropolitan of Narbonensis prima.

Papal policy has been reversed. In his first letter, Boniface studiously avoids taking a decision on the charges laid against Maximus, "lest anyone should say judgment is being hastily given and no opportunity of defence accorded to the accused in his absence."⁵⁷ The implied reference to Zosimus' handling of such cases is obvious. In the second letter, the contentious grant to Patroclus of metropolitan rights over three provinces is withdrawn. What had become of the rest of the rights accorded to him by Zosimus is unknown, though we may imagine they were quietly forgotten for the time being. The reaction which Zosimus' policy had produced rendered a change of direction necessary, but no open move against Patroclus could be made while his protector Constantius lived. After the latter's death in September 421,⁵⁸ the first convenient opportunity could be taken to reveal the change Rome had determined upon. But Boniface is careful to salvage from the wreckage of Zosimus' Gallic policy the elements that were to Rome's advantage. Thus he insists that the decision on Maximus be reported to and confirmed by Rome,⁵⁹ and that Hilary's action likewise be communicated to the apostolic see.⁶⁰ Boniface was determined that the road to Rome, trodden so often by Gallic clerics during Zosimus' reign, should continue to be used by them. But the most striking feature of all is that the letter to Hilary contains not a syllable indicating that Rome had changed her course. Indeed, with that calm audacity which we have learnt to expect in the popes of this period, Hilary can even be rebuked for failing to act upon the metropolitan rights which had been explicitly denied to him

less than five years before.⁶¹ Nothing could more clearly indicate that the spirit of Innocent was once more in control of the affairs of the Roman see. Zosimus' reign was as though it had never been.

Africa

Innocent's reply to the African bishops had been entirely satisfactory to them. Augustine spoke for them when in his sermon of September 23, 417 he declared that the Roman response meant that Pelagius' teaching could no longer be regarded as orthodox, and expressed the hope that the heresy would soon wither away.⁶² Pelagius and Celestius, however, though far away, had by no means given up the struggle for official recognition of their opinions. Informed by their friends in Italy of Innocent's action, they each took steps, Pelagius from Palestine,⁶³ Celestius probably from Asia Minor,⁶⁴ to present the Roman bishop with a statement which would clear their name. Following on the news of their excommunication came the report of Innocent's death. Celestius, who had been expelled from Constantinople,⁶⁵ immediately set off for Rome to demand a hearing of his case in person. Pelagius, whom news of Innocent's death had reached somewhat later,⁶⁶ despatched, before hearing of it, a letter to Innocent, defending himself against the principal charges laid against him, accompanied by a statement of his creed.⁶⁷

Celestius arrived in Rome in the late summer of 417, and immediately began organising opinion in his support. He composed a treatise setting out his opinions in detail, and demanded a hearing before the bishop. Zosimus agreed, and a session was held in the basilica of San Clemente, where the background to the case was discussed, Celestius' pamphlet read out, and the plaintiff cross-examined.⁶⁸ Zosimus was at this time, as we have seen, greatly occupied with events in Gaul, and in particular with the action of Proculus, assisted by Lazarus, in performing

ordinations. Furthermore, Patroclus, the successor of Heros in the see of Arles, had certainly been recently in Rome, and may even have been present when Celestius' case was heard.⁶⁹ Now Heros and Lazarus had been instrumental in securing the African decision against Pelagius and Celestius in 416, and a copy of the letter which Orosius had brought to Africa at that time had been sent to Rome along with the three African letters.⁷⁰ It was clearly in Celestius' interest to make use of the disfavour in which Heros and Lazarus then stood with Zosimus, and the event showed that he made full use of his opportunity.

At the conclusion of the hearing Zosimus wrote to Aurelius and all the bishops of Africa.⁷¹ "Important matters" he declares, "require weighty examination. The consideration given to a decision should be proportionate to the importance of the case. Furthermore, regard must be had to the authority of the apostolic see, to which, in honour of most blessed Peter, the decrees of the fathers assigned a special reverence." Respect for the see of Rome had become a regular preamble to papal letters,⁷² but it is the first point, with its implied rebuke of the Africans' procedure upon which Zosimus lays greatest emphasis. When Celestius was in Africa, he declares, no clear judgment was arrived at. And when the letter of Heros and Lazarus arrived, the Africans' action in writing to Rome had obviously been taken with undue haste.⁷³ Celestius declared on interrogation in Rome that he had never met his two accusers before they wrote their letter, and though he had afterwards done so, it had been only briefly in the case of Lazarus, and with Heros he had come to terms. The testimony of men of known bad character (witness their record in Gaul) should never have been accepted against a man who was not present. Zosimus has therefore no hesitation in correcting the Africans' judgment.⁷⁴ Scriptural examples warn of the dangers of false accusation and of hasty judgment. When a man's own statement of his beliefs is doubted he is often as a result forced

into error, and an irreparable harm done. "Wherefore," he continues, "I have made no ill-considered decision, but rather inform you of my enquiry concerning Celestius' undisguised creed."⁷⁵ Let those, therefore, who maintain that Celestius' opinions are other than he has stated appear within two months; otherwise no doubt may any longer be entertained on this score." And Zosimus concludes by declaring his belief that such questions of theology are unprofitable, and even dangerous.

Soon after dictating this letter, and probably before its bearer had departed, Pelagius' letter and profession of faith arrived in Rome, accompanied by a letter from Praylius, John's recent successor in the see of Jerusalem, supporting Pelagius' representations. When these were read out in the presence of Zosimus and his clergy a profound impression was produced. At every turn Pelagius declared the continuing necessity of divine aid for man's salvation, and his creed was a model of Nicene orthodoxy. Zosimus was so moved that he immediately penned a further letter to Aurelius and his colleagues,⁷⁶ expressing his anger that a Celestius or a Pelagius should be accused by men of the calibre of Heros and Lazarus, men who do not even deign to appear in support of their charges. Could there be any doubt who was worthy of credence? Once more the warnings are given not to lend a ready ear to false accusations and to examine every charge with the utmost care before according belief. Pelagius and Celestius have condemned heresy and professed true doctrine. The Church should therefore rejoice in the knowledge that they have never been separated from it.

One can only regard with astonishment these two letters. The Africans are accused of having condemned in their absence Pelagius and Celestius, on the basis of evidence laid by men who were not present either. Yet even on the most cursory reading of the three letters sent by the Africans it is clear that they had done no such thing.

As well as the testimony of Heros and Lazarus there was read at the council of Carthage the *gesta* of the examination of Celestius there in 411. These records made it clear that Celestius' condemnation on that occasion was due principally to his refusal to affirm or deny a belief in original sin.⁷⁷ Since the African church was convinced, in 416 no less than in 411, that such belief was fundamental to the Christian faith, it could not but regard fresh testimony to his continuing to cast doubt on original sin as decisive of his heresy. Furthermore, although Pelagius had never been publicly accused in Africa, admirers and disciples of his were numerous there as elsewhere, and writings popularly supposed to be his were circulating freely.⁷⁸ His teaching was therefore well-known from many sources, and Heros and Lazarus merely confirmed the fact. However, in spite of the formidable body of evidence against both Pelagius and Celestius, both the Carthage and the Milevis councils emphasise that their chief concern is the condemnation of the heresy rather than the individuals. "Even if Pelagius and Celestius have been corrected, or declare they never held these doctrines, and deny the authority of works cited in evidence against them, and if they cannot be proved guilty of falsehood in so doing, nevertheless let anyone who affirms the heretical opinion in question be anathems".⁷⁹ They deliberately refuse to pass a condemnation against absent defendants, throwing instead the whole weight of their attack against the heretical doctrine.

For obvious reasons, Zosimus was unlikely to look favourably upon the accusation laid by Heros and Lazarus. His attitude to Pelagian teaching, however, deserves investigation. The record of the hearing in the basilica of San Clemente is preserved only in fragments, in Augustine's *de peccato originali*, but they enable us to fill in the background to Zosimus' letters. The pope told the Africans he had interrogated Celestius personally as to whether he really held the views

expressed in the *libellus* he had submitted to the council. Now Zosimus carefully avoids in his correspondence all discussion of the theological issues involved; indeed, they are not so much as mentioned in Epistle II. His judgment is that those who argue that Celestius' opinions are other than he has stated both orally and in writing must present themselves within two months; otherwise no doubt shall be held to remain. The conclusion is inescapable that Zosimus found Celestius' opinions as expressed in his *libellus* and at the hearing free from error, and the only doubt that could possibly remain was that Celestius did not really hold them.⁸⁰ Augustine, however, gives a rather different picture. Celestius in his *libellus* had emphatically declared that original sin was no catholic doctrine.⁸¹ Zosimus then by interrogation strove to get him to disown this statement, only succeeding, however, in obtaining an assurance that Celestius would "denounce all that the see of Rome denounced".⁸² He specifically refused to condemn the statements attributed to him by Paulinus the deacon. Therefore, says Augustine, he was given two months to repent.⁸³

It would not be unfair to Augustine to say that he has deliberately misrepresented what took place. Convinced as he was that the condemnation of Pelagian opinions was vital to the purity of the Church's doctrine, he could not publicly admit that Rome had apparently espoused them, even temporarily. He therefore makes it appear that the two month's grace was given to Celestius, not to his accusers.⁸⁴

It would be going beyond the evidence to brand Zosimus as a Pelagian sympathiser.⁸⁵ But he can scarcely be acquitted of a reprehensible failure to appreciate the theological issues at stake. The impression produced by the reading of Pelagius' *libellus* was genuine enough. The grace of God was indeed given a prominent place, but as Augustine pointed out later it was what Pelagius meant by grace that

mattered.⁸⁶ To Zosimus, however, such matters as original sin were abstruse and unedifying; they stemmed from the contagious disease of curiosity, and the less said about them the better.⁸⁷ But Zosimus could have been aware of what was involved. The letter sent to Innocent by Augustine and his four colleagues spelled out in great detail the danger of accepting the simple statement "*ut dicamus nos semper Dei indigere auxilio*".⁸⁸ It appears that Zosimus had not read it, or chose to ignore it. Quite possibly he was unaware that the Africans, under Augustine's leadership, felt so strongly on the issue. At any rate, the whole affair, coming at a time when his policy elsewhere was under attack, made Zosimus even more determined to stand on his rights as Peter's successor, as one whose office was to teach the Church what was true doctrine, not to receive instruction. Both Celestius and Pelagius knew how to flatter that aspect of the Roman bishop's character, and by declaring their willingness to be guided by him ensured that his examination would not be too searching.⁸⁹

The difference between Innocent's and Zosimus' handling of the case is too marked to require elaboration. Innocent was no more of a theologian than Zosimus, but he knew better than his successor how to disguise the fact. And with that sureness of judgment which characterised all his acts he knew which was the stronger cause. Without thereby diminishing the status of the apostolic see as the source of true doctrine (indeed, re-affirming it),⁹⁰ he confirmed the African decision, anathematising Pelagius' distinctive ideas, yet avoiding, perhaps deliberately, the question of original sin, which we know was a more open question in Rome than in Africa.⁹¹

Zosimus' decision would have been productive of difficulties enough had it been Rome's first pronouncement on the subject. Coming as it did as soon after Innocent's contrary decision, his position was rendered almost impossible. Yet with that amazing self-confidence we

have seen in the Gallic letters, Zosimus makes no mention whatever of Innocent. A decision of the Roman bishop was final and might not be questioned by anyone but a successor.⁹²

One would hardly have expected the Africans to accept Rome's changed attitude without demur, and so it proved. A flurry of activity ensued on the receipt of Zosimus' letters in early November.⁹³ A council was held in Carthage under Aurelius' presidency and a letter despatched to Zosimus protesting against the rehabilitation of Celestius and Pelagius.⁹⁴ And contacts with the court at Ravenna were utilised with the aim of putting further pressure on Zosimus.⁹⁵ For their part, the Pelagians in Rome only damaged their cause by engaging in riotous behaviour, in the course of which a retired official of Constantius was assaulted.⁹⁶ The Africans' efforts had the desired effect. Zosimus wavered. On 21 March he wrote to Aurelius and his fellow-bishops, complaining that they had misunderstood his previous letter. He had not accorded agreement to every syllable Celestius had uttered; on the contrary, he had come to no decision and everything remained as it had been.⁹⁷

This letter, prefaced by a long statement of the absolute right of the apostolic see to take decisions affecting the whole Church, was clearly intended to prepare the ground for an abandonment of the Pelagians. Indeed, Zosimus had already summoned Celestius for further examination, and he had not appeared.⁹⁸ It will have become obvious that Zosimus' previous position was now untenable, and his concern must be to save as much of Rome's prestige as possible. It is no surprise, therefore, to discover the civil authorities now taking a hand. On 30 April an edict issued from Ravenna commanded the banishment of Pelagius, Celestius and their supporters.⁹⁹ The Africans, moreover, had called a plenary council of the whole diocese for 1 May, the main business of

which was to re-affirm, formally and unequivocally, their judgment on Pelagian teaching. More than 200 bishops attended, and nine canons were formulated condemning those who denied the necessity of grace or original sin.¹⁰⁰ Their communication to Rome made it necessary for Zosimus to clarify his own attitude,¹⁰¹ and in view of what had happened that attitude could only be hostile to the Pelagians.

His decision came in the form of a letter addressed to the bishops of the whole Church. Unfortunately, only brief fragments are extant, but we know that it contained a summary of the charges against Celestius, and a long refutation of both his and Pelagius' views, culminating in the condemnation of them both.¹⁰² The Africans' persistence was thus completely vindicated, and Aurelius lost no time in calling a further council to take official note of the letter and communicate its contents to every bishop in Africa.¹⁰³

The writing of this *Epistula tractoria* must have pained Zosimus considerably. Not only was he retracting his own previous decision, but it would now be open to men to declare that Rome had been taught by Africa.¹⁰⁴ However he might try to disguise them in the text of the letter, the facts would speak for themselves. But even though worsted by the superior theological acumen of the Africans, he could still make them feel the weight of his authority in matters of discipline. And just such a case lay ready to hand.

About this time a certain Apiarius, priest of the diocese of Sicca Veneria, upon being condemned by his bishop for some unknown offence, took his case on appeal to Rome. Zosimus decided to make full use of the authority which the Sardican canons gave him, and appointed legates to travel to Africa to request a re-opening of the case.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, as a result of counter-charges made by Apiarius against his bishop, Zosimus summoned the latter to Rome to answer them, on pain of excommunication.¹⁰⁶ The procedure could not fail to incense

the Africans: they had only recently established a canon forbidding transmarine appeals by lower clergy, in the synod of 1 May;¹⁰⁷ and the canon on which Zosimus rested his right to receive such appeals was quoted by him as Nicene, since the Roman canon collections then in use in the Roman church incorporated Sardican with Nicene material without a break.¹⁰⁸

It appears that a council was held towards the end of the year 418, which drafted a letter to Zosimus, declaring that the African copies of the Nicene canons did not contain the canons cited in the pope's commission to his legates.¹⁰⁹ The legates, however, insisted that the matter must be fully discussed by a plenary council, and it was determined that this should be held the following spring. When the promised council met on 25 May 419, it proved a tense occasion, the Roman legates insisting on the right of the Roman see to act as it had done, the Africans determined not to concede any right of appeal from their own shores, for the lower clergy at any rate. And the letter which was sent to Boniface along with the legates will not have been pleasant reading for him.¹¹⁰ It made clear the immense damage that Zosimus' interventions had caused to Rome's relationship with the African church.¹¹¹ We have already mentioned Innocent's close contact with Aurelius and his habitual caution in dealing with cases such as Apiarius'.¹¹² Nowhere more than in her subsequent dealings with Africa, do we realise what a tremendous asset the wisdom and prudence of Innocent had been to the Roman church.

Illyricum

We saw in an earlier chapter how carefully Innocent had built up the vicariate in Eastern Illyricum and impressed upon the churches of that diocese Rome's authority as the ultimate source of doctrine and discipline. Fortunately for Rome, Zosimus had, so far as we know, no occasion to deal with Illyrian affairs,¹¹³ but his successor Boniface had to take vigorous action to prevent the erosion of Roman pre-eminence

there. He was well equipped to deal with matters involving the East, having spent some time in Constantinople as Innocent's representative.¹¹⁴ He lost no time, therefore, in communicating with Rufus of Thessalonica, as soon as his position as bishop of Rome was confirmed.¹¹⁵ This letter¹¹⁶ renewed the commission of Rufus as papal vicar throughout Illyricum¹¹⁷ in terms reminiscent of Innocent's letter of 412. There is the same appeal to the papal archives to verify the long-standing nature of the commission, the same emphasis that the grant is by favour of Rome (*gratia*), given as a result of Rufus' merits. But a matter has arisen which requires the attention of Rufus, and Boniface goes on to give the necessary details. The clergy and people of Corinth have petitioned Boniface to allow them to elect as their bishop Perigenes, a man who had passed through all the clerical grades in the church there. The only difficulty arose from the fact that he had previously been ordained bishop of Patras, although the people there had refused to accept him and he had never taken up his post. There were several synodal canons forbidding the translation of a bishop or priest from one see to another,¹¹⁸ but where a bishop had never taken up office, there was clearly a case for petitioning an exemption from this rule.

Boniface clearly regarded the Corinthians' request favourably, but the manuscript evidence does not allow us to determine the details of the decision he took. The present letter declares simply "*eum in nostrum numerum recipimus*" and ends with an exhortation to Rufus to deal firmly with any who oppose the action taken. But Ep.5, dated 19 September 419, and clearly written after a further exchange of correspondence (not preserved) between Rufus and Boniface, after speaking very generally of continued opposition from within Illyricum, goes on to praise Perigenes in much the same terms as before. And finally, in the last section, he declares that he has not yet confirmed Perigenes as bishop,

since Rufus has sent no word of his ordination. It appears that the former letter was not conclusive in Perigenes' favour. Tillemont¹¹⁹ sought to remove the difficulty by transposing the two letters *in toto*, assigning Ep.4 to 19 September. Coustant¹²⁰ preferred to transpose only the concluding section of each letter. Both these courses are unacceptable.¹²¹ As we have seen, the Thessalonica collection is not a complete dossier of the correspondence between Rome and Illyricum. There are omissions and inaccuracies, and the letters are not always in chronological sequence.¹²² While we cannot therefore rule out the possibility of some dislocation of individual letters, Epp.4 and 5 are nonetheless capable of interpretation as they stand. In Ep.4 Boniface gives his opinion that the ordination of Perigenes to the see of Corinth is in accordance with the canons, but withheld formal recognition until news of the consecration arrived. Rufus, however, probably harassed by local difficulties regarding the matter, neither conducted Perigenes' consecration himself nor signified a formal assent. Probably Perigenes was consecrated by other bishops, who then sent an embassy to Rome asking for Boniface's recognition. Hence Ep.5 to Rufus.¹²³

Two points stand out in Boniface's handling of the matter. First, his reception of the original Corinthian embassy, even though it had made no prior reference to Rufus. Innocent had insisted that Rufus was to take cognizance of all matters arising in Illyricum, thus discouraging embassies to Rome which did not go first to him.¹²⁴ Zosimus had attempted to impose a similar restriction on the bishops of Southern Gaul.¹²⁵ Perhaps afraid of repeating Zosimus' experience, perhaps from an unawareness of the importance of this point, Boniface omitted to rebuke the Corinthians for their failure to involve Rufus.¹²⁶ But if this was so, he quickly realised the wisdom of Innocent's policy here, and refused a definite reply to the second Corinthian embassy pending notification

from Rufus. Second, there is evidence^k at every turn an insistence on Rome's full authority to pronounce on Illyrican affairs. The Apostle Peter, as personified in the Roman bishop, watches constantly over his flock. If he chooses to delegate his power to Rufus, that implies no diminution of that authority. Rufus is a steward, holding Illyricum in trust for his superior.¹²⁷

The same features emerge in a further series of Illyrican letters from Boniface's hand in 422. Perigenes' difficulties with his neighbouring bishops had not ceased with Rome's recognition of his position. The grounds of the opposition are not clear, but it appears that a synod had been convened in Corinth and Perigenes' status challenged.¹²⁸ Whether he was actually deposed is uncertain.¹²⁹ Further, the bishop of Constantinople had involved himself in the affair, presumably at the instigation of Perigenes' enemies.¹³⁰ Rufus, of course, was not consulted before the synod took place, but directly he learnt of it he sent letters to Rome, informing Boniface of what had happened. In reply, Boniface dictated three letters, to Rufus, to the bishops of Thessaly,¹³¹ and to the bishops of the whole of Dacia and Macedonia. The theme of each is the same. The Apostle Peter is the rock on which the whole Church is built;¹³² from his fount flows the whole body of discipline;¹³³ his church is the head of the body, others are the members;¹³⁴ not canons alone, but the Lord's word, guarantee his position.¹³⁵ No-one therefore has the right to call in question a decision made by his successor.¹³⁶ Furthermore, Peter has appointed Rufus to act for him in Illyricum. No synod and no ordination may take place there without his knowledge, for Peter has the care of all the churches.¹³⁷ Boniface therefore urges Rufus to take courage, exercise the powers granted to him, and not to be afraid, for the Apostle is with him.¹³⁸

There was more, however, to Boniface's concern than simply to build up the status of the bishop of Thessalonica. Behind Perigenes' enemies loomed the ominous shadow of Constantinople. Eastern Illyricum had been part of the Eastern empire for a generation now, and it could not but have been expected that Rome's vicariate would eventually be challenged from that quarter. The blow fell in 421, with the publication of a law of Theodosius II, addressed to the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, requiring all innovation to cease in Illyricum and the long-standing canons to be observed; such that disputes in that area must be referred to the judgment of the bishop of Constantinople.¹³⁹ There is no doubt that this law, which threatened the whole basis of Roman influence in Dacia and Macedonia, was in Boniface's mind when he wrote to Rufus: *non est enim eorum cedendum studiis, quos novitas rerum et indebitae desiderium dignitatis accendit;*¹⁴⁰ or to the Thessalian bishops: *cesset novella praesumptio. nemo audeat sperare quod non licet. nullus ea quae sunt a patribus gesta et tantum temporum custodita temerare contendat;*¹⁴¹ and especially to all the Illyrian bishops: *si placet recensere canonum sanctiones, reperietis quae sit post ecclesiam Romanam secunda sedes, quaeve sit tertia.*¹⁴² And in this passage, in the letter intended for the widest circulation in the area, he goes on to argue at length the traditional order of primacy among the great sees: Rome, Alexandria, Antioch; and the tradition which, he says, has always prevailed, that the great sees consulted Rome and begged her help in time of need. Constantinople is never mentioned, doubtless through deference to the Eastern government, but her claims, as reinforced by the recent law, are clearly in view.

According to the evidence of the *Collectio Thessalonicensis*, Boniface did not content himself with letters to the Illyrians encouraging them to ignore the law. He endeavoured to obtain its repeal.

The text of a letter of Honorius to Theodosius is given, which states that, in response to an embassy from the church of Rome, he has thought good to add his support to their petition that the old order should prevail, and the machinations of certain bishops in Illyricum be made null and void.¹⁴³ A further letter, a reply by Theodosius to his uncle,¹⁴⁴ expresses Theodosius' wish to preserve the renown of the city which upholds the empire, and declares that he has written to the praetorian prefects of Illyricum that the old order there be maintained, "so that the most holy church of the venerable city may not lose the privileges established by the ancients"¹⁴⁵ These two letters are undated, but they must belong to the period 422 - August 423 (death of Honorius). Their purport is to indicate the annulment of the law of 421, though that law is not, of course, included in the Collectio.

The genuineness of these two letters was first attacked by J. Friedrich in 1891, as part of an attempt to impugn the whole Collectio as a forgery.¹⁴⁶ He did not, however, make clear whether he regarded only the collection of letters, or the ^{gesta of the} synod of 531 also, as forged, and offered no convincing explanation of the date or purpose of the forgery. Duchesne was therefore able in the following year to mount a trenchant attack on Friedrich's conclusions, and to show that the circumstantial evidence of the period was entirely consistent with the holding of such a synod in 531 and with the assumptions made in the dossier of letters.¹⁴⁷ Since then, no-one has questioned the genuineness of the whole collection. Unfortunately, this agreement has distracted attention from the doubts expressed by Mommsen, in the aftermath of the publication of Friedrich's paper, concerning the two private imperial letters here in question. Mommsen simply pointed to the fact that the law of 421 was received into the Theodosian Code in 438 and repeated in Justinian's Codex of 529, while no law abrogating it is to be found.

He further emphasised that private letters could not by themselves have the force of law. There was at least a *prima facie* case for regarding the letters with suspicion.¹⁴⁸ Duchesne attempted to deal with Mommsen's arguments,¹⁴⁹ but failed to counter the main one, as Mommsen himself pointed out in a reply:¹⁵⁰ if the letters are genuine why was the law of 421 received into the Theodosian Code, but not its repeal? We can speculate, of course. The Code is not a complete record of imperial legislation, or anything approaching it.¹⁵¹ Chance may therefore have caused the omission. Or possibly after Honorius' death Theodosius deliberately withdrew the repeal.¹⁵² A new line of argument has, however, been opened by E.K. Chrysos, in a paper read to the Sixth International Patristic Conference in Oxford in 1971.¹⁵³ Regarding the letter of Honorius as genuine, he attacks only the rescript of Theodosius as a forgery. He explains the similarity of thought between parts of the former letter and Boniface's letter to Honorius¹⁵⁴ as due to Honorius' following closely a letter of petition written by Boniface, which might well repeat phrases he had used earlier. Theodosius' rescript, on the other hand, contains a number of expressions which Chrysos thinks unlikely in a letter of this type at this date.¹⁵⁵ Chrysos does not, however, mention what is surely the most serious objection of all to the genuineness of the rescript, namely that virtually every phrase in it is lifted from, or modelled closely on, the letter of Honorius. It bears all over it the marks of a forgery of the most obvious and unoriginal kind.

There is nothing to prevent our supposing that Roman clergy were among the legation which took a petition from Ravenna to Constantinople. A copy of Honorius' letter might well, therefore, have found its way into the Roman archives, to be read out at the synod of 531, even though not part of the dossier the Illyrian bishops brought with them. This

will have created an important gap in the evidence the Illyrians needed to protest against the interference of Constantinople. It is most likely, therefore, that the rescript was forged in Illyricum soon after the delegation returned from Rome, and at a time when the matter was still of vital importance.

Boniface's policy towards Thessalonica was thus a continuation of Innocent's. He might have been tempted, in view of Rufus' comparative weakness, to dispense with the vicariate, and deal directly with the bishops of Illyricum. If he ever was, he wisely put aside all such thoughts. Rome's interests in Illyricum could be best served by a local bishop acting much of the time on his own initiative, wielding Rome's authority, but at the same time subject to it. Such a system offered the best prospect both for the unity of the episcopate there and for the continuation of Roman control. So we find Boniface, like Innocent, addressing Rufus at the head of all correspondence destined for Illyricum, even where (as with Ep.15) the text of the letter is not directed to him. There was never any wavering of Rome's insistence that Thessalonica was, by Rome's gift, head of the Illyrican church. *Actum a nobis est, ut et apostolicae sedis auctoritas et dilectionis tuae honorificentia servaretur.*¹⁵⁶

The Church in Rome

If Zosimus' policies and the manner in which he pursued them had alienated sympathy in Gaul and Africa, they had produced no less serious repercussions within the Roman church itself. The first hint of trouble is found in a letter of Zosimus, dated 3 October 418,¹⁵⁷ from which we learn that a deputation of Roman presbyters had gone to the court of Ravenna to lodge a complaint against their bishop. Zosimus, for his part, had sent a counter-delegation, and on learning that both had been

received at court, he decided to act vigorously. He excommunicated the ringleaders of the opposition in Rome and sent word of this to Ravenna, together with a reply to the charges laid against him.

We have unfortunately no more details about either the nature of the complaint or the attitude of the court. But the differences to which that letter alludes can hardly have been unconnected with the bitter conflict that broke out within the Roman church when Zosimus died some two months later after a long illness.¹⁵⁸ Immediately the funeral was over, the clergy and people split into two factions, one part, consisting of all the deacons and several presbyters, together with the mass of the interested laity, making for the Lateran palace with Eulalius the archdeacon at their head, the other, comprising the large majority of the presbyters bearing the presbyter Boniface to the church of Theodora. Since public order was threatened, the city prefect Symmachus, who clearly regarded Eulalius' claim as the better, called the presbyters to him and ordered them to desist. They flatly refused, and proceeded to ordain Boniface in the church of Marcellus, while the party of Eulalius ordained their candidate in the Lateran. That same day, Sunday 29 December, Symmachus wrote to Ravenna for instructions.¹⁵⁹ Honorius replied by return of courier, recognising Eulalius as having been legitimately ordained, and ordering Boniface's expulsion from the city. The imperial letter arrived on the day of the Epiphany celebrations, and Symmachus lost no time in sending to Boniface, asking him to desist from the procession which he was about to lead. But the prefect's messenger was manhandled, and the procession went ahead, Boniface conducting his party out to a celebration of the festival in the catacombs, since the Eulalians were in possession of St. Peter's. This was a tactical mistake, however, for Symmachus was able to bar the city against his return. Some violence ensued, but Boniface was forced to remain, for the moment, outside.

His cause appeared hopeless. Only one chance remained, for his party to approach the emperor themselves. This they did, in a letter which arrived at court hard on Symmachus' own account of the events of 6 January. Their concern was to convince the emperor that Boniface's ordination had been entirely legitimate. No less than 9 bishops and 70 presbyters had been in attendance, and every other requirement of canon law had been observed. But the letter is doubly instructive, in that it reveals unmistakably that no mere clash of personalities had brought Eulalius and Boniface into conflict. Each is the nominee of a party, Eulalius of the deacons, Boniface of the presbyterate. For Boniface was originally elected against his will,¹⁶⁰ chosen because of his sanctity as the presbyters' candidate. Eulalius, according to them, *praeter conscientiam cleri maioris.....in locum sibi non debitum incustodito religionis ordine.*¹⁶¹ The old rivalry between priests and deacons, which was last in evidence forty years before,¹⁶² had broken out again. The former, resentful of the deacons' power, were asserting their superior rank. To them belonged the right, as they saw it, to choose the bishop of Rome: their will was the judgment of God.¹⁶³

We cannot connect the schism with any known policy of Zosimus.¹⁶⁴ We do not even know whether Zosimus was a priest or a deacon before his election. We can only speculate that the delicate relationship between the two orders, so carefully preserved under Innocent, was exacerbated by Zosimus, in much the same way as he succeeded in destroying Rome's settled relationship with Gaul and Africa.¹⁶⁵

The presbyters' petition was so far successful, in that the emperor was persuaded to rescind his previous decision in favour of Eulalius, and summon both parties to Ravenna, where a synod of bishops should decide whose claim to legitimacy was the stronger. This was a

major victory for the presbyters, for Eulalius' position was extremely strong in Rome itself; if the dispute could be taken out of the local context, their chances of success would be considerably improved. And so it turned out. The synod of Italian bishops at Ravenna could come to no decision, and a general synod was therefore determined upon to resolve the question, to assemble at Spoletium on 15 June. Meantime, the bishop of Spoletium, Achilleus, was to conduct the Easter festival in Rome, and all activity by the contending parties during this period was forbidden. There was, however, activity in high places against Eulalius. Boniface's party had won over the emperor's sister Galla Placidia, and she was now busily engaged in writing to leading bishops in Italy and Africa,¹⁶⁶ urging their presence at the synod in support of Boniface. Fearing that he was losing ground, Eulalius determined upon a bold step. Making the journey from Ravenna at breakneck speed he managed to enter Rome before the arrival of the imperial courier, hoping thereby to consolidate his support in the city and present the government with a *fait accompli* (18 March). Hard on his heels came the imperial messenger, and two days later Achilleus himself arrived. Symmachus was immediately placed in a difficult position. There were riotous scenes in the forum of Vespasian, which neither he nor the vicar of the diocese succeeded in quelling. He therefore wrote to the emperor for further instructions.

Eulalius' bid had failed. Everything depended for him on securing a peaceful and willing acceptance by the populace, which would have made both Symmachus and Honorius chary of disturbing the position by further action. He had hoped to achieve this while Boniface and his leading supporters were still in Ravenna. The latter had, however, laid their plans too. At least two dozen presbyters had been left behind when the majority departed for Ravenna at the end of January, and they had used the next six weeks to good effect in winning adherents among the nobility.

So when the Eulalian party gathered in the forum of Vespasian to hear Achilleus' report, they were set upon by armed slaves, and severely discomfited.¹⁶⁷

Honorius' reply was predictably a condemnation of Eulalius. He was to be removed from the city forthwith and all religious activity by him forbidden, pending the holding of the synod. Further, it was clearly stated that any resistance on his part or on the part of his supporters would involve the disqualification of his claim. The letter arrived on the evening of Good Friday. Eulalius agreed to abide by its instructions, but the temptation to delay his departure from the city until after Easter Sunday was too great. During the night he gathered his forces and took possession of the Lateran basilica the following day. Symmachus had no choice but to act vigorously. Eulalius was forcibly expelled from the city and a guard was placed both on him and on the Lateran basilica. His cause was now irretrievably lost. On 8 April the inevitable imperial missive reached Rome: Eulalius had by his flagrant disobedience towards the synod's and the emperor's own instruction excluded himself from all further consideration. Boniface was therefore recognised as bishop of Rome, and Symmachus was to see him duly installed.

The State's intervention had been decisive in an episcopal election in Rome; its action recalls the troubled reign of Damasus and the imperial confirmation of Siricius' election.¹⁶⁸ No new departure in imperial policy is here evident, however. The government's aim in 419 as in 367-8, was peace and order, not the success of one or other candidate. And so it continued. When Boniface fell ill in the summer of 420 the old strains began to reappear. Immediately on his recovery, therefore, he wrote to Honorius,¹⁶⁹ asking that the government take steps to prevent any discord rending the church in the event of his death. What course

he envisaged is not clear from the letter, and it may be that his legates had instructions to convey verbally the name of a suitable successor. Honorius' reply¹⁷⁰ declares that, in the event of a disputed election, both candidates will be disqualified, and a fresh, presumably supervised, election will be held. In fact, civil assistance was not required when Boniface died in September 422, and Celestine was elected without incident.¹⁷¹ We are surprised to learn that he was a deacon prior to election,¹⁷² so soon after Boniface's victory had meant defeat for the diaconate. Perhaps, Boniface had been able to smooth over the differences between presbyters and deacons to such a degree that the former no longer felt affronted by a deacon's succession. In fact the succession of a deacon does not seem to have caused difficulty thereafter. And in the person of Leo the ⁱdeaconate proved that the calibre of men within their ranks was in no way unworthy of the bishop's throne.

The foregoing examination of the issues confronting Zosimus and Boniface has provided a measure of comparison and contrast with Innocent's handling of affairs. The differences between his methods and theirs has at times been clearly marked. But one feature above all links all their correspondence, uniting them, indeed, with their immediate predecessors and successors: the theme, insistently repeated and acquiring firmer and more definite shape with each repetition, that Rome has final and complete authority, both doctrinal and jurisdictional, over the whole Church. Innocent encouraged bishops to consult the Roman church on matters of discipline. He justified his authority by appeal to its apostolic foundation, which guaranteed the authenticity of the traditions kept there.¹⁷³ But it was especially the connexion with the Apostle Peter to which he pointed, Peter, from whom both apostolate and episcopacy took its rise.¹⁷⁴ Rome was therefore

the head of the Church,¹⁷⁵ and its bishop spoke with Peter's authority.¹⁷⁶ Zosimus, although his style (especially in the letter to the Gallic bishops of 22 March 417) was more formal and imperious than Innocent's, nevertheless borrowed some of his expressions from his predecessor: the symbol of Rome as a fount from which all churches drink;¹⁷⁷ and the powerful verb *miramur* to express astonishment and rebuke.¹⁷⁸ And in general his thought marks no advance on what Innocent had bequeathed. "The authority of the apostolic see" is his favourite phrase,¹⁷⁹ and Rome derives authority from Peter through the desire of the Fathers to honour the Apostle.¹⁸⁰ Even in the long statement of Roman primacy which opens his letter to the Africans "*Quamvis patrum*",¹⁸¹ the power to bind and loose, based on Dominical authority, is less prominent than the tradition of the Church, which has interpreted it in favour of Rome. The furthest that Zosimus goes is to assign to the Roman bishops equal power to that given to Peter. It seems that his mind preferred the concrete to the mystical. While he emphasised Rome's status at every opportunity, he shrank from developing the mystical connexion with Peter at which Siricius¹⁸² and Innocent¹⁸³ had hinted. Boniface, however, did take a further step in this direction. To Rufus he wrote: "the blessed Apostle Peter has committed all to you in his stead"¹⁸⁴ - this immediately following the statement that Boniface's predecessors were responsible for the commission. And further, "You will fear no doubt, dread no uncertain event. You have the blessed Apostle Peter, who is able to fight before you in his own strength.... the fisherman does not permit the prerogative of his see to perish in your troubles." Peter is the guide, the protector of his church, and thus the author of its decisions. Peter is referred to again at the beginning of the other two Illyrian letters,¹⁸⁵ as the head of the whole Church, the source (fons) of its discipline, and as spiritually present in the church of Rome. We have not yet reached the stage when with Leo the bishop of Rome will

personify the presence of Peter in his own person, but all the ingredients for such a development are already present.

The consistency with which these claims were put forward and insisted upon through all the changing circumstances of this period, despite foreign invasion and local schism, is one of the most remarkable features of the 4th/5th century papacy. Innocent played a crucial role in this. His long reign saw the healing of the Origenist controversy in the West, and laid the foundations for the ultimate victory of the cause of John Chrysostom. It saw the habit of consultation established among the Western churches and the circulation of decretals; it saw the development of the idea of the papal vicariate; it saw the restoration of the Roman church's organisation after the Gothic sack, and the harmonious cooperation of presbyters and deacons. Above all, it was a period of consolidation, with advances made slowly and carefully. It was a period that made unshakable the foundations of Rome's primacy. In default of a proper biography or of private correspondence, we can measure Innocent only by his achievement. Judged by that yardstick his claim to greatness is a worthy one.

CHAPTER I

- 1) The details reported by the sources for the date of Innocent's accession do not tally. The *Liber Pontificalis* gives Anastasius' pontificate as lasting 3 years 10 days, Innocent's as lasting 15 years 2 months 21 days (ed. Duchesne I pp.218,220). The *Martyrologium hieronymianum* (P.L.XXX 462,502) gives Innocent's ordination day 21 December, and his death as 12 March. Since the year of his death must be 417, this suggests December 401 as the year of ordination. However, Prosper's *Chronicle* (MGH IX.p.465) gives 398 and 402 as the years of ordination of Anastasius and Innocent. Duchesne (*Liber Pontificalis* I pp.CCL.CCLI) chose to reject Prosper in favour of the *Liber Pontificalis*, making the necessary alterations, viz. Anastasius reigned 2 years 10 days, and Innocent was ordained on 22 December 401 (Roman ordinations since at least the third century always took place on a Sunday, and 22 December was a Sunday in 401). More recently, Holl (*Gesammelte Aufsätze* II pp.332-4) argued for a different conclusion. In the course of an exhaustive study of the chronology of the first Origenist controversy, he proved conclusively that Anastasius' ordination must be dated to December 399. Then, regarding the date given by the *Mart.hieronym.* as firm, 21 December, he insisted that 402 must be the year of Innocent's ordination. This has the advantage over Duchesne's argument, that only one change in the evidence is necessary, i.e. 15 years to 14 for the length of Innocent's reign as given by the *Liber Pontificalis*. While certainty is impossible on the present evidence, Holl's argument must be regarded as preferable.
- 2) Ed. Mommsen, MGH IX pp.13-148 at p.75.

- 3) It is uncertain whether the seven ecclesiastical regions were originally based on the Augustan civil division into fourteen regions. The Liberian catalogue gives no clue. See R-E 2.Reihe I.A.I. 486-7 (Graffunder) and Hauck's R-E³ V p.721 (Harnack). The Liber Pontificalis also falsely attributes such a move to Clement at the end of the 1st century. (ed.cit.I p.123).
- 4) Gregory the Great describes the division as of long standing (Ep.VIII.14) P.L. LXXVII.917.
- 5) Ed.cit. p.148.
- 6) Euseb. H.E. VI.43
- 7) Siricius ep.I.13 (P.L.XIII.1142); Zosimus ep.IX.5 (P.L.XX.672-3).
- 8) Harnack's estimate, Mission² II. p.211 n.4.
- 9) Cyprian epp. 8,30,36 (C.S.E.L. 3 pp.485,549,572).
- 10) ep.55.9 (C.S.E.L. 3.630.)
- 11) Porphyrius ap. Eusebius Praep.evang. V.1.10 (GCS 43, 1 p.221)
- 12) Ed.cit.p.157. For a similar system in Alexandria see Epiphanius Panar. 68.4.2 (GCS 37 p.144). Athanasius witnesses to the system in Rome: in Apol. adv. Arian 20 (P.G.XXV.281.) a church of the presbyter Vito is mentioned:
- 13) ed.cit.p.164. The statements of the Liber Pontificalis regarding the reforms under Fabian regarded as authentic by Harnack (S-B Preuss.Akad.Wiss. 1918 pp. 974-5), who sees them as part of a deliberate policy.
- 14) Innocent's letter to Decentius of Gubbio, No.XXV.8 (P.L. XX. 556) shows the practice fully established.
- 15) See Dix, Shape of the Liturgy p.34. So, for example, in the early 3rd century Hippolytan Canons the bishop is said to be equal to the priest in every way, apart from his throne and his ordination (IV.32, ed. Achelis, TU VI. 4 (1891) pp.61-2). In general see Lietzmann ZWTh 55 (1914) pp.97-153 (Kleine Schriften I pp. 141-185).

- 16) a) the Lateran palace, which became the bishop's residence, and its associated church;
- b) St. Peter's. Constructed in two stages: first the ornamental *aedicula*, then the basilica (see M. Guarducci, *Die Ausgrabungen unter St. Peter*, in *Das frühe Christentum im römischen Staat* ed. R. Klein, pp.364-414).
- c) the Sessorian basilica
- d) the basilica of St. Peter and Marcellinus
- e) the basilica of St. Agnes
- f) the basilica of St. Laurence
- g) Possibly also, the great church of St. Paul on the ⁱ Ostian Way.
(The grand basilica which survived until the fire of 1823 was built between 386 and 390 (Coll.Avell.3 ed. Guenther C.S.E.L. 35 pp. 46-7). See Chastagnol in *Mélanges Piganiol I.* pp.421-437. The Constantinian origin is denied by G. Belvederi (*Riv.Archaeol. Crist.* 22 (1946), pp. 103-138).
- 17) See J-P Kirsch, *Die römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum*, pp. 127ff.
- 18) The earliest inscription mentioning a *titulus* dates from the year 377 (De Rossi, *Inscr.christ.urb.Rom.* I n.262).
- 19) Optatus II.4 (C.S.E.L. XXXI p.39).
- 20) So Harnack, S.B. Preuss (*Arad.Wiss.* 1918 pp. 979/80

The comparable number of the clergy at this date in Alexandria was 43 presbyters and 56 deacons (Harnack, *ibid* p. 970 n.1).

- 21) The evidence for their names and number comes chiefly from two documents, each a list of subscriptions to a Roman synod, one in 499, the other in 595 (MGH *Auct.Antiqu.* XII.410ff; MGH *Epp.* I 366-7). The synod of 499 contains 29 names, but it is probable that in several instances the same church is given under more than one name. See Kirsch, *Die Titelkirchen* pp. 6-13. The

- number 25 had come to be regarded as traditional by the end of the 5th century. A list of the 25 may be found in DACL XIV.2 cols.2589-98 (Leclercq).
- 22) From the reign of Constantine we find the State's resources used in church building (Eusebius V.C. II.46; Soz.H.E. V.2-4). See Chastagnol in *Mélanges Piganiol* I pp.434-7 for details of the State participation in the rebuilding of the great church of St. Paul on the Ostian Way.
- 23) Kirsch, *Die Titelkirchen*, pp. 138-48.
- 24) e.g. Marcus - the *titulus Marci* (Lib.Pont. p.202); Damasus - the *titulus Damasi* or *S. Laurentii* in Damaso (Lib.Pont. p. 212). For a source criticism of the statements of the *Liber Pontificalis* regarding the Roman *tituli* see Vieillard in *Riv.Archaeol. Crist.* 5 (1928) pp. 89-103.
- 25) e.g. Pammachius - the *titulus Bizantis* (De Rossi *Inscr.Christ. Urb.Rom.*II.150 n.20); Vestina - the later *titulus St.Vitalis* (Lib.Pont. I. p.222).
- 26) In 418 they numbered over 70, *Coll.Avell.* 17.3.4 (C.S.E.L.XXXV.p.64) Harnack, *S-B Preuss.Akad.Wiss.*1918. p.984 n.2.
- 27) Acts 6: 1-6.
- 28) Soz. H.E. VII.19. On the development of the diaconate see Lietzmann, *ZWTh* 55 (1914) pp. 97-153, esp. pp.106ff. (*Kleine Schriften* I. pp. 148ff.)
- 29) Harnack, *op.cit.* at Note 20.
- 30) See Note 7.
- 31) Harnack, *S-B Preuss.Akad.Wiss.*1918 pp. 982-7.
- 32) So Caspar, *Geschichte* I p.52. The Roman ps-Ambrose *Liber Quaest.* CI (C.S.E.L. 50 p.195) seems to regard priests as normally elected *ex diaconibus*. So Jerome cp.146, 2 (C.S.E.L. 56 p.311)

- 33) Cyprian ep. 8.3 (CSEL. 3 p.488) .
- 34) Ignatius ep. ad Magn. 2 (ed. Funk (1878) p.192); 18th canon of Nicaea (Mansi II 675-6) .
- 35) Elsewhere than in Rome deacons might be the assistants of priests. Cf. for example Cyprian ep. 34.1. (C.S.E.L. 3, p.568) : Gaius presbyter et diaconus eius. - The bishop remained in theory *primus inter pares*, as one of the presbyterate (Jerome ep.146.1 presbyteris, id est episcopis), so that in his absence the leadership of the community should devolve upon the priests (Cf. Irenaeus III.2.1.; 3.1) . Cyprian writes to his compresbyteri ep.24;41;76 (C.S.E.L. 536,587,827); ps Augustine Quaest. Vet. et Nov.Test.101.5 - C.S.E.L. 50 p.196) . See Lietzmann op.cit. pp.147-50 (Kleine Schriften I pp.181-3) . But in a church as large as that of Rome the diaconate will have been better prepared for corporate action, through its close contact with the bishop.
- 36) Liber Pontificalis ed.cit. I p.155: Cyprian ep. 80.1. (C.S.E.L. 3 pp. 839-40) .
- 37) *De diaconibus quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minime fieri debere* (15th canon. Mansi Conc. II.473) . Presumably in some places this practice had grown up during the recent persecution when bishops and priests might not be available. Hefele-Leclercq Conciles I.1. p.291.
- 38) Mansi Conc.II 675-6; Hefele-Leclercq Conciles I.1. pp.610-11.
- 39) *De diaconibus urbicis, ut non sibi tantum praesumant, sed honorem presbyteris reservent, ut sine conscientia ipsorum nihil tale faciant* (Mansi Conc. II.473) .
- 40) The title *archidiaconus* first appears at the end of the fourth century (Coll.Avell.I.2 - C.S.E.L. 35 p.1,2; Jerome ep.146.1. (C.S.E.L. 56 p 310) .

- 41) Liberius and Felix, Ursinus and Damasus, Siricius, Celestine and Leo were all deacons prior to becoming bishop. Innocent's prior rank is not recorded.
- 42) Jerome ep.146.
- 43) Palanque in Fliche-Martin Histoire de l'Eglise III p.486.
- 44) Cap.CI (C.S.E.L. 50 pp.193-8).
- 45) Jerome appears to know of his arguments, cf. ep.146.2. The identity of the author is unknown. Ps-Ambrose l.c. says he *Nomen habet falsi dei*, which suggests a name like Jovius or Heraclius.
- 46) 2 *quae audacia est presbyteris ministros ipsorum ^apres facere.*
- 47) Caspar Geschichte I p.258. cf. Jerome ep.33.5 (C.S.E.L. 54 p.259).
- 48) See nn.16 and 22-25.
- 49) Prud. C.Symm. I.506ff.
- 50) According to Zosimus Theodosius' exhortation produced little effect (IV. 59). P.R.L. Brown (JRS 51 (1961) p.11) stresses that the legislative intervention of the emperors tended to hinder the progress of Christianity among the aristocracy. The nobles could only be won over by the willingness of Christianity to embrace their culture. On this see Klein, Symmachus pp. 151-5.
- 51) The majority of the Senate were probably still pagan in the 380s. Boissier II pp.271-2; Dill Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire pp.4,29.36-7. - The Anni Bassi and Petronii Probi were united to the Anician House by marriage in the generation after Constantine. See Seeck's stemma in R-E I.2201-2. The Gracchi may have been later converts. Father and son each held the office of *praefectus urbis*, and the father (Furius Maecius Gracchus) showed his zeal for the faith by destroying a temple of Mithras in Rome during his prefecture (Jerome ep.107.2).

- 52) C.I.L. XIV.1875.
- 53) C.I.L. VI.1756; Zosimus VI.7.4.
- 54) See Chastagnol REA 58 (1956) pp.241-53.
- 55) On Marcella see ep. The eulogy of her by Jerome ep.127 (C.S.E.L.56 pp 145ff).
- 56) C.S.E.L. XVI. pp.569-609.
- 57) Theodoret H.E. II.17 (GCS XLIV.pp.136-7)
- 58) Jerome ep.130.7; Aug.ep.130.30.
- 59) Jerome ep.108.20.
- 60) Palladius Hist. Laus. 46;54.
- 61) Vita Melaniae lat. I.15. (Anal. Boll. 8 (1889) p.31); gr.15 (Anal. Boll. 22 (1903) p.17).
- 62) Over 100,000 *solidi*, Vita lat. l.c.
- 63) *ibid.*21.
- 64) Liber Pontificalis ed.cit. p.220.
- 65) Nn.24, 25.
- 66) Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII.14. For the real cause see my paper JTS NS XXII (1971) pp.531-8. Damasus cultivated the Christian ladies: he was nicknamed *auriscalpius matronarum* (Coll.Avell.I.9 C.S.E.L. 35 p.4) See also Libellus Precum 121 (Coll.Avell II, C.S.E.L. XXXV p.43) and Jerome ep.22.28.
- 67) Jerome adv.Ioh.Hierosol. c.8. (P.L. XXIII.377) - On Praetextatus see Macrobius Sat.I.17-23, and the fine inscription set up to him by his wife Fabia Aconia Paulina I.L.S. 1259. See H. Bloch in HTR 38 (1945) pp. 199-244.
- 68) John wrote to Anicia Faltonia Proba, her daughter-in-law Juliana and to Italica (possible also a daughter-in-law) PLRE I. p.466): Joh.Chrys. epp.168-70 (P.G.LII 709.10), as well as to the bishops of Rome, Aquileia and Milan. In his letter to Arcadius (Pall.Dial. 29 - Innoc ep.IX (P.L.XX 511-2), Honorius refers to the number of other letters he has received besides those from the bishops of Rome and Aquileia.

- 69) *Collectio Thessalonicensis* (Mansi Conc. VIII.759).
See Chapter VII, pp. 154-7.
- 70) *Vita Melaniae* lat. 12 (Anal.Boll. 8 (1889) p.30); gr.12,14
(Anal.Boll.22 (1903) pp.16-7).
- 71) *Probus was comes sacrarum largitionum* in 412-4 (Cod. Theod VII.8.11, VIII.4.24). Why Innocent should have addressed Probus on the matter is not clear. Possibly the wife or husband concerned was a client of the Anicii.
- 72) For a full account of religious minorities in Rome during the early centuries see G. la Piana HTR XX (1927) pp. 183-403.
- 73) *Optatus* II.4 (C.S.E.L. 26 pp. 38-9).
- 74) On Claudian see Frend, *The Donatist Church*² pp.206-7.
- 75) An attempt to see a Novatian origin in the Basilica Apostolorum of the catacomb of San Sebastian (L.C. Mohlberg, *Festschrift A.Dold* pp.52-74) has not won acceptance. See Vogt, *Coetus Sanctorum* pp.196-9. The Novatian bishop of Rome about 390, Leontius, seems to have moved in high and influential circles (Socrates H.E. V.14 for his intercession on behalf of Symmachus after Maximus' defeat). Cf. *Quaest. In Nov.et. Vet. Test.* CII (C.S.E.L. 50, pp. 199-224).
- 76) See Vogt *op.cit.* pp. 267-90.
- 77) H.E. VII.9 (P.G. LXVII.756).
- 78) *ed.cit.* p.220.
- 79) It has been challenged e.g. by K. Aland, *Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe* p.151.
- 80) So Vogt. *op.cit.* p. 264 n.100
- 81) *Ep.VI.6* (P.L.XX.499); *Ep.II.11* (P.L.XX.475).
- 82) Vogt.*op.cit.* pp.276-90.
- 83) Loofs in Hauck's *R-E*³ XV pp.372-4.
- 84) *Ep.XLI* (P.L.XX.607-8). On the office of *defensor ecclesiae* see Fischer in *Reallex. f.Antike u.Christ.* III.656-8.

- 85) Dill.op.cit. pp. 35-7.
 Geffcken, Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums² pp.159-62:
~~86)~~ Aber nur der Block der alten Religion war damit zersprengt; die
 86) einzelnen Teile trotzten noch lange der Auflösung. Klein, Symmachus
 pp.140-60; Prudentius, c. Symm I, 541-3: *Denique nec metas statuit
 nec tempora ponit; imperium sine fine docet, ne Romula virtus iam
 sit anus, norit ne gloria parta senectam.*
- 87) Prud. C.Symm.II 504ff. Contrast the attitude of Ambrose epp.17,18
 (P.L.XVI 1001-6; 1013-24). See Klein Symmachus pp.151-55
- 88) Zosimus V.41.
- 89) E.g. Bardy in Fliche-Martin Histoire de l'Eglise IV p.243 n.3:
 "bien invraisemblable". Innocent's involvement is not mentioned
 by Sozomen.
- 90) ἑλληνικώτατος σφόδρα τυγχάνων;
 Vita.Mel.gr.19 (Anal.Boll.22 (1903) p.19fin). On Pompeianus
 see Chastagnol, Les Fastes p.266; Ensslin in P-W 21.2.1997.
 He was a correspondent of Symmachus. G. Manganaro (Giorn.ital
 fil.1960.210-24) has sought to see Pompeianus as the pagan
 attacked in the Carmen adversus paganos of Cod.Paris.8084
 (ed. Mommsen Hermes 1870 pp.350-63). This identification is
 accepted by Brown (JRS 51 (1961) p.3 n.19), rejected by
 Chastagnol, l.c.
- 91) Sozomen IX.9. (P.G. LXVII); Olympiodorus fragg.3,4 (Müller FHG IV p.58
 Procopius Bell.Vand.I.ii.; Cons.Ital. s.a.410 (Mommsen MGH IX p.300);
 Prosper Chron. s.a.410 (ibid. p.466.) According to Procopius
 (l.c.27) the treachery was the work of Anicia Faltonia Proba, who
 admitted the Goths out of pity for the sufferings of the Romans.
- 92) Orosius V.39.2.
- 93) Jerome Ep. 127.10 (C.S.E.L. 56 p.153)

- 94) See Brown JTS N.S. 21 (1970) pp.57-8.
- 95) Juliana and Demetrias; Melania the elder, Albina, Melania and Pinianus. Orosius was himself resident in Africa and Palestine in 416-7.
- 96) So Caspar, Geschichte I p.299.
- 97) As does Demougeot, Rev.Hist.212 (1954) p.32. Comparison with Ambrose is out of place. It is doubtful if in this situation even he could have accomplished more.
- 98) e.g. ep.XVII init. (P.L. XX.527): *post tot discrimina totius, ut ita dicam, mundi.*
- 99) Ep.XVI (P.L. XX 519)
- 100) So e.g. Demougeot op.cit. p.32 n. 3.
- 101) Tillemont, Mémoires t.X p.829.
- 102) Coustant in P.L. XX.515
- 103) See Chapter II, p. 31.
- 104) Mansi Conc. VIII 739-84.
- 105) For a further problem on the collectio Thessalonicensis see Chapter VII, pp. 154-7.
- 106) e.g. the Ambrosiaster and Marius Victorinus. Jerome spent a number of his formative years in Rome, but in various ways he stood outside the normal clerical circles there.

CHAPTER II

- 1) The only exception is Ep.XV to a noble Roman lady, Juliana.
(The numbering of Innocent's letters follows Coustant).
- 2) Including in this total the letters on the Chrysostom controversy preserved only in the Greek text of Palladius and of Sozomen (Epp.V,VII and XII), and the fragment of the letter to Severian of Gabala (Ep.XLII).
- 3) Not all the letters written by Innocent survive. The researches of C. Silva-Tarouca into the protocol used in the official letters of the papal chancery, published in *Gregorianum* XII (1931) pp.3-56 and 329-425, have made it possible to establish in the case of many of the letters whether their text stems from the original or from a copy preserved in the papal archives. Where our manuscripts have the full address, the salutation prefaced by *et alia man^a*, or the date, we can be fairly confident that they derive from originals. Where the address is abbreviated, and the salutation and date are missing the Roman copy is at the basis of our manuscript tradition. Thus the following letters derive from originals: I-III, VI, XIII, XVII, XXV, XXIX - XXXII, XXXIII - XXXV. The following are therefore copies: X, XIV - XVI, XVIII - XXIV, XXXVI - XLI. All the letters deriving from copies were first published by Dionysius Exiguus working from the Roman archives in the early sixth century. Of those which derive from originals he included in his collection only the four letters which had already found a wide circulation: II, VI, XVII, XXV. Why he did not include letters XXIX - XXXII, dealing with the Pelagian controversy (preserved in the Quesnel collection), or letters XXXIII - XXXV (preserved by the Avellana) I do not know.

It is a reasonable assumption that the papal archives were damaged in either or both of the two occasions which Rome was sacked, 410 and 455. This might explain why the few letters of Innocent from the first half of his reign derive from the originals (Ep.X, a copy, which Coustant assigns to the period 406-7, is not certainly prior to 410).

- 4) On the origins of the first Greek collections see Schwartz, ZSS 1936, pp.1-43.
- 5) E.g. the spurious Vth century documents, purporting to detail a Roman confirmation of the Nicene canons. Caspar, Geschichte p.501. One of the most famous examples is the successive additions to the text of the Sixth Canon of Nicaea. See Schwartz in Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1930, pp.611-40. These variants are of great assistance in determining the form and date of the different collections.
- 6) Coustant's death shortly after the appearance of the 1st volume prevented the publication of the rest of his work. Only in 1868 did A. Thiel prepare for publication Coustant's manuscript, containing the correspondence of Hilary, Simplicius, Felix II(III), Gelasius, Anastasius II, Symmachus and Hormisdas.
- 7) *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum, Praefatio p.CXLII: Optimum duxi diversas quotquot extant collectiones in manibus habere. neque unum dumtaxat aut alterum, sed quam licuit plurima et vetustissima collectionis cuiusque exemplaria revolvere....Si qua collectionum interdum pugna fuit, si qua variatio, fecimus ut collatae inter se vulneribus suis mederentur, et mutuis quasi auxiliis convalescerent, vel certe prae ceteris secuti eas sumus, quae sunt fonti viciniore, hoc est quae ab pontificum illorum quorum epistolas continent aetate propius recedunt.*

- 8) The classification of the canon collections was the achievement of Maassen in the 19th century, building on the work of the Ballerini, and of Turner and Schwartz in the 20th. The subsequent notes will detail the principal places where their contributions are to be found.
- 9) Cf. Silva-Tarouca in ZKT 1919, p.476: Welche Mühe kostet es, aus den vagen Zitaten Coustants die Handschrift zu agnoszieren, die er seinem Text zugrunde legt ! Even the Ballerini, who in this respect represent an advance on Coustant's practice, sometimes content themselves with "3 codices Veron". or "1 cod. Vat. coll. 21".
- 10) Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande*, I, Graz 1870, pp. 422ff.
- 11) Chiefly from what he tells us himself in the prefaces to the first and second editions of his canon collection, to his second translation of the Greek canons and to his decretal collection. These prefaces are printed by Maassen, *op.cit.*, pp.960-5.
- 12) Cod.Vat.5845 of the 9-10th cent.
Cod.lat.Paris 3837 of the 9th cent.
- 13) These characteristic marks of the Hadrianic version are listed by Maassen, *op.cit.* pp.444-8.
- 14) In the "enlarged Hadriana": Cod.lat.Monac.14008; Cod.Vallicell.45; Cod.Vercell.LXXVI; Cod.Vat.1353. See Maassen *op.cit.* pp.
- 15) Some of the codices of the Dionysio-Hadriana contain only the canon collection. Even so there are over sixty manuscripts listed by Maassen as containing the Dionysian decretal collection in the original or in one of its later forms; to which must be added Cod.Petropol.lat.F.II.3 (See Turner in JTS I, pp.435-41, IV, pp.426-34).

- 16) *Dacis*, not *diaconibus*, is the correct reading in the address of the letter, cf. Silva-Tarouca in ZKT 1919, p.678 n.1.
- 17) Maassen op.cit. pp.476ff. I use throughout Maassen's titles for the various collections.
- 18) See further Turner, JTS I p.441 and Eccl.~~Ooo~~.Mon.Iur.Antiq.1.2.3. pp.x-xi; Dobschütz, Texte u. Untersuchungen III.8.4. p.147.
- 19) Maassen op.cit. pp.486ff.
- 20) *ibid.* pp.493-4.
- 21) Liber Pontificalis I p.XIV.
- 22) Maassen op.cit. pp.471ff.
- 23) *ibid.* pp.526ff.
- 24) This last is Cod.Oxon.Bodleian.3687, 3686, 3688, a single MS of the 6-7th cent. Maassen op.cit. pp.533ff.
- 25) Turner in JTS 31 (1930), pp.9-20. The decretals of the Justel MS are not preserved. See Maassen op.cit. p. 535.
- 26) Maassen op.cit. pp.504ff.
- 27) See Turner's description of these MSS: EOMIA p.1.2.1. p. viii.
- 28) Maassen op.cit. pp. 512ff.
- 29) Maassen op.cit. pp. 556ff.
- 30) Turner describes the MS in detail and discusses the questions of provenance and date in JTS 30 (1929), pp.225-236.
- 31) Maassen op.cit. pp. 574ff.
- 32) See Turner EOMIA 1.2.1. p. vii.
- 33) Maassen op.cit. pp. 585ff.
- 34) Probably a copy of the Lorsch MS, it was once in the monastery of Murbach in upper Alsace, and as *codex Murbacensis* was cited by Coustant. See Dobschütz in Texte u. Untersuchungen III.8.4. pp.140-4.
- 35) Maassen op.cit. pp. 592ff.

- 36) Turner showed also that the Paris fragment, Paris lat. 8901. was originally part of the Toulouse MS, JTS 2 (1900), pp.226-8.
- 37) For Turner's fascinating description of these MSS see JTS 2 (1900), pp.266-73. In the Albi MS, fol.177b we find the colophon ExplicitChilderici reg. The Toulouse MS may well, therefore, be the very MS rescued from the fire in the year 666 A.D.
- 38) Maassen op.cit. pp. 604ff. Turner has no description of this MS in EOMIA, since the first 8 quaternions, which almost certainly contained the 4th century councils, are missing. It begins, in fact, with Item XXX, the first Council of Orange (441 A.D.).
- 39) From the same archetype, according to Wurm, Studien zu Dekretalen-sammlung des Dionysius Exiguus, p.135.
- 40) Maassen op.cit. pp. 613ff.
- 41) The first notice of the Hague MS was given by Turner in EOMIA 1.2.1. pp.viii-ix, but he was not able personally to inspect the MS until 1923. His description of it and of its relation to the other two MSS is given in JTS 32 (1931), pp.1-11.
- 42) Maassen op.cit. pp. 638ff.
- 43) EOMIA 1.2.3. pp. x-xi.
- 44) Texte. u. Untersuchungen III.8.4. p. 137.
- 45) ZKT 1919, pp.673-4, 679.
- 46) Maassen op.cit. pp.624ff.
- 47) *Augia maior.*
- 48) Cod.lat.Monac.6243, Cod.Wirceburg.Mp.Theol.f.146 and Cod.Berol. lat.84 respectively.
- 49) See Turner EOMIA 1.2.3. pp. x-xi.
- 50) The MS is defective in several places, and it is possible that the letter to Decentius of Gubbio once stood under Item XXVI or XXVII, since this letter is contained in the St. Blaise MS from which in all probability the Diessen MS was copied. See Maassen op.cit.p.626 and Turner EOMIA 1.2.1. pp.vi-vii.

- 51) Maassen op.cit. pp. 536ff.
- 52) Maassen op.cit. pp. 646ff.
- 53) The latest item is the council of Huesca of 598, and of the important national synod of Toledo in 633 there is no mention.
- 54) This MS (which also contains the St. Blaise collection) is described by Duchesne in *Liber Pontificalis* pp. CLXIV-CLXVI (with plates).
- 55) The text is given by Mansi, III. 1130-2.
- 56) Maassen op.cit. pp. 667ff.
- 57) Printed by Coustant (P.L. XX.493-4)
- 58) Maassen op.cit. pp. 542ff.
- 59) Maassen op.cit. pp. 761ff. Turner EOMIA II.1. pp.viii-ix.
- 60) *ibid.* pp. 821ff.
- 61) *Sitzb. d. Wien. Akad. d. Wiss. phil-hist.* Kl.CXVII (1889), *Abhandlung xi.*
- 62) For Fulgentius Ferrandus see Maassen op.cit. p. 800. He was a younger contemporary of Fulgentius of Ruspe, and is mentioned by Facundus, *pro defensione trium capitulorum* IV.3. as already dead (i.e. by 546 A.D.).
- 63) Maassen op.cit. pp. 799ff. For a description of the contents of this MS see Maassen *Bibliuris canonici veteris* I.1.418ff.
- 64) Maassen op.cit. pp. 766ff.
- 65) The others listed by Maassen are late copies.
- 66) Maassen op.cit. pp. 787ff.
- 67) It was put together, probably in the 6th century, probably by a private individual, v. Maassen *Sitz. Wiener Akad. d. Wiss.* 1877 and Günther in *CSEL*.XXXV pp.1ff. Günther in *Sitzb. Wiener Akad* 1895.
- 68) *Praefatio*, pp.XVIII-XXV.

- 69) Silva-Tarouca, *Gregorianum* 1931, p.328.
- 70) The Laon, Noyon and Beauvais Manuscripts show traces of the ps - ~~Isid.~~forgery. (Maassen p.673).
- 71) See above, pp. 21-2.
- 72) Perhaps the Cod.lat.Paris 3848A of the Quesnel collection. This one belonged to Pithou's brother (Maassen, p.486-7).
- 73) Maassen lists them, *op.cit.* p.427. Coustant may have known all three, for his note on Ep.XXII (J-K 308) col. 545 reads: *unus e mss. Colb.*
- 74) It appears to be the MS of the St. Germain collection (Cod.lat.Sangerm.938) Maassen, pp.836-41 - containing sections of Innocent's decretals, Epp.II. VI. XVII, XXV.
- 75) A collection, based on the Hispana and amplified with a large number of forged decretals of popes anterior to the 4th century, probably composed in the diocese of Le Mans about 850 A.D. See P. Fournier in *Rev.Hist.Eccl.*VII (1906) and VIII (1907).
- 76) For an account of the work of the commission see Silva-Tarouca in *La Civiltà cattolica* 71 (1921) p. 324-6.
- 77) A good example of this is his restoration of the correct address in Ep.III (*Toletana* for *Tolosana*).
- 78) According to Goldbacher (CSEL LVIII, 1923, p.LXI) : *qui libri variarum lectionum prorietae a canonum codicibus permultum differunt, id quod ex epistula 176 (Coustant XXVII) maxime perspicitur.*
- 79) Goldbacher, CSEL LVIII, 1923, p.LXII. A complete list of Italian MSS of these four letters is given by M. Oberleitner in *Sitzb.Oesterr.Akad.Wiss*, 263 (1969), pp.312-3. Almost all of those not mentioned in this chapter are from the XII-XV centuries.

- 80) These four letters, as is apparent from the foregoing details, were found early as a group, along with letters of Siricius, Zosimus and Celestine. In a number of manuscripts the first three entitled "*canones urbicani*", on the significance of which see further Chapter VI p. 117-8.
- 81) See his note (P.L.XX, col.624).
- 82) The opinion of Dekkers, *Clavis*² (1961), p. 359.

CHAPTER III.

- 1) *Cui etiam anteriores tanti ac tales viri praedecessores mei episcopi, id est, sanctae memoriae Damasus, Siricius atque supra memoratus vir (Anastasius) ita detulerunt, ut omnia quae in illis partibus gererentur sanctitati tuae, quae plena iustitiae est, traderent cognoscenda; meam quoque parvitatem hoc tenere iudicium, eandemque habere voluntatem, te decet recognoscere.*
- 2) Apart, that is, from the law of 42] (Cod Theod XVI 2 45 (ed. Just.]], 2],]).
- 3) Five letters of Leo (JK]89, 259, 26], 287, 288) are found in other collections apart from the Thessalonicensis) (Maassen, Quellen, pp. 267-8).
- 4) Vat. Lat. 575]. Maassen p. 766.
- 5) The collection is printed in Mansi VIII. 740ff.
- 6) Epp. V and VI, (P.L. XIII. 365, 369).
- 7) Socrates V.6, Sozomen VII. 4.
- 8) Ambrose Ep. XV (P.L. XVI. 998) ; Theodoret H.E. V.9.1 (G.C.S. 44 p. 289).
- 9) Ep. IV. P.L. XIII.]]48 - 9.
- 10) Acholius died probably in the winter 382#3 ; Ambrose Ep. XV ; (P.L. XVI 996 - 9) ; Palanque, St. Ambroise et l'Empire romain pp. 508 - 9). If we may take Innocent's words in their literal sense, Anysius was consecrated before Damasus' death (384).
- 11) E.g. Innoc. Exp. XVII ; and the lost letters referred to in Ep. XVIII.2 and Ep. XVII.3.
- 12) My translation of *traderent* in Innocent ep. I.

- 13) τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γιγνομένων καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητρο-
πολίτῃ.
- 14) See the long note of Hefele-Leclercq ad loc, t.I.] p. 540 n.3.
Eusebius HE V.23, Canon. Apost. (Bright, Canons p. 12).
- 15) The Canons of Sardica show this clearly. References to the
metropolitan of a province in the Greek text of canons VI and
XIV are rendered by *episcopi vicinae provinciae* and *finitimi
episcopi*; and, where in Canon IX the Latin text refers to the
metropolitan, it uses a paraphrase *fratrem et coepiscopum
nostrum qui in metropoli consistit*. See Hess, *The Canons
of the Council of Sardica* pp. 97 - 8, 132 - 3. - The numerous
African bishoprics are attested by the gesta of the Collatio of
4]] (Mansi IV. 265 - 76).
- 16) The first appearance of the Latin word *metropolitanus* occurs in
the synodal letter of 378 to Gratian (P.L. XIII. 58]).
- 17) τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κρατεῖτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει',
ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν
ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο συνηθὲς
ἔστιν.
- 18) See the summary account of the divergent views in Hefele-Leclercq
I.1. pp. 562 - 9. Chadwick in HTR 1960 pp. 171 - 195.
- 19) IInd Canon of Constantinople (38]). Mansi III. 566 - 7 ;
Innocent Ep XXIV to Alexander of Antioch, (P.L. XX. 547).
- 20) Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte der Savigny-Stiftung, Kanonist.
Abt. (1922), pp. 330 - 384.
- 21) op. cit. p. 340.

- 22) Palanque, *Essai* pp. 5]ff, 130. Grumel REB IX (1951) pp. 6 - 9.
- 23) Mansi III. 30.
- 24) Palanque, *Essai* pp. 122 - 3. Cf. the words of its bishop Anemius at the Council of Aquileia: *Caput Illyrici non nisi civitas est Sirmiensis* (P.L. VXI. 960).
- 25) *Ibid.*
- 26) See Note 7).
- 27) Völker, ZKG 1927. p. 372.
- 28) See Note 15).
- 29) Cyprian speaks of his *auctoritas maior* : Ep. 48. 3 (C.S.E.L. III p. 607).
- 30) *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae* (P.L. 67. 193 - 223; Mansi III. 745 - 8). Aurelius signs first, Canons LVI and CVI ; powers of ordination and announcing the date of Easter, Canons LI and LV; the annual council of the African bishops, Canon XIX. Völker *op. cit.* p. 357 n. 4 describes these power inaccurately.
- 31) The starting-point for modern discussion is the paper of Rauschen (*Jahrbücher*, 1897), which challenged the hitherto unquestioned conclusion of Tillemont (*Mémoires* 1732 V p. 157). A comprehensive list of works and articles by more recent scholars is given by Grumel in REB IX (1951) p. 5.
- 32) *Cod Theod.* VII 6 4. Palanque, *Essai* pp. 84 - 5.
- 33) *Cod Theod.* XII 1 89.
- 34) *Cod Theod.* XI 13 1.
- 35) *Cod Theod.* I 32 5.
- 36) Pearce in *Trans. Int. Num. Congress* 1936, p. 235.

- 37) *Ambros Ep. XIII.7 (P.L. XVI. 993).*
- 38) *Cod Theod. XVI 1 3.*
- 39) *Gesta. Conc. Aquil. 6 - 7 (P.L. XVI. 957).*
- 40) *Ambrose argues the custom of the Church, that Western councils are attended by Western bishops, Eastern councils by Eastern bishops, ibid. 7. Palladius must then have countered that he was a subject of the Eastern emperor, had this been so. But he did not, declaring simply that he had been given a verbal assurance by Gratian that Eastern bishops would be present, ibid. 8, 10.*
- 41) *Ambros Ep. XII, 1, 3 (P.L. XVI. 988). Kaufmann (Aus der Schule des Wulfila), who rejects Rauschen out of hand, is forced to explain away Ambrose's words to Gratian as "ein gutes Stück diplomatischer Unverfrorenheit". (p. L).*
- 42) *Mansi III. 852 - 3.*
- 43) *REB IX (1951).*
- 44) *Pearce, Num. Chron. 1934, pp. 117-20.*
- 45) *E.g. Palanque, Essai pp. 84 - 5 ; Demougeot, De l'unité pp. 145 - 6 ; Stein, Histoire pp. 228 - 9.*
- 46) *Grumel op. cit. pp. 19 - 20, 28 - 34.*
- 47) *Cameron HSCP 1968 (LXXIII) p. 271.*
- 48) *Zosimus V.8.1.; Claudian, In Eutropium II.543ff. In Rufinum II. 275-7, 402-3.*

- 49) See Note 20). Cod Theod IX 35 4 of 27 March 380 is addressed to the vicarius of Macedonia, not to a prefect, which suggests that Dacia and Macedonia were administered directly by Theodosius or were nominally within the prefecture of the Orient. Grumel (*op. cit.* p. 9) considers Illyricum was in theory the area of the young Valentinian, held in tutela for him by Gratian (Pannonia) and Theodosius (Dacia/Macedonia).
- 50) As does Streichhan, *op. cit.* p. 349.
- 51) JK 257. Coustant (*Migne P.L. XIII.1148*) supports his dating with the contention that Siricius would have mentioned the case of Bonosus here, had he heard of it. Not a very strong argument.
- 52) Tillemont mentions Candidianus only in this context. DCB connects the bearer of Siricius' letter with a friend of Victricius of Rouen and Paulinus of Nola - but this must be another man. There is a correspondent of Ambrose (*Ep. XCI*), presumably a bishop since he is addressed as *frater*, but the letter has no date or datable material.
- 53) *Ep. de causa Bonosi* (*P.L. XIII. 1176*).
- 54) *Ep. de causa Bonosi*, ascribed by MS tradition to both Ambrose (*P.L. XVI 1222*) (after *Ep. LVI*) and Siricius (*P.L. XIII. 1176*).
- 55) Cavallera (*Bull. Litt. Eccl. 21 1920*) pp. 141ff adduces strong arguments for rejecting Siricius' authorship of the *Ep. de causa Bonosi*. Acceptance of Siricius' authorship would, however, only make the present case stronger, for there must certainly have been some reference to Thessalonica's position of eminence over Dacia if such were recognised at the time. See Greenslade's careful argument on this point, *JTS 1945*, pp. 27 - 9.
- 56) Nor Siricius, if we regard him as the author of the *Ep. de causa Bonosi*.

- 57) The date of Siricius' own death : *Prosp. Chron. s.a.*; Jerome, *Martyrology* (P.L. XX. 485). Streichhan (*op. cit.* p. 349) puts the letter of Siricius in the period 395 - 8.
- 58) *Ep. XIII* (P.L. XX. 515). The letter is clearly Innocent's first communication to Rufus as bishop. The date is, however, disputed. Coustant's text, taken from Holste, gives the consular date as *XV Kalendas Julias Honorio IX et Theodosio V* (i.e. 17 June 412). The only good MS, however, (Vat. lat. 5751) has *Honorio X*. Honorius was consul for the tenth time in 415 with Theodosius, consul for the sixth time, as his colleague. A date of 415 for this letter would, however, involve, an alteration in the date of *Ep. XVII*, given as 13 December 414, since Rufus is one of the persons to whom that letter is addressed, and he is certainly regarded as bishop of Thessalonica at that time in ~~409~~⁵ Anysius is referred to as already dead. Tillemont (*Mém.* X. 829) argued that Rufus' ordination must be placed prior to 409 - 10, for in *Ep. XVI* to Marcianus of Naissus Innocent, writing from Ravenna, mentions a previous letter to bishop Rufus. Since we know of only one visit of Innocent to Ravenna, in 409-10 (*Oros. VII.39.2*), this letter must belong to 408 at the latest, and the consuls for 407 were Honorius (VII) and Theodosius (II). Coustant prefers, however, to accept 412, and suggests Innocent may have been at Ravenna during the grain crisis caused at Rome in 413 by Heraclian's revolt in Africa.

- 59) The MS has *Praevali*, possibly by a scribal error.
- 60) The division of Macedonia into *prima* and *salutaris* and we find in the index of the *Notitia Dignitatum* seems to have been abolished by this date. Or, III of the *Notitia*, in an addition made to the text as originally drawn up, divides the province of Macedonia *salutaris* between *Epirus nova* and *Praevalitana*. Jones (*LRE* III p. 350) says it was probably created C. 386 and suppressed by 412. According to Bury (*J.R.S.* X (1920) p. 115 *Mac. Sal.* was the creation of Eutropius, suppressed after his fall. Cf. Claudian in *Eutrop.* II 586 - 7 :
provincia quaeque superstes dividitur.
- 61) *Arripe itaque, dilectissime frater, nostra vice per superscriptas ecclesias. salvo eorum primatu, curam.*
- 62) *Ita enim aut per tuam experientiam quidquid illus est finietur; aut tuo consilio ad nos usque perveniendum esse mandamus.*
- 63) *non primitus haec ita statuentes, sed praecessores nostros apostolicos imitati, qui beatissimo Acholio et Anysio iniungi pro eorum meritis ista voluerunt. Iustissimum est enim ita bene meritos honoribus decorari. And further: Licitum autem et apostolicae sedis favore permissum tuae fraternitati cognosce, ut cum aliqua ecclesiastica ratio vel in tua vel in memoratis provinciis agitanda cognoscendaque fuerit, optimus dirigas arbiter et praecipuus, quippe a nobis lectus, definias intercessor.*
- 64) Perigenes of Corinth attempted to claim his primacy after Rufus' death, Sixtus Ep. JK 393, 394. (*Streichhan op. cit. pp. 368 - 9*). The difficulties Thessalonica had in maintaining its position are succinctly detailed by Volker op. cit. pp. 374 - 8.

- 65) *The Second Canon of Constantinople had defined the civil diocese as the limit of influence of a bishop, but viewed in the light of Canon III this seems clearly an attempt to curb the power of Alexandria and Antioch in the interests of Constantinople.*
- 66) *See Chapter IV, pp. 60-1.*
- 67) *Gesta Conc. Aquil. (P.L. XVI. 955 - 79).*
- 68) *Mansi, III. 862. Ambrose's part in the matter is mentioned in the VIth Canon of the Council of Turin, Hefele, Conciles 2.1.p.*
- 69) *See the chapter on Chrysostom, pp. 4 - 5.*
- 70) *So the Roman bishops use "Roman" and "apostolic" in such contexts as synonymous. V. Caspar, Geschichte I pp. 263 - 4.*
- 71) *E.g. Siricius Ep. I fin.*
- 72) *This is made explicit in the Synodal of the Roman Council of 382, (P.L. XIII. 374 - 6): sancta tamen Romana Ecclesia non ullis synodiciis constitutis, caeteris Ecclesiis praelata est: sed et evangelica voce Domini Salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit: Tu es Petrus etc.*
- 73) *E.G. Boniface judging the case of Perigenes, Ep. XV. (P.L. XX. 779). Contrast, however, his insistence on Perrhebius' appearing first before Rufus, Ep. XIII. 3. (P.L. XX. 776).*
- 74) *Cf. Leo's action against Hilary of Arles.*
- 75) *Innocent Ep. XVI. I accept Coustant's argument as to the date, ad loc. V. Note 54).*

- 76) *Condemned by an Illyrian council following the Council of Capus (392). Tillemont, Mémoires t. X. pp. 239 - 43.*
- 77) *Zeno of Seville created vicar by Simplicius (Thiel Ep. 213). The vicariate was of short duration.*
- 78) *Ep. XVIII. The details of the case escape us: they were contained in an accompanying letter (now lost), 2.*
- 79) *See further on this Chapter VI p.123 Cf. also Markus, Saeculum pp. 128ff.*
- 80) *Ep. XXIV.1.*
- 81) *Antioch was also attempting to bring Cyprus under her control, and Innocent supported Alexander here to. V. Chadwick, HTR 1960, pp. 183 - 4.*
- 82) *Ep. IV. Compare Innocent's insistence that Acacius of Beroca receive letters of communion through Alexander of Antioch, Ep. XXI.*
- 83) *Ep. XIII.3. The sentence *omnen sane* is clearly corrupt. Cod. Vat. Lat. 5751 has *acrivorum* and *eius Simus* for *archivorum* and *fieri iussimus*; Silva-Tarouca in his 1937 edition of the Collection reads *archivorum* *esse iussimus*. Senecio appears also in the *Epistula de causa Bonosi*, fin., and a Senecio is among the Illyrian bishops addressed by Celestine in Ep. III (P.L. L. 427), and by Leo Ep. XIII (P.L. LIV. 664) of 446. It is just possible that these could all refer to the same man.*
- 84) *The Thessaalonica letters all appear to come from originals - except that, according to Silva-Tarouca (Gregorianum 1931, p. 411 n. 3) the letters concerning Leo's relations with Constantinople are derived from the gesta of a Roman Synod. See Getzeny, Stil und Form, p. 69.*

CHAPTER IV.

The references in this chapter to the principal ancient sources are cited according to the following editions:

Claudian Carmina ed. Birt (MGH X, 1892).

Mark the Deacon, Vita Porphyrii, ed. Gregoire and Kygener, Paris 1930.

Palladius, Dialogue de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi, ed. Coleman-Norton Cambridge 1928.

Philostorgius Historia ecclesiastica, ed. Bidez, GCS 21, 1913.

Socrates, Historia ecclesiastica, ed. Valesius (1720), P.G. LXVII, 33 - 842.

Sozomen, Historia ecclesiastica, ed. Bidez/Hansen, GCS 50, 1960.

Theodoret, Historia ecclesiastica, 2nd. ed. Scheidweiler, GCS 44, 1954.

Zosimus, Historia nova, ed. Mendelssohn, Leipzig 1887.

1) *Honorius* born 9 September 384 - *Socr.* V.12. *Augustus* from 393, *Cons. Const. s.a.* 393, (MGH IX p. 298), *Arcadius* born 378 (or 377), *August* from 16 Jan 383. - *Socr.* VI.23. *Cons. Ital. s.a.* 383 (MGH. IX p. 297).

2) *Philost.* XI.3. *Synesius Or. de Regno* (P.G. LXVI. 1054f.).

3) *Eunap. fr.* 62; *Zos. V.* 1, 4; *Philost.* 1.c.

4) *Claudian In Rufinum* I. 259-67; 297-300; 314-22.

De Cons. Stil. I. 112-15.

Eunap. fr. 62. (Muller F.H.G. IV. p. 42)

Zosim. V. 4.3.

- 5) *According to Socrates VI. 2, on 27 September.*
- 6) *v. Stein : Histoire du Bas- Empire. 220-24.*
- 7) *Socrates (V. 8) has unfortunately misrepresented the decisions of the Council on this matter, when he speaks of the establishment of a comprehensive network of patriarchates to ensure order in the Church. Sozomen (VII. 9) gives the correct account. V. Valesius' note on Socrates l.c. and Hefele-Leclercq II. p. 41 ; also Cod. Theod. XVI. 1.3. and Theodoret Ep. 86 ad Flavianum (P.G. 83. 1279C).*
- 8) *Eudoxius' desertion of Antioch for Constantinople shows he recognised its potential influence, even before 381 : Socr. II. 43.*
- 9) *Compare Alexandrian behaviour during the Nestorian controversy, and on this whole subject see Baynes : Byzantine Studies and other Essays p. 96-115.*
- 10) *Palladius (Dial. V.) says Eutropius knew of his qualities because he had travelled in Oriens.*
- 11) *Palladius Dial. V.*
- 12) *Socrates (VI. 2, cf. VI. 9) - followed by Sozomen (VIII.2.17-8) - is explicit that the treason charge was the result of a mission of Isidore to Rome some ten years previously. Theophilus despatched him with gifts and letters, to be presented to whoever should be the victor in the coming struggle between Theodosius and Maximus.*

- 13) *Socr. V.15. Soz. VII.11. In thus ignoring Flavian, Damasus was continuing his previous policy of support for Paulinus.*
v. Baur I. pp. 57 - 8 -
- 14) *End of 388 according to Socr. V.15. v. Tillemont : Mémoires X. Notes sur S. Ambroise XLI.*
- 15) *Despite the statement of Theodoret V.23.4. V. Brooks JTS 1902.*
- 16) *Though she would probably have liked to: Evagrius had been in Italy for eleven years from 362 with Eusebius of Vercellae, and called at Rome on his way home to Antioch. Duchesne, Histoire II pp. 321ff. - Canon 4 of Nicaea is the canon in question (Hefele-Leclercq Conciles I.1. p. 539).*
- 17) *Theodoret V.23.4.*
- 18) *Tillemont l.c.*
- 19) *Ambrose Ep. LVI (P.L. XVI. 1220-2) ; Theodoret V.23.*
- 20) *See the letter of Severus of Antioch, tr. E.W. Brooks, Select Letters, Vol. II.2 p. 223.*
- 21) *H.E.VI.2 ; VI.9. Cf.V.15.*
- 22) *H.E. VIII.2 ; VIII.3.*
- 23) *V.23 fin.*
- 24) *Dial VI.*
- 25) *As follows from the appearance together of Nectarius, Theophilus and Flavian at the Constantinople synod of September 394 (Mansi III. 851-54).*

- 26) *Histoire II.p.610 n.3.*
- 27) *JTS 1902 p. 434.*
- 28) *Dial. IV.*
- 29) *Dial VI.*
- 30) *So Palanque in Fliche-Martin III p. 450 n.5.*
- 31) *l.c.* τὴν μακρὰν καταλύσας δυσμένειαν δι' ἑπτακαιδέκα ἔτων.
- 32) *H.E. V.23.5. Theodoret also wrongly puts the reconciliation with Rome prior to that with Egypt.*
- 33) *ZNTW XXXIV (1935) pp. 212-3.*
- 34) *Select Letter tr. Brooks II.2 p. 303.*
- 35) *The translation reads: "We are in communion with Anastasius."*
- 36) *Theodoret V. 30.*
- 37) *Socrates VI.5 ; Sozomen VIII.4 ; Theodoret V.32.*
- 38) *V.33.*
- 39) *Palladius Dial. V ; Socr. VI.3 ; Soz. VIII.2.*
- 40) *Socr. VI.4; Soz. VIII.9. Photius Bibl. Cod. 59: 25 accusation: ὅτι μόνος ἐσθίει, ζῶν Κυκλώπων βίον.*
- 41) *Pall. Dial. V.*
- 42) *Socr. VI.3 fin.; Soz. VIII.8.fin.*
- 43) *V.29.*

- 44) *Mark the Deacon : Life of Porphyry* cc. 26-7.
Eutropius secured the imperial edict. Cf. id. cc. 36-41; 49-71.
- 45) *Pall. Dial. XIV-XV; Socr. VI.11; Soz. VIII.6; Phot. Bibl.*
96 (81a).
- 46) *V. the careful discussion of Baur II. 155-60.*
- 47) *Phot. Bibl. 59 (18b).*
- 48) *Socr. VI.11; Severian baptised the infant Theodosius II:*
Gennadius De Vir. Ill. 21; Ado of Vienne (P.L. 123. 100B).
- 49) *Pall. Dial. VI and VIII.*
- 50) *Especially Marsa, Castricia and Eugraphia. Pall. Dial. IV*
and VIII.
- 51) *Life of Porphyry c. 37. For an attempted resolution of the*
chronological disagreement between Mark and our other evidence,
see Baur II, pp. 155-60.
- 52) *Dial. cc. VI and VII. Palladius may have gleaned the details*
from the monks themselves in Constantinople.
- 53) *Jerome ep. 92 (P.L. 22. cols. 759-69).*
- 54) *P.L. 20. co. 74 : Ep. II ad Simplicianum.*
- 55) *Baur II p. 184.*
- 56) *Though in the very different circumstances after the Synod of*
the Oak he did succeed in such a plea. Pall. Dial. II.
- 57) *Pall. Dial. VIII. Baur II. p. 197.*
- 58) *Pall. Dial. VI.*

- 59) *Pall. Dial. VI ; Socr. VI.15 ; Soz. VIII.16.*
- 60) *Pall. Dial. II.*
- 61) *John's letter in Pall. Dial. II.*
- 62) *Cod. 59.*
- 63) *Indeed, Theophilus was soon to effect a full reconciliation with the monks. Palladius.*
- 64) *Pall. Dial. VIII.*
- 65) *Socr. VI.15 fin.; Soz. VIII.18.*
- 66) *Pall. Dial. IX. Baur II, (p. 226-7) suggests it was a miscarriage.*
- 67) *Both Socrates (VI.16) and Sozomen (VIII.18) speak of John's delay in returning to his cathedral.*
- 68) *Socr. VI.18; Soz. VIII.19. Palladius (Dial. IX) mentions no formal annulment, but says the bishops came together and gave their allegiance to John.*
- 69) *Pall. Dial. IX.*
- 70) *Palladius and John seem to disagree as to where this attack took place. Possibly there were disturbances at more than one place. V. Coleman-Morton: Classical Philology 1929, pp. 279-84 ; E. Demougeot: De l'unité a la division de l'empire romain, p. 329 n. 595, considers that Palladius is right.*
- 71) *Socrates VI.18.*
- 72) *Seeck, Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt, V. 336-7.*

- 73) *Pall. Dial. I, II.*
- 74) *John's acceptance of the primacy of Peter among the disciples of Jesus does not entail a recognition of a primacy of jurisdiction attaching to the Roman see. Cf. M. Jugie : Echos d'Orient 1908, pp. 5 - 15.*
John based his appeal, not on the canons of Sardica but on the second canon of 381 (Jalland, Growth of Papacy p. 292).
- 75) *Cf. Baur II p. 258 n. 10.*
- 76) *Pall. Dial. I, III.*
- 77) *Giles : Documents, no. 99 p. 130 (P.L. 13. col. 374) : the Council of Rome, in 382. Relations between Rome and Alexandria had for long now been good, especially during the recent Origenist controversy. Theophilus will have hoped to trade on this.*
- 78) *Even if Paul of Heraclea presided over the Synod of the Oak, as Photius says (Bibl. 59), Theophilus had been the acknowledged leader of the movement against John. V. Baur II p. 212.*
- 79) *Pall. Dial. I.*
- 80) *Though the two cases are not exactly parallel. V. Caspar : Geschichte des Papsttums, p. 316 ; Batiffol, Cathedra Petri, pp. 66ff.*
- 81) *Socr. IV. 22, 37.*
- 82) *Soz. VII.11; Theodoret V.23.4.*

- 83) *John in Palladius Dial. II: τῶν γραμμάτων δότε ἀπολαύειν τῶν ὑμετέρων συνήθως, καὶ τῆς ἀγαπῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, ὡσπερ καὶ ἔμπροσ-*
 84) *V. the 6th cent. African bishop Facundus (P.L. 67. 676-8). θεν.*
- 85) *Pall. Dial. III.*
- 86) *See Ch. VI, pp. 119-120.*
- 87) *Seeck Geschichte V. p. 374 emphasises Stilico's part in all this.*
- 88) *The ravaging of Illyricum, amongst other matters.*
- 89) *C.S.E.L. 35, Ep. 38. Demougeot op.cit. p. 335.*
- 90) *Soz. VIII. 26-7 ; Socr. VI. 19.*
- 91) *Cod. Theod. XVI.4.6.*
- 92) *Sozomen gives a translation of both letters, VIII. 26.*
- 93) *She died on October 6, 404: Marc. Com. s.a. (MGH XI p. 68).*
- 94) *Demougeot op.cit., p. 337.*
- 95) *Pall. Dial. IV.*
- 96) *So a Roman synod under Julius had pronounced invalid the deposition of Athanasius. Soz. II.8.10.*

- 97) Letter I of Innocent (P.L. 20. 463-5).
- 98) Pall. Dial. IV.
- 99) P.L. 20. 512. Pall. Dial. III fin. Demougeot op. cit. p. 346 n. 713 finds the text of this letter suspect.
- 100) Anthemius may have been responsible, as *magister officiorum* for the Bloody affray of Easter night. Cf. Palladius Dial. IX and *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. XI ; Cod. Theod. XVI. 4. 4 ; id. X. 225. Seeck, *Geschichte* V p. 368 n. Cpp. 583 - 4).
- 101) Soz. VIII. 28 ; cf. Baur II pp. 337-8.
- 102) Their arrival took place after the installation of Atticus as bishop, Pall. Dial. IV. Socrates (VI.20) gives Arsacius' death as 11 November 405 ; Palladius XI suggests August of that year. According to Sozomen (VIII. 27), Atticus was elected four months after Arsacius' death. We have therefore a *terminus post quem* of December 405 for the arrival of the Western bishops.
- 103) Marcellinus Comes s.a. 406 (M.G.H. Chron Min. II. p. 68-9); Seeck, *Geschichte* V. 375, 587; Stein *Histoire* I p. 249. Cod. Theod. VII.13.16,17. (April 17 & 19, 406); Baynes puts the invasion in 404#5, JRS 1922, pp. 217-20.
- 104) Pall. Dial. XX.
- 105) Anthemius must have known of the preoccupations of the West, or he would not have acted so outrageously. But those bishops who stood to lose heavily if any synod were called, will have spared no effort to prevent any reconciliation.

- 106) *Pall. Dial. XI.*
- 107) *Ibid.*
- 108) *V. Baur II. p. 373. Cf. P.L. XX. 546B.*
- 109) *Between 408 and 411. Synesius ep. 66 (P.G. LXVI. 1410A).*
- 110) *Ibid.*
- 111) *Epp. 19, 20 (P.L. 20. 540-2).*
- 112) *Note that in spite of the rupture in communion between Rome and Constantinople, the Roman priest Boniface was apparently resident in the latter city. Ep. 23 (P.L. 20. 546).*
- 113) *P.G. 77. 349C ; Theodoret V. 34 ; Socrates VII.25. Yet some of John's supporters in the capital were not even then prepared to forgive him, and remained out of communion with him.*
- 114) *The decision of the African council of 25 May 419 to ask both Boniface and Cyril for confirmation of the text of the may imply that Rome and Alexandria were now in communion once more (so Batiffol, *Siège Apostolique* p. 3334). That Cyril had placed John's name in the diptychs by 430 is proved by the statement of Nestorius that Cyril "now venerates the ashes of John, albeit unwillingly." (Schwartz A.C.O. I.5. p. 40).*
- 115) *Sozomen H.E. VIII.6.*
- 116) *v. supra pp. 60-1.*
- 117) Ὅπερ ἔγω βούλομαι, τοῦτο κἀνων ἔστω νομιζέσθω.
Athanasius, Hist. Arian. 33
(P.G. XXV. 732.).

- 118) *Cod. Theod. XVI.1.3.*
- 119) *Sozomen H.E. VII.8.*
- 120) *Paulinus, Vita S. Ambrosii 12-17 (P.L. XIV. 33-5).*
- 121) *Ambrose Ep. XXIV (P.L. XVI. 1079-83) ; Paulinus, Vita 19 (P.L. XIV. 35 - 6).*
- 122) *Paulinus, Vita 22 - 3 (P.L. XIV. 36 - 7).*
- 123) *ibid. 24 (P.L. XIV. 37 - 8). Cf. Ambrose Ep. LI.6 (P.L. XVI. 1211) ; de obitu Theodosii 34 (C.S.E.L. 73 pp. 388-9). -*
On these and the following points on Ambrose see H.-J. Diesner, Kirche und Staat im ausgehenden vierten Jahrhundert in Das frühe Christentum im römischen Staat, ed. R. Klein, pp. 415 - 454.
- 124) *Ambrose Ep. XX. 8 : (P.L. XVI. 1039) : ea quae sunt divina imperatoriae potestati non esse subiecta. Cf. Sermo contra Auxentium 36 (P.L. XVI. 1061) : Quid honorificentius quam, ut imperator ecclesiae filius dicatur imperator enim intra ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est.*
- 125) *For the development see Dvornik, Early Christian and Byzantine Political Thought, Vol. II. c.xi.*
- 126) *De fide I.13 (C.S.E.L. 78 p.5.).*
- 127) *Even Augustine, who in his later years, ceased to regard political institutions as fulfilling a divine purpose, remained convinced that secular officials as individuals had a duty to use their power in the interests of the Church. See Markus, Saeculum pp. 133 - 53.*

- 128) Ambrose *De fide* II.139-40 (C.S.E.L. 78 p. 106) ; *De Spiritu Sancto* I.17. (C.S.E.L. 79. p. 23). Cf. the same thought in Symmachus, *Relatio* III. 15 - 17 (MGH VI. p. 283).
- 129) E.g. the anti-Pelagian manoeuvres at court. See Chapter VII, p.148.
- 130) Palladius *Dial.* VIII.
- 131) We may compare the invective of the writings of Lucifer of Cagliari and Hilary of Poitiers against Constantius II.
- 132) Cf. Valentinian's remark to his *comites*: *si vobis iusserit Ambrosius, vinctum me tradetis* (Ambrose *Ep.* XX. 27 (P.L. XVI. 1044)).
- 133) Rufinus H.E. XI.16 (GCS 9.2 pp. 1021-2); Theodoret H.E. V.14; *Coll, Avellana* 39 (C.S.E.L. XXXV. pp. 88-90). - It is interesting to note that Ambrose makes the same comparison between the empress and Herodias and Jezebel that caused John so much trouble. Cf. Ambrose *Ep.* XX. 18 (P.L. XVI. 1041) and Palladius *Dial.* VIII.
- 134) Demougeot, *op. cit.* 363ff. ;
Stein, *Histoire* I p. 249.
- 135) See Cyril's letter to Atticus (*Ep.* 76, P.G. LXXVII. 352-60), where he makes no mention of Western pressure.

CHAPTER V

In this chapter, the references to Augustine's anti-Pelagian works are cited according to the edition of Urba & Zycha CSEL 42, 60, (1902, 1913), and to his *Epistulae* according to the edition of Goldbacher, CSEL 34, 44, 57, 58 (1895-1923).

- 1) The Pelagian controversy has been extensively treated by scholars for centuries, due both to the exceptional contemporary documentation that survives and to the perennial interest of its theological issues. In recent years, however, the publication of a critical text of Pelagius' *Expositiones* (by A. Souter in *Texts and Studies IX* (1922) and the assignment of numerous other Pelagian tracts to their proper milieu (especially by Caspari and Morin) have enabled the controversy to be seen from a fresh angle. The philological studies of A.J. Smith and A. Souter enabled T. Bohlin to study the evolution of Pelagius' own thought (a valuable exercise, since Pelagius' own views were not necessarily those of his followers). He has been followed by R.F. Evans in several carefully argued essays (*Pelagius: Inquiries and Reappraisals*, 1968), and by Gerald Bonner and Peter Brown, both in articles and in their biographies of Augustine (Bonner: *St. Augustine of Hippo*, 1963; Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 1968). The evidence for Pelagius' life has been brought together by G. de Plinval (*Pelage, sa vie, ses écrits, sa réforme*, 1943). De Plinval has also attempted to vindicate for Pelagius' authorship a large number of the Pelagian tracts (*Rev. de Philologie LX* 1934). Many of his arguments have not gained acceptance, however, and more restricted lists are assigned to Pelagius by S. Prete (*Pelagio e il Pelagianesimo*, 1961) and Evans (*JTS N.S. 13*, 1962); *Four Letters of Pelagius*, 1968). A fresh approach to the phenomenon of Pelagianism was attempted by J.N.L.

Myres (JRS 51,1961) and J. Morris (JTS N.S.16, 1965), who saw in it a social movement, and tried to connect it with the history of the last years of Roman Britain. Original and fascinating as these studies are, they totally misconceive the nature of the Pelagian movement. See W. Liebeschuetz in *Historia* XII, 1963, and *Latomus* XXVI, 1967.

- 2) April 402. Baronius *Annales* V. ann.402, n.42.
- 3) Aug. ep.175.1 "*Cum ex more ad Carthaginensem ecclesiam sollempniter venissemus.*" Cf. *Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr.* XCV (Mansi III. 799)
General synods were no longer held annually, but only as the need arose. Provincial synods could, however, be called together more quickly, and speed may have been Augustine's priority at this time.
- 4) On the ecclesiastical organisation of the African episcopate see Audollent in *Dict. d'histoire et de géog. eccl.* I. 847-51.
- 5) In the spring of 416 acc. to the Maurists. *Aug. Opp.* X. 2. p. 2335. n.
Orosius had been in Africa in the spring of 415 to enquire Augustine's opinion on the Priscillianist heresy. Aug. ep. 169. 13.
- 6) Aug. de pecc. orig. 3. Marius Mercator, *Comm. super nom. Coelestii I* (Schwartz *ACO* I. v. p. 66). Paulinus was "*defensor et procurator ecclesiae Mediolanensis*", steward and bailiff of the church lands of Milan in Africa. *Praedestinatus* I. 88 (PL 53. 617).
- 7) Orosius *Apol.* 3; Marius Mercator *l.c.*; Aug. de *gestis Pel.* 62; ep. 157. 22.
- 8) The synod met on 20 December 415.
- 9) Esp. by Augustine *de gestis Pelagii* (written in 417, after he had received from John of Jerusalem the official record of the proceedings. Aug. ep. 186. 2.).
- 10) Aug. de *gestis Pel.* 2.
- 11) *ibid.* 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 16, 27.
- 12) *ibid.* 23.

- 13) *ibid.*30.42.
- 14) *ibid.*7. Cf. Gennadius de vir.ill.43.
- 15) Though in the case of certain of them he added to his anathema the qualification *secundum iudicium sanctae ecclesiae* *ibid.*43.
- 16) *ibid.*44.
- 17) Partly due to his own indiscretion. v. Apol.4.3.
- 18) The *de peccatorum meritis et remissione* and the *de baptismo parvulorum* (412); the *de spiritu et littera* (412); the *de fide et operibus* (413); the letter to Hilarius ep.157 (414); the *de natura et gratia* and the *de perfectione iustitiae hominis* (415).
- 19) Aug. de gestis Pel.54.
- 20) *ibid.*57. Cf. ep.179.7. The pamphlet reached Augustine before bishop Julius set off for Rome. Ep.177.5.
- 21) Aug. ep.177.2.
- 22) Aug. ep. 176.3.
- 23) Aug.ep.181.2; 182.1.
- 24) Evodius' name does not appear among the signatories of the Carthage letter, where we should expect to find it since he was bishop of Uzala in Africa Proconsularis. Possibly illness had prevented his away, and he wanted to make up for it by associating himself with the letter. It would be consistent with what we know of his character from his correspondence with Augustine. He was a man "more distinguished for activity of mind than soundness of judgment". (H.W.P. s.v. Evodius in Smith and Wace. Dict.Chr.Biog).
- 25) Aug. ep.177.
- 26) *ibid.*6.
- 27) Innocent was to send this on to Pelagius, as if otherwise it might have been ignored, *ibid.*4.
- 28) *ibid.*14.
- 29) E.g. the Roman virgin Marcella, Jerome ep.127.8; Melania and Pinianus, Palladius Hist.Laus.61. The beginnings of Western

- monasticism are comprehensively detailed by Lorenz: Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert, ZKG 77 (1966) pp.1-61. Lorenz sees in the Rule of Basil an *anima naturaliter pelagiana* (op.cit. p.37). It was translated by Rufinus.
- 30) Ep.ad. Demetriadem II (PL30.17B): *Quoties mihi de institutione morum et sanctae vitae conversatione dicendum est, soleo prius....*
See de Plinval, Pelage pp.210-6.
- 31) Brown, J.T.S. NS.19 (1968) p.108, however, emphasises that in many parts of Italy Christians were still a minority group.
- 32) E.g de malis doctoribus XXIV.3 (PLS i.1456); fragmenta Pelagiana Vindobonensia I (PLS i.1561); Ep.Honorificentiae tuae 2 (PLS i.1690-1). Hence the rigorist conception of what constitutes the Church. For Pelagius the Church was *sine macula aut ruga*. (Aug.de gestis Pel.27), and the same code of practice was binding on all its members. Ep. ad Demetriadem 10 (PL 30.26B). The importance of this aspect of the Pelagian movement is emphasised by Peter Brown (JTS N.S.19,1968, pp.102ff.).
- 33) v. esp. Brown ibid. pp.1142. De Plinval, Pelage p.212. To Augustine the fulfilment of the law is *caritas*; to the Pelagian it is *iustitia*.
- 34) Their emphasis on "knowing the divine law" shows this. Of the letter "*humanae referunt litterae*" (P.L.S. I 1376)
- 35) Aug. de gratia Christi 9.
- 36) See the study of J. Rivière in RHE 41, 1966, pp.5-43.
- 37) Aug. de gratio Christi 8.
- 38) Pelagius, *Expositiones* Rom.V.15. (PLS i.1137).
- 39) Ep. ad Demetriadem 9 (PL 30.25B); Aug. de nat.et. grat.33.
- 40) E.g. de divitiis 2*fin* - 3*init* (PLS i.1377)
- 41) Ep. ad Demetriadem 8 (PL 30.24).
- 42) Tert. de baptismo 18 (CSEL 20 p.216).

- 43) In any case, for Pelagius baptism was of paramount importance. It is offered freely to men, and by it sins are forgiven and the grace of creation restored in full. E.g. Pel.Exp.ad Eph.II.5 (RLS 1.1293) Bohlin p. 34.
- 44) John III.5.
- 45) Aug. de pecc.mer. I.64.
- 46) ibid.I.58. Pelagius himself was content to remain agnostic on the fate of unbaptised infants, Aug. de pecc.orig.23.
- 47) It is nowhere discussed in the *Expositiones*.
- 48) E.g. Aug. de pecc. mer. I. 64. Julian of Aeclanum posited a third place between heaven and hell for unbaptised infants: Aug. Op.Imperf. ~~c.Iul.Imperf.~~ c.Iul.I.50; the Pelagian author of the *de malis doctoribus* denies the existence of any such place, VIII.2.(PLS.i.1428).
- 49) Cf.ps.Jerome Ep.32.3. (PL30.248C) :*Nec vos semper parvuli esse debetis.*
- 50) E.g. *ep ad adolescentem 3* (P.L.S. I. 1377) : *nolo exempla respicias plurimorum, qui huius religionis decus in solo sibi nomine vindicant. Res enim tam magna paucorum est.*
- 51) Ep. ad Demetriadem 16 (PL 30.31-2).
- 52) Pelagius' reaction to the quotation in his presence of Augustine's prayer: *Da quod iubes et iube quod vis*, is well known. Aug. de dono perseverantia^e.53.
- 53) One of Pelagius' chief targets was the Manichaean doctrine of sin as arising from the conflict within man of a good and a bad nature. In his eyes, nature was created good and sin was the responsibility of man who thus misused his gift of freewill. Ep. ad Demetriadem 2 (PL 30.17D). Cf. Orosius Apol. 29 (CSEL 5, p.652).
- 54) Together with *ratio* and *prudencia*. Ep. ad Demetriadem 2 (PL 30.18A-B). Pelagius stressed the power of the will. Ep.ad Demetriadem I (PL 30.16B). He was willing to admit divine grace as auxiliary to our chosen good designs, but not as prevenient to them. See Refoué in RSE 1964 pp.44-65; Woolfson in PAPS 103 (1959) pp.554ff.

- 55) Aug. de gestis Pel.9,11. The punishments of hell-fire are prominent in Pelagian writing, e.g. de divitiis VI.3. (PLS i.1386-7).
- 56) Augustine understood Innocent's reply (Aug. ep.183.3) as presuming an acquaintance with Pelagius' teaching (Aug. de pecc. orig.10). Innocent, however, had professed ignorance as to whether any Pelagians were to be found in Rome, (Aug. ep.183.2). F. Refoulé in REA 1963, pp.41-9 has argued cogently that the work refuted by Augustine in the *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* is the *Libellus* of Rufinus the Syrian (PL 48.449-488). If this is so, it would mean that the question of the fate of unbaptised infants was a topic of debate in Rome in the first decade of the century.
- 57) See de Plinval, *Pélage* pp.47-71.
- 58) Esp. Peter Brown, JTS 21 (1970), pp.56-72.
- 59) The wanderings of the younger Melania and her family are known from her contemporary Vita. See esp. cc.19-19a (Anal.Boll.22. (1903) pp.19-20). Also Leclercq in DACL XI.i.222-3. For an attempt to find direct evidence of Pelagius' stay in Sicily see Evans: *Four Letters of Pelagius*, p.29.
- 60) Aug. ep. 126.6. Timasius was a young noble, like his friend Jacobus. Aug. ep. 179.2.
- 61) A.J. Smith: *The Commentary of Pelagius*. JTS 20.(1918), pp.127-77; T. Bohlin, *Die Theologie des Pelagius*, pp.77-103.
- 62) Brown, JTS N.S. 21 (1970), pp.57-8.
- 63) Pelagius wrote him a long letter about 404, which he recalled in his letter to Innocent (Aug. de gratia Christi 38). It has been suggested that the Pelagian treatise *De Induratione cordis Pharaonis* (PLS i. 1506-39) was written at the instance of Julian of Aeclanum and contains a veiled reference to Paulinus. See G. Morin in R.B. 26 (1909), pp.163-88, and P. Courcelle in REL 25 (1947), p.270.

- 64) He became Julian's father-in-law: Paulinus, Carmen XXV.
- 65) Dict.Christ.Biog. ed.Wace and Smith, s.v. Melania (1).
- 66) Aug. de gestis Pel. 46.
- 67) *In sermonibus contentionibusque versatus*, Aug. de pecc.orig.24.
- 68) So Pelagius in his *libellus fidei ad Innocentium* (PL 48.488f.) has much to say on the nature of the Godhead. Augustine was bound to complain that this was irrelevant to what Pelagius was accused of, *de gratia Christi* 35; but Pelagius was being no less than honest in stating his belief in all matters where, in his view, the Church had taken a definite stand.
- 69) Aug. de pecc.orig.3.cf.24. Despite Innocent's professed ignorance of their existence, Aug.ep.183.2 it is clear that there were Pelagian sympathisers in Rome, even among the clergy. (Aug.ep.191; 194.1; c.duas ep.Pel.II.5.).
- 70) See n.1.
- 71) A. Souter, Texts and Studies IX.1. p.188; G. Bardy in DTC XIV.i.p.155.
- 72) Anastasius ad Simplicianum (P.L.22.772-4)
- 73) E.g. Jerome: Comm.in Eph.Prel. (P.L.26,441) - Evans: Pelagius p.16 and Theophilus of Alexandria: Socrates H.E. VI 17 (P.G.LXVII 716).
- 74) Aug. de pecc.orig.3.
- 75) Aug. de gestis Pel.9-10.
- 75a) Though the doctrine of original sin cannot be regarded as purely African, see Bonner, Augustine's XII (1967) pp.97-116.
- 76) *dogmata ista fervebant*, Aug. de gestis Pel.46.
- 77) Marius Mercator, Comm. super nom. Cael. (Schwartz ACO I.v.p.66); de Plinval, Pélage, pp.254-9.
- 78) Though the controversy over Caelestius forced him to devote a large part of his treatise *De Natura* to the question of original sin.

- 79) Cf. Exp.45,11; 45,16-22; 47,19; 48,5f.; 50,6. See Evans, Pelagius: Inquiries and Reappraisals, pp.83-4.
- 80) Aug. de gestis Pel.46.
- 81) *ibid.*
- 82) Aug. de pecc. meritis I.1.
- 83) He preached in Carthage on September 13. Ep.140.13.
- 84) Aug. de pecc. mer. I.1: *ut ea causa in animo meo paulisper vinceret alias.*
- 85) Aug. Retr. II.23.
- 86) The *De Spiritu et Littera* of 412 was written in response to a further enquiry from Marcellinus on behalf of himself and a number of others in Carthage, Aug. de spir.et.litt.I.1.
- 87) Aug. Sermon 293 (PL. 38.1327-35).
- 88) Sermon 294.19 (PL 38.1347).
- 89) Aug. de gestis Pel. 25.
- 90) Sermon 294.19. Cyprian ep. 64.5 (CSEL III pp. 720-21).
- 91) Aug. ep. 156.
- 92) Aug. ep.179.1. Cf. Orosius, Apol.29.3., where *Phineus tuus* may refer to John.
- 93) Jerome, In Hier. Prol 4 (CC74 pp.174-5). On the controversy between Jerome and Pelagius see Evans' excellent chapter, Pelagius: Inquiries and Reappraisals, pp.6-25.
- 94) Aug. ep.166 on the Origin of the Soul; ep.167 on the biblical text James II.10: *quicumque enim totam legem servaverit, offendat autem in uno, factus est omnium reus.*
- 95) With the publication of the *De Natura et Gratia*. Augustine does not mention Pelagius by name, but was clearly aware that he was refuting him personally. Aug. de gestis Pel.47. Between writing the second and third books of the *De pecc. Mer. et Rem.* in 411/12,

- Augustine read Pelagius' *Expositiones*. He found there arguments against original sin, which, however, he chose to regard as not Pelagius' own, De pecc.mer.III.1.6.
- 96) Epp.157,166,167. Aug.ep.166.2. Orosius, Apol.3.
- 97) Aug. Retr.II.68; Orosius *ibid.*; Aug.ep.179.2.
- 98) Aug. ep.186.1.
- 99) See n.95.
- 100) Brown: JTS N.S. 21 (1970) p.65. However, the Greek Life of Melania, c.34, says they stayed seven years in Africa (Anal.Boll.22, 1903 p.25). This would put their departure back to 417.
- 101) Evans: Pelagius: Inquiries and Reappraisals pp.85-9.
- 102) In spite of Evans, *op.cit.*p.76. The letter to Evodius leaves no doubt as to Augustine's preoccupation at this time. See 1 and 13.fin.
- 103) See Reuter, Augustinische Studien pp.307-11; Adam, Causa finita est (Beiträge z.Gesch.d.christl.Altertums,Festgabe f.Ehrhard 1922, pp.1-23; Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums pp.330-43, 604-6; Ulbrich in REA 1963 pp. 51-75 and 235-258. The most recent study of the African-Roman relationship at this period is by W. Marschall, Karthago und Rom (series Päpste und Papsttum I, 1972).
- 104) Aug. ep. 175.2.
- 105) So I understand the difficult word *gratia*. See the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae s.v. VI 2210 13ff.
- 106) Aug.ep.175.4-5.
- 107) *ibid.*6.
- 108) Aug.ep.176.
- 109) *ibid.*4.
- 110) *ibid.*5.
- 111) Aug.ep.177.
- 112) *ibid.*2.
- 113) *ibid.*3.

- 114) *ibid.* 19.
- 115) Cf. the third canon of Constantinople (381). Mirbt⁶. 312.
- 116) See the fuller treatment of this question in Chapter VI, pp.162-4.
- 117) *impietas anathemanda est*, Aug.ep. 175.4.
- 118) This was appropriate in any case, for Pelagius, as a former long-term resident in Rome, could be regarded as under the Roman bishop's jurisdiction.
- 119) Aug. ep. 177.19.
- 120) See Marschall's review, *Papste und Papsttum I*, pp.136-44.
- 121) *Litterae familiares*, Aug. ep.186.2.
- 122) Aug. ep.177.2.
- 123) The *infirmas atque ineruditas animas*, *ibid.* 3.
- 124) *interrogandus quam dicat gratiam*, *ibid.* 3.
- 125) The concern that made him rebuke Evodius for pestering him with questions that few could understand, while matters involving the faith of many remained to be dealt with. Aug.ep.169.13. fin.
- 126) Cf. Augustine's two treatises to Jerome, epp.166, 167, each of which begins and ends with a similar deprecation of Augustine's own insight and expresses a desire to be taught by Jerome, v.esp. ep.167.21. - For flattery of Rome in order to gain an objective, Cf. the reception of the Roman legates at Chalcedon (Schwartz ACO. II.1.2.p.81; II.3.2. pp.93ff; See Morrison, *Tradition and Authority* p.67).
- 127) Chapter III; pp. 50-1, Chapter VI, pp.100-116. Cf. Innoc.ep.II.6.
- 128) Aug.epp.181.182.183.
- 129) Ep.181.1.
- 130) *nunc in consulendo*, *ibid.*
- 131) Cf. Innoc.ep.II to Victricius of Rouen, 2; ep.VI to Exsuperius of Toulouse 1; ep.XXV to Decentius of Gubbio, 2.

- 132) Aug.ep.181.8.
- 133) *ibid.*9.
- 134) *ibid.*6.
- 135) Aug.ep.182.2.
- 136) *ibid.*init. The text here is suspect. See Caspar, *Geschichte* p.605.
- 137) Aug.ep.182.6.
- 138) *ibid.*7.
- 139) Aug.ep.183.
- 140) Innoc.ep.XXXII.
- 141) See further on this pp. 122-5.
- 142) Caspar, *Geschichte* p. 333.
- 143) on *relatio* and *rescriptum* see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II pp.258ff.
- 144) Ep.181.9,9;182.2 (*ibis*); 4;ep.183.1.
- 145) Ep.183.1.
- 146) Sermo 131. (P.L.XXXVIII.734). Cf.Aug.ep.182.2: *ad omnia nobis ille rescripsit eo modo, quo fas erat atque oportebat apostolicae sedis antistitem*. Augustine also describes the synodal letters as *relationes*, *ibid.*
- 147) Sermo.131.10. *iam enim de hac causa duo concilia missa sunt ad sedem apostolicam, unde etiam rescripta venerunt. Causa finita est.*
- 148) E.g. Aug. de bapt.contra. Donat.VI.1.1. Cf.Adam op.cit.pp.14ff; Caspar, *Geschichte* p.342; Marschall op.cit. pp.54-71.
- 149) Adam.op.cit.p.18; Reuter op.cit.p.325: eine gewisse Anomalie. Adam's point that the Donatist and Pelagian crises presented different tactical problems for Augustine is a good one (op.cit.p.19). The Donatists did not recognise the Roman bishop, the Pelagians did.
- 150) See pp. 122-5.
- 151) Aug.de gestis Pel.66; Jerome ep.138 (CSEL 56 pp.265-6).

- 152) Innoc.ep.XXXIV: *sed in quem insurgeremus nec nomine appellatum legimus nec criminis aliqua ratione taxatum.*
- 153) The chronology is very tight here. Augustine could not have written the *de gestis Pelagii* earlier than the turn of the year 416/7, for he had sent for and received the *gesta* of the synod of Diospolis after May 416. On the other hand, at least four weeks must be allowed for the journey from Africa to Rome, and Innocent died on 12 March.
- 154) In his letter to John of Jerusalem, Augustine does not mention Jerome's letter. Possibly, though, it would not have been politic to do so, as John and Jerome were mutually hostile.
- 155) Innoc. ep.XXXIV:
- 156) *ibid.* Sent by way of Africa with a covering note for Aurelius (Innoc.ep.XXXIII).
- 157) Innoc.ep.XXXV:

CHAPTER VI

- 1) Caspar, *Geschichte* pp.300-1 has well noted how little expression the contemporary disasters of Rome find in Innocent's letters.
- 2) I.e. Epp. II,VI,XVII. (J-K 286,293,303). The title *Epistulae decretales* is prefixed to Ep.II in the Cologne and Freisingen collections (Wurm, *Studien und Texte*, pp.118-9).
- 3) Alaric's forces were defeated by Stilico at Pollentia in April 402. Alaric was still in Italy, however, until the late summer (Stein, *Histoire I*, p.550 n.154.)
- 4) Claudian, VI cons.Hon.494-60. Prudent.Carm.contra Symm.II.725-31.
- 5) A visit to Rome of a messenger of Victricius, the deacon Paschasius, is known from Paulinus, Ep.XVIII.1. The letter is dated 397/8 by Fabre, *Chronologie* p.68.
- 6) Id.Ep.XXXVII.1. Paulinus' admiration is expressed in Ep.XVIII.
- 7) The MSS show no variation: 15 February 404, Wurm, *Studien und Texte*, p.130. Tillemont's objection (*Mémoires t.X* pp.828-9) that the letter must be dated to 405, to give Victricius time to return home is unnecessary. There is nothing to forbid our supposing that Victricius took the letter home with him. (Coustant, P.L.XX.466).
- 8) Innocent, Ep.II.2ff. (P.L.XX.470-81).
- 9) Innocent does not comment on the fact that Victricius himself served as a soldier (Paulinus, Ep.18.7).
- 10) Siricius, Ep.V. (P.L.XIII.1155-62).
- 11) As e.g. Quesnel (*Opera S. Leonis* pp.774-6) or Tillemont, who preferred to "laisser les choses dans le doute" (*Mémoires t.X.p.793*).

- 12) Siricius, of course, had himself already expressed this thought. Ep.I (J-K 255) to Himerius, I: *portamus onera omnium qui gravantur: quin immo haec portat in nobis beatus apostolus Petrus, qui nos in omnibus, ut confidimus, administrationis suae protegit et tuetur heredes.* This is one of several points in which this letter is ahead of its time, see pp. 112-4.
- 13) Duchesne, *Origines du culte* (E.T.) pp. 91ff; Batiffol, *Siège apostolique*, pp.171-8.
- 14) On Gaul in the late 4th cent. see Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne*² I. pp.330ff.
- 15) Chapter III, pp. 52-3.
- 16) On rebaptism by the Donatists see Bareille in DTC III.1.cols.231-2.
- 17) The MSS vary here between *et in monasterio sedens* and *monasterium deserens*. Possibly *monasterio cedens* is to be read (Coustant).
- 18) Baptism, of course, removed the guilt attaching to fornication. The Church's attitude to second marriages on the part of the clergy was, however, so strong that even an illicit union was felt to disqualify. See Godefroy in DTC.2. cols. 2096-2101.
- 19) Eg. Ancyra canon 19 (Bruns I.69); Toledo I canon 16 (Bruns I.206).
- 20) For the relevant legislation see Gaudemet, *L'Eglise dans l'Empire romain* pp.144-9.
- 21) Cod.Theod.XX.I.163.
- 22) E.g. Cod. Theod. XVI.8.13.
- 23) Siricius Ep.I (J-K 255) Secc.2,3.
- 24) Epp.LIV.11 (394) and CXXV,20 (411). Jerome also dedicated to him his commentary on Zechariah.
- 25) Sec.1. *dilectio tua...ad sedem apostolicam referre maluit quid deberet de rebus dubiis custodire, potius quam usurpatione praesumpta quae sibi viderentur obtinere... eoque fit ut semper aliquid addiscat, qui postulat ut doceat. Mihi quoque ipsi de collatione docilitas accedit dum...ad proposita respondere compellor.*

- 26) On Bonosus see Bardy in D.H.G.E. IX.1096-7.
- 27) See Chapter III, n.58.
- 28) On Photinus see Loofs in Hauck's R-E³ 15 pp.372-4.
- 29) E.g. Cyprian Epp.LVII.1;LXX.1. Getzeny, Stil und Form, pp.98ff.
The standing orders of church synods are based on those of the Senate. See H. Gelzer in Hist.Zeitschr. 6 (1901). pp.198ff.
- 30) E.g. Dig.12,2,13 Sec.6; Trajan ap. Pliny ep.78. Cod. Theod.IX.5.1.
- 31) l.c. Sec.1: *portamus onera omnium qui gravantur.*
- 32) Mirbt/Aland 305.
- 33) Sec.20: *caput tui corporis.*
- 34) Sec.1: *portamus onera omnium qui gravantur.*
- 35) Sec.8: *eorum qui in nostro sunt corpore.*
- 36) Innoc. Ep.II.1.
- 37) Ep.XVII.14.
- 38) *ibid.*2.
- 39) E.g. Ep.II.5, 10; XVII.10.
- 40) E.g.Ep. XVII.2.
- 41) Ep.XVII.14.
- 42) Turner EOMIA 1.2.3.p.494. Mirbt/Aland 272. On its significance see Hess, The canons of the council of Sardica, pp.109-27.
- 43) Duchesne, Histoire II, p.226.
- 44) As in the case of Apiarius' appeal to Zosimus in 418. See Chapter VII, pp.149-50.
- 45) *etsi aequalis est munere, praerogativa tamen apostolicae sedis excellit*: P.L.XIII.582. Mirbt/Aland 302.
- 46) Batiffol, Siege apostolique, p.39. We have noted how commonly it occurs in Innocent's letters. It was adopted by synods, e.g. Toledo (400), Mansi III.1006E; Carthage (40L), Mansi IV 438A. See Leclercq in DACL XV.1.1427-31.

- 47) Rome's main rival was the increasing tendency to regard the Emperor's judgment as supreme, even in ecclesiastical matters; a view which eventually became dominant in the Eastern Church. See Jalland, *Growth of Papacy*, pp.211-8; 263-4.
- 48) Ep.XI.4 (P.L.XVI.946).
- 49) *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento* 32 (CSEL 79, p.239):
primatum egit, primatum confessionis utique, non honoris, primatum fidei, non ordinis.
- 50) Ep.43.9.7; c.d.ep.Pe^l.I.1; de bapt. II.1.
- 51) Ep.53.1.2.
- 52) Though he never drew the conclusion from this argument that the Roman bishop's decision was supreme in matters of faith. cf. *infra*, pp. 93-5.
- 53) Coll.Avell.13 (CSEL~~XXV~~ pp.54-8) Mirbt/Aland 305.
- 54) Matt. 16.18.
- 55) Preserved in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, ed. Dobschütz, TU XXXVIII.4. (1912) Mirbt/Aland 466.
- 56) Cf. Batiffol, *Siège apostolique* pp.151-78.
- 57) Ep.XXV (J-K 311).
- 58) Gaudemet, *op.cit.* p.445 suggests that until the 4th century Rome's metropolitan area was the whole of Italy. Batiffol, *Siège apostolique*, pp.153-4, dates the change to 355.
- 59) Turner EOMIA 1.2.p.120. Mirbt/Aland 263.
- 60) Rufinus H.E. X.6. (ed.Mommsen/Schwartz, GCS 9.2. pp.946-7) The gloss also appears in the African so-called "version of Caecilian". The compiler of that version, may, however, have taken it from Rufinus, Schwartz in *Sitzb. d. Preuss.Akad. d. Wiss.* 1930, pp.627-33.
- 61) P. Wagner, *Geschichtliche Entwicklung der Metropolitengewalt*, pp.21-46.
- 62) Coll.Avell. I.13 (CSEL XXXV p.4.).

- 63) Innoc.Ep.XXV.1-2. *Si instituta ecclesiastica, ut sunt a beatis apostolis tradita, integra vellent servare Domini sacerdotes, nulla diversitas, nulla varietas in ipsis ordinibus et consecrationibus haberetur....Quis enim nesciat aut non advertat, id quod a principe apostolorum Petro Romanae ecclesiae traditum est, ac nunc usque custoditur, ab omnibus debere servari; nec aut superduci aut introduci aliquid quod auctoritatem non habeat, aut aliunde accipere videatur exemplum? praesertim cum sit manifestum, in omnem Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Africam atque et insulas interiacentes, nullum instituisse ecclesias, nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus aut eius successores constituerint sacerdotes.....oportet eos hoc sequi quod ecclesia Romana custodit, a qua eos principium accepisse non dubium est, ne dum peregrinis assertionibus student, caput institutionum videantur omittere.*
- 64) Duchesne, *Origins* pp.87ff. Heiler, *Altkirchliche Autonomie*, p.100. On a point of liturgical detail arising from this letter see Connolly in *J.T.S.* 20 (1919) pp.215-26 and Capelle in *Recherches de Theol. anc. et médiévale* (1952) pp.5-16.
- 65) Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy* p.109.Cf.Duchesne, *Origins* p.95, n.1.
- 66) See note 13.
- 67) Epp.XXXVII-XLI $\frac{3}{4}$ J-K 314-8). All make their first appearance in Dionysius' collection, and from there obtained inclusion in the *Hispana*, Maassen, *Geschichte*, pp.247,438. They are all undated.
- 68) Ep.XXXVII (J-K 314), 1: *mirari non possumus, dilectionem tuam sequi instituta maiorum, omniaque quae possunt aliquam recipere dubitationem, ad nos quasi ad caput et ad apicem episcopatus referre, ut consulta videlicet sedes apostolica et ipsis rebus dubiis certum aliquid faciendumque pronuntiet. quod nos et libenter accipimus, et dilectionem tuam memorem canonum comprobamus.*
- 69) Ep.XXXVIII (J-K 315).

- 70) Ep. XXXIX (J-K 316).
- 71) Canon 10. (Gallo - Hispana) Turner EOMIA I. 2.p.210.
- 72) Ep. XL (J-K 317).
- 73) The location of Laurentius' see in Tuscany is doubted by some, e.g. Bennett in Smith & Wace DCB s.v. Laurentius (3), who prefers Senia in Dalmatia; Lanzoni, *Le diocesi d'Italia* would alter the text to *Sirmiensi*. The circumstances related in the letter make it probable that an Italian town is meant. Laurentius is, moreover, a common Italian name. Perhaps we should read *Senensi* for *Seniensi*. Cf. the frequent MS confusion between *Hipponensis* and *Hipponiensis*.
- 74) Ep. XLI (J-K 318).
- 75) On *defensores* of the Roman church see Coll.Avell II.83-4 (CSEL XXXV pp. 30) and Martroye, Rev. ⁿist. de droit français et étranger 1923. pp.597-622.
- 76) On Gaul see Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne*² I. pp.330ff.
- 77) Councils of Milan (390) and Turin (398).
- 78) Turner EOMIA I. p. 179.
- 79) Turner in JTS III (1902) p.378; XVII (1916) p.246; EOMIA I.p.180.
- 80) ZSS LI (1931) p.600; SB Berlin 27 (1930), p.632.
- 81) H.E. X.6. (ed. Mommsen/Schwartz, GCS 9.2. pp.966-7.
- 82) ZSS 1936, p.46 n.1.
- 83) Canon 3, Turner EOMIA I.2.3. p.494. Mirbt/Aland 272.
- 84) Mansi III.1005. Batiffol, *Siege apostolique*, p.193.
- 85) Innoc.Ep.III. The date of this letter is disputed, as none is given in the MSS (see Coustant, P.L.XX.483-5). Likewise the tradition of the address is in doubt, most manuscripts reading *in Tolosana synodo*. Just before the war, the Spanish scholar Jean Tarre prepared a critical edition of the letter in which he argued for the genuineness of the ascription to a Toulouse synod; but, so far as I know, this has not been published (See Wurm, *Studien und Texte*, p.128 n.55)

- 86) Ep.III.7. *Quae si singula discutienda mandemus, non modicos metus aut scandala Hispaniensibus provinciis, quibus mederi cupimus, de studio emendationis inducemus.*
- 87) Turner EOMIA I.2. p.120. Mirbt/Aland 263.
- 88) The starting point for modern discussion is Koch's Cyprian und der römische Primat (TU XXXV, 1910) - his Schicksalsbuch, as he himself later called it. Over the next thirty years, Adam, Caspar, Altaner, Poschmann and Koch himself all produced important books and articles on the subject, and since the war J. Ludwig and M. Maccarone have continued the discussion. A competent review of the question, with full citation of the literature, can be found in W. Marschall: Karthago und Rom (Päpste und Papsttum I), 1972.
- 89) E.g. Cyprian Ep.LV.24....*et cum sit a Christo una ecclesia per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus.*
- 90) So Cyprian, *de unitate ecclesiae* 4: *hoc erant utique et ceteri quod fuit Petrus.*
- 91) Optatus, *contra Parmen. Donatist.* 2,2. (CSEL26,36): *igitur non potes scire te in urbe Roma, Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse conlatam, in qua sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus, unde et Cephas est appellatus, in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur, ne ceteri apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent, ut iam schismaticus et peccator esset, qui contra singularem cathedram alteram conlocaret.*
- 92) Aug.Retract.I.21.1. Cf.Ep.LIII.2; in Joh.Ev.tr.VII.14.CXVIII.4. Sermon.CCXC.2.2.LXXVI.1. Adam, Cyprians Kommentar zu Matt.16.18. TQ.1912, pp.217-244.
- 93) See the Chapter on Pelagianism, pp. 93-5.
- 94) Turner EOMIA I.2.3.

- 95) Marschall attempts a synthesis, L.c., Adam, Causa finita est (Festschrift Ehrhard) sees a change in attitude. Bavaud attempts a synthesis also, Oeuvres de S. Augustin 28, p.593.
- 96) So Bavaud l.c.
- 97) K.F. Morrison, Tradition and Authority pp.37-74.
- 98) de bapt II.3.4.
- 99) Turner EOMIA I.2.3. pp.614-22.
- 100) Cross, JTS N.S. XII (1961) p.242.
- 101) Epp. X, XIV, XXXII, XXXIII and J-K 312 (Gonzalez, P.L.LXXXIV.657-8).
- 102) Cf. Audollent in DHGE 5.726-738. (Aurele de Carthage).
- 103) Supra p. 111.
- 104) Caspar, Geschichte pp.371-3).
- 105) J. Wittig in TQ (1902) pp.388-439 put forward the hypothesis that John Chrysostom was asked by Innocent to provide him with a successor from the Constantinopolitan clergy.
- 106) Eudoxia died in 404, Aurelius in 408, (Seeck, Regesten pp.309,315). In Constantinople, Atticus replaced Arsacius in 406 (Seeck.op.cit. p.311), in Alexandria Cyril succeeded Theophilus in 412 (Socr.VII.7) and in Antioch Alexander succeeded Porphyry about 413.
- 107) Ep.XIX. This letter was signed by 20 Italian bishops, doubtless at the annual metropolitan synod of the *diocesis suburbicaria*.
- 108) Ep.XXIII: *suis ordinibus ac locis*.
- 109) Theod. H.E. V.35.
- 110) Ep.XXIV.
- 111) 3rd canon of Constantinople. Mirbt/Aland 312.
- 112) Innocent does not fail to remind Alexander of Rome's prerogative as Peter's see, though he tactfully couples it with a reference to Peter's connexion with Antioch. Ep. XXIV.1.
- 113) Niceph. Callist. Hist. Eccl.XIV.27, (P.G. CXLVI.1143-50).

- 114) Ep.XXII. Maximian may be the same as the bishop mentioned in Ep.XVIII. He may thus have been in Rome when Alexander's delegation arrived.
- 115) Caspar, *Geschichte*, pp.324-5.
- 116) E.g. Ep.XXII; XXXVII.2; XVII.1. (Stuporem). Caspar p.304.
It became a favourite term of the papal chancery under Innocent's successors.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

- 1) The date is fixed by Innocent's death (12th March), given by Mart. Hieronym. (AASS Nov.II.1.p.31) and Zosimus Ep.I (P.L.XX.645) of 22nd March. 18th March is the only Sunday between these two dates. Duchesne in Lib.Pont.I. p.CCLI.
- 2) Zosimus Ep.I (P.L.XX.642ff).
- 3) See Chapter VI, pp. 112-3.
- 4) Chapter III pp. 38ff.
- 5) Canon IV (Hefele-Leclercq I.1.p.539).
- 6) The question has been much discussed, whether the other provinces of the diocese of Egypt (Pentapolis, Thebaid, Libya) possessed metropolitans of their own, as well as acknowledging the higher authority of Alexandria. Certainly they did later in the century, and there is no reason why they should not have done so in 325. See Hefele-Leclercq I.1. pp.553-8.
- 7) Jerome c.Ioann.Hieros. 37 (P.L.XXIII.407) Cf. John Chrysostom, Ad pop.antioch. hom. III.1. (P.G.XLIX.47): τῶν πόλεων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω κειμένων κεφαλὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις ἡ ἡμετέρα.
- 8) See Leclercq in DACL XIII.2. 2456ff.
- 9) Canon 2 (Hefele-Leclercq II.1. pp.21-2).
- 10) *ibid.* p.24.
- 11) Sulpicius Severus: Vita Martini 13.9. (C.S.E.L. I.p.123).
- 12) De obitu Val. 28 (CSEL 73, p.343).
- 13) Bruns, Canones II. pp.111-3; Mansi III.491-6.
- 14) Hefele-Leclercq II.1. pp.92-7.
- 15) *ibid.*
- 16) The date of this council has been much discussed. Babut (Le concile de Turin) produced an ingenious theory that the synodal acta stem from two distinct councils, the first in 405-7, the second in 417 (September).

- This was quickly countered by Duchesne (Rev.Hist.LXXXVII 1905) and never found acceptance among scholars - with the notable exception of Ernest Stein, who, however, later abandoned it: Cf.Byz.Zeitschr, 1934 p.125 and Rev.belge de phil.et.d'hist.XVII (1938) P.1036. Hefele-Leclercq (2.1.pp.129-33) decided in favour of 401, and this was accepted by most German scholars (e.g. Caspar). Zeller's demonstration (Westd.Zeitschr.1904 pp.91-102) that the seat of the praetorian prefecture was transferred from Trier to Arles not later than April 402 made it likely that the council of Turin was to be dated some years earlier. Palanque (RHEF 1935 pp.481-502) complemented this with several cogent arguments pointing to 398 as the most likely date, and this may be accepted.
- 17) Hilary of Poitiers in 359 knew only one Narbonensis (De synodis, P.L.X.479). Similarly Ammianus at the same period (XV.11). The Council of Aquileia, however, in 381, writes to the bishops *provinciae viennensium et narbonensium primae et secundae* (Kauffmann, Aus der Schule des Wulfila p.31). See Griffe, La Gaule chretienne I. p.335.
- 18) About 395. Palanque in REA XXXVI (1934) pp.359ff; Zeller, Westd. Zeitschr. XXIV (1905) pp.4ff.
- 19) The *Notitia Galliarum*, a civil list of this period, gives Vienne as the metropolis of Viennensis (*Notitia Dignitatum* ed.Seeck.p.269).
- 20) The fact that Gratian's rescript of 378-9 (Mirbt/Aland 305, CSEL XXXV pp.57-8) assumes the existence of metropolitans and ecclesiastical provinces throughout the West is no argument against the view taken in the text (so Griffe, op.cit.p.334). The general rules enunciated by Gratian will have been adapted to local conditions.
- 21) They admit to being unaware of the exact boundary between Viennensis and Narbonensis secunda, Canon I: *civitati eius, quae in altera provincia sita est cuius magnitudinem penitus nesciremus.*

- 22) Text in Babut, *Le concile de Turin* p.224.
- 23) Babut *op.cit.* p.226.
- 24) This is nowhere directly attested, but may be presumed from the context. So Duchesne *Histoire III* pp.229-30; Batiffol, *Le siège apostolique* p.214; Seppelt *op.cit.I*.p.151; Caspar *Geschichte I*.p.345.
- 25) Caspar *ibid*: eine unverzüglich ausgestellte Quittung für eine persönliche Dankesschuld.
- 26) Caspar argued, *l.c.*, that the six day interval between Innocent's death on 12 March and Zosimus' consecration on 18 March was suspiciously short and smacks of intrigue. In fact, however, there are other examples of a similar interval in this period (consecration of Celestine, Sixtus, Hilary) - Langgärtner, *Die Gallienpolitik der Päpste* p.35.
- 27) *Prosper Tiro Chronicon* s.a. 412 (MGH IX.p.466): *amicus et familiaris Constantii magistri militum, cuius per ipsum gratia quaerebatur, eaque res inter episcopos regionis illius magnarum discordiarum materia fuit.* It is presumably in accordance with Caspar's argument that de Plinval speaks of Zosimus' election as *grâce à la protection ostensible du patrice Constance* (Pélage p.313).
- 28) So Langgärtner *op.cit.*pp.44-5. Cf. Gregory of Tours *Hist.Franc.I*.30 (MGH *Scr.rer.merov.I*.1.23).
- 29) Völker saw the connexion with the pre-Diocletianic province, but not that it is a necessary consequence of Zosimus' use of the Trophimus tradition (ZKG XLV (1928) pp.359ff.). Langgärtner's view that Alpes maritimae were included in Arles' metropolitan area is therefore mistaken (*op.cit.*p.28). That province may have been small, but it existed in a full sense in its own right (cf. *Notitia Galliarum* ed. Seeck pp.273-4) and must have been mentioned by Zosimus had it been intended.

- 30) As Gellert, *Caesarius von Arelate* I.p.25.
- 31) Convocation of synods, ordination of metropolitans.
- 32) E.g.1: *quam auctoritatem ubique nos misisse manifestum est....hoc privilegium concessimus; 2: iussimus.... quisquis vero posthac contra apostolicae sedis statuta.*
- 33) E.g. Duchesne, *Histoire* III.p.230; Bardy in *Fliche-Martin* IV p.248. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the right of *litterae formatae* is granted to Patroclus personally - like the commission to the bishops of Thessalonica, but the position of metropolitan is stressed throughout as a prerogative of the see of Arles. Cf.Ep.X: *cum et tibi nostrum delegatum nosset officium.*
- 34) Zosimus Ep.VI.1. (P.L.XX.667): *vacuato eo quod obtinuisse a sede apostolica subreptitie comprobatis.*
- 35) *relatio tua*, Zosimus Ep.VI.1. (P.L.XX.667).
- 36) It is not expressly stated that Ursus and Tuentius were ordained to these two towns, but it is highly probable that they were. See Zosimus Ep.IV.3. (P.L.XX.663): *territoriis idebitis, ad Arelatensium civitatem antiquitus pertinentibus.*
- 37) *licet ipse diu expectatus fastidiose ferat sibi indutias attributas*, Zosimus Ep.V.1. (Gundlach's text in *MGH Epp.*III p.11).
- 38) See Chapter V pp. 78-9.
- 39) Ep.II 4 (P.L.XX.651) and Ep.III.3 (P.L.XX.656-7).
- 40) Ep.IV. It was drafted before Ep.V-VII (if the MS tradition is to be trusted) no doubt because it was to be conveyed to Africa by Basiliscus the sub-deacon, who was anxious to be on his way.
- 41) Ep.VI.
- 42) Ep.VII. Patroclus had presumably returned home while matters rested in Rome pending Proculus' expected arrival.

- 43) *unde metropolitani in te atque personam etiam apostolicae sedis auctoritate considera.* Langgärtner (op.cit.p.51) has almost certainly misconstrued this sentence.
- 44) Ep.VI.
- 45) This emerges from the letter to Patroclus, Ep.VII.1.
- 46) This seems better than to suppose Proculus deposed already in September 417 (Langgärtner op.cit.p.52). Though Ep.VII.1. speaks of a *damnatio Proculi* this probably refers to the condemnation of his ordinations, since Zosimus declares that news of the *damnatio* has been sent *per diversa terrarum*. Yet the circular letter says nothing of Proculus' deposition, only of Ursus' and Tuentius'.
- 47) Ep.X (P.L.XX.673-4).
- 48) Zosimus says he has written to Patroclus prior to this commending the church of Marseilles to his care, but no such letter is extant. This letter will have followed Proculus' formal deposition by a Roman synod.
- 49) It has too often been assumed that our lack of extant correspondence means that all was quiet (so Völker op.cit.p.363, Bardy in Fliche-Martin IV p.249).
- 50) E.g. Caspar, op.cit.I. p.348: dieses dilettantische Dreinfahren; Bardy op.cit. p.248: un brouillon infatué de son autorité; Batiffol, Siège apostolique p.220: cette maniere brusquée et peu mesurée qui caracterise en tout son action; de Plinval, Pélage p.313: il (Zosimus) était impulsif, cassant, plus autoritaire que vraiment energique. Contrast, however, Völker, op.cit.p.362, who sees Zosimus' policy as in jeder Hinsicht staatsmännisch.
- 51) E.g. Duchesne, Histoire III.p.592: Batiffol l.c.

- 52) Ep.X (P.L.XX.674) : *cur non putant unde istam habeas potestatem.*
The text here is a little dubious. See Gundlach in MGH Epp.III p.12.
- 53) Innoc. Ep.XIII.3 (P.L.XX.516) .
- 54) Boniface Ep.III (P.L.XX.756-8) .
- 55) *ibid.* 1: *qui (Maximus) ad ea confutanda, cum essent innumera, a decessoribus meis provinciali delegata cognitione, conventus, etiam dicitur evitasse.* Whether Zosimus is meant here is uncertain.
- 56) Boniface Ep.XIII (P.L.XX.772-4) .
- 57) Ep.III.1: *at ne aliquis praecocem forsitan iudicaret, et sibi qui absens est, licet sit quaesitus a nobis, reservatum esse nihil diceret.* I should prefer to read: *praecoque forsitan iudicari.*
- 58) Theophanes s.a. 5913 (ed. de Boor I p.84) .
- 59) Ep.III.2: *quidquid autem vestra caritas de hac causa duxerit decernendum, cum ad nos relatum fuerit, nostra, ut condecet, necesse est auctoritate firmetur.*
- 60) Ep.XII.2: *its ut peractis omnibus apostolicae sedi quidquid statueris te referente clarescat.*
- 61) *quod quidem facere sponte deberes,accede.*
- 62) Aug.Serm.131.10.
- 63) See Chapter V. p. 99.
- 64) Marius Mercator Comm.super nomine Caelestii (ed.Schwartz ACO I.5.p.66)
- 65) *ibid.*
- 66) Aug. de gratia Christi et pecc. orig.I.32 (CSEL 42 p.150) .
- 67) P.L.XLVIII.610-1 and 489-91.
- 68) Zosimus Ep.II.2-3 (P.L.XX.650) .
- 69) Zosimus Ep.VII.1 (P.L.XX.668) .
- 70) Innoc.Ep.XXVI.1 (P.L.XX.565) .

- 71) Zosimus Ep.II (P.L.XX.649-54). The day and month are unfortunately missing from the date of the letter, but it may be confidently ascribed to August or early September. - Zosimus' three letters on the Pelagians are found only in the Avellana collection, and are edited by Günther in C.S.E.L. XXXV, Nos. 45,46,50.
- 72) Cf. Innoc.Ep.XXIX.1 (P.L.XX.583); Ep.XXV.2 (P.L.XX.552).
- 73) 4, reading with Günther : *post relatio est destinata.*
- 74) 5: *numquam piguit in melius retorsisse iudicium.*
- 75) 6: *unde in praesenti nihil praecox immaturumque censuimus, sed innotescere sanctitati vestrae super absoluta Caelestii fide nostrum examen.*
- 76) Zosimus Ep.III (P.L.XX.654-61).
- 77) See the fragments of the gesta of 411 in Aug. de pecc.orig.3ff (CSEL 42, 168ff). Cf. Marius Mercator (who had the gesta in front of him when he wrote) Comm. super nomine Caelestii (ACO ed. Schwartz I.5. p.66).
- 78) See Chapter V pp. 88-90.
- 79) Innoc. Ep.XXVI.6 (P.L.XX.568).
- 80) Writing to Boniface, who probably knew the situation, Augustine is more open: *libellus eius catholicus dictus est.* Aug. c. duas epp. Pell.II.5 (CSEL 60, p.464). Bonner (St. Augustine of Hippo p.342 n.4) maintains that no question of a Roman pronouncement on doctrine arose here, only the question of fact as to whether certain persons held the doctrines attributed to them. As we have seen, this is not quite accurate.
- 81) Aug.de pecc. orig. 6 (CSEL 42 p.170): *in remissionem autem peccatorum baptizandos infantes non idcirco diximus, ut peccatum ex traduce firmare videamur, quod longe a catholico sensu alienum est.*

- 82) *ibid.* 8.
- 83) *Ibid: sed interposito duorum mensium tempore, donec rescriberetur ex Africa, resipiscendi ei locus sub quadam medicinali sententiae lenitate concessus est.*
- 84) When Augustine writes in similar vein to Boniface, who knew what had happened, he is simply providing him with an argument to save the Roman bishop's face. C. duas epp. Pell. II. 5 (CSEL 60 pp. 464-5).
- 85) But there were undoubtedly such sympathisers among the Roman clergy, See Chapter V, p. 85. and Zosimus may have been influenced by them.
- 86) Aug. de gratia Christi 36 (CSEL 42, p. 153).
- 87) Zosimus Ep. II 7 (P.L. XX. 653).
- 88) Pelagius Ep. ad Innocentium (P.L. XLVIII. 611) Cf. Innoc. Ep. XXVIII. 3 (P.L. XX. 573): *diligenter interrogandus (Pelagius), quam dicat gratiam, qua fateatur, si tamen iam fateatur, ad non peccandum iusteque vivendum homines aduivari.*
- 89) Pelagius, *Libellus fidei ad Innocentium* 26 (P.L. XX. 491); Celestius ap. Aug. de pecc. orig. 8. (CSEL. 42 p. 171).
- 90) Innoc. Ep. XXIX. 1 (P.L. XX. 582-3); Ep. XXX. 2 (P.L. XX. 590).
- 91) Hence Celestius' willingness to accept Innocent's but not Paulinus' statement, cf. n. 87. F. Floeri has brought out well that neither Innocent nor Zosimus ever refer explicitly to original sin, Augustinus Magister ii. pp. 755-61. Innocent, however, uses words that Augustine took as implying the doctrine of original sin: Aug. c. duas epp. Pell. II. 6 (CSEL 60, p. 466).
- 92) Cf. Zosimus Ep. XII (P.L. XX. 676): *cum tantum nobis esset auctoritatis, ut nullus de nostra possit retractare sententia.*
- 93) For the date see the libellus of Paulinus (Coll. Avell. 47. 10, CSEL 35, p. 110).

- 94) This seems to follow from the title of Zosimus' reply (Ep.XII., P.L.XX.676): *Zosimus Aurelio ac ceteris qui concilio Carthaginiensi adfuerunt dilectissimis fratribus in Domino salutem*. These will be Zosimus' own words, as the compiler of the Avellana collection copied the original of Zosimus' letter preserved in Africa.
- 95) On Firmus see Aug. Ep.172.2 (CSEL 44 pp.638-9), Cf. Augustine's letters at this period to Dardanus, a former praetorian prefect, Ep.187 (CSEL 57 pp. 81ff) and to Paulinus of Nola, Ep.186 (CSEL 57 pp. 45ff).
- 96) Prosper, *Chronicon* s.a. 418 (MGH IX pp.468-8).
- 97) Zosimus Ep.XII.2 (P.L.XX.678). The text is corrupt at this point.
- 98) Aug. c. duas epp. Pell.II.5 (CSEL 60, p.465). Marius Mercator *Comm. super nomine Caelestii* (ed. Schwartz ACO I.5 p.66).
- 99) P.L.XLIII. 379-86.
- 100) They are preserved in various canon collections (P.L.LXVII.218-22 and Maassen, *Geschichte* p.150). Cf. Prosper C. *Collatorem* 5 (P.L.LI.227).
- 101) The date of Zosimus' *Epistula Tractoria* is uncertain. Prosper put it after the great Carthage council of 1 May (*Chron* s.e.418, MGH IX pp.468-9); c. *Collatorem* 21, P.L.LI.271). Augustine (Ep.215.2, CSEL 57, pp.389-90) seems to place it before that council, but his words should not be pressed too literally. It seems most probable that it was published in June or July.
- 102) Fragments in Aug.ep.190.23 (CSEL 57 p.159); Prosper c.*Collatorem* 5 (P.L.LI.228); Celestine Ep. 21 (P.L. L.533). Cf. Marius Mercator, *Commonit. Caelest.* (ed.Schwartz ACO I.5 pp.66-7); Aug. *de pecc. orig.* 24 (CSEL 42 p.183).
- 103) Prosper c. *Collatorem* 5 (P.L. LI.228).

- 104) Prosper *Carmen de ingratis* I.78 (P.L.LI.101): *decernis* (Africa)
quod Roman probet, quos regna sequantur.
- 105) The documentation on this affair comes entirely from African documents included by Dionysius Exiguus in his Canon Collection (P.L.LXVII.181ff). Part of this material has been edited by Turner in EOMIA I.2.iii.pp.561ff.
- 106) This may be inferred from the letter of the Carthage council of May 419 to Boniface (Turner op.cit.pp. 598-9).
- 107) Canon 125 in Dionysius (P.L.LXVII.221)
- 108) See Chapter VI, pp. 119-20.
- 109) Ep. ad Bonifatium (Turner op.cit.p.601).
- 110) Though doubtless incomplete, the gesta of this council scarcely conceal the bitter disagreement provoked by the legates' attitude. Zosimus seems to have chosen men of his own character to represent him. That a fundamental matter of principle was at stake is clear from the council's letter to Boniface. Though they were willing to reinstate Apiarius (though not in his own church) and to accept provisionally the alleged Nicene canons, important areas of dispute remained. Cf. Turner op.cit. p. 598: *ea breviter insinuere debemus quae utrorumque concordia terminata sunt - non ea quae prolixis gestorum voluminibus continentur, in quibus salva quidem caritate non tamen sine parvo altercationis labore demorati sumus.*
- 111) Zosimus made one further intervention in Africa (Ep.XVI., P.L.XX.683-6) Here, however, he contented himself with protesting that laymen had been part of a synod which condemned a bishop, and sent no legates nor passed judgment on the merits of the case. Possibly the accused bishop had not come in person to Rome, and Africa was thus spared a repetition of the Apiarius affair.
- 112) Chapter VI, p.109.

- 113) Illyricum was untroubled during 418, Boniface Ep.IV.1. (P.L.XX.760).
- 114) Innoc. Ep.XXIII (P.L.XX.546-7).
Cf. Palladius Dial. 4.
- 115) The tone of the letter, as well as its evident priority in time to Ep.V. leads to this conclusion.
- 116) Boniface Ep. IV (P.L.XX.760-1).
- 117) Boniface *ibid.*2, mentions only Macedonia and Achaia, but that Rufus' vicariate was intended to include the whole of Dacia is proved by Boniface Ep.XV (P.L.XX.779-84), addressed to (among others) the bishops of Dacia., see esp. 3.
- 118) 15th Canon of Nicaea (Mansi II.681-2); 21st Canon of Antioch (Mansi II.1326). The 18th Canon of Antioch (*ibid.*II.1325) deals with such a case as Perigenes', but those canons were not, of course, recognised by Rome.
- 119) Mémoires t.XII.667.
- 120) P.L.XX. 758-60.
- 121) Tillemont's hypothesis because Ep.IV clearly describes Perigenes' case as unfamiliar to Rufus; that of Coustant because Ep.V.4 mentions a previous letter of Rufus, and the existence of such a letter is inconsistent with Ep.IV.1-2.
- 122) E.g. Boniface Ep.V appears last in the collection as we have it, as a letter of Leo to Anastasius; Boniface Ep.IV is given twice; Celestine Ep.III (J-K 366) is assigned to Boniface.
- 123) I am not, however, convinced that Ep.V.1-2 belong with the rest of the letter. The several exchanges of correspondence mentioned in 1 would probably have taken longer than the six months between March and September 419. But the lack of precise detail given by Boniface makes certainty difficult. - That Rufus did signify his assent is proved by Socrates, H.E. VII.36 (P.G.LXVII. 820.).
- 124) Innoc. Ep.XII.3 (P.L.XX.516).

- 125) v.supra p . 128.
- 126) Unless, that is, Ep.IV is incomplete as we have it.
- 127) E.g. Ep.IV.2. (P.L.XX.760) : *hanc enim gratiam dilectioni tuae apostolica sedes officio diligentis impertit; Ep.V.1. (P.L.XX.762) : intuetur enim te... beatissimus Petrus apostolus oculis suis, qualiter summi rectoris utaris officio.*
- 128) Boniface Ep.XV.2 (P.L.XX.780) : *apud Corinthum... synodum super eius discutiendo statu.*
- 129) Socrates H.E. VII.36 (P.G.LXVII.820) says Perigenes ministered in Corinth for the remainder of his days, which renders a formal deposition unlikely.
- 130) Ep.XV.5 (P.L.XX.782). this conclusion seems to follow from the statement: *si placet recensere canonum sanctiones, reperietis quae sit post ecclesiam Romanam secunda sedes, quaeve sit tertia.*
- 131) Why he should write especially to the bishop of Thessaly is a mystery, since Corinth was metropolis of Achaia. Perhaps the superscription of the letter is faulty.
- 132) Ep.XV.1 (P.L.XX.779) : *quippe quam (ecclesiam universalem) evangelio teste in se noverit esse fundatam.*
- 133) Ep. XIV.1. (P.L.XX.777) : *ex eius enim ecclesiastica disciplina per omnes ecclesias... fonte manavit.*
- 134) *ibid. Hanc ergo (sedem) ecclesiis toto orbe diffusis velut caput suorum certum est esse membrorum.*
- 135) Ep.XIV.1: *Nicaenae synodi non aliud praecepta testantur; Ep.XV.1. manet. beatum apostolum Petrum per sententiam dominicam universalis ecclesiae ab hoc sollicitudo suscepta.*
- 136) Ep.XIII (P.L.XX.776) : *de nostro non esse iudicio retractandum.*

- 137) Ep.XIII.1: *vice sua beatus apostolus Petrus ecclesiae Thessalonicensi cuncta commisit, ut intelligat se sollicitudinem manere multorum; 2: convenire se (universos fratres) citra tuam conscientiam minime debuisse; Ep.XIV.4: episcopos per Illyricum citra conscientiam coepiscopi nostri Rufi nullus ordinare praesumat; Ep.XV.4: qui ecclesiam Thessalonicensem sibi (episcopis Romanis) semper familiarem et in collegii caritate famulantem.*
- 138) Ep.XIII.1: *nolo perturbatione maris conciti terrearis...omnis tumor fluctuum, omnis procella cessabit, eo favente nisibus tuis, cui soli mare pervium fuit.*
- 139) Cod. Theod. XVI.2.45
- 140) Ep. XIII.1.
- 141) Ep.XIV.4.
- 142) Ep.XV.5.
- 143) Boniface Ep.X (P.L.XX.769-70): *unde maiestas tua... universis remotis quae diversorum episcoporum subreptionibus per Illyricum impetrari dicuntur.....*
- 144) Boniface Ep.XI (P.L.XX.770-1).
- 145) *ne venerabilis ecclesia sanctissimae urbis privilegia a veteribus constituta omittat.*
- 146) Sitzb. d. bay.Akad.Wiss.phil-hist.Klasse 1891 pp.771-887.
- 147) L'Illyricum ecclésiastique in Byz.Zeitschr.I (1892) pp.531-544.
- 148) Mommsen, Gesammelte Schriften VI, pp.585-6.
- 150) Neues Archiv XIX (1894) pp.433-5 (Gesammelte Schriften VI.pp.586-8).
- 149) Op.cit. pp.
- 151) Seeck, Regesten pp. lff.
- 152) So Streichhan, ZSS Kanonist.Abt. 43 (1922) p.362.
- 153) A photocopy has kindly been made available to me by Dr. Chrysos. His paper has, I believe, been published in Kleronomia IV (1972).
- 154) Boniface Ep.VII (P.L.XX.766-7).

- 155) Such as the titles of Honorius, *domine sancte, pater auguste venerabilis*; the phrase *regnum nostrum*; the adjective *sanctissima* as applied to the city of Rome (though emendation of *sanctissimae* to *sanctissima* would be easy; and the expression *viri illustres praefecti praetorio*, already noted by Friedrich. The last point is the most tangible objection of all, since it must imply a collegiality in the office, which did not exist in the fifth century, see Stein In Rh.Mus.LXXIV (1925) p.373.
- 156) Boniface Ep.V.4. (P.L.XX.763) .
- 157) Zosimus Ep.XIV (P.L.XX.678-80) .
- 158) Coll.Avell.14.1 (CSEL 35 p.59): *cum diu episcopus Zosimus gravi incommodo laboraret usque adeo, ut frequenter mortuus iactaretur.* Zosimus died on December 26 (lib.Pont.ed.Duchesne I p.225) .
- 159) The details of the schism are gleaned almost entirely from the invaluable collection of letters, Coll.Avell.Epp.14-36 (CSEL 35. pp.59-82) .
- 160) Invitum, ep.17.3. This is portrayed by the presbyters as an added recommendation of his legitimacy.
- 161) *ibid.* 3-4.
- 162) See Chapter I, pp. 6-7.
- 163) *voluntas sua, hoc est Dei iudicium*, *ibid.*5. The presbyters are thus asserting their primitive right to be the judges of the Church.
- 164) As Duchesne (Histoire III p.250) tentatively attempts by opposing Patroclus and Boniface.
- 165) An indication of this is perhaps to be found in the fact that in the re-edition of the Roman calendar which took place under Boniface, all the recent popes have their anniversary, with the sole exception of Zosimus. See De Rossi-Duchesne Martyr.hieronym (Bolland AASS Nov. II.1. p.XLIX) .

- 166) Paulinus of Nola (Coll.Avell.ep.25) , Aurelius of Carthage (ep.27) ,
Augustine, Alypius, Evodius and others (ep.28) .
- 167) Ep. 29.3-5.
- 168) Coll.Avell.4 (CSEL 35 pp.47-8) .
- 169) Boniface Ep.VII (P.L.XX.766-7) .
- 170) Boniface Ep. VIII (P.L.XX.768-9) .
- 171) On 10 September, the first Sunday after Boniface's death
(Lib-Pont. ed. Duchesne I. pp.CCLI-CCLII) . Aug.Ep.209.1.
(CSEL 57 p.347) .
- 172) Aug.Ep.192 (CSEL 57 p.165) .
- 173) e.g. Ep.XVII.9 (P.L.XX.532) ; Ep.XXV.2 (P.L. 552) .
- 174) Ep.II.2 (P.L.XX. 470) .
- 175) Ep.XVII.1 (P.L.XX.527) .
- 176) *adiuvante sancto apostolo Petro*, Ep.II.2 (P.L.XX.470) ; *ore
apostolico*, Ep.XVII.14 (P.L.XX.536) .
- 177) e.g. Ep.II.1 (P.L.XX. 649) .
- 178) Ep.VI.1 (P.L.XX. 666) ; Ep.IX.1 (P.L.XX. 670) .
- 179) Ep.II.1; IX.2; XII.1; cf. Ep.I.1; IX.1; X.1.
- 180) Ep.II.1 (P.L.XX 649) ; cf.Ep.XII.1 (P.L.XX.676) .
- 181) Ep.XII (P.L.XX 676ff) .
- 182) Siricius Ep.I.1 (P.L.XIII.1133) .
- 183) See n.171.
- 184) Boniface Ep.XIII.1 (P.L.XX.775) .
- 185) Epp.XIV, XV.

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