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THE NACHLEBEN OF PELAGIUS UP TO
THE CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE

by
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This thesis has been presented to
the School of Graduate Studies
of the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ABSTRACT

The Nachleben of Pelagius up to the Carolingian Renaissance

The Christian era made the Old and the New Testaments the basis for a new code of human behaviour. The British writer Pelagius Britto (circa 360 to circa 430), following well recognized and explored orthodox lines of thought, believed that human nature, free will and Christian law were linked to the possibility of striving for inpeccantia. The subsequent influence of these concepts and of other precepts from the moral teaching of Pelagius in the following four centuries are the subject of this thesis.

Most previous research on Pelagius has been theologically oriented. However this thesis, without contributing anything to the on-going debate about the nature of Pelagian theology, explores rather the political reasons for the official condemnation of Pelagius and takes up the challenge raised in the recent literature about this shift of emphasis.

Despite the official condemnation, Pelagius's ideas persisted, in part in manuscripts whose authorship was attributed to some of the most respected Church Fathers during the period of our study.

Chapter I of the thesis passes through the known facts of Pelagius's personality, activity, his thought, then the successive condemnations. Chapters II, III and IV discuss his friends and enemies, the anti-Pelagian writings of Augustine, Jerome, Orosius

and Marius Mercator, and then advances to explore the geographic origin of Pelagius's ideas, and the situation in Britannia and Gallia from 400 to 680 AD.

Chapter V considers the British-Irish role in Pelagianism, and Chapter VI the transmission of Pelagian thought through manuscripts in the pre-Carolingian Middle Ages. Chapter VII demonstrates the major and previously unrecognized influence of the ideas of Pelagius Britto from the early fifth century on Alcuin, four centuries later. Alcuin played a primary role in founding the new cultural, pedagogical and religious principles of the Carolingian Renaissance. Chapter VIII presents further 9th century evidence, including the influence on a Carolingian Capitulary of the Pelagian chronology of history.

The result of the investigation is to show that the impact of Pelagius—especially his indirect influence through citation of his writings, the adoption of his moral and educational concepts, and acceptance of his emphasis on free will linked with individual responsibility to strive for inpeccantia, Deo iuvante,—has been very considerable but not previously recognized.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title: The Nachleben of Pelagius
up to the Carolingian Renaissance

Abstract.....	p. i
Title page.....	p. iii
Table of Contents.....	p. iv
List of Abbreviations.....	p. vi
Preface.....	p. vii
Introduction.....	p. 1
 Chapter I	
THE STATE OF OUR KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PELAGIUS (<u>Stand der Forschung</u>).....	p. 10
1) The Sources.....	p. 10
2) The Physical Portrait of Pelagius.....	p. 14
3) The Thought of Pelagius.....	p. 16
a) Sin as Distinct from Original Sin.....	p. 17
b) Christian Baptism, <u>Inpeccantia</u> and Christ's Law of Love.....	p. 25
c) Pelagius's Chronology of History: The <u>Condiciones temporum</u>	p. 28
4) The Political and Ecclesiastical Context: Acquittals and Condemnations.....	p. 38
 Chapter II	
ENEMIES AND FRIENDS OF PELAGIUS. LATER "SEMI-PELAGIANISM" (<u>Status Quaestionis</u>)....	p. 68
1. Augustine.....	p. 69
2. Jerome.....	p. 73
3. Orosius.....	p. 80
4. Marius Mercator.....	p. 82
5. Prosper of Aquitaine.....	p. 85
6. Caelestius.....	p. 87
7. Julian of Aeclanum.....	p. 95
8. Pelagianism and Antiochene Christianity.....	p. 102
 Chapter III	
THE GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN OF, SUPPORT FOR AND OPPOSITION TO THE IDEAS OF PELAGIUS.....	p. 110
The Christian Church in Britannia.....	p. 111
Pelagius Outside Britannia.....	p. 114
The Eastern and Western Traditions.....	p. 119
The Possibility of Druidic Influences.....	p. 121
Pelagianism and "Semi-Pelagianism".....	p. 125

Chapter IV	BRITANNIA AND GALLIA FROM 406 TO 680.....	p.	132
	The Historical Spread of Pelagianism.....	p.	132
	The Abbey of Lérins. and Faustus.....	p.	136
	<u>Vita Germani</u>	p.	144
	Britannia and Gallia after 429.....	p.	153
Chapter V	BEDE, THE IRISH AND PELAGIANISM.....	p.	161
	Bede.....	p.	167
	Mayo of the Saxons.....	p.	182
Chapter VI	THE MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION OF PELAGIAN TEXTS IN THE PRE-CAROLINGIAN PERIOD.....	p.	187
	<u>De vita Christiana</u>	p.	190
	<u>Libellus fidei</u>	p.	193
	<u>Expositiones XIII epistularum Pauli</u>	p.	197
	Pelagius, Cassiodorus and the Vulgate.....	p.	200
	Isidore of Seville.....	p.	207
	The Irish Connection.....	p.	209
	The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries.....	p.	218
	<u>Epistula ad Demetriaden</u>	p.	221
	<u>Epistula ad Claudiam sororem</u> <u>de virginitate</u>	p.	224
	The Manuscripts Attributed to Pope Sixtus III.....	p.	225
	<u>De induratione cordis Pharaonis</u>	p.	227
	<u>Ad Caelantiam</u>	p.	229
Chapter VII	PELAGIUS AND ALCUIN.....	p.	237
	<u>Liberum arbitrium—libertas</u>	p.	241
	<u>Innocentia</u>	p.	249
	<u>Justitia—aequitas</u>	p.	250
	<u>Inpeccantia</u>	p.	252
	"Sectamini caritatem"...quia in vestra est potestate.....	p.	260
Chapter VIII	ADDITIONAL NINTH CENTURY EVIDENCE.....	p.	272
	Florilegia.....	p.	272
	Pelagian Chronology in a Carolingian Capitulary.....	p.	275
	CONCLUSION.....	p.	292
	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	p.	302
	Diffusion Zones of <u>Expositiones</u> ... of Pelagius.....	p.	354

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALG	A. Kunzelmann and A. Zumkeller, editors. <u>Sankt Augustinus. Der Lehrer der Gnade. Lateinisch-deutsche Gesamtausgabe seiner antipelagianischen Schriften.</u> Vols. 1, 2, 7. Würzburg, 1955-71.
BA	<u>Bibliothèque augustiniennne.</u> Bruges, 1947-1975.
Caspari	C. P. Caspari, <u>Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten aus den zwei letzten Jahrhunderten des kirchlichen Altertums und dem Anfang des Mittelalters.</u> Christiania (Oslo), 1902.
CCL	<u>Corpus Christianorum. Series latina.</u> Steenbrugge-Turnhout 1953-.
CCG	<u>Corpus Christianorum. Series graeca.</u> Turnhout, 1977-.
CCM	<u>Continuatio mediaevalis</u> of CCL only (see above).
Clavis	E. Dekkers and E. Gaar, <u>Clavis Patrum latinorum.</u> Steenbrugge, 1951 (SE III, 1951); 2 ed., 1961.
CMCS	<u>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies.</u>
CPG	M. Geerard, <u>Clavis Patrum graecorum.</u> Turnhout, 1974-.
CSEL	<u>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.</u> Vienna, 1866-.
HTR	<u>Harvard Theological Review.</u>
JTS	<u>Journal of Theological Studies.</u>
Kenney	J. F. Kenney, <u>The Sources for the Early History of Ireland.</u> Vol. 1, New York, NY, 1929.
L&S	M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, <u>Bibliography of Celtic Latin Literature, 400-1200.</u> Dublin, 1985.
Mansi	J.-D. Mansi, ed., <u>Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio.</u> lib. 4, 53 vols., Paris, 1759-98.
Martini	C. Martini, "Quattuor fragmenta Pelagio restituenda," <u>Antoniarum XIII</u> (1938): 293-334.
MGH	<u>Monumenta Germaniae historica.</u> Hannover-Berlin, 1836-.
NPNF	P. Schaff and H. Wace, <u>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church.</u> Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1950-.
NTS	<u>New Testament Studies.</u>
PBA	<u>Proceedings of the British Academy.</u> London.
PG	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina.</u> J.-P. Migne, ed., 162 vols., Paris, 1857-66.
PL	<u>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina.</u> J.-P. Migne, ed., 221 vols., Paris, 1844-64.
PLS	<u>Supplementum</u> to PL above. A. Hamman, ed., Paris, 1958-74.
RHE	<u>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique.</u>
SE	<u>Sacris Erudiri.</u> Steenbrugge.
Souter	A. Souter, <u>Pelagius' Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul.</u> Texts and Studies. IX, 1-3, Cambridge, 1922-26.
Stegmüller	F. Stegmüller. <u>Repertorium biblicum medii aevi.</u> 11 Vols., Madrid, 1940-1980.
TU	<u>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur.</u> Leipzig, 1882-.

PREFACE

As I reach the final stage in my thesis writing, it remains for me to thank those who have been of so much help during the process, beginning with my supervisor, Professor Denis Brearley. He was at all times a constructive, demanding and generous patron de thèse; most of all he understood the important points I sought to demonstrate in the drafts he saw. I am also indebted to Professor Roger Blockley whose thoughtful suggestions, reactions and comments were most helpful.

Dr. Rosamond McKitterick, a Fellow of Newnham College, Cambridge, welcomed me and encouraged me in the conclusions I was reaching during a visit to England for the purposes of research in April 1987.

Thanks are also due to many others for their comments and advice, including Professors Jacques Stiennon, Emilien Lamirande, and Martin McNamara. Through Professor John Yardley, Chairman of the Department of Classical Studies at the University of Ottawa, I particularly wish to thank all past and present members of the Department who gave me advice, help and encouragement.

For their understanding, support and help, I am thankful to Leslie MacDonald in Ottawa, to Theo de Bruyn in Toronto, and to Jenny Baldwin in London, England.

I also wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities of Ontario, whose support under several

years of an Ontario Graduate Scholarship made the writing of this thesis possible.

I have throughout found the Morisset Library of the University of Ottawa to be a special place with a devoted and friendly staff who have gone well beyond the call of duty in helping me locate works needed. Bibliothécaires qui m'avez tant aidée, et toujours avec gentillesse et sourire, soyez-en remerciés.

I also wish to thank sincerely the British Library, the libraries of St. Paul and Carleton Universities, and of Cambridge University for their courtesy and hospitality.

I could never have come this far without the devoted belief in me, assistance and support of my family.

My deepest gratitude goes to my husband, who has at all times encouraged me throughout this work, for practical support and for always believing in me.

Introduction

When I wrote my Master's thesis on Stilicho, magister utriusque militiae to Theodosius the Great and to Honorius, the first sentence of my Introduction read: "Stilicho's historical portrait has been affected by fifteen centuries of tendentious and negative interpretations which started to appear immediately after his assassination." If we replace the first word of the sentence ("Stilicho") with "Pelagius" and add "character" before the last word, (i.e. "character assassination"), a striking parallel can be argued between what happened to Pelagius in the socio-religious sphere and the fate of Stilicho in the Roman political world after the partitio imperii in 395 AD.

This parallel is not without foundation because the situations of the two men show similar elements, which are linked to a rapidly worsening relationship between the two parts of the Later Roman Empire. Also, in Pelagius's case, history has been written along mainly theological and essentially Augustinian lines.

The contemporary context of administrative and theological duplication and rivalry (between East and West) in the Roman Empire, has largely been ignored in discussion of the Pelagian controversy. A further complication after the fifth century was the rapid political disaggregation of the Western Roman Empire. In the West the Church itself soon appeared to become the central

administration despite the persistence of local Christian differences. However, the Church was to be torn repeatedly over the following centuries by two opposing tendencies: Pelagian freewill and inpeccantia versus Augustinian double predestination.

For Peter Brown: "Pelagius and Augustine were both religious geniuses. Both men made unambiguous sense of a conglomerate of ideas and attitudes which men of a previous age had been content to leave undefined. Both men were revolutionaries, and the controversy which followed their disagreement, far from being a purely academic wrangle, was a crisis in which the spiritual landscape of Western Christendom can be clearly seen for the first time." (1) Brown notes Adolf Harnack's highly relevant view that "there has never, perhaps, been another crisis of equal importance to Church history in which the opponents have expressed the principles at issue so clearly and so abstractly." (2)

The corpus of Pelagius's work is conveniently listed in Lapidge and Sharpe: A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400-1200 (Dublin, 1985), pp. 3-8 and 330-331; in Quasten's Patrology, volume IV (Rome, 1985), V. Grossi, "Adversaries and Friends of Augustine. Pelagius," pp. 468-476; or more recently in the Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Tome XII, première partie (Paris, 1985), Pélage Britto, Britannus, Britannicus, cols. 2895-2902.

Generations of clerics have written weighty tomes on the virtues of gratia and the triumph of Augustine, while Pelagius has been regularly portrayed as the superficial and shadowy figure of

a "heresiarch" right down to our time. The historical perception of the Later Roman Empire began to change significantly only in the 19th century. A new awareness of Pelagius as well as the positive identification of Pelagius as the real author of several works previously attributed to Augustine, Jerome, Pope Innocent or others all make necessary a serious reevaluation of Pelagius and his ideas.

Even the Western Church itself rejected extreme Augustinian notions of predestination within a short time—a quarter century—of Augustine's death. In our own era far from all members of the Christian Church maintain the principle that the "origin of Evil lies in original sin transmitted at conception to everyone." Consequently, the negative verdict on Pelagius is in particular need of a thorough reassessment by researchers.

Paulinus of Nola and Vincent of Lérins already rejected anti-Pelagianism in their own times. The learned Cassiodorus seems to have known some of Pelagius's texts. A little later, although the Irish monks accepted the condemnation of Pelagius as a heresiarch, they nevertheless continued to study and transmit his work, often even under the real name of the author. Later on, Alcuin (and Erasmus much later yet) were to cite and praise Pelagius's works, which in their times went under the name of Augustine or Jerome.

Pelagius is in our days perceived as a misinterpreted, complex personality, yet one endowed with attractive qualities. The very people whom one might expect to be most critical of him—

modern Catholic scholars such as Georges de Plinval, Gisbert Greshake and Otto Wermelinger—express their appreciation for Pelagius and a feeling of genuine loss for what might have been.

Historians and church historians in Britain are now showing fresh interest in Pelagius and his ideas. Some scholars like Myres and Morris have attempted to explain the local upheavals of social and political history while seeking a better understanding of Pelagius and of what the first known British author stood for. Church historians like Frend and especially Markus have emphasized the Christian orthodoxy and the universality of many ideas of Pelagius.

Furthermore, manuscript research recently undertaken by scholars such as David Dumville indicates intense interest and activity in the copying of manuscripts of the text of Pelagius and a likely British stage in the transmission of Pelagius's thought to the Irish Church. This link might have been established during the seventh century through Wales to Ireland. There were Irish settlements in Wales and Scotland as well. Some scholars have suggested a birthplace for Pelagius in precisely such a place.

Underlying the Carolingian reform in education, with its emphasis on missionary optimism and morals, there is discernible a hitherto unspecified Pelagian element which this thesis demonstrates and clarifies. While looking for Pelagian themes and ideas, often identifiable by the use of certain key words, the thesis will also take into account explicit mention of Pelagius's

name in writers from the fifth to the mid-ninth century.

While the question of manuscripts and their availability to pre-Carolingian and Carolingian authors will not be neglected, emphasis will be laid on the history of the ideas of Pelagius and their diffusion during the period up to the mid-9th century.

The research will proceed with a brief statement of the present standing of the question as typified in such writers as:

1. A. Souter. Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St Paul. I-III. Cambridge (1922).
2. H. Zimmer. Pelagius in Irland. Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Literatur. Berlin (1901).
3. G. de Plinval. Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme. Lausanne (1943).
4. R. F. Evans. Pelagius: Inquiries and Reappraisals. London (1968)
5. B. Bischoff. "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter", Sacris Erudiri 6 (1954), 257-9; Mittelalterliche Studien I (Stuttgart, 1966), 257-8.
6. M. Laistner. "Antiochene Exegesis in Western Europe during the Middle Ages", HR (1947), 19-31.

The relevant texts in the

Patrologia latina [PL] (and Supplementum I).
Corpus Christianorum (CC), series latina.
CC continuatio medievalis.
CSEL (the Vienna corpus)
Sources Chrétiennes

have been checked for their references to Pelagius.

Other more isolated references, allusions and echoes and the extent of Pelagius's thought reflected in them will be estimated.

While the Pelagian material is often fragmentary or cited through the medium of tendentious anti-Pelagian treatises, much

can be gleaned from early mediaeval manuscripts, florilegia, homiliaries, capitularies and statutes.

Of course, only rarely were the ideas or the works of Pelagius acknowledged as his during the period from the fifth to the ninth century, because of the earlier formal condemnation of Pelagius. Thus, the fascinating Amalarius of Metz (circa 775-circa 850), who had been to Constantinople on a diplomatic mission, was accused by the deacon Florus of heresy and Pelagianism in 838 AD. In an amusing irony of fate, Florus equated "Pelagian" heresy with Amalarius's use of the term "electi", the elect. Florus the Deacon thus allots to Predestination a most unexpected ancestry. Nevertheless, this picaresque accusation shows that Pelagius the man was normally still perceived as a heresiarch by the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The ideas of Pelagius never disappeared, even if the word 'Pelagian' became a negative epithet. Indeed, some of his ideas were themselves directly incorporated into the ethical instruction of the Carolingian revival.

Just before his death the Augustinian scholar Georges de Plinval wrote that he himself not only approved of several ideas for which Pelagius had been expressly condemned but also hoped to see their eventual harmonious synthesis with the ideas of Augustine. De Plinval listed several of these ideas of Pelagius in the last lines he wrote about Gisbert Greshake's book. (3)

De Plinval was very conscious of the importance of the

hopeful, moral message of Pelagius and of its ready acceptance by the Irish missionaries in the early Middle Ages.

In reassessing the importance of the ideas of Pelagius, one must start with the objective evidence on this "most excellent Christian," to use the words of a younger Augustine describing Pelagius. (4) There is no doubt that Pelagius was appreciated by some Eastern Christians, as his friendship with Patriarch John of Jerusalem attests. Pope Zosimus, another "Easterner," in a letter of 21 September 417 advised the African bishops (who were fractious because their condemnation of Pelagius was going unheeded in Rome) as follows: "Amate pacem, diligite caritatem, studete concordiam."

(5)

Although Zosimus had to reverse his stand the very next year (forced by the Imperial Rescript of 30 April 418 and the condemnation of Pelagius at a plenary Council of over 200 African bishops in Carthage on 1 May 418), Zosimus will always be remembered for this exasperated *cri-du-coeur*.

The inspiration to tackle such a complex problem as the perception of Pelagius over four centuries was provided by a careful study of similar questions which arose during my research into the period around 400 AD concerning Stilicho. The impasse in which Stilicho found himself related to the divergence of views between the two parts of the Empire. The same type of historical Konjunktur might be said to have been at work—although in Pelagius's case it affected the socio-political and

theological spheres, rather than the political domain. It is tempting to think of measuring Pelagius, like Stilicho, as a Roman historic footnote to Alaric. However, in the history of ideas Alaric is now long forgotten, whereas the ideas of Pelagius have survived and adapted themselves well to the needs of succeeding generations.

During the Carolingian Renaissance, Western European ideas showed a fresh optimism, along with Alcuin's emphasis on pedagogy. As Rosamond McKitterick has demonstrated, Carolingian capitularies required the teaching of reading and writing to all boys whatever their station in life. Instruction in Christian morals was extremely important, perhaps more important than instruction in the Christian faith. This tendency was identified as Carolingian moralism, "le moralisme carolingien." (6) This remarkable and seemingly new spirit of "moralisme carolingien" originated in Britain. It follows the identifiable transmission of certain ideas that appealed especially to the English and Irish monks who were foremost among the prime movers in the Carolingian Renaissance.

Inevitably, certain ideas (such as the Celtic and Nordic concept of untrammelled liberty linked to a law of nature under which one's ancestors were considered to have lived justly) kept recurring and led back all the way from Alcuin and his peregrini through the Celtic Age of Saints to Pelagius Britto and what may indeed be identified as le moralisme pélagien.

Previous scholars (such as V. Serralda) discussing Alcuin have mentioned Pelagius only briefly and scathingly in passing, as when dealing with Faustus of Riez, for example. Even then Serralda showed no realization that Faustus also came from the Britannic tradition. The significant influence of Pelagius on Alcuin—as well as on the Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries—has thus simply been missed by previous researchers.

This thesis aims to trace and follow the ideas of Pelagius up to the Carolingian Renaissance. They were powerful ideas. Although they were hitherto mostly presented in a distorted way through the prism of Augustine and Jerome, they now deserve to be studied in their own right and for their own integrity and influence.

Notes to Introduction

- (1) P. Brown, Augustine of Hippo, London (1967), p. 368.
- (2) Brown, loc. cit., his footnote No. 3 cites A. Harnack's History of Dogma, New York, NY, 1961, p. 169.
- (3) G. de Plinval, "L'heure est-elle venue de redécouvrir Pélage?" Revue des études augustinienes 19 (1973): 158-162, on Gilbert Greshake's Gnade als konkrete Freiheit. Eine Untersuchung zur Gnadenlehre des Pelagius, Mainz, 1972.
- (4) Augustine, De peccatorum meritis, 1 and 6.
- (5) PL 45, 1722.
- (6) R. McKitterick, The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789-895. London, 1977, pp. 7-8.

Chapter I

THE STATE OF OUR KNOWLEDGE ABOUT PELAGIUS (Stand der Forschung)

1) The Sources.

The minimum accepted corpus of Pelagius's works is listed in the article by Vittorino Grossi in Quasten's Patrology volume 4, ed. Angelo Di Bernardino, 1986, pp. 463-486. This conservative listing of the corpus needs extending and clarifying in the light of the studies by Alexander Souter, Georges de Plinval, John Ferguson and others. For instance, the important de divitiis is firmly classed by de Plinval as from the pen of Pelagius but it is only considered part of "works similar to Pelagius" by Grossi. Further, having listed the de vita Christiana among the "Authentic works" of Pelagius in Patrology IV, p. 469, Grossi makes a case—on p. 473 of the same work—for some other author. De Plinval is more consistent. His studies of the language of Pelagius include: "Recherches sur l'oeuvre littéraire de Pélage," Revue de Philologie 40 (1934), 9-42; Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme (Lausanne, 1943); Essai sur le style et la langue de Pélage (Fribourg en Suisse, 1947). The works of Pelagius himself are listed, under Primary Sources, in the BIBLIOGRAPHY at the end of the present study.

For the historian, the scholarly search for Pelagius starts with Heinrich Zimmer (11 December 1851-29 July 1910), at the end of

the nineteenth century. Zimmer was the first modern scholar to realize, within the context of his own research on the Celtic Church, the great importance of Pelagius's cultural background in the religious writings of mediaeval Ireland, as for instance in the Book of Armagh. The close links between Pelagius and the Irish Celtic Church were demonstrated by Zimmer as he concentrated on the transmission in Ireland of the writings of Pelagius, especially the latter's Commentary on the Pauline Letters. Consequently, Zimmer began his research on Pelagius within a historical and a geographical framework with his Pelagius in Irland: Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Literatur, Berlin, 1901, and with "Die keltische Kirche" (in the Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, ed. by A. Hauck, Vol.1, 1901). The latter work was translated into English as The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland by A. Meyer and was published in London in 1902.

Starting with Jerome's racially oriented reference to Pelagius ("made excessively heavy with Scots [Irish] porridge") and studying the persistent emphasis laid on the works of Pelagius in Ireland, Zimmer placed Pelagius firmly back within the culture of the Celtic Church. The German scholar posited for Pelagius an Irish origin or birth in some Irish settlement in the south-west of Britannia. However, a traditional claim is made for Wales.

The Celtic Church, and especially the British Celtic Church, has been underestimated in Church history, especially in the light of its major missionary thrust first into Ireland and then into

Western Europe. In Pelagius, the British Church produced its first missionary activist and Britain its first major Christian writer, theologian and intellectual. Just as Pelagius was condemned as a heretic in the early fifth century, so also was the Celtic British Church perceived as heretical in the early eighth century and as "being outside the Catholic Church". (1)

In the new perspective for which Zimmer was largely responsible, Hugh Williams (who had edited Gildas's De excidio...) devoted several pages to Pelagius in his Christianity in Early Britain (Oxford, 1912). Following in the tradition created by Zimmer's analysis of Pelagian texts, Alexander Souter, also in Britain, devoted special attention to the text of the Expositiones XIII epistularum Pauli. Modern research is more and more distancing itself from the debate between (modified) Augustinian orthodoxy and Pelagian (free-will) heresy.

The strong interest in theology in Germany had earlier led to other important studies of Pelagius, such as that written by Friedrich Loofs. The most notable recent German theological scholarly successors in the field are Gisbert Greshake and Otto Wermelinger. One must note however, that they both still focus on different perceptions and definitions of grace. These were never Pelagius's own priorities, nor was the conflict over grace the first or primary reason for the condemnation of Pelagius as a heretic. Consequently traditional theology finds itself in a dilemma.

Church historians such as W. H. C. Frend and R. A. Markus, historians such as the late J. R. Morris, and J. N. L. Myres. R. P. C. Hanson and D. Dumville have contributed much to a different approach. There is now more research interest in the political, social and geographical circumstances that created and may have fuelled the controversy. On the European continent, the late Georges de Plinval, and, in the United States, the late R. F. Evans, by their scholarly work further heightened the consciousness among researchers of the importance of Pelagius. Some scholars debate whether certain of Pelagius's works should be subdivided into only three groups (thus Vittorino Grossi, in Patrology, p. 468) or into a further subdivision of six "anonymous" groupings, not counting the "pseudo-Jerome-" works, etc (as does F. G. Nuvelone, in Dictionnaire de spiritualité, p. 212 et seq.). Nonetheless de Plinval's classification (Pelage, ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme, Lausanne, 1943) on the number of works written by Pelagius still basically holds, although a few more works now attributed to other writers (such as Sulpicius Severus) may be shown to be works of Pelagius in the foreseeable future.

The history of Pelagius is now again studied as part of the history of the Celtic British Church, its solum originis. Among the more conservative scholars, the most recent article on Pelagius in the Dictionnaire de spiritualité (1986-87) represents almost a rehabilitation.

2) The Physical Portrait of Pelagius.

Even the physical portrait of Pelagius has to emerge from much hostile and unfavourable comment, especially by Jerome and Orosius. Despite their insistence on his outlandishness, Pelagius Britto comes through as a big, generous, enthusiastic man. He was tall, strong, broad-shouldered and stout. (2)

Jerome often returns to the excessive physical size of Pelagius: "You are inflated above the shoulders of Milo [the wrestler]". (3) Twenty years later, by 414, in Palestine, Jerome still describes Pelagius as most stupid and made heavy by Scottish (=Irish) porridge. (4) An aging, corpulent Pelagius walks slowly and ploddingly "at the pace of a turtle." (5) For Jerome Pelagius is a huge dog from "Albion" (some manuscripts have "Alpine"). (6) Later on, in a critical poem, Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390 to 463) wrote of "sea-girt Britain's porridge" as having "bred the twaddle" of the "snakeling" Pelagius. (7)

In a similar uncharitable vein Orosius (late fourth to early fifth centuries) describes Pelagius as a huge, proud Goliath, all blown up with his own physical strength, confident he can do anything by himself...with a ram-like jutting forehead and a preference for going bare-headed with a shaven pate. To cap the negative portrait Orosius addresses Pelagius directly: "but for you it seems especially easy to carry the heavy weight [of Divine law] because being used to baths and banquets you owe it to your broad

shoulders and robust neck, showing your fat even on your forehead..." (8) Orosius styles himself a David to the Pelagian Goliath, but a vivid picture emerges nevertheless, even if a contradictory one (porridge or banquets, hardly both).

For Jerome the physical outlandishness of Pelagius is matched by a mind which makes the latter presume to be the equal of his betters. Pelagius is portrayed as an argumentative and wrangling debater who strolls from crossroads and street corners to public squares talking to people and endeavouring to convince them to follow better ways. In argument he is not only crafty and tenacious; he also disputes with his head poised obliquely and tilted sharply forward, as if he were a ram butting with his horns. His brow is serious and stern. He discusses the doctrines of Scripture, in which he claims to be knowledgeable, with everyone, writes Jerome, with young women among their spindles and their wickerwork wool baskets just as much as with educated men. Jerome refers mockingly to the wide circle of women around Pelagius and calls the aristocratic women who listen to him Pelagius's "Amazons". Jerome is sarcastic about Pelagius's opinion that women should be taught to read and interpret Scripture, and that women should also sing unto God. (9)

Behind the rhetorical caricature of those hostile to him it is clear that Pelagius was the spiritual adviser to many Christians in Rome, and in fact moved about successfully in the Roman Christian circles of Jerome. In Rome Pelagius emerged as a theologian to be

reckoned with and as a man who had great personal sanctity, moral fervour and charisma.

3) The Thought of Pelagius.

The central core of Pelagius's thought and his own Christian intellectual and moral priorities related to the circumstance that, in the words of W. H. C. Frend, he was (like Patrick, missionary to the Irish), a product of 4th and 5th century Romano-British society. (10) A parallel is drawn between Pelagius and Patrick in Chapter V of the present study.

As far as the British Christian Church of the time is concerned, it is pertinent that neither Pelagius nor Patrick were taught the concept of birth-transmitted original sin, nor did they have a name for it. Pelagius's disciple, Caelestius, had heard several persons negate original sin and several affirm it. He therefore pointed out to the Carthaginian ecclesiastical court that it was a matter of inquiry, not of heresy. (11)

In fact, there is no basis in Scripture for the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. There is nowhere in Scripture, either in the Old Testament or in the New Testament, any assertion of humanity sinning in Adam and of individual inheritance of Adam's "fall" which damns every child "by generation, not by imitation" at conception. Thus, the British Celtic tradition of Pelagius and Patrick was as valid as the African tradition of Aurelius and

Augustine. Despite this, non-belief in original sin was called error iste nefarius as early as 27th June, 413 in Carthage. (12)

For Pelagius, "death" in Adam was through example or model, exemplo vel forma. In the same measure as humans sin like Adam, they will die, i. e. this signifies their soul will die if they have lived in a human and not a celestial manner. (13)

Therefore, the whole commentary on Romans, 5 12, (also in Romans 5, 14) implies a duty of striving for inpeccantia (that is, the duty of striving to follow Christ's command: estote perfecti).

At the core of Pelagius's thought, three major concepts intermesh:

i) Most people are sinners, and he, Pelagius, especially; however, since the immortal soul of man is directly from God, the sin called by Augustine "peccatum originis" or "peccatum originale" does not exist. This will be categorized below as "sin as distinct from original sin":

ii) after baptism, a Christian is called to perfection and justification by faith. This will also be discussed more fully below as Inpeccantia and Christian Baptism.

iii) the tripartite Pelagian division of time, under which just persons also existed in the time of nature, and in Old Testament times, also discussed in detail below.

a) Sin as Distinct from Original Sin.

Pelagius, for whom God can be only a just and fair creator, rejects any inherited corruption by original sin. If sin was

hereditary, the grace of baptism should be at least equally so if a child is born of two baptized Christians. It is wrong to attribute greater power to the sin of Adam than to the grace of Christ (i.e. to hereditary sin's carrying greater weight than the justice of Christ). (14)

— A just God creates us both without virtue and without vice and a baby is new-born innocence. "All the good and the bad, by which we are praiseworthy or reprehensible, is not born with us, but is set in motion by our acts; because we are capable of either, we are not born full but we are procreated both without any virtue and similarly without any vice. Before the action of one's own will there exists in a human being only what God has established." (15)

Therefore, there is in man before the action of his own free-will, only what God created. What is created by God is good, the substance of the mind and also the substance of the flesh. In the De natura et gratia Augustine cited examples of the taut question-and-answer teaching of Pelagius (16) on this subject:

"Who created the mind of man?" and he answers himself: 'Without any doubt God.' And he asks again: 'Who created the flesh?' and again he answers: 'The same God, I believe.' For the third time, he asks: 'Is God good, who created the one and the other?' He answers: 'Nobody doubts it.' Again he asks: 'And both the one and the other that a good creator made, are they good?' And to this he answers: 'This is evident.' Then, he concludes: 'If

therefore both the mind is good and the flesh is good inasmuch as they are created by a good maker, how can it be that two good things could be adverse to each other?' " (17)

In fact, as far as Pelagius was concerned it was the mark of the Manichaeans to believe that sin was innate in the body. For Pelagius man can avoid sin by the use of his freewill. When Pelagius taught that "the mind is good and the flesh is good", he was opposing Manichaean doctrine. Pelagius emphasizes a sense of personal responsibility for sin, whereas for Augustine human nature is not only corrupted, but original sin is transmitted to everyone through procreation. Pelagius insisted that God does not command us to do the impossible. (18) Human beings should strive after virtue, and he addresses them to say "quia in vestra est potestate" [because it is in your power]. (19)

For Pelagius, "Augustine's doctrine of original sin was absurd and unjust. It was an affront to divine justice 'without which there is no deity'...Not by Adam's fall, transmitted through the propagation of the race by marriage and sex, was sin to be explained. For sin 'is carried on by imitation, committed by the will, denounced by the reason, manifested by the law, punished by justice'..." The doctrine of original sin is self-contradictory. If sin is natural, it is not voluntary; if it is voluntary, it is not inborn. These two definitions are as mutually contrary as are necessity and [free] will. (20)

Pelagius's concept of the liberty of the will is summarized in

the expression: "Cum semper utrumque possumus"—that one always has the choice in one's actions. (21) God gives man the gift of freewill, together with a natural desire to do good and man must choose ("licet nobis eligere..."). (22) This idea is diametrically opposed to Augustine's concept of a "necessitas peccandi" because man used his freewill badly. (23)

Pelagius emphasizes that Christ redemit (bought back) rather than emit (bought) human beings "since before His coming we were already His by reason of our nature, although alienated from Him by our own sins." (24)

There exists an "underlying continuity between creation and redemption, but...also-contrast between 'natural' and redeemed man in the time of grace...Pelagius does not teach the doctrine that men by their own 'unaided nature' may attain salvation; he teaches that men have the capacity to be without sin, which, as I have tried to show, is a different doctrine." (25)

The Pelagian view of redemption as buying back which is linked to an initial endowment for goodness by creation ensures a capacity for inpeccantia. This is an essential link between the points 1) and 2) at the core of the thought of Pelagius. A superficial and caricatural interpretation of Pelagius's thought claims that he evacuates the Cross. Christianity does not need (and did not need for its first 400 years) a sin of origin to explain the necessity of Christ's sacrifice. As Ferguson has pointed out, Pelagius began his thinking "not from abstract

considerations about the freedom of the will, but from the fact of the sinfulness of man." (26)

As a priority, Pelagius was a defender of contemporary orthodoxy and trinitarian theology in opposition to Arianism and Manichaeism. For the Manichaeen, man cannot avoid sin (hominem peccatum vitare non posse). Pelagius believed the opposite. For him, man is created with a good soul by a good God. When man has to choose between good works and sin, he is endowed with freewill and a conscience to monitor his choices. There is no original sin at conception, and no double predestination. As a Christian, there is the duty of reading Scripture and of following the ten commandments, the law given to Moses. However, the real duty especially is to follow Christ's example of word and deed and his law of love. The recurrent comparison (among others) is between Christ and the sun. This is emphasized in the Commentary on 2 Corinthians 7 and 10.

Moreover there is a discussion on sin, Judgment-Day and the sun-like splendour of God in the letter on evil teachers, Epistula de malis doctoribus et operibus fidei et de iudicio futuro. (27)

The work depicts the Day of Judgment. Each accused is given the right to defend himself. Roman law is incorporated into Pelagian thought and the result is a distinct concept of Christian justice and of a fair God, that made a unique contribution to the fifth century. (28)

Having presented the celestial tribunal, Pelagius has the

apostles Peter, Paul, John and James speak for the prosecution and against the many faults of the numerous sinners among whom Pelagius sets himself.

In the middle of the trial Pelagius reiterates his own sinfulness. Nothing quite like this letter exists in Late-Roman Christian literature to demonstrate the solid link between the Roman law (even with its Roman-Stoic sources) and Christian belief. This letter testifies eloquently to Christianity as seen by Pelagius (It also reflects that those who teach justice are often accused of heresy).

Pelagius writes:

"[Quid faciemus dum ille aduenerit dies...] What shall we do, when that day has come, when, with the angels, archangels, powers and other throngs of celestial court attendants present, standing before the judgment seat of the son of God, the secrets of all are to be laid bare and also the things concealed in the hearts of all men ['universorum etiam cordium'] are to be revealed; and the knowledge of every single act will bear witness more than words; where it will not be allowed for injustice to be hidden, where integrity will no longer be possible to be simulated...

What shall we answer to him who says to us: 'I [God] had formed you, that is the human race, right at the beginning out of the mud of the earth in the likeness of my image in the worthiness of my immense goodness, in order that you should follow me through all things which tend towards the works of justice, and that you be similar to God by your behaviour, although you be seen to be dissimilar in your nature. I have established such a quality of your substance ['talemque substantiae uestrae qualitatem'], that it is capable both of understanding and doing what it wanted to do in order that you have no excuse of stupidity or of impossibility...

What will we say to this? What shall we answer? What shall we state?

Perhaps we shall say...[to God] who says to us:

'Ego...Ego...Ego...'

What anxiety will then be ours who are sinners, what sadness of our minds...

Therefore, my dear friends, let these things be ever present in our hearts, let these things be meditated upon by day and by night. It is an imposing thing to be a son of God; it is a limitless thing to inherit the heaven after the earth; the rich and abundant possession of eternal life is like glittering in the splendour of the sun; it is more famous than all fame to reign with God, it is more renowned than all renown; it is indescribable what we believe, what we hope is immeasurable.

What therefore is asked of us for receiving so abundantly? That in the meantime we live in a just and holy way...

Let us run therefore, while there is still time, and, as much as we can, let us exert ourselves with our strength, so that, having overcome all habit of any corruption, we train ourselves with the works of justice and holiness, so that we do not endure the infinite punishments of torture with the impious and the sinners and the shame of disorders, but we fully enjoy together with the just ones and the saints the glory of divine happiness and of eternal brightness [claritatis]..." (29)

In Pelagius's mind, an essentially good and just Creator will be the judge on Judgment Day; in the meantime it is man's duty to reject corruption. Having created man in His own image, God gave human nature a longing not to sin which is monitored by the individual human conscience. For Pelagius, the choice to sin or not is ours. He writes in his letter to Pope Innocent I which preceded his Confession of Faith (Lapidge and Sharpe No 6): " We say that man is made by God in his image and in his likeness,..., being given the power of freewill, that is, the possibility to sin and not to sin, that power of freewill...exists universally in all...but is helped by grace only in Christians..."(30)

In the Libellus fidei itself, Pelagius states his belief in

freewill, with its limitations; he notes also the opposition of his belief to that of the Manicheans as well as the Jovinians: " We so confess freewill that we say we are always in need of God's help;... In truth, we say that man always can either sin or not sin;..." (31)

Pelagius, showing his interest in nature, writes that we have: "...a possibility towards two opposing capacities implanted in us by God, and it is, as I again repeat, just as a fruitful and fecund root...that can, depending on the will of the cultivator himself, either flourish in the bloom of virtues or repel with the thorns of vices." (32)

For Pelagius, God is fair and just and would not tolerate any predestination with its fateful division into good and bad. Divine grace must mean equality of chances and is equal for all. Here of course, Pelagius ran up against the very much grace-and-favour definition of grace of the Later Roman Empire (ironically the very grace-and-favour attitude that would condemn him in May 418). For him, God could not be a dispenser of favours (gratiosus); He is not a respecter of persons (acceptor personarum) and He would not choose some people arbitrarily. Christian morality must be based on justice towards all. The greatest freedom was to be free from sin.

b) Christian Baptism, Inpeccantia
and Christ's Law of Love.

The first major accusation against Pelagius concerned his adamant denial of original sin inherited from Adam at conception. The second central accusation (and of equal importance) concerned Pelagius's belief in inpeccantia, the possibility of Christian post-baptismal sinlessness. Inpeccantia is a perfection to be aimed at as a duty. For Pelagius there were in the Old Testament several sinless persons "acceptable to God".

Pelagius believed in sanctification through baptism, a state to which the baptized had to hold fast. The sins before baptism became irrelevant; the sins after baptism (since sin was almost general) were to be remedied by penitence. For Pelagius (as for Patrick), baptism was a rite of initiation and sanctification that mainly concerned adult Christians; baptism could be given to infants, yet the faithful observance of the lex domini and the imitation of Christ were more part of an adult baptismal commitment. Thus, Pelagius believed in one baptism for children and adults, with a much greater personal interest in adult baptism. He wrote what he thought about baptism in his usual terse way to Pope Innocent: "Baptisma unum tenemus, quod iisdem sacramenti verbis in infantibus, quibus etiam in maioribus, asserimus esse celebrandum... Hominem, si post baptismum lapsus fuerit, per poenitentiam credimus posse salvari." (33)

Through Baptism, that makes us participate in the death and the resurrection of Christ, we are liberated from sin and we live a new Christian life. There is a parallel to be made with evangelical piety in Pelagius's insistence on baptism and on the duty of inpeccantia that must follow baptism. Thus Pelagius comments : "Ostendit nos propter ea ita baptizari, ut per mysterium consepeliamur Christo, criminibus morientes et renuntiantes pristinae vitae, ut quomodo (Pater) glorificatur in filii resurrectione, ita et per nostrae conversationis novitatem ab omnibus honoretur, ut ne signa quidem veteris hominis agnoscantur in nobis." (34)

Pelagian inpeccantia heralds the missionary impetus of the Celtic Church during the Age of Saints. The Irish and Celtic British missionaries who became peregrini for Christ and infiltrated into Western Europe in His name, wanted to lead a perfect life of Pelagian inpeccantia.

For Pelagius, ability, will and action are all three necessary to live a life of inpeccantia. Pelagius saw a harmonious division between these principles which he called the posse, velle and esse of our human life. He referred to them as gifts from God. (35)

Pelagius's tripartite divisions were subtly interactive and God-oriented. Pelagius never negated the importance of God's grace in any human activity. For him, before one is capable of acting of

one's own will, there is only in man what God has created. Thus, the ability (posse) to live a life of inpeccantia comes only from God; the will (velle) to do this, and the being, the becoming or the action (esse) toward this aim depend on the free decision of man. Since both the will and the action take their origin in man's decisions they are both to be referred to man and he is responsible for both will and action. Ability, will and action are all three necessary in order to live a life of inpeccantia. Striving for inpeccantia is an obligation for a baptized, believing Christian, just as it was for the "just" men and women of the Old Testament.

All three parts— ability, will, action— interlock to the greater glory of God. Not only does the action (esse) appear to be the result of cooperation between God and man, but the will (velle) and action (esse), when turned towards good, belong to God. Pelagius states: "Therefore, praise of man is in good will and in good action; but moreover, there is praise of man and especially of God who afforded us the very possibility of will and action. God also furthers this possibility with his grace. Indeed, whatever good man may will and in fact does accomplish comes totally from God alone." (36) Pelagius enlarges on this interlocking division and praises God for willing and acting the good and the saintly in us.

Pelagius's thought embraced the possibility for inpeccantia ever since mankind's creation, throughout historical times and the Old Testament; Christ's law was superior and made inpeccantia a duty especially since it was a law of love.

On the duty of love Pelagius wrote, using his favourite question and answer technique: "In which ways is charity manifest? Charity is manifest in four ways. It is in the love of God which is the first way. The second way is if we love ourselves next to God. The third way is that we love our neighbours (proximos). The fourth way is that we love our enemies. Accordingly we must love God more than we love ourselves, and we must love our neighbour as ourselves, and our enemy as our neighbour." (37)

For Pelagius, this Christian law of love (dilectio vel caritas) illumined and directed every aspect of human life and since the Incarnation the gratia Dei was embodied in the lex-Christi during the time sub gratia which for Pelagius was the third and last division of time.

c) Pelagius's Chronology of History:
The Condiciones temporum.

For Pelagius, Adam is not the progenitor whose sin taints all men at the moment of their conception. Rather, the world from Adam to Moses is the time of nature. (38) This is the first part

in Pelagius's quasi-legal division of historical time into what he calls the Condiciones temporum. During the first part, the time of nature, those men who lived sinless lives in accord with natural law were exercising their own free choice in an exemplary way and would be saved. The rust of ignorance and of moral corruption rendered natural law inefficient. The second phase of human history began with the law which God gave to Moses, specifically in its moral injunctions.

A third stage was reached with the time of Christ or the time of grace. Still, all the laws mirror one another and help men go through Pelagius's narrow way, the Biblical via angusta.

The natural law was in its pristine form a law of human consciousness of what is right, self-knowledge and free choice. It was subsumed in the law of Moses and both were illuminated by Christ's law of love which was the substance of Christianity. Pelagius's own Christian priorities were love and justice. He emphasized self-knowledge, moral responsibility, faith and works.

Pelagius's theory of historical time is based on the writings of St. Paul and is, it may be argued, a natural extension of the Pauline doctrine. However, as a result of the controversy, in Augustine's De gratia Christi et de peccato originali this theory became associated with Pelagius. (39) Furthermore, Pelagius integrated Christianity into historical time, in a charitable way, without the negative attitudes to pagan Classical times of Orosius

and even of Augustine. The most important document of the writings of Pelagius in contradistinction to Augustine's views on history is De induratione cordis Pharaonis (Lapidge and Sharpe No. 5). This work of Pelagius deserves particular attention, since it confutes suggestions that Pelagius denied or sidestepped responsibility for his own theses. In his De induratione... Pelagius frankly confronts the belief in fatum which survived in certain Christian churches. Some scholars have discussed the possibility of a latent Manichaeism in the African Churches, which Pelagius would have had in mind and wished to rebut throughout his De induratione...

This work represents the major definition extant of Pelagius's clear views on history, whose existence is only confirmed by the bitter attacks on them in Augustine's ...de peccato originali II. (40) Unfortunately, an invaluable piece missing from the documentation is a copy of Pelagius's De natura, although Augustine does selectively quote passages from it in his own De natura et gratia. (41)

For Pelagius, human history was divided into three major periods: 1) ex natura; 2) sub lege; 3) sub gratia. This view in itself was not revolutionary; the three periods in history of Pelagius are Christian and patristic in outlook, as R. Schmidt shows. (42)

Georges de Plinval finds that Pelagius's meticulous division of the history of the human race is rooted in his Roman legal

training. De Plinval adds that similar care is shown by Pelagius in his exegesis, in his examination and discussion of texts and individual words. The writer notes that Roman lawyers also behaved in exactly the same way when researching the periods of enactment of different laws or the validity of edicts and Constitutiones. (43)

In this respect, De Plinval observes that those Roman jurists who taught Pelagius gave him his respect for equity, for the importance of voluntary contractual obligations, and that in particular Pelagius "a eu, grâce à eux [aux juristes], la révélation la plus démonstrative de ce que son sentiment propre lui avait déjà suggéré, à savoir une idée très élevée des droits et des responsabilités de la personne libre." (44)

For Pelagius, his threefold division of history revolves around his understanding of the time of the Law. The Law is what God expects every man to observe. Although Augustine had used this very concept himself in De Trinitate (IV, 4, 7), he later mocked the "comput pélagien de l'histoire du salut," (45) and elaborated his own view of the Pelagian position on Christ as the saviour of the people born before the Incarnation. Augustine, in a lengthy criticism of the Pelagian chronology of history, wrote: "Haec disputantes, a gratia mediatoris iustos excludere conantur antiquos..." or "by this line of reasoning [the time division into three], they try to exclude from the grace of the

mediator the ancient just ones, just as if between God and these men the man Jesus Christ had not been the mediator, because having not yet been conceived in the womb of the Virgin, he was not yet man at the time when these just men lived." (46)

Most writers on the Pelagian question have been theologians who did not disagree with Augustine's assumptions. De Veer is correct to suggest: "Celle-ci [la doctrine de Pélagie] mériterait qu'on l'étudie sans prendre Augustin pour guide." (47) De Veer concludes his useful long note 15 on "le comput pélagien" [a phrase used in this context to designate Pelagius's chronology of history] by referring the reader to Gisbert Greshake. (48)

Greshake poses the possibility of a different interpretation from Augustine on the Pelagian ex natura and sub lege periods. Greshake notes that for Pelagius: "The law is therefore an Image, which represents the tendency towards resemblance to God, given with the nature of man but sinfully corrupted and therefore held down, which leads toward men from outside and illuminates..." (49) Greshake has in mind De induratione... 3: 8.

Greshake's book throws light on the misunderstanding by Augustine of Pelagius's tripartite chronology of time; noting that the Pelagian time sub gratia is the point of sharpest polemics, Greshake indicates that "the attachment of grace to the work of salvation of Christ is for Augustine the only historical attachment of grace...For Pelagius both the historicity of grace

and the latter's incarnatorial form and relation to Christ is given to the same degree in the figures of grace sub natura and sub lege, because in these times of salvation too a concrete-historical 'imago imaginis' comes effectively to the help of man, a historical picture of the picture which the Son has been from all eternity ...thus for Pelagius grace is brought about by God, which is met in multiple forms in history itself as a concrete, experienceable and verifiable power, which liberates man to freedom." (50)

Some believe that the authentic doctrine of Pelagius may have been deformed by the analysis Augustine made of it. (51) Without going into a theological excursus one must emphasize that the Pelagian division of history is as messianic and Christ-centred as the Augustinian view of history.

Nevertheless, Augustine firmly rejects Pelagius's chronology which he defines as follows: "Therefore, let us not divide periods of time in the way of Pelagius and his disciples, who say that there first lived just people in the time of nature, then under the law, then under grace" ["Non igitur sicut Pelagius et eius discipuli tempora dividamus, dicentes primum vixisse iustos homines ex natura, deinde sub lege, tertio sub gratia"] (52)

However, as Greshake has demonstrated, "...just as the sin of man has a history...so does God's care for salvation have...a history: the way and method by which God intervenes to help corresponds to the given historical situation and thereby takes on different forms..." (53)

De Plinval notes Greshake's apt phrasing—that man's liberty is a "gift" [Gabe] and "task" [Aufgabe]. (54) Pelagius sees God as the ultimate Judge and Creator; He is primarily the Lawmaker.

For Pelagius, as for Paul or Ambrose (and for Augustine olim) the time of Nature is the time from Adam to Moses. The just men of this time follow the law of nature, deciding on a good life by their own free will. Nevertheless, they are the exception. Further, Pelagius describes them in terms that Augustine would never employ, as disciples of the apostles.

Pelagius's time of nature did not sit well with Augustine. Pelagius came from a more tolerant tradition that expected a generous God to include one's just ancestors in his Paradise.

For Pelagius, as for Augustine, Adam, father of the human race, was the first sinner. However, for Pelagius, Adam's sin was an example. Pelagius reacted very negatively to the determinist tenet of original sin transmitted by procreation.

For him, the law of nature, which is the law man found written in him by his maker and by which he was so to speak programmed, soon became debased. In Pelagius's own words: "God, the best administrator of the human race, when he saw that human nature was twisted aside by the impulse of the devil from his conception, and that the law that He had posited in nature was as if dissipated and broken down, that law of which the prophet says 'they have overthrown your law', in such an excellent order, He made known

through Moses the divine law to be in effect"; the law of Moses was added to the law of Nature. "the law that was added to it, just like a file that by destroying the rust will give it back its pristine brightness." (55)

In De induratione... Pelagius's words on the importance of Moses speak for themselves: "For example, as is being done in the Decalogue, where the Mosaic law itself takes its beginning, or rather the divine law is renewed in writings that had been given for some time by nature; where it is said: 'I am the Lord your God, who has led you from the land of Egypt; you shall have no gods other than me...You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength.' Or that on which the Apostle says that the whole law depends: 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself'...Now who lacks for interpretation of this or needs allegory? These are at least to be compared to eyes or ears." (56)

Augustine attacks Pelagius's assertion that "regnum caelorum etiam in Vetere Testamento promissum." (57) Pelagius was asked to defend this very proposition that the kingdom of heaven was promised even in the Old Testament. His defence is in the record of the Synod of Diospolis. Augustine quotes from this Synod and attacks the verdict of the ecclesiastical court which had concluded that "neque hoc alienum est a fide ecclesiastica." (58)



In his de vita Christiana (Lapidge and Sharpe No. 4), Chapter 8, subtitled "Legis consummator," the 'fulfiller of the law,' Pelagius reiterates the theme of man enslaved in the land of Egypt. Pelagius is obviously writing on a subject dear to him, and he again ends by quoting Matthew XXII, 36-40. (59)

The essence of Pelagius's concept of the law always recurs: "let us show by the testimonies of both the Old and the New Law what pleases God and has always pleased him, and what he has quite often commanded to be done and observed: 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum'..." (60) This is the message of De induratione... with its sharply increasing insistence that "nothing else is sought in the old law than that you are to love God and neighbour. And he is truly the fulfiller and doer of the law ('Et vere ille Legis consummator et factor est...') who sins neither against God nor against neighbour." (61)

Christ himself had to come, humanity being more and more estranged from the Law through sin, and Christ, acting as a physician to human souls, brought in the third time of history, the time sub gratia. Several passages in the Expositiones... illustrate the importance of this third period which is solidly linked to the existence of the Church. (62) Thus "In the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and the

ground of the truth" ["Columna et firmamentum veritatis (et confessionis)..."] is glossed by Pelagius as follows: "in qua [ecclesia] sola nunc veritas stat firmata, quae ante in lege erat posita vel natura, et quae sola totum sustinet aedificium veritatis." (63)

On Paul's "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death" ["Lex enim spiritus vitae in Christo Iesu..."] (64) Pelagius comments: "Notandum quia gratiam legem appellat." (65) This is a clear example of Pelagius's tenet that: The Lex Christi is equated with gratia dei during the era sub gratia—an era which for Pelagius was the final epoch of history. A similar comment occurs on Galatians VI. 2: "Lex Christi caritas est, sicut ipse dicit: mandatum novum do vobis, ut vos invicem dirigatis. sicut et ego dilexi vos," namely: "Simul notandum est quod gratia lex dicatur." (Souter, p. 339). On Romans XIII, 10 ("Plenitudo ergo legis est dilectio") the comment is: "Hoc est perfectio." (Souter, p. 104).

Pelagius himself never used the Augustinian term 'original sin.' He either did not understand it or else would not accept Augustinian Christian determinism and the conception of grace as defined by Augustine in 418. Henry Chadwick has summed it all up: "He [Pelagius] feared both despair of human power to do what God commands, and also cheap grace." (6")

4) The Political and Ecclesiastical Context:
Acquittals and Condemnations.

Pelagius was labelled heretic, atheist or materialist, but was evidently a major religious and intellectual force of his time. He always made a point of showing that his ideas had a solid basis in the writings of the Church Fathers. Otherwise two other major figures of the stature of Augustine and Jerome would never have devoted substantial portions of their time and intellect to discussing and refuting his message. Following the prescribed practices of classical rhetorical tradition they first caricatured him for propaganda purposes, and then, with the complete backing of the North African bishops, whose opinions Augustine had helped formulate, managed to invoke the power of Emperor and state to banish Pelagius and his adherents.

Until 415, Pelagius was widely accepted as an orthodox Christian theologian whose main aim was to challenge the theology of the Arians and the Manichaeans. In Augustine's words, he was a man of high renown (67), a close friend of Paulinus of Nola (68), and "vir ille tam egregie Christianus." (69)

The abrupt change in Augustine's attitude toward Pelagius according to some scholars seems to have occurred midway during the Pelagian controversy. They also maintain that it coincided with a sharp change by Augustine in his own method of explaining operative grace. J. P. Burns dates this change in Augustine to 418, when Augustine definitively "returned to the question of

election." Burns considers this a "second change" in Augustine, the first one having occurred "in 396 when he discovered gratuitous divine election." (70)

The perennial question arises again of a manifest return in Augustine to the Manichaeism of his youth, albeit a Manichaeism dressed in Christian garb. God comes and changes human will from original evil to good, solely by his divine decision and action. If we accept Burns's theory of the second change, then Augustine already had clearly defined, in his own mind, his doctrine of operative grace during the Donatist controversy, and he could only refine it in the Pelagian controversy. Augustine's "second change" carried with it radical implications for man's free will and for the rationale behind Christian duty. Its seemingly inevitable conclusions—man's collective sinfulness at birth, damnation of unbaptized infants and predestination—were repugnant to Pelagius.

As W. H. C. Frend notes: "two of the main Pelagian tenets, the sovereignty of man's free will and the duty of the Christian to reform the lot of his contemporaries...can be seen as a challenge to the Manichees...[who] were determinist and dualistic in in theology..." (71)

Contemporary Western theological debate centred on the seemingly more practical questions of grace, original sin, and the role of baptism. It is possible that the West and perhaps the Latin language were less well equipped to handle more theoretical questions than the Greek language used in the East, where problems

of Christological theology, during the 4th century, were being debated on the street by the common man. The Churches in Europe had in any case only a limited body of specifically defined dogma (after decisions reached at the first and second oecumenical Councils and by various local or regional synods). (72)

In the words of R. A. Markus: "The conflict of traditions [i.e. the North African and Italian ones respectively] hardened attitudes and gave sharper definition to doctrinal divergence, and official intervention finally sealed them as 'heresy' and 'orthodoxy' by driving the wedge of coercion between them. Julian [of Aeculanum] was not very far from the truth in seeing the Italian church as hijacked by Augustine and his African friends with the backing of the government at Ravenna.

At the time of the Council of Ephesus he [Julian] and his fellow-dissenters were still steadfast in their claim that they had been subjected to persecution 'as orthodox, in orthodox times'." (73)

In recent studies of the intense intellectual debate of the time, many scholars have begun to discuss the social, political and even geographical dimensions of what used to appear in the documents as purely 'religious' conflicts of the fifth century.

In the relentless political battle that Aurelian, Bishop of Carthage (from 391 until his death c. 430), Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (from 396 to 430), and the Churches of Africa waged against him, Pelagius had in fact lost before any debate ever started.

Augustine's North Africa—still an integral part of the Mare Nostrum and fresh with memories of the then most recent struggle against the Donatists—could attempt to dictate its own patrological terms at least to Latin Christendom. This is especially true after 410, when Pelagius's fellow Britons are virtually separated from the Western Roman Empire ruled by Honorius. (74)

After the Sack of Rome by Alaric and the subsequent exodus of many frightened intellectuals and others to Carthage, the political situation was heavily weighted against Pelagius right from the start of the controversy. It is necessary to emphasize the political nature of the situation, especially as seen from Ravenna.

If one argues from numbers, it is clear there was a far more advanced church organization in North Africa than in Britain. In 314, only three British bishops attended the Council of Arles. In 359, at the Council of Rimini, there were still only three British bishops. Myres writes: "it has been plausibly proposed that the three (from York, London, and probably Colchester), who attended the Council of Arles in 314, were the metropolitans from three of the four provincial capitals." (75)

In 411, the Church of Africa convened 565 African bishops in Carthage to answer an imperial commission and to hold a Council. The Council of Carthage of 411, although its decisions were widely accepted throughout Christendom, was still an African Council.

It condemned Caelestius, a follower of Pelagius. Gerald Bonner notes the importance of the role of the African bishops both in the Pelagian controversy and in all the doctrinal debates of the fifth century. If there is a particular feature that characterized the bishops of North Africa and the whole African Church during its stormy history, it was an unwavering confidence in their own correctness and orthodoxy. (76)

A conflict of tendencies was occurring that was to divide the Italian Church and to drive at least nineteen Italian bishops into exile. This conflict of approaches would later drive a wedge between Eastern and Western Christendom, and would identify rival streams of thought in Europe and North Africa.

R. A. Markus defines the two theological trends that concern us as pre-Pelagian and pre-Augustinian, the latter being the North African tradition, "with its own, sharply defined specific character," the former being "the more widely diffused but far less well-defined orientation of the European Churches." (77) Markus adds: "We may accept that we have no grounds on which to suppose that the sort of Christianity Pelagius had learnt at his mother's knee was what he was preaching in Rome and Jerusalem and was duly condemned for; but what I am suggesting is that there is, equally, no reason why we should assume that it was like the native theological tradition of the North African Church. Is there any reason why the British Church should not have been as inhospitable to the newly forged Augustinian orthodoxy as was

Italy, or as indifferent as, apparently, that part of the Greek Church which was not positively sympathetic to Pelagius?" (78)

Markus notes that, for all we know, the British Church might have been even more hostile and it might have been full of its Julians [of Aeclanum]. Furthermore, there being no officials of the emperor any more in Britain, these bishops like Julian would have been left in peace. (79)

The Romano-British Church that had been left to its own devices after the Sack of Rome, in 410 and that was spiritual home to Pelagius or, as Orosius called him, "Britannicus noster" is unlikely to have had the cohesion, the numbers or the well-defined orientation of Augustine's North African Church. Furthermore, while one often detects a note of mocking superiority towards Pelagius in particular, it also affects attitudes toward the whole Celtic British Church.

Myres has qualified as follows the position of Britain: "Britain was always marginal to the political and cultural affairs of Rome." The political affairs of Pelagius's time had a markedly religious character. Britain was marginal politically and culturally to Rome, whereas Carthage was not marginal. (80)

Consequently, the primacy of the Mediterranean southern rim was to play a major if not predominant role in any religious controversy. Few had forgotten the 3rd century altercation between Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and the Pope of Rome. Religion in the 5th century was to become increasingly inseparable from the often

violent politics of the time. The Imperial Rescript of May 418

(from Ravenna) condemned Pelagius for elitism, corrupting the Roman youth and trouble-making. However, in 419 Emperor Honorius wrote a letter to Bishop Aurelius of Carthage (also conveyed to Bishop Augustine of Hippo and listed as letter 201 of Augustine), noting (again from Ravenna) that he followed the lead of the Bishop of Carthage on the judgment and the condemnation of both Pelagius and Caelestius. Both the politics of religion as well as imperial socio-politics worked against Pelagius, a Christian from Britain, and took Western Christendom down its distinctive future path.

The whole issue had started in Carthage in 411. There, with Bishop Aurelius of Carthage presiding, deacon Paulinus of Milan formulating the accusation; Caelestius was accused and condemned for himself teaching and asking others to teach under the following "canons," or points of accusation:

1. That Adam was created mortal and would have died even if he had not sinned;

2. That the sin of Adam injured himself alone and not the human race;

3. That infants at the moment of birth are in the same condition as Adam before the Fall;

4. That infants, even though they are not baptized, have eternal life;

5. That the race of man as a whole does not die by the death or fall of Adam, nor does the race of man as a whole rise again by the resurrection of Christ;

6. That the Law has the same effect as the Gospel in introducing men into the kingdom of Heaven;

7. That even before the coming of Christ there had been just men without sin (inpeccabiles). (81)

The acts of this Synod of Carthage of 411 no longer exist, except fragments in Augustine's de peccato originali, 2-3, and 11, 12; in de gestis Pel., 11, 23; also in Mercator's Lib. subnot. in verba Iul., from which canon 4 on the fate of unbaptized infants is omitted, however. This latter canon was re-emphasized at the two subsequent Councils of Carthage. A central point for all three Councils, and the major one on which this first Council of Carthage in 411 excommunicated Caelestius, was the response to: "Do you believe in inherited corruption at conception?" The fate of unbaptized infants depends on the answer to that question.

The last two canons (No. 6 and 7) of the first Council were ultimately to prove even more damaging to Caelestius and Pelagius. Augustine believed he discerned the root cause of Caelestius's views in Pelagius's ideal of inpeccantia, the possibility, albeit a rare achievement, of living a life without sin as a Christian duty. In 415 Augustine sent Orosius to Jerome in Palestine, where Pelagius was living at the time, with the mission of convicting Pelagius of heresy. At the Synod of Jerusalem held on the 28th and 29th July 415, Bishop John of Jerusalem presiding, Orosius read out the condemnation of Caelestius at Carthage. He also read a letter from Augustine to Hilary in Sicily which was directed against the arguments of Caelestius. Orosius also mentioned a work that Augustine was writing at that time against the Pelagians. The Bishop asked for Pelagius who was then allowed to take his place

among the members of the Synod. Having dismissed Orosius's accusations as directed against others than Pelagius, John of Jerusalem told Orosius to state his case of accusation against Pelagius: "Si in ipsum Pelagium quid dicatis, expromite." (82)

Orosius accused Pelagius of having said to him: "My teaching is that a man can, if he will, live without sin, and easily keep God's commandments." Pelagius confirmed that such inpeccantia was his teaching. Orosius then asserted this teaching was wrong on three counts: its condemnation at the Synod of Carthage; its condemnation by Augustine; its condemnation by Jerome. Not only did these condemnations not impress John of Jerusalem; but he also agreed with Pelagius that the examples of Abraham, Zacharias and Elizabeth verified Pelagius's statement. The Bishop then called on Pelagius to explain inpeccantia in greater detail. Pelagius responded:

"I do not mean that human nature has a natural capacity for sinlessness. I mean that the person who is prepared to labour and strive to avoid sin is granted by God the possibility to do so." Pressed further about grace and inpeccantia, Pelagius answered with Scriptural quotations: "Sed abundantius illis omnibus laboravi et obtinui. Non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum." (83)

Exactly what he meant is manifest in his own Commentary on 1 Cor. XV, 10 written about ten years earlier: "Non ego ex me, sed cum gratia Dei: nec se sine gratia dicit in euangelio laborasse, ne contra id quod superius dixerat, sibi aliquit dare videretur, nec gratiam sine se, ut liberum servaret arbitrium." (84)

In a further illustration, on the Pauline epistles: "Igitur non est uolentis neque currentis sed miserantis est Dei?"

Pelagius had written a passionate commentary (very lengthy for him) that ended: "Sive: ita non uolentis neque currentis tantum, sed et Domini adiuuantis." (85) A further response of Pelagius adds:

"Nisi Dominus aedificaverit...Except the Lord build the house they labour in vain that build it." (86)

Then Pelagius anathematized anyone who maintained that without the help of God a man could progress in virtue. Pelagius assured the ecclesiastical court that he believed in the adiutorium Dei or, to use his favourite term for grace, the auxilium Dei. John of Jerusalem next asked Orosius whether he denied the power of God's grace to free a man from sin? The answer was predictably negative and the Synod of Jerusalem ended with all factions agreeing on the matter at hand. Just before the conclusion, however, Orosius demanded, and was granted, the right to appeal to Pope Innocent of Rome. "Dein cum...clamaremus latinum esse haereticum, nos Latinos, haeresim latinis magis partibus notam Latinis iudicibus disserendam..." (87), thus introducing Western disaffection for the first time perhaps in the history of the Universal Church.

Admittedly, the language of the Synod had been Greek. Pelagius had answered in Greek, but interpreters were present and the synod itself was composed of both Greek and Latin-speaking clergy. By putting forward the demands of "us Latins" Orosius seemed to make the partitio Imperii of 395 a fait accompli in religious matters as

well as in political ones.

For the time being Pelagius was acquitted of heresy, but a few weeks later Orosius was moved to make a further attack on Pelagius. On 12th September 415, John of Jerusalem even refused Orosius's presence at the altar of the Church of the Resurrection and accused him of blasphemy for denying that it was possible to live without sin even by the help of God. On the mundane plane, the tables were turned. The accuser stood accused. On the theological plane, few better examples exist of the understanding and sympathy which Pelagius and his thought found among Greek and Eastern theologians; there never was a Pelagian controversy in the East. (88)

The Council of Diospolis met on 20 December 415, with Eulogius, the Metropolitan of Caesarea presiding. This time, the accusers were Heros, deposed Bishop of Arles and Lazarus, deposed Bishop of Aix, who had just been banished from Gaul. Since Heros and Lazarus tried to have the condemnation of Caelestius in Carthage four years earlier adopted in Diospolis also against Pelagius, it appears evident that Orosius, Jerome (and indeed Augustine) must have been the real inspirers of the accusation. In the event, neither of the accusers appeared at the Council. In fact, Heros was even able to make his Christian peace with the Pelagians not much later. As for Lazarus, Zosimus rightly reminded the African Bishops that Lazarus had attacked other blameless Christians before. (89) For instance he had made accusations against St. Britius of Tours at several councils. The anger expressed in this letter of Zosimus

because the African bishops had championed Heros and Lazarus is further proof of the gulf that separated the two Church traditions (pre-Augustinian and pre-Pelagian respectively).

The Council of Diospolis in late 415 was composed of fourteen bishops from Palestine. The accusations were translated from Latin into Greek. The first part of the accusations against Pelagius consisted of seven canons, namely:

1. That no man can be without sin unless he knows the Law.
2. That all are governed by their own freewill and left to their own natural wish [suo desiderio].
3. That in the day of judgment there will be no mercy for sinners and wrongdoers, but they must be consumed in eternal fire.
4. That evil does not even enter the thought.
5. That the kingdom of Heaven is also promised in the Old Testament.
6. That man can, if he will, be without sin and observe God's commandments.
7. That the Church is here without blemish or wrinkle. (90)

To canon 1 Pelagius responded that the Law helped man to virtue; to canon 2 Pelagius answered that man has freewill: "Propter liberum arbitrium, cui Deus adiutor est eligenti bona, homo vero peccans ipse in culpa est quasi liberi arbitrii"; to canon 3 that the final judgment is so per se. Pelagius denied saying Canon 4. He believed that the Christian must avoid evil thought. Canon 5 is part of Pelagian thought.

Canon 6 had been expanded on with three quotations from a

letter, thought to be from Pelagius, addressed to Liuania (some texts have Iuliana), stating that she is a perfect Christian. Pelagius denied he was the author of this letter and when asked to anathematize those who held such views, he complied, noting that those people were fools but not heretics, since no matter of dogma was involved. As for the central point of Canon 6: "Posse hominem, si velit, esse sine peccato et Dei mandata custodire," he answered affirmatively "proprio tamen labore et Dei gratia, nec per hoc tamen in posterum inconvertibilis." He, Pelagius, had never said that there existed a perfectly sinless person from babyhood to old age, but only that it was theoretically possible to get, however fleetingly, to such a result through one's own effort and the grace of God. Pelagius explained canon 7 by the regenerating power of baptism and God's wish to keep the church in such a perfect state.

The second major part of the accusation basically "consisted of propositions ascribed to Caelestius," (91) and represented an attempt to associate Pelagius with the texts of Caelestius. Pelagius answered that he was not responsible for Caelestius's views and fully anathematized all doctrines anathematized by the Church. The verdict of the Council was: "Non sunt aliena ab ecclesia quae dicta sunt a Pelagio." Pelagius was declared to be within the communion of the Catholic Church. (92)

Orosius returned to Africa in the early spring of 416 with
 1) relics of St. Stephen given him by Bishop John of Jerusalem for distribution to several churches on his way back; 2) a letter from

Jerome and perhaps a work from Jerome against Pelagius; 3) a letter from Heros and Lazarus on the negative consequences of their multiple accusations against Pelagius at Diospolis; 4) Orosius's own account and report on the Councils of Jerusalem and Diospolis.

The reaction of the African Church to Pelagius's double acquittal in Palestine was a double indictment in June-August 416. The Council of Carthage of 416 anathematized Pelagius and Caelestius. In this for the first time the African bishops issued a joint condemnation of Pelagius and Caelestius together unless the latter anathematized the errores ascribed to them. The errors especially singled out are the attitude of Pelagius and Caelestius on infant baptism, effectively condemning unbaptized infants for all eternity, and anathematizing the inpeccantia and human freewill which the African Bishops saw as opposed to God's grace.

Sixty nine Carthaginian provincial Bishops, led by Aurelius of Carthage, declared Anathema sit, and wrote to Pope Innocent of Rome asking him to add the authority of his anathema to theirs. (93)

At Milevum in 416 another Council, the Bishops of Numidia, 61 in number with Augustine and Alypius amongst them, with Silvanus Senex presiding, sent a similar letter to Pope Innocent, "imitantes Carthaginensis Ecclesiae et Carthaginensis provinciae coepiscopos nostros". (94)

Yet another letter, signed by five powerful Bishops: Aurelius, Augustine, Alypius, Evodius and Possidius (95) was sent to the

same recipient; Pope Innocent, along with the Acts of Carthage 411 (now lost), letters from Heros and Lazarus, the Gesta Episcopalia from Palestine, the de natura of Pelagius with passages they had condemned marked by Augustine, their refutation in Augustine's de natura et gratia the letter from Timasius and Jacobus (see De gestis Pelagii, xxiv, 48; Ep. 168), the Chartula defensionis of Pelagius (all but fragments now lost) and a first answer to it by Augustine which Pope Innocent is asked to forward to Pelagius. The letter of the five Bishops contains probably the first written demand for an inquisitorial trial of a Christian who must be made to reject the errors of his ways: "Aut ergo a tua Veneratione acciendus est Romam, et diligenter interrogandus...anathemet ergo Pelagius scripta sua...aut..." (96)

Other letters concerning Pelagius are sent from Africa to various recipients. The process has all the marks of a heresy-hunt. On this John Ferguson comments: "The whole operation is a model example of a pressure-group working upon authority." (97)

The five prestigious African Bishops were at great pains to indicate that they were not aiming at Pelagius as an individual "non agitur de uno Pelagio, quia iam fortasse correctus est..." but at his growing influence with Roman crowds. (98)

Meanwhile, Pelagius was beginning to replace his favourite expressions of adiutorium dei, auxilium Dei, Deo adiuvante, with gratia. Unfortunately, in the autumn of 416 the monastery of Jerome, Paula and Eustochium in Palestine was raided by unknown

ruffians. Jerome had many enemies in Jerusalem. If Rufinus had been alive, Jerome would have named Rufinus as the culprit. (99) Without any grounds, Jerome did not hesitate to implicate Pelagius and this was accepted both by Innocent (told of the attack by Aurelius of Carthage) and by Augustine. Further, a letter from Jerome was transmitted to the Pope by Aurelius of Carthage.

Pope Innocent sent three letters of reply to Africa (one to the Bishops at Carthage, one to the Bishops at Milevum and one to the five Bishops) all dated 27th January 417. Pope Innocent had read Pelagius's de natura as marked by Augustine and also Augustine's de natura et gratia. He agreed with the African Bishops that Pelagius and Caelestius undid the need for adiutoria divina, for daily prayer, for infant baptism. In this connection it must be noted that Pelagius's work ad Demetriaden had made his support for daily prayer, for instance, perfectly clear. In his third (private letter, in answer to the private letter of the five Bishops) Pope Innocent questioned the authenticity of the acts of the Synod of Diospolis, which he ignored in his official communications to Carthage and Milevum. He did not cite Pelagius for trial, but just accepted the African Bishops' judgment on all issues. (100)

Innocent I excommunicated Pelagius and Caelestius and concurred with all decisions and anathemata of the Council of Carthage of 416. (101) However, Innocent did give Pelagius the right to appeal, either in person or by letter, but Innocent died on 12 March 417 and Zosimus succeeded him on 18 March 417.

Zosimus was an Eastern Christian. The Councils of Jerusalem and of Diospolis meant more to him than those of Carthage; he certainly had a more favourable judgment of Pelagius and Caelestius than Innocent had. Zosimus decided to re-examine the case and therefore convoked a Synod, held in the Basilica of St. Clement in Rome in the summer of 417. Zosimus was not only impressed with the defence of Caelestius who was there in person; but he also had received the Confession of Faith that Pelagius, unaware of the previous Pope's death, had sent to Innocent. Pope Zosimus declared that Pelagius's Confession was totally orthodox and catholic and that he was a man of absolute faith. Zosimus excommunicated the accusers Heros and Lazarus and sent several letters to Africa, including one summoning Paulinus of Milan to Rome to account for his charges against Caelestius in Carthage in 411. Paulinus refused, in a letter that is extant. (102)

Meanwhile, on 21 September 417, Pope Zosimus advised the African bishops: "Amate pacem, diligite caritatem, studete concordiam. Nam scriptum est: dilige proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum." (103) Zosimus was here writing as Pelagius might have. A further African synod was convened to condemn Pelagius and Caelestius in the autumn of 417, and an African delegation was sent to Ravenna early in 418.

Since the African condemnation was going unheeded in Rome, the authority of the Emperor in Ravenna had to be invoked by Bishops Aurelius of Carthage and Augustine of Hippo. Consequently,

Pelagius and Caelestius were condemned in an Imperial Rescript dated 30 April 418, which was only a civil document, and in a renewed condemnation by 214 African Bishops at a meeting in Carthage on 1 May 418.

The Acts of this Council of Carthage in 418 (sometimes in the past confused with the Council of Milevum in 416) begin with a direct reference to the consulship of the most glorious Emperors Honorius and Theodosius. Aurelius of Carthage presided over this Council which is believed by Prosper to have provided the blueprint for the vanished Tractoria of Zosimus (written later in the summer of 418).

The 418 Carthage Council of African bishops produced nine canons of accusation which are listed in: PL 45, 1728-1730; Mansi III, 810-850; and Munier, Concilia africanae CCL 149, 69-73.

Canon 1 repeats the condemnation at Carthage in 411 of any belief in the inevitability of Adam's death, because Adam first became mortal only through the Fall. Although the Carthaginian strategy was to link in condemnation Pelagius and Caelestius, this first canon of condemnation cannot logically have concerned Pelagius, but must have been addressed to Caelestius only, since Pelagius did believe that death was the result of Adam's sin:

"Adam enim semel peccavit et mortuus est: et tu..." (104)

Pelagius also clearly wrote: "Sicut per Adam mors intravit, quia primus ipse mortuus est." (105)

The second canon of condemnation directly concerns the

doctrine of Pelagius on baptism and anathematizes him for it. It refers to the necessity to baptize new-born (recentes ab uteris matrum) infants for the remission of sins because they are born with original sin through Adam. Here the African bishops cite Augustine's preferred anti-Pelagian argument from Romans 5, 12: "Per unum hominem...et per peccatum mors, et ita...in quo omnes peccaverunt." (106) The in quo phrase here (glossed in Latin as "in whom," namely Adam) is a well-known mistaken translation into Latin from the Greek perpetuated by Ambrosiaster and reinforced by Augustine, since the meaning of the Greek is not in quo but quia or propter quod ("for all have sinned" or "on account of which all have sinned" as Pelagius, who knew Greek, wrote).

For Pelagius (as also for Chrysostom or Theodore of Mopsuestia), infants have no sin, and the phrase "for that all sinned" means that all therefore became mortal. Human sinfulness emphasizes individual human responsibility; it is not a morbidity, a sinful defect nor a hereditarily acquired corruption.

The third canon (suppressed in many collections) is closely linked in subject matter with the second. Yet the third is of the utmost importance. It firmly condemns the concept of limbo: "Item placuit [It was also agreed] that if someone states that our Lord's saying: 'my Father's house has many mansions' means that in the kingdom of heaven there is some intermediate place or any type of place anywhere where infants live happily, although they have migrated without baptism from this life, without which

baptism they cannot enter in the kingdom of heaven, which is life eternal, anathema sit [that person must be anathematized]. Since as our Lord has said, 'Unless one is reborn of water and the Holy Spirit, one will not enter into the kingdom of heaven', what Catholic can doubt that whoever has not deserved to be a co-heir with Christ must be sharing with the devil? For the one who is absent from the right without doubt falls on the left side."

(107)

Augustine specifically records that this tertium capitulum from the Council of Carthage of 418 had condemned Pelagius as a heretic when it was approved in the now lost Tractoria of Zosimus.

Augustine wrote: "Most justly did the authority of the catholic councils and of the apostolic seat condemn the recent Pelagian heretics on the account that they dared allot to the unbaptized infants a place of rest and salvation beyond the kingdom of heaven." (108) The unbaptized infants do "not enter eternal life, and they consequently certainly are condemned to the opposite, eternal death." (109)

Pelagius was thus condemned as a heretic for his belief in a special place of beatitude: the limbus puerorum, for the innocent unbaptized newborn. Pelagius and Caelestius had already been condemned by point four of a letter addressed by the Synod of Carthage of 416 to the Pope for "killing for eternity the small ones, to whom they deny the obligation of baptism." (110)

Subsequently, this "heretical" belief in a limbus puerorum for which Pelagius was condemned, together with a Limbus patrum, was to become Catholic orthodoxy with Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-1274). John Duns Scottus (1255-1308) further developed the concept of limbo.

Canons four, five and six concern divine grace. Grace, which had once permeated Scripture—especially the New Testament—in a cosmic way, now negates the power of human freewill. The denial of Augustine's view of grace becomes a reason for anathema.

Canon four anathematizes whoever says that the grace of God by which we are justified through Jesus Christ our Lord avails only for the remission of sins committed, and not also for aid against the commission of sins.

Canon five anathematizes anyone who sees grace only as revealing the commandments to people, as giving the knowledge of good, as showing what should be done or avoided, while at the same time denying that grace can give people the desire or the ability to do good. The canon cites 1 Cor. 8, 1 to emphasize that "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth," and denies any distinction maintaining that grace works toward knowledge but does not stimulate the desire to do good.

The sixth canon anathematizes those who assert that while grace makes it easier to do good, people would be able to do good anyway, without grace, although with greater difficulty. John 15, 5 quotes Christ as saying: "Without me you can do nothing."

Canon seven considers the interpretation of 1 John 1, 8 ("If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us." It is anathema to maintain that this means one must not say one has no sin because it really is so, but only out of humility. Further, whoever maintains he is sinless speaks falsehood. [It is striking how greatly this part of the accusation distorts the views of Pelagius on the possibility, but very great difficulty for an individual to reach a state of inpeccantia]

The eighth canon relates to the inclusiveness of "our" in "Forgive us our trespasses." (Matthew 6, 12) It is anathema to maintain that the saints are excluded, because they pray more for others than for themselves. All have sinned, for James writes (James 3, 2): "For in many things we offend all..." Daniel too wrote: "We have sinned and committed iniquity" (Daniel 9, 5) and "I...confessed my sin and the sin of my people..." (Daniel 9, 20).

Canon nine returns to the inclusiveness of "our trespasses" and emphasizes that anyone who believes that the saints say: "Forgive us our trespasses" out of humility and not truth, is anathematized. Such belief would have to imply that the person praying was deceiving the Lord because he would be asking with his lips for forgiveness, but saying in his heart that he had no guilt. When the saints recite the Lord's Prayer it is not just an exercise in humility, but a statement of truth.

Prosper wrote in his Chronicle that the canons of Carthage of 418 were sent to Zosimus; these canons having been approved by him, the Pelagian heresy was condemned throughout the world. (111)

After the appearance of the Imperial Rescript Pope Zosimus had no choice. What remains surprising, however, given the abundance of the African documentation, is that the crucial church document in the affair—the text of the condemnation of Pelagius for heresy by the Pope, as distinct from civil and local church documents—remains missing.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

- (1) See Hugh Williams, Christianity in Early Britain. Oxford, (1912), pp. 438-480, esp. 446-7, note 1.
- (2) Jerome, Ep. 50, CSEL 54: 388-395, 1.
- (3) Jerome, Dial. adv. Pel., I, 28.
- (4) Jerome, Praef. in Hier., PL 34, I, 4.
- (5) Jerome, Dial. adv. Pel., III, 16.
- (6) Jerome, Praef. in Hier., III, 1; Ep. 50, 1.
- (7) Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford, (1969), p. 38 <24>. This citation is from I, 10 of Bede.
- (8) Orosius, Liber Apologeticus, PL 31; CSEL 5 (Zangemeister), 2, 16; also cf Jerome, Dial. I, 29 and II, 10; Ep. 50, 4.
- (9) Jerome, Ep. 50, 1-5, CSEL 54; also Dial. adv. Pel., 1, 25.
- (10) W. H. C. Frend, in Christianity in Britain..., Barley and Hanson, editors, "The Christianization of Roman Britain", pp. 37-49, here p. 44.
- (11) Augustine, ...de peccato originali, IV, 4.
- (12) Augustine, de gestis Pelagii, XI, 25).
- (13) Pelagius, Expositiones..., Romans, 5, 12. from Zimmer, Pelagius in Irland, (1901) p. 294 sq.; also ed. Souter, (1926), 2, p. 45. "Dum ita peccantes et similiter moriuntur... Sive in eos omnes pertransiit, qui humano non caelesti ritu uiuebant... anima qui peccat, ipsa morietur".
- (14) "Si Adae inquit, peccatum etiam non peccantibus nocuit, ergo et Christi iustitia etiam non credentibus prodest... Deinde aiunt: si baptismum mundat antiquum illud delictum, qui de duobus baptizatis nati fuerunt debent hoc carere peccato: non etiam potuerunt transmittere quod ipsi minime habuerunt..." (Romans 5, 14).
- (15) As quoted in Augustine, De gratia Christi et de peccato originali, II, c. XIII, p. 180.
- (16) Pelagius's terse question-and-answer teaching was imitated by Irish Biblical Commentaries of the Early Middle Ages, as studied by B. Bischoff esp. in "Wendepunkte..." in Mittelalterliche Studien (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966), Band I, pp. 205-273; also M. McNamara, etc. This type of teaching in a Pelagian way will enhance the reputation of the early Irish grammarians and scriptural commentators, and of Alcuin and Abélard in later times.
- (17) Augustine, De natura et gratia, BA 21, LIV. Regarding this terse question-and-answer teaching technique of Pelagius, see note 2 on pp. 364-365 of Augustine's De natura et gratia BA 21; also endnote 20 on pp. 595-596, referring as well to VII, 16, p. 149. As stated in endnote 20: "le procédé consistant à condenser dans le cadre rapide et serré de quelques interrogations la substance de toute une controverse, était une des formes préférées de la dialectique pélagienne et fut apparemment l'une des causes de

son succès...Pélage usait de cette technique interrogative en son De natura... Mercator nous apprend que les Pélagiens firent grand usage de cette tactique au cours de la campagne de propagande qu'ils menèrent à Rome pendant l'hiver 417-418. Cf. G. de Plinval, Pélage..., p. 217, n. 4 et 321."

(18) Augustine, De anima et gratia, BA 21, LXIX, 83, p. 408; De induratione..., PLS 1, 1526. Yet, for Pelagius only God is totally good by nature: "Nam docuit Spiritus Sanctus qualis vel quanta sit bona Dei voluntas...et Quae vel cuius potest esse bona voluntas nisi solus Dei, qui solus natura bonus est."

(19) Souter, p. 205

(20) Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition. Vol. I, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600). (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 315-316.

(21) Pelagius, ad Demetriaden, PL 33, VIII, 1104.

(22) Pelagius, op. cit., 1100-1.

(23) Augustine, Enchiridion, BA 9, IX, 30, p. 158.

(24) R. F. Evans, Pelagius, Inquiries..., p. 108.

(25) Evans, loc. cit.

(26) John Ferguson, Pelagius. A Historical and Theological Study (Cambridge: W. Heffer, 1956), p. 108.

(27) C. P. Caspari, Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten aus den zwei letzten Jahrhunderten des kirchlichen Alterthums und dem Anfang des Mittelalters (Christiania: Mallings Buchdr. 1890), pp. 67-113; PLS 1, 1418-1457.

(28) See J. Ferguson, op. cit., p. 157. Ferguson writes of this letter that few passages of comparable power exist in the whole library of Christian literature.

(29) C. P. Caspari, op. cit., pp. 102, 104, 105-109; also PLS 1, 1448-1458. Translation here by the writer of this thesis.

(30) Pelagius, PL 48, 610.

(31) Pelagius, PL 48, 1718.

(32) Pelagius, as quoted by Augustine, in his De gratia Christi et de peccato originali, I. c. XXVIII, BA, p. 90.

(33) Pelagius, Libellus fidei Pelagii, PL 45, 715.

(34) Pelagius, Expositiones..., Rom. 6, 4.

(35) Pelagius, De libero arbitrio, Book 3, as cited by Augustine, De gratis Christi et de peccato originali, I. 5, 8-11.

(36) Pelagius, De libero arbitrio, as quoted by Augustine in De gratia Christi et de peccato originali, I. 5, 8-11.

(37) Pelagius, PLS, Fragmentum 39, 1570, which reads: PELAG "Quibus modis karitas consistat? Karitas quatuor modis constitit. Hoc est in Deo dilectione quae prima est. Secunda si nosmetipsos secundum Deum amamus. Tercia proximos. Quarta etiam inimicos. Deus ergo plus quam nos diligere debemus. Proximos sicut nos. Inimicum ut proximum."

(38) Augustine, De gratia Christi et de peccato originali, BA 22, XXVI, 30 ff.; cf Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum I, 21, 39; also endnote 15: Le "comput pélagien," BA 22, 724-728.

(39) Georges de Plinval, Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme (Lausanne: Payot, 1943), p. 65.

(40) Gerald Bonner, "Les origines africaines de la doctrine augustinienne sur la chute et le péché originel," in Augustinus. Strenas Augustinianas..., Vol. I, Madrid, 1967, pp. 97-116. See also P. Floëri, "Le pape Zosima et la doctrine augustinienne du péché originel," in Augustinus magister II, pp. 755-761.

(41) Augustine, De gratia Christi et de peccato originali, BA 22, pp. 220 ff.; Augustine, De natura et gratia, BA 21, also PL 44, 247-290 and CSEL 60, 231-199. Quotations are highly selective. The manuscript of Pelagius's De natura disappeared mysteriously (see Souter, Pelagius' Expositions of Thirteen Letters of St. Paul, Vol. 1, Cambridge, MA, 1922, p. 338) and was later cited by Augustine.

(42) R. Schmidt, "Aetates Mundi. Die Weltalter als Gliederungsprinzip der Geschichte," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Vierte Folge V; LXVII (Stuttgart, 1955-1956): 288-317. After Pelagius an African, perhaps Quodvultdeus, used similar chronology in De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis (c. 440-445).

(43) G. de Plinval, op. cit., p. 66.

(44) G. de Plinval, ibid. Note that these "droits et responsabilités de la personne libre" will be taken up again later in the discussion on Alcuin in Chapter VII.

(45) Augustine, ...de peccato originali II, XXVI, 30; also, in BA 22, note complémentaire 15: Le "comput" pélagien, pp. 724-728. However, see also in Torgny Bohlin, Die Theologie des Pelagius und ihre Genesis (Uppsala, 1957), pp. 108-110 and his comparison with Hilarius, who did not systematize history as Pelagius did, but thought along similar lines.

(46) Augustine, ...de peccato originali II, XXVI, 31.

(47) A. de Veer, BA 22, p. 728.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Gilbert Greshake, Gnade als konkrete Freiheit: eine Untersuchung zur Gnadenlehre des Pelagius (Mainz, 1972), pp. 94-95.

(50) Op. cit., pp. 226-228.

(51) G. de Plinval, "La doctrine de Pélage selon saint Augustin," BA 22, pp. 38-39.

(52) Augustine, ...de peccato originali II, XXVI, 30, BA 22, pp. 220-222. The full text in translation reads: "Therefore let us not divide periods of time in the way of Pelagius and his disciples, who say that there first lived just people in the time of nature, then under the law, then under grace. In the time of nature, namely that long period from Adam when the law was not yet given: 'During that time, they say, the Creator was known by the guide of one's reason, and how one must live was written in the heart, not in a written law, but in a law of nature. However, they say, when nature, morals having become corrupted, lost its glow and could not keep itself sufficient, the law was added to it. This law, like a file, scraped the rust off and gave back its

pristine shine. But after that, so they argue, such an excessive habit of sin prevailed, a situation that the law offered little to heal. Christ came, and, just as in a most desperate illness, the physician intervened, not through his disciples, but himself in person."

(53) Greshake, op. cit., p. 94.

(54) Greshake, op. cit., pp. 54, 62 and de Plinval, "L'heure est-elle..." p. 158.

(55) Pelagius Britto, Liber de induratione cordis Pharaonis et de vasis honoris et contumeliae. PLS 1, 1507: "Optimus dispensator humani generis Deus, cum videret impulsu diaboli a sua notitia obliquam effectam humanam naturam, et veluti dissipatam et confractam legem, quam posuerat in natura, de qua dicit propheta: 'Dissipaverunt iniqui legem tuam,' tali ordine legem divinam per Moysen direxisse cognoscitur..."; and also Augustine, ...de peccato originali II, XXVI, 30, BA 22, p. 220: "Lex et addita est, quae velut lima fulgori pristino detrita rubigine redderetur."

(56) Pelagius, De induratione... PLS 1, 1510. The text reads: "Verbi gratia, ut agitur in Decalogo, ubi ipsi mosayca lex initium sumit, vel scriptis renovatur lex divina, quae iam dudum data fuerat per naturam; ubi dicitur: 'Ego dominus Deus tuus, qui eduxi te de terra Aegypti: non erunt tibi dii praeter me. Non facies tibi ullam similitudinem, quae in caelo sunt et in terra vel in aquis, et non coles ea nec adorabis ea. Non occides hominem; non adulterabis; non concupisces quicumque proximi tui. Honora patrem tuum et matrem. Diliges dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota virtute tua.'

Vel illud, in quo ait Apostolus totam legem et prophetas pendere: 'Diliges,' inquit, 'proximum tuum tanquam te ipsum'; et: 'Quod tibi non vis fieri alio non feceris'; et multa his similia. Numquid haec interprete indigent aut allegoriam requirunt? Haec utique oculis vel auribus comparanda sunt."

The thoughts in this last paragraph recur constantly in Pelagius, a point on which several authors have remarked. Pelagius was fond of quoting Matthew XXII, 35-40. J. Bulloch, in The Life of the Celtic Church (Edinburgh, 1963) phrases it differently from de Plinval, but the emphasis on "don't do unto others..." remains primary. Bulloch notes: "A Christian is he who is one not in word but in deed, who imitates and follows Christ in everything...who refuses to injure or hurt anyone...He is a Christian who can justly say: 'I have injured no one. I have lived righteously with all.'" Bulloch adds a shrewd note: "It only needs a brief outline of Pelagianism to commend his teaching to our own age and land, for he is the standing heresy of these islands, and to learn a modern version of it no more is needed than attendance at a few of our most popular city churches." Here (pp. 108-109) Bulloch is summing up the significant Chapter VI of the Epistula de possibilitate non peccandi.

(57) Augustine, De gestis Pelagii, V. 13. See also note 63 in BA 21, 5: "Unité et continuité de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament: 'Regnum caelorum etiam in vetere Testamento promissum'... Très attachés à l'étude de la Bible, les Pélagiens cherchaient naturellement à souligner la similitude et la concordance de la Révélation à travers les deux Testaments... Il y a parti pris dans la critique d'Augustin, qui pour mieux établir une démarcation profonde entre l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament veut absolument rattacher au monde du Sinai, dans un sens géographique concret, tout ce qui concerne la pensée et les espérances du peuple juif, et qui réduit... au matérialisme, toutes les perspectives de l'Ancien Testament..." pp. 629-630.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Pelagius, Liber de vita Christiana, PL 40, 1031-1046.

(61) Op. cit., 1038. See also F. L. Battles, Pelagius. The Christian Life (Pittsburg, 2nd printing, 1973), end of Chapter 8, p. 22.

(62) Pelagius, op. cit., 1280.

(63) In Ep. ad Timotheum, I, PLS 1351-2.

(64) In Ep. ad Romanos, VIII, 2, PLS 1, 1145.

(65) Ibid.

(66) Henry Chadwick, Augustine (Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 108. See also the earlier discussion of Augustine and grace in Part 2 of this chapter (pp. 12-19 above).

(67) Augustine of Hippo, de gestis Pelagii (Bruges, Desclée De Brouwer, 1966), BA 21, XXII, 46; Retractationes, PL 32, II, 31.

(68) Augustine of Hippo, Ep. 186, 1.

(69) Augustine of Hippo, De peccatorum meritis, III, 1 and 6.

(70) J. P. Burns, "A Change in Augustine's Doctrine of Operative Grace in 418" in Studia Patristica (Oxford: 1975), XVI, Part 2, p. 491. The opinion of Leo Ferrari (from his notes for a Public Lecture delivered at the University of Ottawa on 30th October, 1986, 15 typed pages, publication forthcoming) is relevant here. Speaking of the Confessions, Ferrari discusses the "dramatic licence" (p. 13) which Augustine takes "with the original facts" (p. 8) of his conversion to "maximize [the]... impact on hearers." (p. 13). Ferrari says Augustine anticipated the "violent uproar" (p. 12) to be provoked in Christendom by his views on predestination, and that his Confessions were "a purposeful rebuttal prepared expressly to silence that uproar which became known as Pelagianism." (p. 13).

(71) W. H. C. Frend, Saints and Sinners in the Early Church (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1985), p. 121.

(72) See Harry A. Wolfson, "Philosophical Implications of the Pelagian Controversy," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 103, no. 4, August 1959, pp. 554-562, p. 562.

Also W. H. C. Frend, Saints and Sinners..., pp. 118 and 125;

W. H. C. Frend, The Rise of Christianity (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), pp. 673-683; Gerald Bonner, "Les origines africaines

de la doctrine augustinienne sur la chute et le péché originel" in J. Oroz-Reta, ed. Augustinus Strenas Augustinianas, P. Victorino Capánaga... (Madrid: Librería Editorial Augustinus, 1967), in 2 vols., vol. 1. Theologica, pp. 97-116; F. Floëri, "Le pape Zosime et la doctrine augustinienne du péché originel" in Augustinus Magister II, pp. 755-761; Robert A. Markus, "Pelagianism: Britain and the Continent," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. 37, no. 2, April 1986, pp. 191-204. C. A. García-Allen, "Pelagius and Christian Initiation: A Study in Historical Theology," (The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.: thesis, 1978), pp. 186-246.

(73) R. A. Markus, op. cit., p. 198.

(74) Zosimus, New History (ed. Mendelssohn, 1887), VI, 5 and VI, 10. It is worth considering whether Pelagius may not have been the first and only light of the early British Church. There must have been an intellectual climate favourable to the development of such an intellect as his, even if it was only the Roman state school system.

(75) J. N. L. Myres, in Christianity in Britain, 300-700, M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson, editors (Leicester University Press, 1968), Introduction, 1-8, pp. 1-2. See also his note 2, p. 8, "The fourth [bishop] seems to have been represented by the priest and deacon in the party". Myres depends on J. C. Mann for his facts here.

(76) G. Bonner, op. cit., p. 99.

(77) R. A. Markus, op. cit., p. 198.

(78) R. A. Markus, op. cit., p. 199.

(79) R. A. Markus, ibid.

(80) J. N. L. Myres, in Christianity in Britain..., Barley and Hanson, editors, Introduction, pp. 1-8, here p. 1-2.

(81) John Ferguson, Pelagius... p. 51 on canon 7; Otto Wermelinger, Rom und Pelagius, p. 11.

(82) Orosius, Liber Apologeticus, 4.

(83) Ferguson, op. cit., p. 84; Augustine, de gestis Pelagii, 30, 54.

(84) Expositiones..., Souter, p. 215.

(85) Expositiones..., Souter, p. 76.

(86) Psalm CXXVII, 1.

(87) Orosius, Lib. apol., 6.

(88) Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition, Vol. 1, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600), Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 315-316; also R. A. Markus, "Pelagianism: Britain and the Continent," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 37, no. 2, April 1986, 191-204. espec. p. 198; also his note 33 on p. 198.

(89) Zosimus, Epistula 4, PL 45, 1721-23.

(90) Augustine, de gestis Pelagii, i, 2; iii, 5; iii, 9; iv, 12; v, 13; vi, 16; xii, 27; Mansi IV, 307-312. See also Ferguson, p. 87.

(91) John Ferguson, Pelagius..., p. 86. See also Dictionnaire de spiritualité, Vol. 12, cols. 2896-97.

(92) CSEL 42, 52-53, de gestis Pelagii 1. 2 and 20, 44; and Otto Wermelinger, op cit., pp. 295-299.

(93) Synodi carthagensis, PL 45, 1711.)

(94) Synodi Milevitanae, PL 45, 1712.)

(95) Quinque Episcoporum, PL 45, 1713.

(96) PL 45, 1713.

(97) John Ferguson, Pelagius..., p. 94.

(98) PL 45, 1713; Augustine, Ep. 177.

(99) G. de Pflinval, Pélage..., p. 307.

(100) F. Loofs, article "Pelagius" in The New Schaff Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge (New York and London, 1910), Vol. VIII, 437-443, 441.)

(101) Innocent I, Ep. 181-182-183 in Augustine's letters CSEL 44, 701-703; PL 45, 1714-15.

(102) PL 45, 1724-5.

(103) PL 45, 1722.

(104) Pelagius, De virginitate, c. 7. CSEL 1, 233.

(105) Expositiones... 1. Cor. 15, 22.

(106) Augustine, Contra Iulianum, VI, 75. See also Augustine's Sermons 293 and 294, preached three days apart in 413 in Carthage.

(107) PL 20, 694. See also Duchesne (Histoire ancienne, III, p. 236, n. 1) for the suppression of this canon in many collections. Duchesne notes that it is "une suppression voulue, car le canon est certainement authentique." It probably had many similarities with the missing Papal Tractoria, since it served as a blueprint for the latter.

(108) PL 20, 694, citing Augustine, De anima et ejus origine, II, c. 12, n. 17.

(109) Augustine, Contra duas Ep. Pel., II, 4, 7.

(110) Aurelius, Numidius, et al., PL 45, 1712. "Parvulos etiam, propter salutem quae per salvatorem Christum datur, baptizandos negant, ac sic eos mortifera ista doctrina in aeternum necant, etc."

(111) See PL 20, 694.

Chapter II

ENEMIES AND FRIENDS OF PELAGIUS. LATER "SEMI-PELAGIANISM." (Status Quaestionis).

Several books and many more articles have been written during this century concerning Pelagius, his enemies and his friends.

The bibliography lists most of them. This chapter consists of a survey of the enemies and friends of Pelagius, in his time, and in the rest of the fifth century. It will be approached, not from a theological viewpoint, but from the vantage-point of a historian examining the sequence of events and the order in which the ideas were exchanged.

Thomas Sheehan's 1986 book is an important contribution to the debate on the future of Christianity. (1) In his late 1986 review of this work Aaron A. Rhodes writes: "The book's central point is that Jesus' real message was 'an invitation to live God's future in the present.' This revolutionary message intrinsically ended 'religion': Jesus proclaimed the incarnation of God, which should have undone religion and replaced it with radical mercy and an ethics of conversion. God's presence would be actualized 'in lives of justice and charity'..." Instead and as the result of a denial of the essence of Jesus' message, "Christianity became a dogma about Jesus and about the past..." Rhodes adds: "Mr. Sheehan (following George Tyrell) describes the 19th-century liberal Protestant quest for Jesus as looking down a well and seeing one's reflection." (2)

In fact, however, in every century since the Crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth, followed by the Messianic message of the New Testament and the new interpretation by Paul of this message, man has been looking down a well and seeing his own reflection. That this reflection happened to take on different meanings for thinkers living in the fourth to the fifth centuries was to be expected.

Pelagius, in his time, had two major enemies: Augustine and Jerome. Pelagius looked down the well for Jesus and saw bountiful individual free will, coming from a just Creator. For his part, Augustine, being very conscious of man's feet of clay, and of his own anxieties, saw original sin and the chosen few redeemed only by special God-given grace. When Jerome looked down the well, he saw the perfect erudite scribe and curmudgeon. Brought into conflict with each other, these three strong personalities were to help shape a theological dogma far removed from Jesus' simple message.

1. Augustine.

Augustine's written work against Pelagius and his followers is impressive:

Epistula ad Hilarium Syracusanum;
De perfectione iustitiae hominis;
De natura et gratia;
De gestis Pelagii;
De nuptiis et concupiscentia;
Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum;
De gratia Christi et de peccato originali;
De natura et origine animae;
De gratia et libero arbitrio;
De correptione et gratia;
De praedestinatione sanctorum;

De dono perseverantiae;
Contra secundam Juliani Responsionem
imperfectum opus, 6 lib. (3)

Some scholars add to this list the Hypomnesticon contra Pelagianos et Coelestianos, although modern research tends to disagree that it was written by Augustine. (4)

Augustine's anti-Pelagian works are so numerous as well as insistent that the volume alone of this hostile output tends to put to rest the myth that Pelagius was a superficial lightweight and a lesser intelligence than Augustine. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, writing recently on John Scot Erigena—an Irish-born and curiously Pelagian-influenced theologian (5)—makes a comment which applies equally to Pelagius that "Suspicion must always centre round a very clever man." (6) Pelagius must have been perceived by Augustine as a very clever man indeed, and one to be chased off the geographical and theological map.

When confronted by Julian of Aclanum—the only Pelagian follower ready to answer rhetorical point for point—Augustine's polemical anti-Pelagian work could only invoke the devices of rhetorical caricature; furthermore, Julian, whose brilliant career was cut short by the controversy, effectively returned blow for blow, but ended up looking just as petty himself. (7)

Peter Brown has made a perceptive observation on the difference between the faith of Pelagius and the faith of Augustine. Although the great hope of Christianity at its beginning was for a renewal, "for Augustine, all things had not

become new". To his "somewhat conventional account of a dramatic conversion...Augustine, the middle-aged bishop, would add the amazing Book x," on reading which "Pelagius was 'highly indignant.' Brown continues: "He was right. This one book of the Confessions marks the parting of the ways," because for "Augustine....neither baptism nor the experience of conversion could break the monotonous continuity of a life that was 'one long temptation'." With this approach "Augustine had abandoned a great tradition of Western Christianity...Pelagius...seized on the logical conclusions of this tradition: he is the last, the most radical, and the most paradoxical exponent of the ancient Christianity—the Christianity of discontinuity." (8) Brown's emphasis on discontinuity is particularly significant.

He next discusses the existence in late 4th century Italy of this Church of discontinuity, the Church as a minority, the Christian Church—as envisaged by Pelagius—as a missionary group. (9) Meanwhile, for Augustine, "the convert...saved from certain death by the ointment of baptism...must, nevertheless, be resigned to spending a lifetime of precarious convalescence in the Inn of the Catholic Church." (10)

Brown concludes that "The watershed between the Pelagians and their opponents, therefore, passed directly through the idea of the Church...Their [the Pelagians'] activities posed the problem of 'the state of the Church in this world'." (11) Brown adds that, being late Roman men, the Pelagians would have been

reforming authoritarians. However, there is no proof that Pelagians were either reformists or authoritarians. When the Christian Church was founded, it was mainly to be a Church of discontinuity. The paradox of the church of discontinuity is that it was missionary and enthusiastic; the church of discontinuity believed passionately, as did Pelagius, in one single law for all and in all things becoming new in baptism. Augustine's vision of the church, rooted in his own nature, was hierarchical, based on guilt and his own concept of penance. It was depressingly more of the same Roman empire hierarchy, with the added constraint that paradise itself would belong to the chosen predestined few.

In fact, it may be that, because of their isolation from Rome after 410, the Celtic Churches kept their 'pre-Pelagian' missionary zeal and remained, to a remarkable degree, Churches of discontinuity. However, it is clear that the church of discontinuity as represented by Pelagius in the Latin West created a problem for the Emperor and bishops. At this point in the Konjunktur it was the good fortune of the hierarchy that Augustine conceptualized transcendental grace.

A high price was paid by the Western Church for accepting the Augustinian dogma of original sin and double predestination, however. The Pope and the Emperor would not always be in agreement as they were in the condemnation of Pelagius.

As for life on earth, it entered into the hierarchized world of the Middle Ages, with emphasis on individual guilt in a guilt-

ridden society. Its official religious mentality becomes that of sackcloth penitents, occasionally relieved by pagan pre-Lenten carnivals. The bulk of Western Christianity had shifted significantly away from the proud Pelagian "Sons of God" concept.

2. Jerome.

Whether one agrees or not with Robert Evans that Jerome was the most percipient, the oldest and the greatest opponent of Pelagius, (12) Jerome was certainly the catalyst of the Pelagian controversy. An attack was made in the autumn of 416 by unknown persons on his monastery in Bethlehem. Aurelius and Augustine blamed it on Pelagius without any evidence. Had the attack not occurred, and been reported through Aurelius to Pope Innocent I, the latter might not have reacted so angrily against Pelagius and the Bishop of Jerusalem.

While Palestine was the locus of the recorded controversy, the web of quarrels with Jerome is most wide. When he settled in the otherwise sympathetic town of Jerusalem, Pelagius had placed himself "dans un entourage redoutable...le vieil et incommode ascète, saint Jérôme, quærens quem devoret..." (13)

Pelagius and Jerome had known each other in Rome in the 380's and became displeased with each other at some time between 390 and 400. Pelagius was certainly perceived as a rival by Jerome already during their time in Rome. Moreover, Pelagius, as a

commentator, was very knowledgeable about the use of Origen in Jerome's commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians (as de Plinval notes on pp. 111-113 and pp. 133-134 of his Image...). Pelagius, who had also written against Jovinian, but in more moderate terms, knew too about the coarse caricature of marriage written by Jerome against Jovinian.

There are many complications in the historical dossier Pelagius-Jerome. John of Jerusalem, a trusted friend of Pelagius, complained about Jerome in June 396 and defended Theophilus of Alexandria. The very next year, Jerome attacked John of Jerusalem with his Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum. Another close friend of Pelagius, Rufinus, who was also linked to other Pelagian circles at Aquileia, Rome and Nola, translated Pamphilus's Apology for Origen; Rufinus also translated Origen's Peri Arkhon or De principiis. In these translations, written in 397 and 398, "Rufinus had offered some words of response to the Contra Iohannem Hierosolymitanum. Furthermore, he had presented himself as continuing the work of Jerome, who previously had translated more than 70 homilies of Origen..." (14) In answer to this "Jerome made his own translation of De principiis accompanied by Ep. 84, which was insulting to Rufinus, now the object of slander on the part of various friends of Jerome." (15)

Rufinus reacted to Jerome with an Apologia in 400 and another Apologia in 401. Jerome wrote his three books Apologia adversus libros Rufini or the Contra Rufinum (in 401 and 402) and they are

"a rude response more personal than dogmatic in nature." (16)

The potential enmity that had threatened already in the early 380's, and again later in the early 390's, became very real with Pelagius's arrival in Palestine. At the very least, his presence there reminded Jerome of his past in Rome and of a group of perceived opponents whom Jerome would much rather have forgotten.

At worst, the arrival of Pelagius in Jerusalem around 411 reopens Jerome's unresolved polemic with Rufinus. Jerome spent the rest of his life attacking Pelagius and the latter's ideas as if they could be equated with the ideas of Rufinus, and especially with Origenism. He nicknamed Rufinus "Grunnius" and called Pelagius a Catilina with the pride of Cato.

In 414 Jerome wrote his long letter to Ctesiphon and followed it the next year with the Dialogi adversus Pelagianos. Curiously, the latter work is the most readable of all contemporary anti-Pelagian tracts. Nevertheless, its premises side-step the central issues, and its line of reasoning is Stoic. Jerome considered incorrectly that Pelagius was promoting apatheia (a concept to be discussed in more detail below), and Jerome sought to devise a Socratic argument in the Platonic mode. The aging Jerome was, it is true, less opposed to Pelagius than to Rufinus. However, like Augustine, Jerome entertained the illusion that he had finally squashed the ideas of Pelagius.

Notwithstanding, Origen's ghost and Jerome's love-hate relationship with the Alexandrian theologian permeated this last

dispute of Jerome's as they had many of his previous ones. John Ferguson wrote: "Jerome has Origenism on the brain." (17) Thus, when assessing Pelagius, Jerome described him too as an Origenist, and, for good measure, also as a Jovinianist, a follower of Zenon the Stoic and of Evagrius Ponticus.

Both de Plinval and Ferguson react sharply against the accusation of Jerome that Pelagius is promoting apatheia. Ferguson comments: "Jerome's error in seeing in Evagrius a precursor of Pelagius is understandable but inexcusable. This is nothing to do with Pelagius' assertion that at each moment when we sin it is through our own most grievous fault, and we could have acted otherwise." (18) Subsequently, as Ferguson notes, when Pelagius attempts a reconciliation, Jerome describes him as resembling a rat ["quasi mus"]. (19) Jerome is partial to rodent and canine comparisons when describing individuals whom he perceives as opponents.

Nevertheless, Robert Evans revived the theory that Pelagius believed in apatheia. There is however only a superficial resemblance between Nirvanic apatheia and the Christian striving for inpeccantia. Pelagius was among the earliest opponents of Jovinian, but considered that Jerome had gone much too far in his antifeminine arguments against marriage in the course of the Jovinian controversy. Jerome's arguments had repelled not only Pelagius, but many Romans of the time, including Pammachius. The latter, to protect Jerome, hastened to acquire all available

remaining copies of Jerome's adversus Jovinianum in order to keep them out of circulation. In the same protective spirit Domnion, a friend of Jerome's, sent him a list of the most controversial passages in adversus Jovinianum, those which were attracting the strongest criticism. Domnion noted that some of these criticisms were even made by a monk in Rome who had himself criticized Jovinian's theory, but who did not think highly of Jerome's arguments. Jerome's famous letter to Domnion was the response.

The rival of Jerome in 393-394 is much more likely to have been Pelagius than John of Jerusalem, for instance, as Y.-M. Duval wrongly suggests. (20) The evidence for the identification of Pelagius as the monk of Epistula 50 is formidable, so that Pelagius is most probably the monk in this letter to Domnion. The monk was identified as Pelagius by Georges de Plinval; the latter, who remains the foremost specialist on Pelagius, has assembled a convincing dossier in his Pélage, ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme, pp. 51 ff. (21) J. N. L. Myres, in his "Pelagius and the End of the Roman Rule in Britain", JRS, pp. 21-36, agrees with de Plinval. John Ferguson finds de Plinval's reasons for the identification with Pelagius quite plausible (in his Pelagius, pp. 77-78). One more scholar, R. F. Evans, in his Inquiries... (pp. 31-37), makes a detailed and compelling case in 12 points for the identification with Pelagius. (22)

Several passages in the letter to Domnion do in fact match the physical portrait given by Jerome and Orosius, as discussed in the

previous chapter. The monk teaches Scripture to young Roman women, has a wide following of women (Jerome refers to Pelagius's "Amazons" at least twice: Dial. adv. Pel., I, 25 and Comment. in Ier. 3, 60, 3). Self-taught, he preaches syllogisms and methodical divisions everywhere, even to mere women, "mulierculas". What exactly does he teach in Roman houses, in women's bedrooms, Jerome asks? (Ep. 50, 1-5)

The central piece of evidence is still: "tenacious in argument, he fights with head poised obliquely and tilted sharply forward" (Ep. 50, 4). It identifies Pelagius in Jerome's Dial. adv. Pel., I, 29 and II, 10 and in Orosius, Lib. Apol., 31.

The large size of Pelagius is also harped on: "he has the shoulders and the strength of athletes (wrestlers) and is nicely corpulent." (Ep. 50, 22) This must be linked with "You tower above the shoulders of Milo (the wrestler)" addressed by Jerome to Pelagius twenty years later, in Dial. adv. Pel., I, 28, with Jerome's In Ier., 3, 1 "canem, grandem et corpulentem" and its Prologue "stolidissimus et Scottorum pultibus praegravatus". Similarly, in Orosius's physical portrait of Pelagius in his Liber Apologeticus. Pelagius has the immense (immanissimus) build of Goliath (Lib. Apol., 2). Pelagius has broad shoulders and a stout neck (ibid., 31). This was written by Orosius especially against Pelagius after the latter's acquittal by the Synod of Jerusalem in 415 but it matches perfectly the monk described by Jerome in Ep. 50.

For all his salacious and malicious implications, Jerome is showing great jealousy of the unnamed and self-taught monk of Ep. 50 for teaching just as successfully and having exactly the same following as Jerome did when in Rome. Pelagius did not think of himself as a monk, a word which he reserved for hermits. But the synod of Diospolis called him a monk, as did Augustine and Mercator.

Evans links the identification with Jerome's accusation that Pelagius had Origenist attitudes. However, it is not correct to attribute Origenist views to Pelagius. Inasmuch as Pelagius was in communion with the Church of Antioch, he must have rejected the formal errors in Origenism. Jerome's assertions—in view of his record and his stock-in-trade of insults—must be critically examined and verified independently when he accuses anyone of Origenism.

Consequently also, since the evidence in Epistula 50 to Domnion points to Pelagius, this letter must be included in those works written by Jerome which are directed against Pelagius. The other three are:

Epistula ad Ctesiphontem;
Dialogi adversus Pelagianos;
The Commentary In Ieremiam.

Pelagius's name is also mentioned in Epistula 152, written to Riparius in 418. There is a brief mention of "Pelagianae hereseos" in Epistula 154, 3.

In sum, Jerome's mind stood confused yet fixed in the great shadow of Origen; he never renewed his ideas. Of course, Origen had been to the Christian third century the major influence that Augustine became in the Western Church of the fifth century.

Origen was a theologian of great importance and it was normal that both Rufinus and Jerome would translate him. However, Jerome's accusation against Pelagius of Origenism, as in his "doctrina tua Origenis ramusculus est" (23) does not lend itself to independent verification.

3. Orosius.

De Plinval characterizes the Iberian fifth-century priest Orosius, born in Tarragona as follows: "Ce jeune pèlerin avait une vocation d'inquisiteur..." (24) Orosius had fled from the Arian Visigoths to Africa. From there he was sent to Palestine in 415 by Augustine with a letter of introduction to Jerome. "...In reality, it would seem, his business was to stir up and assist Jerome and others against Pelagius, who, since the synod of Carthage in 411, had been living in Palestine, and finding some acceptance there." (25) Orosius settled near Jerome in Bethlehem, and he accused Pelagius of heresy. As a result of Orosius's charges, John of Jerusalem summoned a synod in June 415. At this Synod held in Jerusalem, Orosius "communicated the decisions of Carthage and read such of Augustine's writings against Pelagius as had at that time appeared." (26) Augustine had in June 413 already preached his

Sermons 293 and 294 against the views of Pelagius about the innocence of unbaptized infants.

Orosius did not get from the synod the reaction that he was expecting. In fact, in September of the same year, the Bishop of Jerusalem refused Orosius's greetings on the feast of the Dedication (Encaeniae) and put the informer himself in the role of the accused. The situation was reversed and the accusers of Pelagius were now called "the enemies of grace".

Upon a further complaint against Caelestius and Pelagius by Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix (both coached by Orosius and Jerome about Pelagius), 14 bishops gathered in December 415 at the Council of Diospolis. The accusation against Pelagius was written in Latin and had to be translated into Greek. Pelagius responded to the charge in Greek. The Council completely exonerated him on all counts, confirming that he was in communion with the Church and a Catholic.

Consequently, Pelagius was twice acquitted in Palestine in 415: "This double acquittal of Pelagius in the East, despite the polemics of St Augustine and St Jerome, alarmed the Africans. In 416 councils held at Carthage and Milevis condemned Pelagius and Caelestius in absentia and asked Pope Innocent to anathematize Pelagianism." (27)

Orosius styled himself as a David to Pelagius's Goliath. (28) Having been refused the result he expected from the clergy of Jerusalem, he wrote the Liber Apologeticus de arbitrii libertate.

also called Liber Apologeticus contra Pelagianos, a short and caricatural work in two parts. Chapters 1-11 consist of a defense against the counter-accusations by John of Jerusalem against Orosius. Then Chapters 12-33 are written to parody the teaching of Pelagius. An examination of the content of the Apologeticus shows why Francois Paschoud, (29) for instance, has such little esteem for Orosius. The same inaccuracy pervades the Hormesta. Despite this the negative reports and writings of Orosius on Pelagius played their role at the time.

4. Marius Mercator.

Marius Mercator was an African merchant of the early fifth century who often travelled on business to the East, especially to Constantinople. He corresponded with Augustine on how best to combat Pelagius, and sent Augustine a copy of two of his numerous anti-Pelagian works.

While Augustine had principally reacted against Pelagius himself, Mercator focused his polemical skills more on attacking the followers of Pelagius. For instance, Mercator writes of Coelestius Pelagiusque or of Coelestius et Pelagius. He is more interested, almost in a personal way and as if he had met him, in Coelestius. Mercator seems to have taken up the anti-Pelagian offensive when Orosius disappeared from sight. In an age of dedicated propagandists, Mercator was a model of the type.

Mercator may have originated the linking of the Pelagians with

the Nestorians in order to prepare the way for one more show of temporary ecclesiastical unity between East and West at the council of Ephesus. The major religious horse-trader involved may have been Mercator. Like Orosius, Mercator disappears after 'his' heretics are publicly condemned.

Mercator wrote

Commonitorium super nomine Coelestii.
A Commentary on the letter of Julian of
of Aeclanum to Zosimus.
Commonitorium adversum haeresim Pelagii et
Coelestii vel etiam scripta Iuliani.
 Two books against Theodore of Mopsuestia.
 A book Du Pin identifies as the Hypomnesticon.

—but Vittorino Grossi states that "the arguments contained in this book [Hypomnesticon] concerning libido and predestination are not found elsewhere in the works of Mercator, and thus do not support du Pin's hypothesis." (30) It must not be forgotten that it was predestination and libido—Augustine's libido—that had changed the whole issue from that of two different Christian traditions into a polemic charged with venom.

A recent psycho-historic study deals with Book X of Augustine's Confessions and argues for psychological reasons behind Augustine's concept of predestination. The authors assert that Augustine had to "pursue Pelagius with deadly hatred" because Pelagius put in doubt the identity which was anchored in the predestination of God and which Augustine had reached with great difficulty and after much anxiety. (31)

Further evidence of personal psychological involvement is

shown by the author of the Hypomnesticon—who might be Mercator—when he accuses the Pelagians of being the keenest defenders and practitioners of obscenitas and turpitude. Not only do Pelagians praise these evils; they probably even commit incest, adultery and homosexuality.

Jean de Savignac thinks that, while resembling Marius Mercator and while being rather a "fanatique d'Augustin", the author of the Hypomnesticon remains unidentifiable except that he may have been African. In the time of the writer of the Hypomnesticon, the Western Church, Latin in language, was giving itself a theology, "divergente de la théologie grecque antérieure et qui n'est pas du meilleur aloi." (32)

Another view, which emphasizes the regional differences in the Christian world of the fifth century, is that of R. A. Markus. Discussing the struggle within Augustine over his own sexuality, Markus speaks of the "pronounced streak of distrust toward bodily existence and sexuality" in Western Christianity. Markus adds: "This permanent enkratite tendency in so much Christian thought appears to have remained particularly strong in Jewish-Christian circles and in traditions derived from Jewish-Christian communities; it thrived with particular vigour in North Africa" and "Augustine remained all his life an African to the core." (33) Meanwhile the authorship of the Hypomnesticon must remain an open question.

5. Prosper of Aquitaine.

Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390 to c. 463) was a great defender of Augustine in the Pelagian controversy. Gennadius (who died in 496), in his chapter 85 of De viris illustribus defines Prosper as a man scholastic in style and vigorous in statement. He not only regards Prosper as the author of the Chronicle but also of an anonymous book against certain works of Cassian, "which the church of God finds salutary, but which he brands as injurious, and in fact, some of the opinions of Cassian and Prosper on the grace of God and on free will are at variance with one another." Gennadius of course had been equally ambivalent concerning Augustine in his chapter 39 (and was accused of Pelagianism as a result): "For who is there...who reads with such diligence as to read all he has written, wherefore on account of his much speaking Solomon's saying came true that 'in the multitude of words there wanteth not sin.'" (34)

Prosper "was at Marseilles when the 'Semi-Pelagian' controversy broke out around 426 and was an ardent defender of Augustine, to whom he wrote together with Hilary, who must have been an African by birth. Augustine sent these two his De praedestinatione sanctorum..." (35) It must be remembered that neither Augustine nor Prosper saw any difference of substance between Pelagianism and what has often (since 1600 only) been called "semi-Pelagianism."

Prosper defended Augustine and his ideas on grace and predestination in several polemical works directed against the Pelagians. Among these are:-

De ingratis carmen against Pelagians and 'semi-Pelagians' and discussing their links (PL 51, 91-148).

Pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Gallorum calumniantium (PL 51, 155-174; PL 45, 1833-44).

Pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Vincentiarum (PL 51, 77-186; PL 45, 1843-50).

Pro Augustino responsiones ad excerpta Genuensium (PL 51, 187-202; PL 45, 1849-1858).

Epitaphium Nestorianae et Pelagianae haereseon (PL 51, 153-4).

De gratia Dei et libero arbitrio contra collatorem (against John Cassian)

Several letters: epistula Ad Rufinum (PL 51, 77-9; PL 45, 1793-1802).

Epigrammata in obtrectatorem Augustini (PL 51, 149-52).

Epigrammata ex sententiis S. Augustini (PL 51, 498-532).

Liber sententiarum ex operibus S. Augustini delibatarum (PL 51, 427-496, PL 45, 1859-1898).

Ultimately, Marius Mercator, Prosper of Aquitaine and their followers both won and lost their polemical fight on behalf of Augustine. After having been widely accepted, "semi-Pelagianism" was condemned as a heresy at the Councils of Orange and Valence in 529. However—and reflective of the church's divided attitude toward Augustine and Pelagius—this condemnation carried the odd restriction that predestination to evil was not to be taught. That proviso made it a semi-condemnation and thus left both sides strangely vindicated on the intellectual plane. This laid the groundwork for Gottschalk, Calvin and Jansen later to resurrect

Augustine's ideas which were afterwards not fully condemned officially except in their extreme forms. The results in later times however turned out very differently than in 410-430, as the questions and ideas raised by Pelagius continually returned to haunt the Western consciousness.

Although much of the Western world today may have stopped believing literally in the story of Adam and Eve (i.e. of a man who gave birth through his rib to a woman who then caused original sin and the fall of her mother-father-husband), the question of the liberty of man, free will and man as the son of God have endured as ever pressing and contemporary issues.

6. Caelestius.

Gennadius, the Bishop of Marseilles and a historian (who died in 496) noted that "Caelestius, before he joined Pelagius, while yet a very young man, wrote to his parents three epistles On Monastic Life, written as short books, and containing moral maxims suited to everyone who was seeking God, containing no trace of the fault which afterwards appeared but wholly devoted to the encouragement of virtue." This chapter is immediately preceded by those on Pelagius and Innocent and followed by one on Julian of Aecianum. (36)

Thus, Caelestius, who lived in the fifth century, when very young was already so interested in morality for everyone seeking God that he wrote about it at length to his own parents. It would

be quite natural for such a person to be attracted by Pelagius's ideas and to embrace them enthusiastically. It is known that he was a very young lawyer when he joined Pelagius's circle.

Several scholars have thought that Caelestius was an Irishman, although sometimes for the weakest of reasons, as when his fiery temper is cited. Mercator writes that Caelestius was a man who defended his own and Pelagius's ideas incredibili loquacitate. Mercator adds that Caelestius was from the Italian nobility, had studied law at Rome and was auditorialis scholasticus. (37)

Caelestius obviously did not mind very much being declared a heretic by Carthage in 411. Whether of Irish origin or not, he was at that time to all intents and purposes an Italian Catholic who looked down on the colonials and their opinion of him. He answered the Carthaginian condemnation by saying that he would appeal to Rome and then went off to visit other places, probably starting with Sicily, a favourite place of sanctuary later on for Pelagian sympathizers.

Caelestius was a fighter, a polemicist, and he was an organizer. For de Plinval, Caelestius was for twenty years (from 411 to 431), the soul of the heresy, the master of the party, magister et totius ductor exercitus and "[il] s'est imposé par son activité verbale et littéraire, par ses dons de chef et d'orateur, ses talents de diplomate, d'agitateur et d'intrigant." (38)

Caelestius was obviously also blessed with good health. By travelling to Carthage in 411-412, to Sicily, Ephesus and Rhodes

in 413-414, to Constantinople in 415-416, Jerusalem, Diospolis and Rome in 417, he appears to have been an untiring voyager.

In Carthage, Caelestius spiritedly defended himself by discerning a difference between haeresis and quaestio. The distinction made by Caelestius concerning the tradux peccati was not accepted by the African bishops. As Markus points out: "The teachings of Caelestius called into question ideas deeply embedded in the African Christian tradition, and it [sic] cut across the grain far more quickly than did Pelagius', and far more painfully than Italian or Eastern Christians could have understood." (39)

Caelestius wrote a libellus brevissimus, a set of Definitiones and probably also another known as Definitiones ut dicitur Coelestii which Augustine criticized severely in his De spiritu et Littera. Caelestius had started very young writing short moral maxims in his letters to his parents. Pelagius's short moral comments on Paul's Epistles were bound to appeal to him.

When one sifts through the evidence on how Caelestius' ideas differ from those of Pelagius, it would seem that while Pelagius was a typical enlightened Christian of his period, Caelestius shows some striking parallels with Western European rationalist minds of the nineteenth century. Caelestius's views in some ways anticipated Charles Darwin's ideas, and Caelestius might well have become an enthusiastic missionary for evolution and modern science. Thus, Caelestius found the death of the body the most normal occurrence in all living beings and scoffed at any

9

association of death in man with the sin of Adam. He thought the reasons advanced by the African Church for infant baptism were unconvincing, as is clear from the extracts from the Ecclesiastical Acts of Carthage cited by Augustine, and which are discussed below.

Augustine thus writes that Caelestius was condemned as a heretic for believing that Adam had been created mortal, sive peccaret, sive non peccaret; that there might be a doubt as to the transmission of sin and that possibly the sin of Adam ipsum solum laeserit et non genus humanum; that newborn babies were in the same state as Adam before the sin. (40) However, faced with the accusation, Caelestius asked for a clear definition of the phrase ante transgressionem and on his terms never received an answer. Bishop Aurelius of Carthage had to intervene on behalf of the accusing deacon and state that, because of Adam's sin, through which Adam lost his previous physical immortality and out of which the infant is born [de qua nascitur], the infant contracts a sin of transgression. To this clarification, Caelestius answered straightforwardly.

According to the Ecclesiastical Acts of Carthage, Caelestius's response (as mentioned explicitly in Augustine) was: "As to the transmission of sin, I have already said to you that among the members of the Catholic Church I have indeed heard several negate it and several affirm it, although this is a matter of inquiry, not of heresy. I have always said that the children need baptism

and must be baptized. What else does he want?" (41)

It is very clear that Caelestius had learned his theology elsewhere than at Carthage and had heard of a different tradition concerning the transmission of sin. Furthermore, he appeared both knowledgeable and remarkably tolerant.

In Caelestius's view small infants are baptized as a rite of a new, Christian life and not as a simple renunciation of Satan and the world. Just as baptism as an exorcism may not have been the universal custom of the early Church, Caelestius does not hide his distaste for the concept of tradux peccati before birth, while allowing that other Christians may believe in it. Caelestius's ideas point to a method of theological enquiry rather than to a dogmatic statement.

As for the further points on which Caelestius was condemned at Carthage in 411 (a judgment which, for the African bishops, justified all further condemnations), they included:

1. that neither through Adam's death nor through his sin does the whole genus hominum die nor is it born again through the resurrection of Christ;
2. that the Law moves people to the kingdom just as the gospel does;
3. that before the coming of Christ there were just men who were impeccabiles.

When one studies the Ecclesiastical Acts of Carthage for 411, there is no doubt that Aurelius, the presiding judge who comes to

the help of the prosecution—and Augustine's mentor—is a proponent of the original sin theory which Augustine later assigned to the level of Catholic dogma. The African Church felt threatened in several ways by Caelestius, and by the other Roman refugees from Alaric's invasion. The African Church was barely maintaining its own homogeneity—under Augustine's aegis—against a resurgence of the Donatists. The North African Church feared that Caelestius's general tolerance and pluralism (as exemplified in the latter's spirited answers at the Synod of Carthage in 411), might establish a climate in which Donatist influences could reemerge, since they were capable of making a strong comeback.

Hence the African Church pursued Pelagius and Caelestius relentlessly, partly because of its emotional fear of Donatism, partly also because of its frictions with the sophisticated Roman refugees who owned huge land tracts in Roman Africa, had different ideas and enjoyed different ways of life. The persecutor is usually most threatening when he himself feels menaced.

To the case of Pelagius and Caelestius in Augustinian Africa the following consideration should be added. Augustine himself had written offensive passages against Janus, Victoria, Vesta and Juppiter at this time when the Barbarians were in the City. His City of God too, as early as Book I, Chapter 1, classifies the Visigoths of Alaric as "good Christians" as opposed to the "Romans inimical to Christ's name."

For Augustine, the Barbarian is the instrument chosen by

Divine Providence and never, until the Christian era, had foreign victors either offered to spare or spared refugees in temples.

(42) In his edition of the The City of God Pierre de Labriolle disputes Augustine's assertion on this point as incorrect, an inaccuracy already noted by the Benedictines. (43)

Augustine is at least ambivalent to Rome and to the Romans throughout De civitate Dei, perhaps even hostile to them. His provincial attitude may have been partly reflected in the relentless war he waged against Pelagius. Augustine's anti-Roman prejudice may have played a significant and identifiable role in his opposition to the views of Caelestius and Pelagius. Only a few, however, such as H. J. Diesner, have studied this anti-Roman outlook in some depth along with its consequences. (44)

There are several indications of Augustine's sympathy for the Barbarians, such as his famous "Gothi vero tam..." (45), although he does appropriately condemn the pagan Ostrogoths of Radagaisus along with their daemonum cultor leader. (46) To Carthage's Roman refugees, all this must have seemed a paralogism. In fact, despite their ownership of lands and the security of Roman North Africa, very few remained there after 417-418. Like Pelagius, many of them had already found their way to Palestine much earlier, escaping provincial intolerance as much as the foreign invader.

One may summarize the ideas current in Carthage in 411 that condemned Caelestius. Augustine seemed to have linked Pelagius's inpeccantia with Caelestius's denial—for himself—of the

tradux peccati. There were several elements at work in Carthage besides the theological concerns: (1) local provincialism linked to an obviously intense resentment of the refugees from Rome; (2) the fear of fragmentation and a return of the civil war of Donatism together with the "new" Pelagian ideas; (3) the close official links with Rome and Ravenna which remained reinforced after the condemnation of the Donatists; (4) the certainty of the rightness of their African Christian beliefs linked with their ignorance of other Christian traditions; (5) a growing resentment at the flourishing of Constantinople, perceived as a Greek, alien, and rival civilization.

The Roman refugees from the Goths in 410-411 A.D. were poorly received in Carthage. Among these refugees Caelestius, like Pelagius, believed in baptism of the following kind: "Baptisma unum tenemus quod iisdem sacramenti verbis in infantibus quibus etiam in maioribus dicimus esse celebrandum." (47) Clearly, Caelestius differed from Augustine when he defined baptism in these terms. Caelestius believed that, in affirming the baptism of infants for the remission of sins, this did not mean we assert a sin of origin: "In remissionem autem peccatorum baptizandos infantes non idcirco diximus ut peccatum ex traduce firmare uideamur." (48)

The baptism of infants as it is defined by Cyprian and Aurelius, and in dogmatic terms by Augustine, implies an evil power actively at work in all new-born infants. Those who seek

psychological explanations of history will have much material for tracing the Manichaean influence in Augustine's post-Manichaean period.

7. Julian of Aeclanum.

Julian was born in Apulia or Campania. Both Augustine and Mercator consider he was from Apulia but Bede writes "Iulianus de Campania". One recent authority opts for Apulia and a birth date of circa 380-385. (49)

Julian was the son of Memor, who was Bishop of Aeclanum after having been Bishop of Capua. Norisius, a seventeenth century Italian historian (1631-1704), in his *Historia Pelagiana*, writes: "In sacris Capuanae Ecclesiae tabulis Memorius inter illius Urbis Episcopos recensetur." (50) This observation would of course make Campania the most likely place of birth for Julian. And since Augustine flings "Apulian" at Julian in answer to Julian's addressing him as "Punic", it is quite possible that "Apulian" carried with it an insulting connotation, especially in view of the demeaning exchanges between the two bishops.

Memor however had carried on a friendly correspondence with Augustine. As for the mother of Julian, she was named Iuliana and may have been related to Roman nobility. Around 403, Julian himself, then a lector of the Church, married Titia, the daughter of Bishop Aemilius of Beneventum who was probably related to

Paulinus of Nola and also to Demetrias. There were family links between the Aemilii and the Anicii. Pelagius associated himself with the same circles, as did the faithful Anianus, the deacon of Celeda, who had links with the Antiochene School.

The marriage between two prominent sacerdotal families was duly celebrated, with both fathers officiating, as recorded in

Carmen 25 or Epithalamium by Paulinus of Nola:

hinc Memor, officii non immemor, ordine recto
tradit ad Aemilii pignora cara manus.
ille iugans capita amborum sub pace iugali
velat eos dextra, quos prece sanctificat.
Christe, sacerdotes exaudi, Christe, precantes
et pia vota sacris annue supplicibus. (51)

This was a new emphasis for an old genre of Latin literature; while following the traditional scheme of such poetry (after all, Paulinus had been taught by Ausonius himself), it addressed itself to the children of Christian clergy. Thus Paulinus began:

Concordes animae casto sociantur amore,
virgo puer Christi, virgo puella Dei... (52)

and he reminded them of who they were:

Sancta sacerdotis veneranda pignora pacto
iunguntur; coeant pax pudor et pietas. (53)

It is believed that the young bride died soon after and that Julian and Titia did not have to follow the example of Paulinus and Therasia. Titia seems to have vanished. By 408 Julian was a deacon and was invited to Carthage by Augustine who, in a letter to Memor, congratulated the bishop. (54)

At Carthage, Julian heard Honoratus, a close friend or a

member of the family of Augustine, discuss whether man is opus dei or opus diaboli. "Nam cum ante hos annos essemus Carthagini, a quodam mihi Honorato nomine necessario tuo, Manichaeo aequae, sicut epistolae vestrae indicant, 'id ipsum propositum est...' (55)

Mercator wrote that Julian was consecrated bishop of Aeclanum in 416 by Pope Innocent when Julian was about 30. It is known that Julian—and 18 other Italian bishops—refused to sign the Tractoria of Zosimus condemning Pelagius and Caelestius. Julian was condemned as a heresiarch and exiled. He took refuge first in Cilicia with Theodore of Mopsuestia. Ancient sources maintain he found asylum at Lérins with Faustus of Riez (F. Nuvolone, Dictionnaire de spiritualité, XII, 2, 1986, col. 2906). He seems to have ended his days in Sicily where he was buried, sometime after 439.

Gennadius wrote: "Julianus the bishop, a man of vigorous character, learned in the Divine Scriptures, and proficient in Greek and Latin, 'prius quam impietatem Pelagii in se aperiret, clarus in doctoribus Ecclesiae fuit.' But afterwards, trying to defend the Pelagian heresy, he wrote four books, Against Augustine, the opponent of Pelagius, and then again, eight more books. One of these contains a discussion, where each defends his side. This Julianus, in time of famine and want, attracting many through the alms which he gave, and the glamour of virtue, which they cast around him, associated them with him in his heresy. He died during the reign of Valentinianus, the son of Constantius." (56)

This notice, while almost as prejudiced as Mercator's account, has several advantages over Mercator. It is short and to the point. It states several facts about Julian, which, when taken out of the polemical context of the time, reveal an attractive personality.

Julian remained to the end of his days a charitable, virtuous and charismatic bishop. Furthermore, he must have attracted to his "heretic" ways quite a few Sicilians, since the end of Gennadius's notation reflects a fear of the local reaction to Julian and since they honoured Julian's tomb after his death.

Georges de Plinval plainly disapproved of Julian, but he made allowances for Caelestius and was obviously attracted to Pelagius and his ideas. Marrou, who has so quickly become outdated as a historian, is kinder to Julian, while declaring him "un hérétique avéré, dont la doctrine est un rationalisme radical." (57)

The two major scholars studying Julian have been A. Bruckner and, more recently, F. Refoulé. (58) Bruckner points out that Julian was completely opposed to the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. (59) Refoulé notes that Julian anticipates Thomas of Aquinas and is so similar in his ideas that they must both have had a common source in Aristotle. It must however be pointed out that Aristotle was also believed to have been one of Pelagius's classical sources.

In his haste to rehabilitate Julian, Refoulé writes that Julian "ne pourrait plus pourtant être qualifié de 'pélagien' au

sens technique de ce mot dans les manuels de théologie." (60)

Father Refoulé goes as far as to state that, in exploiting by means of logic the given facts of Scripture, Julian is a precursor much more than Augustine. Julian's treatises are already in substance foreshadowing the future method of Scholastic theology. (61)

Similarly, Refoulé describes the "crise pélagienne" as the clash of two anthropologies or even, to some extent, as a misunderstanding. Refoulé states that Julian was not entirely in the wrong when he insisted that he was defending traditional Christian faith against Augustinian innovations. And Refoulé adds an intriguing footnote that, in order to judge Julian of Aelclanum, one must recognize that the doctrine of St. Augustine on several points, such as free-will, predestination, corruption of nature, did indeed innovate. (62)

However, Refoulé becomes dogmatic when he declares that Julian's conception of grace is inadequate, although it seems to the present writer to closely resemble that of St. John Chrysostom and Nemesisius of Emesa. Refoulé deplores the refusal by Julian of the "progrès dogmatique dont la crise pélagienne avait été l'occasion et qu'avaient homologué le concile de Carthage de 418 et le pape Zosime. Il ne pourrait plus pourtant être qualifié de 'pélagien' au sens technique de ce mot dans les manuels de théologie." (63) It is somewhat ironic that Refoulé would emphasize the notion of "progrès dogmatique, homologué"

["registered"] by the Council of Carthage of 418 and perhaps by Pope Zosimus for good measure.

Refoulé himself is certain that, in fourth century Italy, several theologians were systematically using the works of Aristotle and trying to rethink Christian doctrine within the framework of this philosophy. But, adds Refoulé, "cette école devait disparaître lors de la répression antipélagienne. Son effort devait ainsi rester sans lendemain..." (64)

Julian's accusing Augustine of Manichaeism is a most serious charge to which Augustine replied only by sarcasm. Augustine's links with Manichaeism were too longstanding and too deep to dismiss the permanent effect they must have had on his influenceable and self-absorbed psyche. Furthermore, Julian had, as the guest of Augustine, personally observed the sympathy and links between Honoratus and Augustine in Carthage.

Two letters of Julian, both written in 419, one to the Romans and the other to Rufus of Thessalonica are noteworthy. In his Letter to the Romans, Julian singles out Augustine especially for reproach. It is striking that Julian's perception of Augustine is close to that of many 20th century scholars, especially those of the psychological-historical schools. The arguments of the African Church are not really based on the weak nature of man, asserts Julian, but rather on the nature of Augustine and his overriding concern with his own concupiscence. Despite Augustine's sarcasms, Julian never received a satisfactory answer.

The Letter to Rufus of Thessalonica returns to the Manichaeism innate to the African Church, the Just Men of the Old Testament, infant baptism as exorcism and the tradux peccati. Julian sees Augustine's ideas on grace as a new version of the pagan Fatum. For Georges de Plinval, this Letter to Rufus is "une sorte de contre-encyclique dans laquelle il (Julien) poursuivait à la fois la réfutation des thèses 'manichéennes' et l'apologie des principes pélagiens." (65)

Julian was, right from his childhood, at the intellectual and ecclesiastical crossroads of most the significant events and people. He had a classical upbringing and learned Greek philosophy as well as Christian theology and Biblical exegesis. His father was friend to Augustine, Paulinus of Nola, and Aemilius of Beneventum who became Julian's father-in-law. Furthermore, Innocent, pope of Rome, had consecrated Julian a bishop.

In the Letter to Rufus Julian also records the 5 Laudes [or 5 Commendations] dealing with major ideas which were important to Pelagius and his followers. These commendations are:

- 1 of Creation (by a good and just Creator)
- 2 of marriage
- 3 of the Law
- 4 of free-will
- 5 of the saints

Augustine's sarcastic rejoinder to these—"...ad latebrarum suarum nebulas Pelagiani" (66)—does not respond to the clarity and logic of Julian's list of ideas. Equally, while heaping only

sarcasm on Julian and not responding with logical argument, Augustine either does not see—or does not want to accept—that he may thus be leaving himself open to the suspicion of sympathies with Manichaeism.

It is noteworthy that in the history of exegesis Julian's importance "was perhaps...connected with the area around Aquileia" (67). Julian "gave a primacy of place to reason" (68) The letter to Rufus of Thessalonica is much more than a coincidence. The declaration or manifesto of Aquileia sent to Augustine of Aquileia and in which the bishops of Northern Italy collectively professed a Pelagian Christian faith was probably not inspired by Julian but rather by similar ideas current in and around Aquileia.

It is however important to remember that Julian felt it his duty to communicate with the Romans, as well as with Aquileia and Thessalonica. These circles were probably among those most sympathetic to his cause. For them too, reason did not have to be divorced from theology. However, as clearly pointed out by de Plinval, it was not a matter anymore of theology, since the Tractoria, and—one is tempted to add—since the Imperial Rescript. From 418 on, observes de Plinval, "la question pélagienne se trouvait posée sur le plan de la discipline." (69)

8. Pelagianism and Antiochene Christianity

The contrast between Antiochene and North African concepts of Christianity was quite dramatic. In fact, North African

intolerance, while making a few valuable converts (for instance, Paulinus of Milan) among the Roman refugees of the years after 410, may have been the major factor which frightened most of the latter into travelling further on, often to Jerusalem, and with the quickest possible leavetaking. Of course, the proximity of the Barbarians, two or three days away by ship, was another factor. However, in the opinion of at least one scholar, Africa does not appear to have been a hospitable land to the Roman refugees fleeing from the Goths of Alaric, so much so that when the Goths left Italy at the end of 412 many of the refugees returned with alacrity to their native land from North Africa. (70)

As Julian of Aeclanum had observed in situ, Carthage was the centre of a cruel tradition. Peccatum naturae, peccatum originale and tradux peccati, baptism as exorcism: this was not the emphasis that Greek Christianity had taught Western Europe. In Carthage, Jehovah had replaced Tanit, but the children still paid the price for redemption—except that the unbaptized ones now lost eternal life, whereas in pagan times they had lost only their earthly lives in blood sacrifices.

The breaking-up of the Roman Empire was also an important factor. A century earlier, Constantine would not have listened to an Alypius or an Augustine. Now, however, most of the western part of his empire was out of the reach of Honorius. The only coherent and cohesive force remaining, and one which stood for

imperial absolutism as well, was North Africa. It was also close to Rome, one of the last real Roman possessions and it must have appeared to Honorius as the only certainty worth listening to, especially after the disgrace of his principal adviser Olympios and with the growing importance of Galla Placidia.

A further complication in this disintegrating situation was the fact that Augustine and Orosius even boasted that they knew Greek poorly. (71) Also, educated Greeks in the East often knew less and less Latin. The Latin works of Augustine were not well known or appreciated, or even accessible in the Greek language. Even today the project of translating all of Augustine into Greek continues. Ignorance therefore played some role in the suggestion that Pelagius's errors were "Eastern". In the exacerbated post-Stilicho and post-Alaric Konjunktur, the establishment of a separate "Latin" theology, differing from the prominent "Eastern" theology must have appeared very tempting.

The disappearance of the Aristotelian centres in Northern Italy must be viewed in this context, as must the flight of Julian of Aeclanum after his condemnation as a heretic to find shelter with Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. Everything in the Italy of 418-423 points to a conscious desire on the part of Honorius and his court for independence from the Eastern Empire. The Imperial Rescript of 418 results at least in part from this tendency—as much as from fear of a civil war. Another reason for this desire may have been the bitter memory left in Honorius by the

exile of John Chrysostom by Emperor Arcadius on 18 November, 404.

(72)

The teaching of Pelagius—and even more so his scriptural exegesis—may have had as many links with Antioch as with Aquileia, Rome and Nola. A similar complex web of associations also involved the church circles of Aquileia (including Chromatius and Rufinus) with Pelagius and the Pelagians. The Church of Antioch not only had a prestigious past; in the early fifth century its system of Christian thought, from Chrysostom and Theodoret to Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, had a similar system of values to those of Pelagius, the Pelagians and the "semi-Pelagians."

The term Pelagianism has come to cover a multitude of different ideas. However, as a system of values it certainly predated Pelagius, as scholars such as Markus, Dumville and earlier Zimmer have not ceased to point out. Also, Pelagius himself used the best orthodox patristic sources. However, it would be just as inaccurate to assume that Pelagius's system was borrowed from the Eastern Church as it would be to suggest that Pelagius had influenced the doctrinal stance of the Antiochenes. It is much more likely that Christian thought developed along similar, although not necessarily identical lines throughout Roman Europe until the beginning of the fifth century, as was suggested by Markus in his 1986 article. (73)

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

(1) Thomas Sheehan, The First Coming. How the Kingdom of God Became Christianity, Random House, New York, 1986.

This work's central thesis is that "...the Christian church is undergoing a theological crisis in what she thinks and believes about Jesus of Nazareth...[This] crisis has to do with the prima facie discrepancy between what Jesus of Nazareth apparently thought he was (a special but very human prophet) and what mainline Christians now take him to be (the divine Son of God, consubstantial with the Father and the Holy Spirit)." [p. 3] The work ends as follows: "The crisis in Christianity is about its origins, its founding story...At last Christianity is discovering what it always was about: not God or Christ or Jesus of Nazareth, but the endless, unresolvable mystery inscribed in the heart of every human...That means learning to live at the uncertain point that is the present-future...Grace is and has always been everywhere. The task is to make it so." [pp. 226-227]

(2) New York Times Book Review, 28 Dec. 1986, p. 24.

(3) Augustine, BA 3e série, vols. 21, 22, 23, 24. Bruges, 1966-1975.

(4) J. de Savignac, "Une attribution nouvelle et une édition critique de l'Hypomnesticon" Scriptorium XXXVII, 1983, Brussels, pp. 134-140.

(5) J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Frankish Church (Oxford History of the Christian Church), Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1983.

(6) Wallace-Hadrill, op. cit., p. 375.

(7) The six final books in the anti-Julian writings of Augustine remain to be translated into English. They would make stimulating reading.

(8) P. Brown, "Pelagius and His Supporters: Aims and Environment," Journal of Theological Studies, n.s. 19 (1968), p. 107.

(9) Ibid., p. 108.

(10) Ibid., p. 111.

(11) Ibid.

(12) J. R. Evans, Pelagius. Inquiries and Reappraisals, (London, 1968), Introduction, Chapters 2 and 4.

(13) G. de Plinval, Pelage, ses écrits, sa vie et sa réforme. Etude d'histoire littéraire et religieuse, Lausanne, 1943, p. 272.

(14) J. Quasten, founding editor, Patrology, Vol. IV, p. 240.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid.

(17) J. Ferguson, Pelagius. A Historical and Theological Study (Cambridge, 1956), p. 78.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid., p. 79.

- (20) Yves-Marie Duval, "Pélage est-il le censeur inconnu de l'*Adversus Iovinianum* à Rome en 393? Ou du 'portrait-robot' de l'hérétique chez s. Jérôme." Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 65 (1980): 525-557. here pp. 534-535.
- (21) de Plinval, Pélage... p. 50-6.
- (22) R. F. Evans, Pelagius. Inquiries... (London, 1968). pp. 26-38.
- (23) Jerome, *Epistula* 133, 3-4. The ways in which Pelagius was accused of Origenism are discussed by de Plinval in Pélage... pp. 111-113 and pp. 133-134.
- (24) De Plinval, p. 270.
- (25) "Orosius," Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13 ed., vol. 20, 1926; p. 327.
- (26) Ibid.
- (27) p. 581 (section 320) of P.R. Coleman-Norton, Roman State and Christian Church, 3 vols., London, 1966.
- (28) Orosius, Liber apologeticus contra Pelagianos, 2.
- (29) F. Paschoud, Roma Aeterna..., Paris, 1975, pp. 287, 291, 292.
- (30) L. E. du Pin, Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques, t. 3, Paris, 1689; and J. Quasten, founding ed., Patrology, Vol. IV, p. 500, by Vittorino Grossi.
- (31) R. Brändle and W. Neidhart, "Lebensgeschichte und Theologie. Ein Beitrag zur psychohistorischen Interpretation Augustins," Theologische Zeitung, vol. 40, no. 2, Basel, 1984, p. 168. The German text states: [Augustine] "musste Pelagius mit tödlichem Hass verfolgen."
- (32) J. de Savignac, Scriptorium, "une attribution nouvelle...", tome 37, 1983, Bruxelles.
- (33) R. A. Markus, pp. 15-16 in "Saint Augustine: Virginity and Marriage—1.," Canadian Catholic Review (January, 1987): 12-17.
- (34) P. Schaff and H. Wace, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Vol. 3, Gennadius, ch. 85 and 39. Grand Rapids, 1953.
- (35) J. Quasten, founding ed., Patrology, Vol. IV, p. 551.
- (36) P. Schaff and H. Wace, op. cit., pp. 393-394.
- (37) Mercator, Liber subnotationum... Chapter 4, PL 48, 113.
- (38) G. de Plinval, Pélage... p. 255, quoting Jerome's *Epistula* 133, 5.
- (39) R. A. Markus, "Pelagianism: Britain and the Continent," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 37, No. 2 (April 1986): 191-204, here p. 197.
- (40) Augustine, ...de peccato originali III, 3-IV, 4.
- (41) Ibid., IV, 4.
- (42) Augustine, La cité de Dieu avec introduction et notes par Pierre de Labriolle, Paris, 1957, t. 1, ch. 2.
- (43) Ibid. p. 545, quoting Plutarch's Agesilas and the Anabasis of A. by Arrian, 2, 24.
- (44) H. J. Diesner, "Augustinus und die Barbaren der Völkerwanderung," in Revue des études augustiniennes, XXIII 1-2,

Paris, 1977, pp. 83-91.

(45) Augustine, Civitas Dei, III, 29.

(46) Ibid. V, 23.

(47) Pelagius, and Caelestius, Libellus fidei PL 48, 502. See also G. Ludwig Hahn, ed., Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche (Hildesheim, 1962), pp. 292-293.

(48) Augustine, ...de peccato originali VI, 6.

(49) Augustine, contra secundam Iuliani responsionem imperfectum opus 6, 18 PL 45, 1542 ["te Apulia genuit"]; Mercator, Liber, subnotationum 4, 2 ["te ...Atabulus, provinciae tuae [Apuliae] pestifer halitus, inflavit"]; Bede Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, Colgrave and Mynors, editors, (Oxford, 1969) 1, 10; the more recent authority is Vittorino Grossi in J. Quasten, founding ed., Patrology, Vol. IV, p. 487.

(50) Norisius (Henricus or Enrico Noris, Italian historian, born 1631 in Verona, died 1704 in Rome), Historia Pelagiana, Lib. I, Cap. 18, p. 74, Padua, 1677. Cp also J.A. Bouma's comments in Het Epithalamium van Paulinus van Nola..., Assen, 1968, p. 14.

(51) Paulinus of Nola, Epithalamium, lines 225-230.

(52) Epithalamium, lines 1-2.

(53) Ibid., lines 11-12.

(54) Augustine, Epistula 101.

(55) Augustine, ...imperfectum opus V, 26.

(56) Gennadius, in Schaff and Wace, op. cit., p. 394.

(57) H. I. Marrou, "La canonisation de Julien d'Eclane," Historisches Jahrbuch, LXXVII (1957), p. 434.

(58) A. Bruckner, Julian von Eclanum. Sein Leben und seine Lehre (TU 15, 3) Leipzig, 1897; idem, Quellen zur Geschichte des pelagianischen Streites, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1906; idem, Die vier Bücher Juliāns von Eclanum an Turbantius, Berlin, 1910; and F. Refoulé, "Julien d'Eclane, théologien et philosophe," Revue des sciences religieuses 52 (1964): 42-84 and 233-247.

(59) Bruckner, Julian...Sein Leben und..., pp. 66-68.

(60) Refoulé, p. 246.

(61) Refoulé, p. 84.

(62) Refoulé, p. 246 and Ibid., note 126. Others, like Julius Gross, in his book Entstehungsgeschichte des Erbsündendogmas (Vol. 1, Munich, 1960) and Vladimir Boublik, La predestinazione, S. Paolo e S. Agostino, Rome, 1961 (esp. pp. 123-124) have taken up this idea.

(63) Ibid., pp. 245-6.

(64) Refoulé, p. 245 and ibid., note 123. The present chapter will return later to this "école Chrétienne aristotélécienne du 4e. siècle." It may be an important component of the clash of ideas that constituted the "crise pélagienne."

(65) G. de Plinval, Pelage... p. 339.

(66) Augustine, Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum, Book III, X, 26.

(67) J. Quasten's Patrology, Vol. IV, p. 489, by Vittorino Grossi.

- (68) Op. cit., p. 490.
- (69) G. de Plinval, Pélage..., p. 341.
- (70) O. Wermelinger, Pelagianismus. Rom und Pelagius. Die theologische Position der römischen Bischöfe im pelagianischen Streit in den Jahren 411-432, Stuttgart, 1975 ["Afrika scheint also nicht in jeder Hinsicht ein anziehendes Gastland gewesen zu sein. Nach der Räumung Italiens durch die Goten, Ende 412, kehrte ein Grossteil der Flüchtlinge wieder in ihre Heimat zurück..." p. 6].
- (71) P. Courcelle, Les lettres grecques en Occident: de Macrobie à Cassiodore, Paris, 1943, p. 137 et seq.
- (72) E. Demougeot, De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain, 393-410. Essai sur le gouvernement impérial, Paris, 1951, pp. 133-137.
- (73) R. A. Markus, "Pelagianism, Britain and the Continent," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 37 (No. 2, April 1986): 191-204.

Chapter III

THE GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN OF, SUPPORT FOR AND OPPOSITION TO THE IDEAS OF PELAGIUS

The view that the history of the early middle ages is a series of local histories is argued by such scholars as Karl Morrison. (1) Further, it has recently been established that texts of Pelagius were in circulation in Britannia soon after his condemnation and death. (2)

The concept of Christianity now called Pelagianism (including what is called pre-Pelagianism) was probably a major—or perhaps the only—Christian theological tradition known to Romano-Britons from about the early 4th century until the first de-hereticizing missions of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois around 430 AD. Pelagianism was then so widely diffused in Britannia that a second voyage of Gallican bishops was deemed necessary to eradicate its influence. In fact, a quiet return by Pelagius himself to the land of his birth at some time after his condemnation cannot be excluded, since his influence was so great there.

Directly and indirectly, Pelagius's influence was stronger and more defined in the earlier Latin Middle Ages and the Carolingian period than has hitherto been accepted. Some of the latest research on the question shows a trend to spotlight Pelagianism as an inherently important component of the early Church in Britannia. This point of view is argued in R. A. Markus's Pelagianism: Britain and the Continent. (3) although Markus is only stating afresh the

old and accepted tradition of the beginning of the Church in Britannia, including its ancient links with Eastern Christendom.

The Christian Church in Britannia.

We know that there was a Christian church in Britannia in the second and the third centuries through such authors as Tertullian (4), Origen (5) and Eusebius of Caesarea. (6)

The evidence is even greater for the fourth century. Gildas writes about the persecution of Diocletian, the martyrdom of Alban of Verulam, Aaron and Julius of Caerleon, and the subsequent revival of the Church in Britannia. (7) Theodoret of Cyrrhus calls the Britons Christians. (8)

Three British bishops were present at the Council of Arles in 314. There were also British bishops at the Council of Sardica in 347. Evidence exists that Hilary of Poitiers greeted the bishops of Britannia from his exile in Phrygia in 356. (9) Jerome met Britannic pilgrims in Jerusalem. (10)

Further evidence of the diffusion of the Christian church in Britannia in the fourth century can be deduced from the life, Christian learning and teaching of Pelagius Britto, as well as from the subsequent crusading anti-Pelagian mission or missions to Britannia by Germanus of Auxerre, Lupus of Troyes and Severus of Trier. The moral life of Pelagius and its dignified silent ending were Christian to a fault. The learning of Pelagius was impressive; it convinced disciples of the calibre of Julian of Aeclanum. J. A. W. Neander (1789-1850) observed that while

"Pelagius had not the profound speculative spirit which we find in Augustine...In learning he was Augustine's superior." (11) We also know from the evidence of the Council of Diospolis that Pelagius knew Greek, whereas Orosius did not and Augustine's Greek was poor. Finally, Pelagius was condemned by Emperor and Pope as a heretic, not as a pagan.

When Markus wrote in 1986 about a widely diffused tradition that linked the European Christian Churches (12), he contrasted this Italian-Eastern tradition with the African Christian tradition. It is not unreasonable to assume that an Italian-Eastern tradition was known in Britannia and in Gaul and that it could accommodate Pelagius's ideas. Within Gaul, there may have been a synergy of Christian traditions, as typified in the writings of the monks at Lérins. The Church in Gaul also had close links with the Eastern Churches. (13) Consequently, it is superfluous to search with Marius Mercator, Amann and others for any Rufinus or Theodore of Mopsuestia as having influenced Pelagius and being *"l'origine orientale de l'erreur."* (14) It would be more to the point, if such trenchant terms are to be used, to speak of *'l'origine orientale de la chrétienté.'*

The links between the Church in Britannia and the Church in Gaul were close. Thus, at the Arian Council of Ariminum in 359, "...the British and Gallic bishops displayed their independence from Imperial influence by refusing the public allowance for their maintenance." (15) Although this was before Pelagius's time, and

he himself condemned Arianism later, the events at this Council illustrate the links between Britannia and Gaul. Further, Celtic Christianity, whether in Gaul or in Britannia, had historic links with the Eastern Churches. In Gaul: "The Christians of Lyons and Vienne, under Marcus Aurelius, sent an account of their sufferings to the Church of Asia as to the mother Church. Irenaeus, second Bishop of Lyons, was a Greek, and a native of Asia Minor. The whole of southern Gaul was, in fact, Greek and Oriental as much as Roman, and remained so till the Middle Ages; a fact which we shall do well carefully to note for future reference." (16)

It must be emphasized that British (= Celtic) Christianity was not English (= Anglo-Saxon) Christianity; the British Celtic kind was already in existence in the final part of the third century, and it preceded Irish Christianity (of the fourth century). British Celtic Christianity had different origins from the later English (= Anglo-Saxon) Christianity, which started in English Kent (stripped of its earlier British population) in 597 with the landing of Augustine of Canterbury, sent from Rome by Pope Gregory. The coming of this Augustine (later to be styled Archbishop of Canterbury) immediately created problems for the British bishops which the conference at Augustine's Oak did not solve. An argument could be made that they were never solved. Old truths and traditions die hard. The traditions of Columban, Aidan and Chad remained very different from those of the two Augustines.

Pelagius Outside Britannia.

— This British Celtic tradition, with its links to the Church in Gaul and the Eastern Church as well as with Italy and Imperial Rome, was Pelagius's inheritance. Marcus Dods writes of the Eastern link: "All the Greek fathers from Origen to Chrysostom had been jealous for human freedom and loath to make sin a natural power, though of course admitting a general state of sinfulness. The early British monasteries had been connected with the Orient. Pelagius was familiar with the Greek language and theology..."

(17)

Consequently, Pelagius's world in Rome shared much with the Celtic Caelestius, with the oecumenical Chromatius and Rufinus of Aquileia and with the Gaul Paulinus of Nola. It was only Greek inasmuch as the theological lead in the Church was taken by the Greeks. As Markus reminds us in his 1986 article: "When Julian of Eclanum took up the defence of Pelagian teaching in the years following 418, 'he waged his campaign against Augustine,' as Peter Brown has memorably put it 'as a Punic war of the mind.' Augustine in Julian's eyes was always 'the Carthaginian,' the Poenus. There is little doubt that Augustine's theology was deeply rooted in the tradition of the African Church." (18)

It has been fashionable for a while to accuse "The man in the shadow behind Pelagius" of responsibility for Pelagianism. (19) This theory appealed to many church historians who, in the words of Markus, "approached Pelagianism as a Christian movement of the

Mediterranean region." (20) Since Pelagius did not come from that region and since the heresy bears his name and not that of Rufinus (the so-called 'man in the shadow'), Markus has been led to posit an uncrystallised, widely diffused "pre-Pelagianism" as opposed to a North African "pre-Augustinianism", the latter having a sharply defined specific character. (21)

There is no doubt that Pelagius belonged, during his stay in Italy, to interconnected circles of ascetics at Aquileia, Nola and Rome and that Chromatius of Aquileia and Pelagius had many well-travelled Christian friends in common—Rufinus being one of them. (22) They probably all shared a similar, "pre-Pelagian" outlook and may be presumed to have interrelated intellectually. In this respect, it is dangerous to assume with Peter Brown and van der Lof (23) that Pelagius and the Pelagians would have been absolutist reformers.

This assumption is negated by two realities: the conciliatory, self-effacing character of Pelagius, and the fact that Pelagius and the Pelagians did not see themselves as reformers or innovators.

Furthermore, it is clear there was great support and sympathy for Pelagius throughout Italy and the Eastern Church. In Italy itself, the indications are numerous. We know that eighteen Italian bishops left en masse with Julian of Aeclanum, preferring poverty and exile. Also, "as early as 415, the region of Aquileia had already begun to produce sympathizers of the Pelagian movement.

a tendency which continued to grow to the point of drawing to itself the attention of Leo I about A.D. 442." (24) More telling yet is the decision of the gentle and saintly Paulinus: "Within months of Augustine's death Paulinus of Nola received into communion the local disciples of Julian of Eclanum." (25)

To the eastern Churches, Pelagius did not appear a heretic while he was in Jerusalem (although it is true the east did later join, in a political trade-off, in condemning what was to become known as Pelagianism at the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus of 431). Pelagianism was not initially, however, a theological issue in the Greek and Syrian hellenistic traditions. Pelagius himself was so much in line with the Antiochene School that "L'Orient" and Antioch have been repeatedly suggested as the geographical focus and origin of his ideas. Missionary efforts to the gentiles spread from Antioch (one of the sees of Peter) rather than from Jerusalem.

Consequently, when Thomas Allin, for instance, write that he sees a link between the thought of Pelagius and Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius, Theodoret and Chrysostom, he also notes that "the Eastern Church, whether Hellenistic or Syriac, formulated its doctrines and maintained its standpoints quite independently of Pelagius or Augustine." (26) Allin adds: "It has been truly said that over the Eastern Church the whole Pelagian controversy passed, leaving little or no trace, stirring no passion, provoking no interest." (27)

Writing about the Greek and Syrian divines, Allin continues:

"Birth sin they did not accept. Their fundamental postulate was not man's depravity, but man's nobility. The Augustinian notion of our natural inability to help ourselves and to move towards good was contrary to one of their most profound convictions, namely, the power of free will in every reasonable being." (28)

Allin's thesis, in The Augustinian Revolution in Theology, opposes Hellenistic theology to Augustinian African theology. Allin concludes with a statement that anticipates Markus: "what the Eastern churches universally held was certainly, at the very least, as probable an inference from primitive teaching as the elaborate system which Augustine built on that teaching." (29)

Since Pelagius took refuge in the East, at least twice, once in 411 and also in 418, Eastern Christianity must have been congenial and sympathetic to him. From this, however, to infer that the system of Pelagius took its primary geographical origin from the East is not justified. It remains true, however, that he was widely read, had travelled to the east and knew Greek.

Allin demonstrates that Augustine built an elaborate system on the primitive Christian teaching and tenets. The Eastern Church never fully accepted Augustin's elaboration of original sin. Thus Markus's argument that the Church in Italy and elsewhere in Western Europe was "hijacked by Augustine and his African friends with the backing of the government at Ravenna" (30) is a question that must be answered by future researchers into Augustinian thought.

Gillian R. Evans, among others, has observed how difficult it

is to retrieve the realities of the Pelagian position, since "in outline and in details [they] quickly became submerged in the controversy"; further, "Augustine-defined Pelagius' terms for him" so that "one of the difficulties in determining what Pelagius intended, is that the Augustinian material far outweighs the Pelagian in quantity." (31)

One must add to this difficulty the major stumbling block created by the mythologizing of Augustine in the Western Churches. So seldom has Augustine's writ on the subject ever been questioned that the real questions posed by Pelagius and the realities of his position are only now beginning to emerge. Furthermore, the questions are often still wrongly posed by researchers in Augustinian terms and only in an Augustinian context.

Whatever Pelagius's qualities and defects were, he was not an innovator. Some of his work is in fact based on Augustine's previous work; some on John Chrysostom's or on other writings of the Church Fathers. If one studies Pelagius's extant works, it is easy to detect a dedicated teacher, a terse Christian moralist, a competent Scriptural commentator, a logical mind. At no time does he intend to startle rhetorically or show a penchant for extremism or new doctrine.

On the other hand, in view of the known reactions in Italy, France, Dalmatia, and other places to the concept of birth sin as Augustine defined it to oppose the Pelagians, Augustine himself did innovate.

Consequently, as well as asking whether Pelagianism had oriental roots, one should ask whether or not Pelagius was part of a larger and scattered theological tradition which was at home as much in Britannia, Syria, Italy, Aquileia, Rome or Campania. One should look for the wide Christian oekumene in transparency throughout the Pelagian system. One should look for the actual birthdate of the term "Pelagian" springing up, and for its first use in a partisan connotation. While the first users of the term may very well have been young disciples of Pelagius, the term appears to have been used first in writing and in a partisan connotation by Jerome in his Dialogues against Pelagians. Many Christians, of course, were "Pelagians" or had Pelagian tendencies without knowing it.

The Eastern and Western Traditions.

A further complicating factor, and of equal importance in Augustine's and Ambrosiaster's time, may have been an awareness that the Eastern and the Western churches of the empire had important differences even as the Empire had been politically divided, after Theodosius the Great's death in 395, between his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. Despite Stilicho's efforts (some might say partly because of Stilicho's efforts), Realpolitik at the time of the Pelagian controversy opposed East and West. Pelagius was exonerated at Diospolis by Patriarch John of Jerusalem

in 415 and by Praylius, his successor in Jerusalem, as well as by Zosimus, Pope of Rome and "an Easterner", early in 417. Festering rivalries between the Eastern and Western Roman empires and the fight for dominance between Rome and Constantinople at this time may have played as great—if not a greater—catalytic role in the Pelagian controversy than the often-cited Sack of Rome by Alaric.

There is no doubt that ecclesiastical traditions were diverging within the Christian church at that time. For instance, while women were being excluded from holy orders in the Western Church, in the Eastern Church deaconesses existed well into the sixth century and even to the tenth and eleventh centuries at Byzantium. Several deaconesses like Olympias of Constantinople and Marthana, the friend of the woman pilgrim Etheria, were known to be in charge of monasteries, as Gryson notes. (32)

Gryson also discusses two Latin "exegetes" of the end of the fourth century; the Ambrosiaster and Pelagius. For the Ambrosiaster, the deaconesses (who admittedly ministered only to women officially) were an invention of the Cataphrygians (the Montanists), and did not exist either for the Apostles or for Paul. Deacons held important religious charges to which 'inferior' women could not possibly aspire. Thus, the Ambrosiaster did not hesitate to reinterpret Paul's Epistle to the Romans for his own purposes. (33)

However, for Pelagius, as for Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Pauline texts are much more positive towards the

ministry of deaconesses. Pelagius is aware of the existence of deaconesses in the Eastern Church. (34) He comments accordingly on 1 Timothy 3, 11 (35), Romans 16, 1 and 16, 3 (36) and 1 Timothy, 5, 9 and 11. (37) Jerome expressed himself sarcastically on Pelagius's wide circle of women acquaintances and on Pelagius's opinion that a woman should be taught to read and interpret Scripture. (38) Origen and Tertullian had of course also been opposed to any ministry for women.

Certainly many different tendencies existed in the early church; Pelagius knew of and was more at home with Antioch and Constantinople than with Carthage. Pelagius was widely travelled; he took up residence for a long time in Rome, and stayed for a time in Egypt and in Palestine. He also passed through Carthage on at least one occasion as a Roman refugee from Alaric.

Although the influences on him may have been complex, nonetheless Pelagius "came from the civilized lowland zone of Roman Britain." (39) However much Pelagius travelled, the basis of his Christian ideas was acquired in this zone. What is more, the zone had constant links with Gaul which itself, as discussed earlier, was in contact with and often derived practices and customs from the Eastern Church. (40)

The Possibility of Druidic Influences.

When reflecting on Pelagius's own geographic origin, Willis Bund and others have tried to establish a link between Pelagian

Christianity and Druidism. Though possible, this link is unprovable. It is true that the "aristocratic" label and the accusation of elitism have often been levelled at the Pelagians. Such aristocratic elitism has been linked with the Druidic heritage (and with Druidic tonsure). On the other hand, Peter Brown, in a study of the followers of Pelagius, observes, without making any druidic connection: "there is no doubt that Pelagius' writings and those of his followers, are by far the most accomplished reflections, in Late Roman literature, of this widespread striving to create an aristocratic elite...The ideal Christian of Pelagian literature was a prudens, carefully reared in conformity to the divine law, to be different from 'the ignorant crowd'." (41)

Willis Bund wrote: "The faith of the Goidelic Celts...is usually called, from its great exponent, Pelagianism." (42) The use of Pelagius in Ireland from early in the Middle Ages is well documented. (43) Furthermore, all the old Celtic traditions associated with Donn, God of the Otherworld, predicate a return of all Celts to this house of their ancestors.

However, it should be emphasized that "Britain was almost certainly the transmitter of Pelagian notions and works to Ireland. The understanding of the Irish use of Pelagius would be considerably furthered if British Pelagianism were understood...there was definitely a vital Pelagian movement in Britain..." (44)

The point is emphasized by scholars studying Pelagius that he was a completely Romanized lowland Briton. Similarly, the French historian Camille Jullian wrote of the poet Ausonius: "il parle, il s'habille, il pense en romain, mais ce sera toujours un Celte ...Ce monde des Ausônes ne...peut supposer un état de choses dont seraient exclus Rome, le règne de ses lois...Ce sont aussi bien de vrais Romains que de vrais Gaulois." (45)

Jullian also describes vividly the Aeduan seer Agricius, the grandfather (avus) of Ausonius, painting an almost druidical portrait. Agricius excelled in astronomical lore. He foretold the life of his baby grandson on tablets that he sealed carefully. Agricius was "un des derniers représentants de cette discipline hiératique qui dominaient en Gaule au moment de la conquête." (46)

Similarly, it is not impossible that, like Ausonius, Pelagius was acquainted with druidic tradition or had association with physicians. Several scholars have remarked on how many healing similes exist in Pelagius's work; he is familiar with medical comparisons. On the other hand, it is possible also that such medical comparisons were common in the fourth century.

The Druids emphasized justice and intense spirituality, committed little to writing and insisted on bravery and morality. One of their major functions, for instance, was to act as the supreme court of justice at a sacred place on the territory of the Carnutes at a set time every year. Pelagius may be seen as a link with the past rather than a rebel.

The Druids had formed an intellectual elite whose principles could have left a strong imprint on him. It is noteworthy that Pelagius and his followers were first condemned on 30 April 418 by Imperial rescript for intellectual elitism, for representing more a political danger than a heretical religious group: "Insignem notam plebeiae aestimat vilitatis sentire cum cunctis..." (47)

Pelagius lays emphasis on water and fire in their symbolic rather than physical nature, as representing baptism and punishment for instance. Pelagius's interpretation of baptism and elaboration of its meaning would have been well understood by Celts who revered springs of water. Nevertheless, Pelagius, like Ausonius, remained totally romanized. Pelagius was a devout Trinitarian Christian, even if his lofty notion of God was more in the Brennus mould than a Greco-Roman concept.

Pelagius "croyait pouvoir tirer de l'âme humaine elle-même le trésor des vertus chrétiennes" wrote Turmel; he concluded that in this Pelagius was echoing Irish and British monks. (48)

Georges de Plinval saw one of the ancient Celtic Triads as relating to Pelagianism: "Good or bad, all things being in equipoise between these two, and man having the power to join himself to one or the other according to his will." (49) However, other Triads apply equally, such as the "Three candles that illumine every darkness: truth, nature, knowledge." (50)

Wörter, however, in his book Der Pelagianismus..., contests the influence of druidic beliefs on Pelagius, principally because the

latter rejected the transmigration of souls. (51)

Pelagius was too often called Brito, Britto, gente Britannus, ex Britanniis orundus, or in derision Britannicus noster to leave any doubt about his geographic origin. Polydore Virgil adds, during the Renaissance, this intriguing geographic statement "Pelagius...homo Britannus, natus in Britannia citeriore" (52) Alexander Souter concurs with the observation that the Latin biblical text used by Pelagius in his Expositiones... on the Pauline Epistles "was similar to that used by Ambrose, who was brought up in the Rhineland, and unlike that used in Spain or Western Gaul. This suggests strongly that Pelagius came from, or at least was educated in, south-eastern Britannia rather than the west country where the natural continental contacts were with Armorica and Spain." (53) Gildas also testifies that Pelagius was a fellow-countryman.

The question of Druidic influences on Pelagius remains unproved at present, since the religion presumably perished much earlier and the evidence for survivals is only circumstantial for the present.

Pelagianism and "Semi-Pelagianism."

Insofar as Pelagius was British, just as Severianus, Agricola and Faustus of Riez were British, both Pelagianism and what later became known as "Semi-Pelagianism" have close British links.

A sharp distinction is now sometimes made between Pelagianism

and semi-Pelagianism, although the term "semi-Pelagianism" is artificial and was not used until 1600. (54) Then it was first applied to Molina's system of grace. Now, however, it is usually restricted to apply "to the doctrine in the period between 427 and 529 of theologians in Africa and especially in Southern Gaul who opposed Augustine's final teaching on grace." (55) These "semi-Pelagians" specifically came from the monastic communities at Hadrumetum, Lérins and Marseilles. The term semi-Pelagian is in fact superfluous. Neither Augustine nor Prosper saw any nuances in Pelagianism.

The essential root-principle of Pelagianism remained, namely, "That man has some ability to will good and that the beginning of salvation may be with man." (56) Whether Pelagians or "semi-Pelagians", they all insisted on the initial free will of man and on the necessity of human cooperation with divine grace.

With or without "semi-Pelagianism", the principles declared outlawed first by Augustine and the African Church, then, seven years later after intensive African campaigning, first by the Emperor and then only by the Pope, did not change. What did change, however, was that after the death of Augustine in 430, the Western Church in practice rejected extreme Augustinianism while still honouring the memory of its founding-father.

The "semi-Pelagian" current is most clearly identified with John Cassian and his "Massilienses", with Arnobius the Younger, Abbot Faustus (later Bishop of Riez) and Vincent of Lérins.

To these may be added the spirited writer of the anonymous Capitula objectionum Gallorum.

For Vincent of Lérins (d. before 450), Augustine was innovating and the latter's De correptione et gratia of 427 had veered away from the Vincentian canon which took its classic form in the statement: "quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus." As early as 433, Vincent started writing his Commonitorium. Although he never names Augustine, his chapters 7, 21, 26 and 32 can only refer to Augustine. (57)

In several Conlationes, Nos. 3, 5 and especially 13 and 19, John Cassian (c. 360-435) criticized Augustine's doctrine of grace. Cassian always rejected the idea that grace could be neither resisted nor lost. He reinstated the pre-Augustinian notion of grace in a new form. (58)

Faustus Britto (c. 408-c. 490) refuted the predestinarian doctrine of Lucidus. At the Council of Arles in 473, Faustus of Riez forced Lucidus to retract the concept that unbaptized babies and pagans automatically went to hell. However, Pope Gelasius issued a decree against Faustus's writings in 493, classifying them with those of heretics and persons under suspicion. Unperturbed, the Gallican Church made Faustus a saint.

If we view Christianity as a religion of discontinuity (see Chapter II) comprised of several orthodox strains (59) until Augustine's reform, then both pre-Pelagianism in Markus's sense and Pelagianism (or "semi-Pelagianism") itself were part of a

theological approach widely diffused across the map of Europe and the Near-East. In some places it never went away.

Pelagius was in the synergist (60) tradition. He believed human will should cooperate with divine grace. His optimism and ethics must have represented a cross-section of the views of early Christians. This explains why he, a Celtic Briton, was at home in Rome, in Antioch, in Jerusalem, and had friends in Aquileia, in Nola, in Egypt and Constantinople.

Some ideas transcend places and periods. Pelagius's concept of free will with his opposition both to original sin and to predestination are examples of such ideas.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

- (1) K. F. Morrison, Europe's Early Middle Ages 565-1500, Glenview, Illinois, 1970: "If, however, we try to set a religious norm for the age, a list of beliefs and practices essential to the 'Age of Faith,' we are likely to flounder. Whom, or whose practices, could we choose as typical?...For the sociologist, man's religious experience in medieval Europe is a provocative instance of a new religion in an old society", pp. 11-12.
- (2) For instance, D. Dumville, "Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence for the British Transmission of Pelagius," Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies 10 (Winter, 1985): 39-52.
- (3) Journal of Ecclesiastical History 37 (No. 2, April 1986): 191-204.
- (4) Tertullian, adversus Judaeos, MPL 2, 850, ch. VII, part 4, p. 303.
- (5) Origen, Fourth Homily on Ezekiel, MPG 23, 203.
- (6) Eusebius of Caesarea, Demonstratio evangelica, Lib. III, ch. 7, MPG 22, 203.
- (7) Gildas, de excidio Britanniae, chapters 9-12, H. Williams, editor, London, 1899-1900.
- (8) Theodoret of Cyrrihus, Tom. IV, Serm. IX, PG 83, 340A.
- (9) Hilary of Poitiers, de Consiliis. See Collier, Ecclesiastical History, I, 85 as-noted by W. M. Sinclair. The Ancient British Churches, London, 1893, pp. 22-23.
- (10) Hieronymus, Omnium Operum..., t.1, ep. 17. See also Sinclair p. 23.
- (11) J. A. W. Neander, General History of the Christian Religion and Church, translated by J. Torrey, London, Vol. II: 573-574 (5 vols. 1850-1855). The original German was entitled Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche, 5 vols. Berlin, 1825-1842 (a sixth volume appeared, posthumously, in 1852).
- (12) R. A. Markus, "Pelagianism: Britain and the Continent," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 37 (No. 2, April, 1980): 191-204. Here p. 198.
- (13) Op. cit., pp. 191-204.
- (14) Hedde, R. and Amann, E., "Pelagius," Dictionnaire de théologie catholique XII (1933): 677.
- (15) George T. Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, London, 1886, p. 11.
- (16) Ibid., p. 3.
- (17) Marcus Dods, "Pelagius," signed article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 21, 1926, p. 64. Dods was a Scottish divine and biblical scholar.
- (18) Markus, op. cit., p. 198.
- (19) L. J. van der Lof, "The Man in the Shadow Behind Pelagius," Studia Patristica, Vol. XV, part 1, Oxford 1975; pp. 246-254.
- (20) Markus, p. 191, and his note 3.

- (21) Markus, p. 198.
- (22) C. A. García-Allen, "Was Pelagius Influenced by Chromatius of Aquileia?," Studia Patristica, Vol. XVII, Pt. 3, Oxford, 1983, pp. 1251-1257.
- (23) Who quotes from Mercator through Peter Brown to Marrou. See van der Lof loc. cit.
- (24) C. A. García-Allen, p. 1255.
- (25) Markus, p. 197.
- (26) Thomas Allin The Augustinian Revolution in Theology, London, 1911, p. 97.
- (27) Allin, ibid.
- (28) Allin, pp. 97-98.
- (29) Allin, p. 201.
- (30) Markus, op. cit., p. 198.
- (31) Gillian R. Evans, "Neither a Pelagian nor a Manichee," Vigiliae Christianae 35 (1961): 236-7.
- (32) Roger Gryson, Le ministère des femmes dans l'Eglise ancienne, Gembloux, 1972, p. 148.
- (33) Gryson, pp. 151-8.
- (34) Gryson, pp. 158-61.
- (35) Ibid.
- (36) Ibid.
- (37) Ibid.
- (38) Jerome, Epistula 50, 3 and esp. 5.
- (39) J. Bulloch, The Life of the Celtic Church, Edinburgh, 1963, p. 104, quoting Myres.
- (40) J. J. Hatt, "L'humanisme chez les Celtes," pp. 2-7 in Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Paris, mars 1986, esp. p. 3. On p. 2 Hatt cites Strabo, IV, 5 on early Celtic relations with the Greeks.
- (41) P. R. L. Brown, "Pelagius and His Supporters: Aims and Environment," Journal of Theological History n.s. 19 (1968): 97.
- (42) J. Willis Bund, The Celtic Church in Wales, London, 1897, p. 108.
- (43) H. Zimmer, Pelagius und Irland, Berlin, 1901; and Joseph F. Kelly, "Pelagius, Pelagianism and the Early Christian Irish," Mediaevalia 4 (1978): 99-124.
- (44) Kelly, op. cit., p. 103.
- (45) C. L. Jullian, Ausone et Bordeaux. Etudes sur les derniers temps de la Gaule romaine, Bordeaux, 1893, p. 12.
- (46) Jullian, p. 10.
- (47) PL 48, 379 and J. N. L. Myres, "Pelagius and the End of Roman Rule in Britain," Journal of Roman Studies 50 (1960), p. 30; also P. Brown, op. cit., p. 98.
- (48) Jean Turmel, Annales de Bretagne, XVII, Rennes-Paris, 1902, p. 318.
- (49) Triades des Bardes de l'île de Bretagne, ed. Le Fustec et Berthou, tr. du gallois (Paris, 1906), triade 24, p. 21; as quoted in de Plinval, Pélage..., p. 59.

- (50) 1000 Years of Irish Poetry, The Gaelic and Anglo-Irish Poets from Pagan Times to the Present, edited by K. Hoagland, Old Greenwich, Conn., 4th ed. 1947, p. 23.
- (51) F. Wörter, Der Pelagianismus nach seinem Ursprung und nach seiner Lehre, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1874, p. 36.
- (52) Historia anglica, 26 Vols., Basel, 1534, Vol. 23.
- (53) A. Souter, Texts and Studies IX (1922), p. 147, as quoted in note 5 of Myres, p. 21.
- (54) M. Jacquin, O.P., "A quelle date apparaît le terme Semipélagien?", Revue des sciences philosophiques et religieuses 1 (1907): 506-508, and Alfred Feder, S.J. "Semipelagianismus im Schriftstellerkatalog des Gennadius v. Marseille," Scholastik II (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907): 481-514, p. 482 especially.
- (55) S. J. McKenna, "Semi-Pelagianism," The New Catholic Encyclopedia, (New York, etc. 1967) Vol XIII, pp. 75-76.
- (56) M. Dods, "Pelagius," signed article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 13 ed., Vol. 21, 1926, p. 64.
- (57) See Gennadius, De viris illustribus 64; Jean Turmel, reviewing Zimmer in Annales de Bretagne XVII, p. 317, and his note 4, ibid., citing Harnack, Bardenhewer, Koch and Erhard especially.
- (58) The human heart being a flint that sparks.
- (59) J. Pelikan speaks of Catholic Orthodoxy in the East and of Catholic Orthodoxy in the West in The Christian Tradition, 1 The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600), London, 1971, pp. 332-333.
- (60) B. Meyendorff, Byzantine History, New York, NY, 1974, p. 164 and pp. 206-207, NY, 1974.

Chapter IV

BRITANNIA AND GALLIA FROM 406 TO 680

The Historical Spread of Pelagianism.

There is written evidence that, just as in Italy, some bishops and clergy in southern Gaul had heard and accepted important elements of the message of Pelagius. For instance, Claudius Marius Victor, a rhetorician at Marseilles who died in 445, introduced his Commentary on Genesis with what is, according to de Plinval, "...une dissertation en faveur du libre arbitre si convaincue et si persuasive...qu'elle ne peut provenir que de Pélage." (1)

Another individual relevant in this context is the Bishop of Auch, Orientius, a person of great diplomacy. He is mainly remembered now for his haunting comment on the Barbarian invasions of the first half of the fifth century: "Uno fumavit Gallia tota rogo." However, de Plinval discerns in Orientius's Commonitorium "une 'somme' de morale dont beaucoup de passages ressortissent aux exhortations pélagiennes...quand...il étudie la lascivia, l'invidia, l'avaritia, nous reconnaissons au passage des lieux communs de Pélage. C'est enfin le même souci de faire saisir le caractère raisonnable ...des commandements divins, le même désir de faire concorder avec la loi de solidarité naturelle la loi d'amour promulguée dans l'Évangile." (2) Like Pelagius, Orientius was interested in teaching Christian ethics. Furthermore, he was much



concerned with the deteriorating situation created by the invasions of the barbarians.

Orientius must have read Pelagius's Epistula de malis Doctoribus... and his Epistula ad Demetriaden. De Plinval in fact sees a direct link between Pelagius's ad Demetriaden, 28, and Orientius's Commonitorium, II, 85-142. (3)

One of the most original arguments made by de Plinval concerning the system of thought advocated by Pelagius shows that it was preserved in Southern France in its purest form by the anonymous author of the Carmen de Providentia. In fact, this poem—paradoxically written amidst the ruins of Roman Gaul—is a monument to Pelagius. De Plinval also noted the connections between Pelagius and Marius Victor, Paulinus of Pella, Orientius and the Aquitanian author of ...de Providentia.

De Plinval, writing about Carmen de Providentia, emphasizes: "Peu de livres nous ont conservé avec autant de fidélité les propres idées de Pelage...Ce qui vient ici en droite ligne de Pelage, c'est cette philosophie si nette des droits et des responsabilités de la volonté, la théorie de la loi naturelle inscrite dans les coeurs, de la justice et du salut accessibles a tous sans distinction ni exclusion de temps ou de pays. C'est le même fond de doctrine que celui dont nous trouvons l'expression dans la Lettre à Démétride." (4)

Pelagius had many followers, especially in Southern Gaul, (as well as Aquileia, Dalmatia and Britannia) in the fifth century.

despite his condemnations by Imperial Rescript and Papal Tractoria in 418. The followers of Pelagius in Gaul certainly had numerous links with religious Celtic Britannia. Margaret Deanesley emphasizes the influence of Celtic Gaul on the British Celts: "There is plenty of evidence in the fifth century and later of the influence of Gallican Christianity on the Celts...on the whole, while evidence of relations between Gaul and the Celtic Christians is very strong, evidence of relations with Mediterranean Greeks, Jews or Syrians is very slight. It came only with the use of illuminated Gospel books in the sixth century and later. Celtic Christianity on the whole was a transplanted Gallican Christianity." (5)

In earlier centuries, Roman Britain had been part of the Roman Empire. But Pict and Saxon raiders were getting more menacing at the end of the fourth century. The empire was beginning its retreat towards the south. However, Picts, Scots and Saxons were delayed temporarily by Stilicho's ~~measures~~. They would only start their raids again in 409, after his death. Stilicho's achievement in Britain was duly recorded by Claudian: "The Saxon is conquered and the seas safe; the Picts have been defeated and Britain is secure." (6)

By 410, the Western Roman Emperor, Honorius, ironically the very grandson of Count Theodosius, told the Britons that he could not help them anymore and that they were on their own; Roman power weakened so much that according to Procopius the Romans did not

reestablish their imperium in Britannia which remained under the authority of tyrants, more or less legitimate in Roman eyes. (7) The tyrants concerned were probably local dignitaries, with partly Roman, partly tribal responsibilities. (8)

Vortigern was reproached for asking the help of Hengist and Horsa toward the middle of the fifth century and thereby precipitating a greater rout. Menaced Britons migrated to northern France in great numbers, founding a "new Britain," still called Brittany today and still different from other parts of France. The Scotti from Ireland were moving into South Wales and South Scotland while the Angles, Jutes and Saxons were attacking the eastern shores. A central question now under consideration by historians of Britain is the extent of the massacre of Celtic Britons at that time and whether it could be qualified as a genocide or rather as the beginning of a slow assimilation.

All this happened after the time of Pelagius. Nevertheless, since the *Historia Brittonum* by Nennius, Vortigern has often been considered a political follower of Pelagius—and even the physical father of Faustus of Riez, although the name "Vortigern" is itself in fact a title, not a name, as Sheppard Frere has pointed out. (9) Further, as Frere adds: "When his rule began, there was a powerful Pelagian party in Britain, anti-Roman in sentiment, but aristocratic in background." (10) This party was in favour of non-involvement in continental adventures, a policy justified by events, since although "Constantine had removed the garrison of

Britain,...[he] could not even hold Gaul." (11) From then on resistance against the Saxons would have to be organized by people whose own lives were at stake, rather than by officials lacking any imperial backing. For Frere, this "called for courage, and it exhibited the exercise of a free will which is certainly best understood in terms of Pelagian philosophy." (12) Further, concerning Vortigern himself, who successfully maintained the independence of Britain up to 442, this ruler "had connections with the later dynasty of Powys and may have sprung from a noble Cornovian family." (13)

In Vortigern's Celtic Britain, the ideas of Pelagius were the last rampart against the invaders. For a short time in the fifth century, Pelagianism could have been seen as Celtic patriotism.

The Abbey of Lérins, and Faustus.

Born in Gallia Belgica, Honoratus founded the monastery at Lérins on the then remote island that is now known as Saint-Honorat. The monastery at Lérins was to become famous and to start a movement of significant reaction against undiluted Augustinianism. It also attracted some of the best minds of Gaul and from abroad. Among the first to join Honoratus was a married compatriot, Salvian, whose life story is somewhat similar to that of Paulinus of Nola.

Like Paulinus of Nola, Salvian was a convinced Christian of the late Roman Empire. He was concerned with the plight of the

poor and of those displaced by the barbarian invasions. In his social concerns Salvian was Pelagian in orientation.

Furthermore, Salvian knew that the barbarians were there to stay, as are heresies. If Salvian had been asked to accompany Germanus to Britain on the mission of the Gallican church against the British Pelagians, he, Salvian, with his greater sensitivity, might have analyzed the imperatives of the British situation differently. In searching for solutions, Salvian was sensitive to the social priorities of the century. Perhaps as a result, Salvian was accused by some—as was Pelagius also—of a certain superficiality.

One cannot be certain how complex were the intellectual ties linking together monks from different parts of the Roman empire. It does however appear that the Christian culture at Lérins was both comprehensive and yet on the whole hostile to Augustinian innovations.

Honoratus, the founder of the monastery of Lérins, went on to become Bishop of Arles in 428 and was later canonized. Salvian both as a writer and as a thinker was totally eclipsed by Augustine. John Cassian (strictly speaking, from nearby Marseilles) was attacked by Prosper of Aquitaine for being a Pelagian. Cassian certainly did not believe in man's total corruption by original sin or in any form of predestination, including predestination to evil. In his theology, he was a part of the Greek tradition and close to Chrysostom in doctrinal views.

More important, Cassian seems to have been, like Pelagius, a striver for inpeccantia and a believer in inner freedom.

However, the last work by Cassian, De incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium, written at the request of Leo, then still an archdeacon of Rome, in 430, did attack Pelagianism. Despite this, "the composition of the treatise is weak, its structure obscure and its theological formulation is uncertain. Some of its expressions are close to those of Nestorius." (14) Although the treatise is thus uncharacteristically weak and muddled, it may be going too far to express doubts about its authenticity. It was perhaps written under some pressure from Leo, however. At all events it holds the ideas of Pelagius responsible both for the theories of Leporius and of Nestorius. We do know that Leporius had difficulty with the concept of the Incarnation and the double nature of Christ. This led to his being considered prone to errors which were later to be condemned by association with the Nestorian heresy (although Nestorius, like Pelagius earlier, was also unfairly linked with a heresy bearing his name). The link made between Pelagius, Leporius and Nestorius is atypical for Cassian. It sounds apocryphal and simplistic.

Vincent, "the Gaul" (in the words of Gennadius), was the best known and perhaps the most representative of the minds of the monastery. He is therefore quite fittingly called Vincent of Lérins. As a most subtle "presbyter", who called himself Peregrinus, he has been claimed by all sides in many religious

disputes.

Hilary of Arles and Lupus of Troyes were also at Lérins. Hilary was the chosen successor of Honoratus as Bishop of Arles. Lupus of Troyes was married to Pinieniola, the sister of Hilary of Arles and a relative of Honoratus of Lérins. The couple separated for the sake of religion. This was a not uncommon practice; thus, Paulinus of Nola and his wife Therasia were also separated, as were Salvian and his wife. After the separation Lupus lived for about a year in the monastery at Lérins. After becoming Bishop of Troyes, he accompanied Germanus to Britannia on a mission of the Gallican Church against the British Pelagians.

Saint Patrick also visited Lérins: "Timorem Dei habui ducem itineris mei per Gallias atque Italiam, etiam in insolis quae sunt in mari Tyrreno." (15) The Confession of Faith of Patrick is similar to the Confessio fidei of Pelagius and to that of Julian of Aclanum; also, Pelagius and Patrick share a similar concept of grace, with neither believing in any confrontation between God's grace and human freedom, since, in the Celtic tradition, all was God's gift. (16) The orientation of Patrick's confession is similar to the tradition of the Pelagians and of the monks at Lérins. It is highly improbable that Patrick was involved in any way in Germanus's anti-Pelagian crusades.

In addition, the influence of the Eastern Church was particularly strong around Lérins. John Cassian was "de natione scythae"; he knew Greek, had spent many years in the East and had

been ordained by John Chrysostom in Constantinople. Honoratus had founded Lérins after he returned from a pilgrimage to Greece with his brother Venantius (who died in Greece).

The Commonitorium of Vincent of Lérins was written at the abbey in 434. From circa 433 until circa 462 Faustus Britto was the Abbot of Lérins. Vincent must have had the permission and the encouragement of his superior, the Abbot, to write his work. (17) Despite diverging views on Vincent, the fact remains that he wrote his Commonitorium under an assumed name and that it is discreetly pointed. Until the contrary is demonstrated it must be considered to demonstrate the semi-Pelagian views of its author, especially on the topics of grace and human responsibility. Further, Turmel observes that Faustus Britto, in Provence, "livrait aux enseignements de saint Augustin une guerre, oblique mais tenace, qui devait durer plus d'un demi-siècle. Oui, celui qui, devenu évêque de Riez, combattit par la parole et par la plume la grâce augustinienne.... Fauste était breton..." (18)

Turmel argues also that the famous Abbot of Lérins, being from Britain, was disseminating in Southern Gaul doctrines that he had himself learned in Britain circa 420. The Celtic Churches were, during the fifth century deeply attached to the very ideas forbidden by the imperial rescript of Honorius and the Tractoria of Zosimus. Since they [the Celtic Churches] could not have learned anything from Pelagius who had left Britain at an early age, "on est amené à conclure qu'elles [the Celtic churches]

professaient depuis longtemps ces doctrines." (19) Whether Turmel is right or not in this conclusion, his view is at least compatible with the data.

It is thought-provoking that only Turmel (and Souter later) followed the highly original path traced by Heinrich Zimmer. It was not until the twentieth century that scholars like Zimmer, Souter and Turmel followed up on the real possibility of early British pre-Pelagianism and late post-Pelagianism. Some church historians, such as James Bulloch, claim that it never ceased to be a force. Thus Bulloch writes that it "is the standing heresy of these islands, and to learn a modern version of it no more is needed than attendance at a few of our most popular city churches."

(20)

Faustus Britto was two generations younger than Pelagius. He lived in Southern France, holding responsible church positions, from about 433 to later than 480, first as Abbot of Lérins and then as Bishop of Riez. Zimmer observes that Faustus kept his links with Britain and that he sent back to the Britons through Riocatus two of his own books—De gratia Dei and De humanae mentis libero arbitrio. Zimmer poses the question whether Pelagius could have sent his own works back to Ireland earlier and in similar circumstances. Zimmer thinks it is not too bold to assume Pelagius did send his works back, and makes a convincing case for his opinion. (21)

Thus, the life and thought of Faustus of Riez may throw light

on those of Pelagius. Similarly, in a later British generation yet, Gildas, who lived at a time when even the name of Pelagius had been proscribed, still insisted on morality and justice in what were highly Pelagian terms.

A reexamination of Lérins in the fifth century of far greater scope than possible in this chapter deserves to be undertaken in order to heighten scholars' appreciation of the links uniting Britannia and Gallia between 400 and 680. Lérins was not only a meeting place between the Gallic Church and the Eastern monastic tradition. It also appears to have been the place where the ecclesiastical thought of the Gallican and the Celtic British Churches met, coalesced and flourished under the abbacy of Faustus Britto. As in many intellectual debates in the West ever since, the deliberations centred on authority and freedom. The issue was still very much alive temperamentally in Britain even in the seventeenth century. (22)

In the fifth century, to repeat the exact title of a work by Faustus Britto, the issue was "On the grace of God, through which we are saved and the free will of the human mind, in which we are saved." This work was declared "opus egregium" by Gennadius of Marseilles who, in his long chapter 86 on Faustus, cannot conceal his admiration for the abbot (soon to be the French bishop) who originally came from Britannia. (23)

His exile may have been the result of his Pelagian tendencies, which may have been derived, as Norisius asserts, "ex Pelagiana

officina". (24) In his condemnation of Faustus, Norisius was in fact only following in a long chain of church historians which began with Prosper of Aquitaine. Prosper must have known Cassian and Faustus personally, and he certainly wrote against both of the latter. He even took the trouble to write two letters to warn Augustine against them because their ideas contested the Augustinian tenet of 'natura perditā est.' (25)

At the beginning of the sixth century, Peter the Deacon wrote to African bishops: "Anathematizamus Pelagium et Caelestium...et qui illis similia sapiunt; praecipue libros Fausti Galliarum episcopi... quos contra praedestinationis sententiam scriptos esse non dubium est." (26)

Early in the seventh century, Isidore of Seville praised Fulgentius the African who had rebuffed in seven books the theses of Faustus of Riez. (27)

In the ninth century, Gottschalk not only argued over predestination with John Scotus Eriugena and with Rabanus Maurus (a disciple of Alcuin and a Carolingian scholar who had read some of Pelagius's work). Writing about Fulgentius, Gottschalk even spoke of the devilish comments and the death-dealing poison of Faustus. (28)

By the ninth century, times and ideas had evidently changed. Gottschalk went down in religious history as a condemned heretic while Faustus Britto became a saint (but only for Gaul, certainly not in the Roman calendar of saints); Carolingian Christians may

have accepted Augustine's authority—but they did not accept his double predestination nor did they refuse to Faustus episcopus Galliarum a place among the saints. (29)

The greatest service that the Celtic Church of Britain may have rendered to the Gallican Church was perhaps Faustus's quiet message about human nature. Inasmuch as it was created by God, human nature is good in essence. Faustus of Riez is not only a most valuable and attractive link between Britannia and Gallia. He is a remarkable guidepost to the type of Celtic Christianity that must have been orthodoxy for Pelagius. Faustus expressed clearly Pelagian thoughts in sentences such as: "Bonitas in natura, malitia vero extra naturam sit, qui bonum in voluntate, malum habeat in potestate, qui bonum naturaliter velit, malum actualiter possit..." (30) Pope Gelasius on November 1st, 493 issued what is known as the Gelasian decree condemning Faustus's writings with those of heretics and persons under suspicion.

Vita Germani

In certain ages it is difficult to separate the legend from reality. Such is the case when one examines the hagiographical evidence of the Vita Germani episcopi Autissiodorensis auctore Constantio by Constantius of Lyons. The most recent opinions are expressed by Markus when he comments on the work by E. A. Thompson (31) dealing with the Vita Germani.

Markus notes "I must confess to having some lingering doubts as to whether a hagiographical text can properly be used in the way that Thompson uses the text of the 'Life of Saint Germanus'." (32) Markus's doubts must be borne in mind in any research on hagiographical texts celebrating the lives of saints of the Later Roman Empire. However, for once sharing the views of Rene Borius (editor of Constance de Lyon, Paris, 1965) and of Thompson, Markus himself states: "we shall be safe in assuming that there is much to be gleaned about the circumstances of Germanus' mission to Britain and about conditions in the province from Constantius' 'Life'..." (33)

In fact, as the title of Markus's article ("Pelagianism: Britain and the Continent") itself clearly indicates, there is something to be gleaned about Pelagianism and the Continent as well as about Britain in the Vita Germani. Germanus was after all a member of the old Gallo-Roman aristocracy, just like Sidonius Apollinaris. His parents were splendidiissimi and landowners. They were probably called Rusticus and Germanilla and are buried in the church of Appoigny near Auxerre, in their own land, the fundus Epponiacus, the Latin name of Appoigny.

Much may be gleaned about life in Gaul, both political and ecclesiastical, in the early fifth century from the life of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. The real task of the historian will always be to establish the difference between the purely hagiographical conventions and the elements of historical truth that are highly

relevant to our purpose. For instance, relevant to the history of Gaul and perhaps to the history of Britain in the fourth and fifth centuries is the glimpse into the lives of the rebels known as bagaudae. (34) La Bagaude and the individual known as "Tibault" are momentous names in the history of Gaul.

F. Lot (in his work La Gaule) has observed that in an anonymous comedy of the early fifth century, written around 414 by a Gaul (and dedicated to Claudius Rutilius Namatianus), the Lar familiaris of the hero—Querolus—advises him to join the bagaudae: "Go and live by the Loire. There the men do live under the law of nature." (35)

There may have been a link between the political unrest in Armorica and in Britain. For instance, Germanus had held, under the Empire, the high military dignity of a duke of the Armorican Shore (i.e. roughly equivalent to today's Normandy and Brittany) and only later became Bishop of Auxerre, his ecclesiastical rank when sent to combat Pelagianism in Britain. While E. A. Thompson draws no direct parallel between Bagaudae and Pelagianism, he still sees a connection between possible "British Bagaudae," the revolt of 409 and the rural rebels in Gaul and Spain. (36) However, any links between Pelagius and bagaudae remain purely speculative.

Thompson's dating of the Armorican revolts and his description of the British city-states between 410 and 429 are provable historically. He also makes a convincing case for a continuous

revolt in Armorica from 409 to 417 (37). However, he is less persuasive when he writes that Agricola may have introduced Pelagianism into Britain (although Agricola's father too was a Pelagian), and also that even if Agricola did not introduce the heresy into Britain it "certainly was newly arrived when Agricola first makes his appearance in our sources in the 420s." (38) Thompson is thus arguing for the continuity of a movement in Armorica while denying the possibility of such continuity in Britain. Furthermore, as Thompson affirms, "we have no evidence for the existence of Pelagian heretics in Britain until Agricola appeared on the scene in the 420s." (39)

Nevertheless, the best evidence that Pelagianism was not introduced into Britain in the 420's by Agricola or by anyone else, but that there had existed in Britain, as argued by Markus, a continuous pre-Pelagian Christianity, imbued with similar ideas, is still J. Turmel's argument concerning Faustus Britto, Bishop of Riez.

Turmel points out that Agricola left Britain and returned there only in 427. By then, Faustus was already in Gaul. Pelagius had also left much earlier on, and with similar ideas. Faustus thus never came under the influence of Agricola, and ipso facto therefore "l'esprit pélagien régnait dans les monastères de la Grande-Bretagne avant qu'Agricola ne commençât sa campagne." (40)

If, during their negotiations with barbarian chiefs on behalf

of Rome and Aetius, Orientius, Bishop of Auch on the one hand and Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre on the other had ever met, the two opposite points of view concerning Pelagius in the Gallican Church could have been debated to great mutual profit and probably with great courtesy. Such a meeting of course is more than problematic, while not impossible in theory.

In reality, even allowing for its hagiographic treatment, Germanus's life, right up to the two missions to Britain, was a typical cursus for a Western bishop of the Later Roman Empire. Germanus was born in Auxerre, into a landowning family, and went to local schools in Gaul: "Post auditoria gallicana intra urbem Romanam iuris scientiam perfectionis adiecit." Germanus travelled to Rome to study law, just as Pelagius had not so long before. Around the start of the fifth century, it appeared desirable for bright young provincial minds to go and study law in Rome for the sake of their culture—"atque ut in eum perfectio litterarum plena conflueret." He married the "right" girl (Auxerre already sounds like modern France), was reputed to be famous "togae" [i.e. for his "toga" as an experienced member of the judiciary], and became a provincial administrator. Then, "clerici omnes cunctaque nobilitas, plebs urbana uel rustica" became the voice of God and demanded Germanus for their bishop.

Up to this point his life sounded remarkably like a preparation for a modern political career. However, from this moment on it quickly and typically took on the socio-religious

tones of the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus, Germanus next became a priest, at first "unwillingly;" his wife was transformed "into a sister." (41) Yet another couple from Later Roman Christianity had opted for pious divorce by mutual consent.

Germain l'Auxerrois was a native Gallo-Roman man, rather typical of his time, station and place. The learned Christian priest of Lyons, Constantius, was writing the life of a local Gallo-Roman saint. Nonetheless, it is strange, as E. A. Thompson remarks, "that students of Roman Britain have paid so little attention to Constantius's Life of St Germanus of Auxerre. One cannot afford to ignore any ancient author who speaks at some length about Britain, and yet British scholars have rarely lingered over Constantius's life." (42)

Thompson's observation is well taken. Germanus of Auxerre cannot be passed over by students of Roman Britain. He was sent on at least one mission—and almost certainly a second mission as well in later years—to Britain to combat the powerful Pelagian ferment in the British Church.

As the *Vita Germani*, III, 12 states: "In the meantime, a legation sent by the Britons announced to the bishops of Gaul that the Pelagian perversity had widely gained over the population of their regions and that it was necessary to come as soon as possible to the help of the catholic faith. For this reason, a well-attended synod was gathered together, and by the judgment of all they jointly entreat two outstanding lights of the faith, the

apostles and priests Germanus and Lupus, still on earth in their bodies but already possessing heaven by their merits. And the harder this necessity appeared to them, the more readily did these most religious heroes accept it, their faith inciting them on to hasten the enterprise." (43)

Evidence for the second mission is found in Chapter V, 25 of the Vita Germani: "In the meantime, it is announced from Britain that the Pelagian perversity is again spreading, through a few supporters, and again the prayers of all priests are sent to the most blessed man, asking him to protect the cause of God that he had already maintained before. On their petition, he rushes there because he both enjoys difficult tasks and eagerly expends himself for Christ. At length, the hatred of the enemy yielded, vanquished by his virtues, and did not dare disturb one whom he had already recognized as a friend of God. Therefore, assisted by Severus, a bishop of complete sanctity, he embarks on the sea under the guardianship of Christ; the elements consent to a smooth passage; winds, waters and skies accompany the ship." (44)

The evidence to be added to the first trip and to a firm date of 429 is the short passage in Prosper, for the year 429, noting that "Agricola, a Pelagian, son of a Pelagian bishop, Severianus, has corrupted the churches of Britain by the devious penetration of his own doctrine." (45)

One other relevant text on Germanus's anti-Pelagian missions occurs in Prosper's attack on John Cassian, the Contra collatorem:

"By no slow cure indeed did he (Pope Caelestinus) liberate the British islands from the same sickness, when he shut out even from their retired solitary place of the sea those enemies of grace that had possession of the land of its origin; and having ordained a bishop for the Scotti, just as he took pains to keep the Roman island [i.e. Britain] catholic, he also made the barbarian one [i.e. Ireland] Christian." (46)

De Plinval and Thompson suggest an earlier date for Germanus's second mission to Britain. Although they differ on the year, sometime between 437 and 442 is earlier than the previously accepted view of a time around 445-446. Nora Chadwick's theory of a duplication of the first mission has not received support from Thompson and others and cannot be readily accepted. (47)

When one investigates the anti-Pelagian aspects of the missions of Germanus of Auxerre, Lupus of Troyes, and Severus of Trier, who were three authoritative bishops of the Gallic Church sent by Rome to fight Pelagianism on its own "ground of origin," a major problem arises concerning the four documents mentioned above. How could a then recent, shortlived movement, supported only ab paucis auctoribus, and furthermore, a movement traceable to a single individual—Agricola Pelagianus—have alarmed Pope Caelestinus, Prosper, Germanus, Lupus, Severus, and others into such a strong reaction? If "Pelagianism" was then such a recent, and sporadic novelty, it should not have merited more attention than pressing conversion work among the barbarian waves of

heathens that were inundating the bishops' own doorsteps (and Rome's for that matter). The relevant passages in Constantius and in Prosper—both of them Gallican clerics—underline in their terseness and their phrasing a notable and unexplained urgency. What is certain is that, circa 420-430, there are "Pelagian" Christians in Britain and that they are making converts. Evidently expressions such as "new" and "recent" are used for polemical purposes, and to minimize the strength of the opposition. It is true of course that adjectives such as "new," "recent" and "few" are common in Later Roman polemics.

In view of the powerful Pelagian element in the British Church mentioned earlier it is even more noteworthy that, apart from exiling a handful of "Pelagian" clerics to the Isle of Man or perhaps to Cornwall, these anti-Pelagian missions achieved nothing, or next to nothing.

E. A. Thompson, in his Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Rule in Britain, cites one very striking passage which appears to confirm the view of the situation presented thus far in this chapter. The passage occurs in the author's Chapter IX entitled "Constantius." Having stated that Constantius is not thinking of the conflict between Christianity and paganism, Thompson remarks that Constantius's theme here is "the conflict between Catholicism and Pelagianism." For Constantius "Pelagianism has been defeated there permanently. Germanus had won a lasting success. Some forty years after his visit orthodoxy

was triumphant. Even now heresy is no problem in the area which Germanus visited." (48)

Next follow the crucial lines: "As a eulogy of Germanus these assertions are legitimate by the standards of the hagiographers. As a description of southeastern Britain in the decade 480-90 they are in all probability far from the reality. The salient fact about the area which Germanus had visited was not the failure of Pelagianism to come to life again but the near destruction of Christianity itself there." (49)

Markus may well consider the Agricola episode to be "the result of a recent encounter between an insular and a continental Christian tradition, represented by Agricola and the group who complained about his activities respectively." (50) However, this continental Christian tradition, that obviously felt isolated and threatened in Britain if it had to appeal for the help of three bishops from Gaul, may itself have been a recent novelty in Gaul. There is really too much emphasis in the Vita Germani on the British Pelagian episode. This emphasis only raises more questions about what orthodoxy was in Britain as well as in Gaul around 429 AD.

Britannia and Gallia after 429.

Pelagianism was strong and may have been an integral part of the Celtic Church in Britain. It only appeared to vanish in the eyes of writers like Constantius inasmuch as the church itself

disappeared, as the land and its institutions were taken over by the migrating Germanic tribes. The Angles and the Saxons in Britain, like the Franks in France and for similar reasons, were latecomers to their new countries and to Christianity. Their late conversion made them jump over several stages in the tradition of the Celtic Churches and adopt church customs and worship of a different type along with a different channelling of their discipline and dogma.

As for the remnants of the former population of Britain, "Pelagianism" may very well have been their last moment of homegrown independence. As J. T. McNeill points out, the Celtic Church felt no antagonism toward the Roman Church, just respect without obedience. Germanic invasions and expansion were soon followed by an "English" Church based on an expanding papacy, while "Christians of British race in Wales and Cornwall, whose ancestors had been fairly content under imperial Rome, remained aloof from Rome ecclesiastically and formed instead close fraternal ties with their Celtic brethren in Ireland and Brittany." (51)

However, the Celtic Church of Britain was attacked by the barbarians in its last refuges, just as its people were being hunted off the land. In the words of Gildas, "navi fracta, qui potest natate, natet." As noted earlier, many of those who escaped left for northern Gaul. Those who remained "would be able to defend from the invaders only some western and northern regions

of Roman Britannia, with its Christian culture. Yet for Christianity among them an era of vivid activity was about to open." (52)

Hostility existed between the invaders and the invaded, and the Romano-British distrusted the new Church at Canterbury. Perhaps Arthur won some respite for the old tradition at Mount Badon. But by 613 Aethelfrith defeated a coalition of British princes at Chester and massacred the 1200 unarmed monks of nearby Bangor Yscoed. Bede's comment on the slaughter and lack of sympathy for the unarmed monks who were killed represented almost a racist shifting of attitudes and traditions, as he adopted an openly pro-Saxon and anti-Celtic viewpoint. Furthermore, several British monks were to prefer missions to the Continent over missions to the Anglo-Saxons.

There was still more confusion than fusion of the Celtic-British and the English-Roman Churches even as late as the Synod of Whitby in 663-664. Wales did not accept the rulings of this synod; Northern Ireland held out until 704; Colman gave up his see at Lindisfarne and was not replaced for some time. Iona continued to hold out as long as it could.

Throughout the period after Germanus's missions to Britannia, from 429 and well into the eighth century, many Christian customs peculiar to the Celtic Churches were treated with disdain and attributed to the effects of isolation, obstinacy and heresy.

The British Church was perceived as continuing to be very different, even after it had "fused" with the Roman Church at Whitby. Three examples of this perceived difference may be cited as evidence:

(a) Gildas saw the Britons as contrary to others and hostile to Roman customs in their habits, including their tonsures. (53)

(b) The Britons were deeply associated with the Pelagian heresy. (54)

(c) A collection of Irish canons from the latter part of the 7th century warning against referring cases to other churches, and which also condemns both the Jews for serving "more the shadow than the truth," and the Britons, again for being "contrary to all" and "cut off from Roman customs and from the unity of the Church." (55)

In Britannia any attempt to invoke earlier traditions and authority was discouraged. Pelagianism, however, never went away.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

(1) G. de Plinval, Pélage..., pp. 239-240. De Plinval adds in footnote 1, ibid., a convincing sample of Marius Victor's Pelagianism. De Plinval cites, for example, a passage that culminates in l. 68: "Nam quis fructus inest genitis, nisi libera mens est?" and further, in ll. 95-6, commenting on Adam's sin: "Plus est vincere mortem / quam nescisse mori." In addition to De Plinval's comments it may be added that Marius Victor blends his Christianity with the Druidic tenets of ancient Gaul. Incidentally, Claudius Marius Victor was called Victorinus by Gennadius in De viris..., ch. 61, a chapter that may however have been doctored by a later scribe.

(2) G. de Plinval, op. cit., p. 240.

(3) De Plinval, loc. cit., cites Demetrias 28 "Dicis forsitan: Grandis labor est..." and Common. II, 85-142: "'Vera quidem, sed sunt ardua quae statuis.' /—Ardua praecipimur: de terra scandere caelum, / non est quod paruo stare labora putes, / Magnus enim labor est, sed merces magna labori.../...Ecquid erit celsum? quid tibi difficile est? Namque nihil durum est, cum spes succedit."

(4) G. de Plinval, Pélage..., pp. 241 (with footnotes 2-3) and p. 242 (and footnotes 1-2).

(5) Margaret Deanesley, The Pre-Conquest Church in England, London, 2. ed. 1963, p. 12. Also Chapter III of this thesis. After the transplantation relations became reciprocal.

(6) Claudius Claudianus, In Eutropium 1, ll. 392-393. There was even a victory over the Irish. In 405 the Britons won a sea victory, killing Niall, the Irish king who had sacked Chester and Caerleon almost ten years earlier.

(7) Procopius, De bello vandalico, I, ll. 8.

(8) See also J. T. McNeill, The Celtic Churches. A History A.D. 200 to 1200, Chicago and London, 1974.

(9) S. Frere, Britannia. A History of Roman Britain. London, 1967; revised edition 1978.

(10) Op. cit., pp. 412-413.

(11) Op. cit., p. 411.

(12) Ibid.

(13) Op. cit., pp. 423-427.

(14) Quasten, Patrology, Vol. 4, p. 517. See W. H. C. Frend, The Early Church, London, 1965, p. 237, concerning the strength of character and forcefulness of this future Pope Leo, and his fear of showing any weakness toward Julian of Eclanum or to any other "remaining members of the Pelagian party."

(15) Whitley Stokes, The Tripartite Life of St Patrick. London, 1887, part 2, p. 301.

- (16) Details are found in G. Ludwig Hahn, editor., Entstehungsgeschichte des Erbsündendogmas, Vol. 1, Munich, 1960, pp. 83-85 (concerning the 7th century Bangor—Ireland—Antiphonary originally from Bobbio), pp. 160-162, 190-193, 288-302; see also S. Czarnowski, Culte des héros: saint Patrick, Paris, 1919, pp. 40-42, and N. D. O'Donoghue, Aristocracy of Soul. Patrick of Ireland, London, 1987, p. 54.
- (17) Jean Turmel, "Pélage et le Pélagianisme dans les églises celtiques," Annales de Bretagne, XVII, 1901-1902, Rennes et Paris, p. 317 and notes 2, 3, 4 on that page.
- (18) J. Turmel, ibid.
- (19) J. Turmel, op. cit., pp. 317-318.
- (20) J. Bulloch, The Life of the Celtic Church, Edinburgh, 1963, p. 109.
- (21) H. Zimmer, Pelagius in Irland. Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Literatur, Berlin, 1901, p. 21. Zimmer states: "Ist es zu kühn anzunehmen, dass Pelagius bei passender Gelegenheit den liber Eclogarum (Capitulorum) und den Kommentar zu den Paulinischen Briefen nach Irland geschickt habe? Ich glaube kaum." One might add that if Pelagius's works could have been sent to Ireland, they could have reached Britannia too.
- (22) As G. C. Cragg shows when he writes about the second Viscount Falkland (Lucius Gary): "In discussing free will he acknowledged that he found Pelagianism preferable to Calvinism, 'since the first doth not wholly overthrow God's grace (for whatever we have by nature his grace gives us) but the second wholly overthrows justice'." See G. C. Cragg, Freedom and Authority. A Study of English Thought in the Early 17th Century, Philadelphia, 1975, p. 246.
- (23) Faustus was Abbot of Lérins from about 433, Bishop of Riez from approx. 462; he appears even to have been exiled from 477 to 484. He died circa 490.
- (24) Norisius, Historia Pelagiana, Padua, 1708, II, ch. 15, p. 145. Norisius was only reinforcing the opinion of Baronius in the Annales ecclesiastici, Vol. VI, Rome, 1595, p. 444. There Baronius had noted that under the title of Faustus's book there lurked a work "in quo lateret haeresis, ceu anguis in herba sub prominentibus floribus." The image is reminiscent of original sin and Adam and Eve in Paradise.
- (25) PL 33, 1002-1007.
- (26) Petrus Diaconus, Epistula XVI, 28, CCL 91 A, 562.
- (27) Isidore of Seville, PL 83, 1097. Faustus of Riez: "Pelagianae pravitati consentienti...obnititur eius profundam destruere calliditatem."
- (28) Gottschalk, Confessio, PL 121, 357: "Fausti haeretici Lirinensis quondam monachi, Regensis postmodum episcopi: quem convicit ideo doctor mirabiliter, contrivitque commenta diaboli et...ab Ecclesia Christi repulit et eliminavit lethiferum virus Antichristi."

(29) M. L. W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe—500–900, London, 1957, pp. 295–296.

(30) Faustus of Riez, De gratia libri duo, CSEL 21, Vienna, 1891, II, 12, in sentences such as: "Bonitas in natura, malitia vero extra naturam sit, qui bonum in voluntate, malum habeat in potestate, qui bonum naturaliter velit, malum actualiter possit..."

(31) E. A. Thompson, Saint Germanus of Auxerre and the End of Roman Rule in Britain, Studies in Celtic History 6, Bury St. Edmunds, 1984. See also the review of Thompson by R. P. C. Hanson entitled "Germanus and Britain," pp. 377–379 in Peritia 4 (1985).

(32) R. A. Markus, "Pelagianism: Britain and the Continent", Journal of Ecclesiastical History 37 (No. 2, April 1986): 191.

(33) R. A. Markus, op. cit., pp. 191–2.

(34) Constance de Lyon, Vie de Saint Germain d' Auxerre, edited by René Borius, Paris, 1965. Sources Chrétiennes, no. 112, ch. VII, 40, p. 196.

(35) F. Lot, La Gaule, Paris, 1947, p. 473.

(36) E. A. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 34–35. J. N. L. Myres also alludes to the possible social context of Pelagianism in his "Pelagius and the End of Roman Rule in Britain," Journal of Religious Studies 50 (1960): 21–36. But see also Hanson's view on Germanus's surprising sympathy for the Bagaudae in Gaul in Hanson's review (p. 378) mentioned in note 31 above.

(37) E. A. Thompson, op. cit., p. 36.

(38) Ibid., p. 22.

(39) E. A. Thompson, p. 21. See also his footnotes 31–32.

(40) J. Turmel, op. cit., p. 318, footnote 1. Turmel is quoting C. P. Caspari, Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten aus den zwei letzten Jahrhunderten des kirchlichen Altertums und dem Anfang des Mittelalters, Christiania, 1890, p. 387.

(41) Constance de Lyon, op. cit., Ch. I, 2, p. 124: "suscepit sacerdotium inuitus, coactus, addictus; sed repente mutatur ex omnibus. Deseritur mundi militia, caelestis adsumitur... uxor in sororem mutatur ex coniuge... paupertas ambitur."

(42) E. A. Thompson, op. cit., p. ix.

(43) Constance de Lyon, op. cit., III, 12, p. 144.

(44) Op. cit., V, 25, p. 170.

(45) Prosper of Aquitaine, 1301 (Chronica Minora, ed. Mommsen, I, 472). "Agricola Pelagianus Severiani Pelagiani episcopi filius ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corrumpit." Incidentally, this passage is too loosely translated by C. Thomas (in his Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1981, p. 60); for instance 'dogmatis sui insinuatione' is not "by his underhand ways" (and the concept of 'dogmatis sui' is left untransmitted by Thomas), the Latin 'corrumpit' translates as "corrupted," or "has corrupted," not "corrupts."

(46) Prosper of Aquitaine, Contra collatorem, xxi (circa AD 432): "Nec vero signiore cura [pontifex Caelestinus] ab hoc eodem morbo Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiae solum suae originis occupantes etiam ab illo secreto exclusit Oceani; et ordinato Scotis Episcopo, dum Romanam insulam studet servare Catholicam, fecit etiam barbaram Christianam." Editors A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. I, Oxford, 1869, reprinted 1964, p. 16.

(47) See E. A. Thompson, op. cit., p. 56, footnote 8. He is citing pp. 256-260 of N. K. Chadwick's Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul, London, 1955.

(48) E. A. Thompson, op. cit., p. 85.

(49) Ibid.

(50) J. A. Markus, "Pelagianism: Britain and the Continent", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, p. 203.

(51) J. T. McNeill, op. cit., pp. 30-31.

(52) McNeill, op. cit., p. 32.

(53) Pp. 112-113 in Haddan and Stubbs, editors, op. cit.. The Latin text reads: "Britones toti mundo contrarii, moribus Romanis inimici, non solum in missa, sed in tonsura etiam: cum Judaeis umbrae magis futurorum servientes quam veritati... Auctores vero huius tonsurae in Hibernia subulcum Regis Loigairi filii Neil extitiae Patricii sermo testatur; ex quo Hibernienses pene omnes hanc tonsuram sumserunt."

(54) p. 139 in Haddan and Stubbs, op. cit.: "...quod beatus Hieronimus presbiter, Germanus, et Lupus, Pelagianam haeresim vel Gallicam (quae nomen ipsius titulatur) ex Britannis et Scotiis provinciis expulerunt."

(55) p. 126 in Haddan and Stubbs, editors, op. cit.: "Institutio Romana dicit:—cavenda ne ad alias provincias aut Ecclesias referantur causae, quae alio more et alia religione utuntur: sive ad Judaeos, qui umbrae magis quam veritate deserviunt: aut ad Britones, qui omnibus contrarii sunt et a Romano more et ab unitate Ecclesiae se abscidunt: aut hereticos, quamvis in ecclesiasticis causis docti et studiosi fuerint."

Chapter V

BEDE, THE IRISH AND PELAGIANISM

After 406, Gaul was invaded by wave upon wave of barbarians. Britain itself was likewise vulnerable to invasion. Its remaining defences were further weakened by the military adventures in Gaul of the army of Constantine III, "the usurper." The threat posed by Constantine III may indeed have been one of the reasons for the severity shown to Pelagius by the emperor Honorius. Constantine became a co-ruler of the Western Empire, governed quite effectively and in a much more forceful way than the weak Honorius. The usurper Constantine therefore made a more decisive emperor than co-emperor Honorius, and presented a real threat to him. The best general in the armies of Constantine III was Gerontius, a Briton. ✓

A Pelagian tract carrying the title De contemnenda hereditate, (1) and which indicates that Pelagianism existed in Britain earlier than 429, was addressed to the two daughters of Gerontius to comfort them after they were disinherited by their father for their Pelagianism. We do not know whether the father was a general, but his was certainly an aristocratic British family of the time.

Myres attempts to link the general (2) with these Pelagian daughters. This disinheritance may be symptomatic of a widespread influence of Pelagian ideals in contemporary society. It may even

be that several Pelagians and Pelagian sympathizers crossed into Gaul with the army of Constantine, although Gerontius was not one of them.

In 417-418, following the time-honoured policies of Christian emperors before him since the time of Constantius, Honorius seems to have overreacted to the social unrest caused in Rome by clashes of the pro- and anti-Pelagian factions: The words of the Imperial Rescript of 30 April 418 address more than just a religious heresy: "And those things ought to be excised by an accelerated remedy and by a speedy celerity, lest by strengthened exercise of wickedness young persons scarcely can be able to be restrained. For indeed recent report has deafened the ears of our Gentleness that within our most sacred city and other places the pestiferous poison has been implanted in certain persons' hearts..."(3) Clearly the potential political and social consequences of "heresy" were firmly implanted in the emperor's mind.

A letter sent by Honorius to Augustine of Hippo on 9 June 419 from Ravenna is also indicative. It states that "stubborn" Pelagian bishops shall be demoted from their rank, shall be exiled in perpetuity, shall be deprived of communion.(4)

In 421, the authorities, asked in a letter from Constantius III, order more edicts on expulsion of the Pelagians from Rome.
(5)

In 425, an imperial mandate from Valentinian III confirms that "various bishops" are still Pelagian in Gaul and that this

warrants exile: "Moreover we command that the various bishops following the nefarious error of the Pelagian and the Caelestinian teaching should be assembled by Patroclus, Bishop of the sacrosanct law, and that they, ...unless...they shall have corrected their errors...should be expelled from the Gallic districts..." (6)

There are, as stated in the edicts and mandates, orders that the errors be "corrected." (7) Daily reports announce that occurrences of Pelagianism are increasing. Pelagianism is still feared in Ravenna and in Rome itself. In 429, four years later, the three well known Gallican bishops—Germanus of Auxerre, Lupus of Troyes and Severinus of Trier—travel to Britannia to combat Pelagianism in the place where it began; and it had to be opposed in Ireland too, the barbara insula which was being christianized with missionary envoys from Britannia.

As Christian envoys to Ireland, Palladius and Patrick immediately come to mind. St. Patrick himself was the son of a deacon and the grandson of a priest (8). The Celtic Churches at the beginning of the fifth century allowed married clergy (that is, the ordination of married men), a practice which survived in Britain well into the eleventh century. So many legends have been built around Patrick that the whole Palladius-Patricius story should be re-examined from a strictly historical viewpoint.

Patrick was a popular hero, like Achilles or like Cuchulainn of Hibernia. Given the St. Patrick legends, it is important to

distinguish fact from fiction. Patrick probably was a holy man from Britannia, who equally probably went to Southern Gaul and visited Lérins. He may well have spent the greater part of his later life doing Christian missionary work in Hibernia.

What is now being contested by scholars like McNeill (and was contested even earlier by Zimmer with great vigour, but more controversially) (9) is the belief that Hibernia was at that time barbaric and uncivilized, and that Patrick was the first Christian apostle of Ireland. While the burden of proof still lies on the proponents, the view is not unreasonable that a Celtic Church may have been established in Ireland before Patrick and may have been visited by St. Ninian. This Celtic church, if set up and aided by the neighbouring larger Celtic island, would have had important Pelagian or pre-Pelagian components such as the asceticism, the striving for perfection and the urge for peregrination that would characterize the Irish church of the sixth and seventh centuries. It would be expected that this Celtic Church would grow along its own lines, as West Britain was cut off from Rome, and refugees from East Britain turned increasingly towards Ireland as well as Armorica.

One of the best literary sources for the period is Prosper of Aquitaine who seemed to think Caelestius was of Irish origin. It is true that Caelestius was the first on trial to justify his own intense Pelagian views. Prosper of Aquitaine also writes that in 431 Palladius was sent by Pope Coelestine to the Irish as their

first bishop. (10)

Palladius may or may not have been the same person as Patrick. This controversy has divided scholars of early Irish history, but this debate is not relevant to the present thesis. Highly relevant, however, are the two dates which Prosper cites—429 A.D. for St. Germanus's mission to Britain and 431 for the mission of Palladius to Ireland. (11) Of equal importance, both missions were ordered at the same time by Pope Coelestine. Palladius may have been the same person as the Palladius diaconus who advised Pope Coelestine to send Germanus of Auxerre to fight vice sua the British heretics, as is recorded by Prosper.

Pope Coelestine sent missions to combat Pelagianism. We do not know whether these beliefs were only incipient or already strongly rooted. L. Bieler comments: "The fact that Bede does not make a single mention of Patrick—although he records, from Prosper, the mission of Palladius (HE I,13)—has always been felt to be rather strange. It would be all the stranger if Patrick had been an emissary of the church of Britain." (12)

Two conclusions emerge from a close study of the evidence for Ireland: a) Since it had remained unconquered by Rome, Ireland in the early fifth century would naturally have been described by Romans as barbara insula—the comments of St Jerome, stating that the Irish were cannibals and had communal wives, argue only that the Romans had not been there; b) The southeast of Ireland had some acquaintance with pre-Patrician Christianity. But if Pope

Coelestine thought it of the greatest importance to send missionaries to Ireland at virtually the same time as he was sending bishops from Gaul to stop the spread of Pelagianism in Britain, this infers a link between the Celtic Churches of Britain and of Ireland. Furthermore, already in Tacitus's time, "the soil, climate, manners, and habits of the people [of Hibernia] are similar to those of Britain. Its ports are well known to merchants." (13)

The British Church became more and more influential in Ireland through the Romano-British refugees after every new wave of barbarian invasion in Britain. Even in more peaceful times, the British church would have had close links with the early Christian communities of Ireland. Further, there may have been active British Christians at work in Ireland as early as the fourth century. Patrick, in the fifth century, was certainly neither the first nor the last Christian Briton taken prisoner by the Irish raiding pirates and bent on evangelizing his captors.

It is striking to note that Prosper of Aquitaine does not mention Patrick at all. The reputation of Patrick in later centuries may have depended at least in part on the same factor as the reputation of Augustine of Canterbury; i.e. a tendency to enhance the reputation of missionaries sent by Rome at the expense of older local traditions.

However, it is useful to note that the Confession of Faith of Patrick, which was not the one in use at Rome, belongs to the

1

same British tradition as Pelagius's Confession of Faith. While being both private declarations of Faith, Pelagius's and Patrick's Confessions are related to Gallican Symbols of Faith (cf. Bishop Phoebadius of Agen, d. 392) and to that of several Eastern Churches.

This Confession originates in the Latin equivalent of a Greek version of before the third century, similar to the one of Victorinus of Pettavium, a martyr of 303. It took its official form at the Synod of Philippopolis in 343 (repeating the fourth Antiochene formula from 341). It was translated into Latin by Hilary of Poitiers, using the same words as Pelagius (for instance: "quod Graeci dicunt omocousion"). The Greek origin of Patrick's Confession and the striking correspondences with Pelagian symbols was noted earlier this century by S. Czarnowski, in his 1919 work on St. Patrick. (14)

Whatever his mission was, the Confession of Faith that Patrick took to the Irish was remarkably similar to that of Pelagius.

Bede

Bede shows a certain hostility when discussing the "Brettones", or pre-Anglo-Saxon Celtic Britons. By his time the more ancient inhabitants of Britain had been dispossessed by Bede's own "gentes Saxonum sive Anglorum." Bede shows toward the

earlier population of Celtic origin quite an active dislike which some might qualify today as "racist."

In Bede's lifetime (673-735), the Celtic Britons who had been invaded earlier by his own people, the "Angli vel Saxones," still called the latter "Garmani" [sic.]. (15)

In 429, the very name of Germanus, the Bishop of Auxerre, must have been as much resented as his mission was by the Celtic Britons who had been harassed by the earlier Garmani. The religious subjection of some Pelagian Britons to a "Germanus" was strangely similar to their later political subjection to the "Garmani."

On certain questions Bede displays subjective judgments. From the viewpoint of the present thesis it is noteworthy that he is writing an ecclesiastical history of the winning tribes, the Garmani. He is writing as a representative of one of them with their prejudices. His two main sources for the earlier history of Britain—Gildas and Constantius of Lyons—only served to reinforce his biases about the Celtic Britons.

Gildas, in the moral tradition of Sallust, holds that his own people's weaknesses are responsible for the successful invasion of Britain through the Völkerwanderung of other peoples. However, he does not recognize that the basic weakening of British defences (i.e. of the Saxon shore) was caused by the withdrawal of the Roman army and the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

Constantius's Vita Germani reports a persecution of Pelagians

in Britain (in the same way as Augustine of Hippo had pursued assorted heretics in North Africa) which in fact only assisted the approaching tidal wave of Germani.

Bede follows the Vita Germani in explaining how the damnabilis Pelagiana perversitas had spread twice in Britannia and how Germanus sailed twice there in order to stop it. Furious devils not only tried to trouble his safe journey (I, 17), but the insidiator inimicus—the devil himself—caused him to fall and hurt his foot (I, 19); and during the second crossing the sinistri spiritus pervolantes forewarned the inhabitants of the whole island of his impending arrival (I, 21). If not just rhetorical, this last piece of information would imply that Pelagians must have been lurking everywhere and forming an impressive spying network.

Bede's strong feelings about Pelagius "Bretto" suggest that Pelagianism was still a force in the Britain of Bede's own time, especially in the British Celtic Church, as Laistner confirms. (16) Bede bitterly opposed the "treacherous poison" of Pelagius the Briton and of his supporter Julian of Campania. In Book I, the whole of Chapter X is devoted to them, including the forgettable final doublet by Prosper:

Sure, sea-girt Britain's porridge bred this twaddle
Of else Campania's groats have turned his noddle. (17)

The translator has made this appear even more offensive, since Prosper's original read:

Aut hunc fruge sua aequorei pauere Britanni
Aut hic Campano gramine corda tumet,

Kelly notes that "Britain was almost certainly the transmitter of Pelagian notions and works to Ireland. The understanding of the Irish use of Pelagius would be considerably furthered if British Pelagianism were understood." (18)

One milestone in the history of 7th century Celtic Pelagianism is the letter sent in 640 by Pope-elect John IV and three of his officials to several Irish bishops. It warns of the dangers of adopting outlandish ways and Pelagianism, of different computations of the feast of Easter (19), of different baptismal rites, of different practices in tonsure, of different rituals for the Mass, Ordination, the Consecration of Bishops, of Churches and Monasteries. British and Irish bishops and abbots had already received several papal letters, such as the one cited by Bede (Ecclesiastical History II, ch. 4), exhorting them to conform to the Roman way of life. The refusal of the British and the Irish Churches to take food or have any dealing with the envoys of the Roman church is noted in the letter.

It seems plausible that the insistence of the Celtic Church on being allowed to practice its own ritual and its own Christian traditions, to follow its concept of liberum arbitrium and to speak out against notable examples of corruption in the churches of Gaul and Italy may have appeared to the Pope-elect and his officials as "attempts to revive a new heresy out of an old one." (20)

In the preamble to his discussion of the letter of 640 (in which Jerome is quoted) written by Pope-elect John IV, Bede states

that Pope Honorius had sent an earlier letter (21) to the Irish race, using the ironic argument that the British and the Irish alone held the truth and every other Church was mistaken. Bede emphasized the significance of the very first sentence in that earlier letter. In it Pope Honorius had urged the Celtic Christians, with much shrewdness, not to consider themselves, few in numbers as they were and located on the extreme boundaries of the world, to be wiser than the ancient and modern Churches of Christ scattered throughout the world. An appeal to the superior wisdom of numbers is a repeated rhetorical device. At all events the schism between the Celtic and the Saxon Churches continued well into the eighth century and even later.

The letter of Pope-elect John IV began with the traditional form of address to the well-beloved and holy—dilectissimis and sanctissimis bishops [Tomine, Columban, Cronan, Dima and Baetan]; presbyters [Cronan, Ernene, Laisrene, Sillan and Segene]; [to Saran] and the other Irish teachers and abbots. The Pope-elect and his advisors explain to the Irish bishops that, "befogged with mental blindness" the latter were rejecting "our" Easter in which Christ was sacrificed for us, using the Hebrews' date instead. (22) The letter warned readers to beware of the Celtic Britons, the Jews and the heretics. However, the later Anglo-Saxon St. Boniface (680-754) can make the distinction that by prohibiting the views of the "Brittones" he means more specifically those of Welshmen and Cornishmen. Perhaps, by that time, there are no longer many

"Brittones" left elsewhere in Britain.

The letter of the Pope-elect continues: "And this we have also learned, that the poison of the Pelagian heresy has of late revived amongst you; we therefore exhort you utterly to put away this kind of poisonous and criminal superstition from your minds. You cannot be unaware that this execrable heresy has been condemned; and not only has it been abolished for some two hundred years, but it is daily condemned by us and buried beneath our perpetual ban. (23) Then the Pope-elect repeats the standard Augustinian definition of Pelagian inpeccantia.

Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, in a recent article, has emphasized the problem of the computation of Easter in the Pope-elect's letter, and lessened the emphasis on its general anti-Pelagianism. (24) Nevertheless it remains a fact that the Pope-elect is at least as concerned with the Pelagian stress on inpeccantia as with the date of the Celtic Easter.

The Irish Church read and used texts written by Pelagius, and acknowledged to be by him, as well as texts under the names of Jerome or Augustine which were in fact from the pen of Pelagius. The latter's emphasis on Christian morality and on striving for inpeccantia coincided with the priorities of the Irish and fitted in with their own Celtic brand of Christianity. What was to the Romans and to the Saxons poison (lethiferum virus) was to the Brittons and to the Irish a part of their Christian legacy.

Ultimately, "Pelagianism" may have been or become a synonym

for the Celtic Church's cherished individuality, which seems to have been a major and continuing cause of censure and reproof in the eyes of Canterbury and Rome.

In the words of Robin Lane Fox : "Early Christianity arrived with very distinctive roots. Grafted onto the Old Testament, it was not easily smothered, not even by the established ground cover of the pagan towns. The Christian groups retained and passed on ideals which have continued to recur in their history, giving it familiar patterns." (25)

Robin Lane Fox's book can be viewed from a perspective reminiscent of Peter Brown's Church of discontinuity (26), of which Pelagius was the last uncompromising Western representative, while John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia were the last Eastern ones. The Celtic Churches' system of thought was in the tradition of discontinuity and could certainly be accused—from the viewpoint of the later Roman Empire—of Pelagianism.

The Pelagian concept that it is possible to strive toward inpeccantia, against which Bede scolds repeatedly, is accepted in several of these early Christian groups. Pelagius—and the Celtic Churches—came under criticism in part to accommodate the African Church in the early fifth century, and in part because doctrine was changing. A cogent discussion of the church of discontinuity, and of the problems of christology occurs in Thomas Sheehan's recent work. (27)

For most pre-Augustinian Christian Churches, Providence, grace

and freedom were different but synergistic dimensions of the same reality. It was unfortunate that the Pelagian theme of freedom was severed from its orthodox context of beneficent providence. In this most essentially Pelagian sense, the Celtic Churches never stopped being Pelagian; indeed they were only carrying on what Brown and Markus have termed the pre-Pelagian tradition.

From the viewpoint of the Celtic British Church and its traditions Pelagius and his ideas could have appeared wholly orthodox. Pelagius was hardly an atypical representative of the early Celtic Church of discontinuity.

With this in mind, it becomes easier to address the perplexity shown by the editors of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, Colgrave and Mynors: "Irish writings of the eighth and ninth centuries show traces of Pelagian influence, but there is no evidence that the heresy was widespread in Ireland." (28) One may at the same time find an answer to the question posed by Ó Cróinín and others of "why the Irish showed such a liking for" Pelagius (29). There is a mounting body of evidence in Irish—and more recently Welsh—manuscripts which show the influence of texts derived from Pelagius. (30) The Irish Church had assimilated the theological texts of Pelagius (often under the name of Jerome or Augustine), but nevertheless as a result showed Pelagian tendencies in exactly the same way as Molière's Monsieur Jourdain spoke in prose unselfconsciously all his life without realizing it. (31)

The evidence for a different Christian tradition in the Irish Church is manifest not only in its obvious and open appreciation of Pelagius's thought, but it is also implied in each new letter sent from Rome to discourage the Celts from resisting the new religious ways favoured by Rome. This is also clear in scornful descriptions of the Celts who were described as "but an eruption on the chin of the world." (32)

Thus, in this letter from Cumian (later revered as a Saint) to Segene, Abbot of Iona, one finds the perfect model for all such letters sent to the British and to the Celtic Churches until the old practices ceased. Segene of Iona is the same Segene, presbyter, who had already received the letter from Pope-elect John IV mentioned earlier. Segene must have stood up squarely and stubbornly for his own traditions. The transfuge Cumian first apologizes quite elegantly for trying to convert the Columban abbot to Roman Easter. He mentions an embassy sent to Rome three years before. Cumian is writing in the mid-seventh century, over 200 years after Pelagius. The letter ends with the Leitmotiv of all such letters: "But what could be thought more perversely of Mother Church, than if we say that Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antioch errs, the whole world is wrong, only the Scoti and Britones alone know what is right?" (33) This rhetoric is not so much persuasive as it is heavy-handed.

The Irish and British Christian traditions were different. Both groups probably also perceived that their political autonomy

was threatened as well as their ecclesiastical freedom. This is one reason which explains the holding out of Wales against all the newcomers at Canterbury. But there was also a deep sense of individual freedom, of times when the Celts and the British could become peregrini and travel on their own. In this sense, Pelagius was archetypal. There is the telling story in Bede which recounts how Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, created a monastery where at the beginning English and Irish monks cohabited. Colman soon however had to separate them, because the Irish, at harvest-time, "left the monastery and wandered about, scattering into various places with which they were familiar; then, when winter came, they returned."

(34)

It is tempting to reconstruct from Bede's account what really happened to guileless Colman at Whitby. The English priest Wilfrid accused the Celts of sinning because they did not follow "universal Easter". Then follows the oft-repeated bullying manoeuvre: "For though your fathers were holy men, do you think that a handful of people in one corner of the remotest of islands is to be preferred to the universal Church of Christ which is spread throughout the world?" (35) When he quotes letters, Bede is a privileged witness to the differences between the new English Church and the older Celtic Church. However, he is never impartial. Whenever he attacks Pelagianism, "Easter at the wrong time" or "Druidic tonsure" it is to prove the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon English race and of the Holy Roman and Catholic

Church. The letter of Abbot Ceolfrith to Nechtan, King of the Picts, with its comments is typical of this attitude. (36)

In the following Chapter XXII Bede confirms the rightness of his own beliefs. The English converted the Irish, but not the (Celtic) British: "On the other hand the Britons, who would not proclaim to the English the knowledge of the Christian faith which they had, still persist in their errors and stumble in their ways, so that no tonsure is to be seen on their heads and they celebrate Christ's solemn festivals differently from the fellowship of the Church of Christ, while the English are not only believers but are fully instructed in the rules of the catholic faith." (37)

Notwithstanding Bede's contempt for the British Church, the lives of many Irish saints allude to their taking instruction in the British monastery at Whitherne. For instance, in the life of Saint Endeo, his sister tells the saint: 'Vade ad Britanniam ad Rosnatum monasterium, et esto humilis discipulus Manseni magistri illius monasterii.' (38)

In the sixth and seventh centuries, the Irish Church had strong links with the British Church of Wales. Recently, David Dumville has studied evidence of the copying of Pelagius's Expositiones... on the Pauline Epistles in Celtic Britain, almost certainly in Wales. Dumville notes that Gildas, towards the mid-sixth century (in his De Excidio Britanniae, II, 38), quoted from a work by a Pelagian, presumably available in Britain. (39)

Dumville concludes that, faced with manuscript testimony from

early medieval Wales "to the transmission there (and thence to England) of Pelagian exegesis, might we not allow that the Brittonic churches played a more fundamental role in the general dissemination of the heresiarch's major work than has hitherto been suspected?" (40)

Bede's own library contained some Pelagian exegesis, including the letter ad Demetriaden. Aldhelm of Malmesbury also had this letter of Pelagius and attributed the authorship to Saint Jerome. Bede thought that it was the work of Julian of Aeclanum.

The rare times when Bede became harsh occurred when he discussed either the "Brettones" or Pelagius and British Pelagianism. There is a distinct possibility that Pelagianism still existed in Britain in Bede's own time, as the careful M. L. W. Laistner, writing about Bede in 1931 stated: "But his warnings against Pelagianism and his denunciation of Pelagius and Pelagius' chief supporter, Julian of Aeclanum, are so numerous and fierce that one must suppose that Pelagianism was a living question to him, either because there had been a recrudescence of it in Britain in Bede's own time or because it had never been completely eradicated there." (41)

In seventh century Ireland it had been necessary to promulgate Irish Canons condemning the Brittons for their separatism "a Romano more." (42) Similarly, in the English Church, the Brittons were condemned in Theodore's Penitential. (43)

Only one exception occurs in Bede's general distaste for the

"Brettones", and he does not realize that with the person in question the Romano-British civilization has returned. The lone Irish monk who enjoys the unalloyed sympathy of Bede is Aidan (d. 651), despite his Celtic errors. Aidan, with his old-fashioned Iona Celtic training, was the Apostle of Northumbria, and indeed of England. Aidan brought back to Anglo-Saxon Northumbria the Christian ideas which the British Celtic Church had transmitted to the Irish Celtic Church. He was sent by Segene of Iona 634-635 to found Lindisfarne after a first Irish attempt in Northumbria had failed. Aidan showed no sign of the Wanderlust which Pelagius had demonstrated in earlier times. However, Pelagius would have understood Aidan's pragmatic ways, his simplicity, his missionary preaching and his insistence on the importance of good works.

A noteworthy Celtic parallel to Pelagius is Columban, or Columba the Younger (543-615). There exist striking similarities between these two peregrini. Physically both were tall and solid. Each was a leader of a distinguished Christian circle, yet found the time to write commentaries and exegesis. They were both perfectionists and wrote about self-discipline in lawyers' terms. Each found himself in the midst of theological controversies related to Celtic thought. Columban was accused by his enemies before a French Synod in 602 for keeping the old British Celtic Easter. Columban was sympathetic to the views of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who lived from about 350 until 428 and was first condemned (posthumously) at the Council of Ephesus of 431 and again

at Constantinople in 553. History even seemed to repeat itself: Pope Vigilius (538-555) had given in to Emperor Justinian after the latter had condemned Theodore of Mopsuestia. Columban offered mocking advice to Pope Boniface, Vigilius's successor and to Gregory the Great, Pope from 590 onward, and successor to the deceased Leo. Pelagius himself had in a similar free spirit exclaimed: "Et quis est mihi Augustinus?" Pelagius would have appreciated the Latin puns of Columban, who was supposed to have been his later fellow-countryman. Also, in a similar twist of fate, Columban was banished, forcibly removed from his monastery in Burgundy. He fled at first into Switzerland. However, Columban had to flee a second time, to Italy where he died at the monastery he founded at Bobbio. Like Pelagius earlier, Columban had a keen sense of justice and of idealism, a belief in inpeccantia, a love of freedom and of nature and a missionary zeal directed against the Arians. It is noteworthy that trinitarian concepts came naturally and traditionally to the Celts, since the Celtic triads formed at least a cultural basis for the Trinity.

There are other similarities in thought and life between Pelagius and Columba the Younger, especially in their peregrinatio for Christ, and in the way they were treated by the authorities. There is however no proof that Columban was a Pelagian.

Any description of post-Pelagian Pelagianism in Anglo-Saxon and Celtic areas would be incomplete without mention of an enlightening 8th century work: The Catalogue of the Saints of

Ireland: (44) This is an important, if controversial, piece of evidence. In it Irish church history is divided into three stages, or 'Orders.' The first Order is described as Sanctissimus and ends in 544; it consists of "non-celibate bishops, 350 in number and by race Franks (Gauls), Romans and Scots" with Patrick for a leader, one Celtic liturgy and tonsure from ear to ear ("ab aure usque ad aurem"). (45) The second Order, from 544 to 598, with bishops and priests described as ascetics and avoiding women, is nevertheless considered only sanctior. The third Order, when extreme asceticism in the wilderness is practised, is the lowest, being qualified as just sanctus. Again, one is reminded of Pelagius who, according to Jerome, boasted that he did not have to avoid women, thought that sanctity was within everyone's reach, and who divided time itself into three stages. Once again, the number three acquires force, four centuries later, according both with Celtic tradition and the Irish preoccupation with numerology.

It is striking that the earlier Columba (Columkille, 521-597), the greatest Irish-born saint, also was excommunicated by a synod in his own days, but went on to found Iona and the Columban order. This order became the great defender of the independence of the Celtic Church and sent missionaries over Western Europe filled with Pelagian zeal.

Georges de Plinval discerns in Columba and his companions the embodiment of the Pelagian esprit. De Plinval sees in the blossoming of the Irish Church a manifestation of the influence of

Pelagius. De Plinval explains how the life and thought of that Church were Pelagian and how they shared the Pelagian ambition of achieving inpeccantia.

De Plinval adds that these monks wanted to lead a perfect life and turn a whole nation into a people of saints. These men had access to Pelagius's De vita Christiana and they realized in their own lives and thought the highest ideal of Pelagius. (46)

Thus, Pelagius was not only popular in seventh-century and eighth-century Ireland, but he also had become a model for the Celtic Church, that same Church which the Columban monks were trying to defend and preserve with enthusiasm and stubbornness. The influence of Pelagius, exercised through his writings, was much more subtly pervasive than has been hitherto conceded. The life and the thought of the 4th century Celtic Church shaped Pelagius. In its turn, the thought of Pelagius, as transmitted by Columban's missionaries and their heirs, would help to inspire optimism and a belief that human nature had a capacity for improvement. These ideas would play an important role in the early Carolingian Renaissance to follow.

Mayo of the Saxons

At Mayo, the Anglo-Saxons of Northumbria followed Colman as a protest in 668 after Whitby (664) and founded a monastery whose fame still impressed Alcuin more than a century later. Aidan was one of the major links in the transmission of Pelagian ideas of

natural law, simplicity of faith, inpeccantia and good works.

Further, the English monks and students at the Abbey of Mayo were

in constant communication with Northumbria. In fact, towards the end of the eighth century and from the realm of the Franks, Alcuin himself wrote several letters to the abbots of Mayo.

In the seventh century, it was certainly quite normal for Anglo-Saxon youths to study in Ireland, where they were welcomed and received books and instruction. (47) Furthermore, Abbot Aldhelm of Malmesbury (who complained about the number of English students going to Ireland as well as about the Irish monks and their study of pagan classical literature) was himself in charge of an Irish foundation in Wiltshire at Malmesbury. Aldhelm had taught King Aldfrith of Northumbria. The latter was a direct descendant of the Irish high-king, a grandson of Cennfaelad Sapiens. Aldfrith had Celtic learning and inclinations.

Thus, there were constant communications between Ireland, Wales and Northumbria right throughout the early Middle Ages. The Irish went on studying and preserving Pelagius, and a pattern was set which would lead to further transmission later to the Court of Charlemagne.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

- (1) PL 30: 45-50.
- (2) J. N. L. Myres, "Pelagius and the End of Roman Rule in Britain", JRS 50 (1960), p. 34.
- (3) Imperial Rescript on Condemnation of Pelagius and Caelestius, PL 45, 1726-7; PL 48, 379-86; PL 56, 490-2.
- (4) CSEL, 296-9; Also Augustine, Ep. 201.
- (5) PL 45, 1750 and 1751; PL 48, 404-7 and 408-9; PL 56, 499-500.
- (6) Mandate of Theodosius II and Valentianian III on Confirmation of Episcopal Jurisdiction, on Heresy, and on Christian Slaves, cited as No. 387, pp. 632-634 in P. R. Coleman-Norton's Roman State and Christian Church, London, 1966, citing CS 6, and also (but abbreviated texts only, as Coleman-Norton points out) CT 16, 2, 47; 16, 5, 64; and, possibly, 16, 5, 62.
- (7) ibid., p. 633.
- (8) G. T. Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church. A History of Ireland from St. Patrick to the English Conquest in 1172. London, 1886, p. 39.
- (9) J. T. McNeill, The Celtic Churches. A History A.D. 200 to 1200. Chicago, 1974, pp. 50-51. See also note 3 on p. 240 in McNeill, and also Heinrich Zimmer's article "Die keltische Kirche" in Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Vol. 1, 1901.
- (10) Prosper of Aquitaine, Epitome Chronicon, MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi, IX, Chronica Minora, 473: "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Caelestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur."
- (11) Epitome Chronicon, MGH, AA for 429 and 431.
- (12) L. Bieler, "St Patrick and the British Church", pp. 123-130 in Christianity in Britain, 300-700, Leicester University Press, 1968, p. 128.
- (13) Tacitus, Agricola, ch. 24.
- (14) S. Czarnowski, Saint Patrick et le culte des héros, Paris 1919, pp. 40-42 and footnotes on the same pages. The comment on the Confession of Faith of St. Patrick reads: "L'origine grecque du formulaire de saint-Patrick est démontrée par la rédaction de l'article qui concerne l'homogénéité du Père et du Fils, et par sa position avant l'article de foi en la Création. Il est certain, d'autre part, que le modèle de notre texte était répandu en Gaule ... Enfin il y a une analogie remarquable entre la déclaration de foi de Patrick et les symboles pélagiens ou neo-pélagiens." For Patrick see also L. Bieler, "The Creeds of St. Victorinus and St. Patrick," pp. 121-124 in Theological Studies 9 (1949); also R. P. C. Hanson, St. Patrick, A British Missionary Bishop, Nottingham, 1965; and Dictionnaire de spiritualité XII, 1 (1985).

cols. 477-483. For the Confessions of Faith see: A. Hahn, C. Ludwig Hahn, A. Harnack, Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche, Hildesheim, 1962, esp. pp. 162, 190, 259, 271 ff., 288-295 and 331.

(15) Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, editors, Oxford, 1969, V, 9, p. 476 (297). Also, footnote 1, citing K. Jackson's suggestion of a Vulgar Latin form 'Garmani' (for the more usual 'Germani'), preserved in Britain but lost on the Continent (K. Jackson, Language and History in Early Britain, Edinburgh, 1953, p. 281.)

(16) "His [Bede's] warnings against Pelagianism and his denunciations of Pelagius...are so numerous and fierce that one must suppose that Pelagianism was a living question to him," M. L. W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, AD 500-900 (Ithaca, New York, 1960), p. 160.

(17) Bede, op. cit., p. 38 (24).

(18) J. F. Kelly, "Pelagius, Pelagianism and the Early Christian Irish," Mediaevalia 4 (1978), p. 103. Kelly's position is further strengthened by D. Dumville's "Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence for the British Transmission of Pelagius," CMCS 10 (Winter, 1985): 39-52.

(19) It is inappropriate here to adopt the polemical name of this dispute—"the Quartodeciman Controversy."

(20) Bede, op. cit., II, 19, pp. 198-202 (123-124).

(21) Bede, loc. cit.

(22) Ibid.: "...pascha nostrum...et XIIIa luna cum Hebreis celebrare nitentes."

(23) Ibid.: "sed et cotidie a nobis perpetuo anathemate sepulta damnatur; et hortamur ne, quorum arma combusta sunt, apud uos eorum cineres suscitentur..."

(24) D. O. Cróinín, "New Heresy for Old: Pelagianism in Ireland and the Papal Letter of 640," Speculum, vol. 60/3 (1985): 505-516.

(25) R. Lane Fox, Pagans and Christians, New York, 1987, p. 22.

(26) See early part of Chapter II of this thesis. The reference is to P. R. L. Brown's "Pelagius and His Supporters," JTS, n.s. 19 (1968): 93-114.

(27) In T. Sheehan, The First Coming. How the Kingdom of God Became Christianity, Random House, New York, 1986, p. 14 et seq.

(28) Bede, op. cit., note 4, p. 201.

(29) D. Ó Cróinín, op. cit., p. 505.

(30) Dumville, op. cit.

(31) "Par ma foi! il y a plus de quarante ans que je dis de la prose, sans que j'en susse rien..." Le bourgeois gentilhomme, Paris, 1960, Acte 2, sc. 4, p. 34.

(32) Ussher, Sylloge, Ep. XI, ed. Elrington, IV, Letter of St. Cummian, pp. 432-444.

(33) Op. cit., p. 444: "Quid autem pravius sentiri potest de Ecclesia matre, quam si dicamus, Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat, soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt?"

- (34) Bede, op. cit., p. 347.
- (35) Bede, op. cit., p. 307.
- (36) Bede, op. cit., V, 21, pp. 532-553.
- (37) Ibid.
- (38) Haddan and Stubbs, The British Church during the Period of Saxon Conquest, p. 120.
- (39) D. Dumville, "Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence for the British Transmission of Pelagius", CMCS 10 (Winter 1985): 39-52; note p. 52. It is also important to point out that Gildas, in 540, quoted Pelagius specifically and knowingly ('ut bene quidam noster ait') in his de excidio... Britanniae, 38, as follows: "non agitur de qualitate peccati, sed de transgressione mandati." John Morris has noted this important direct quotation on p. 36 of his "Pelagian Literature," JTS 16 (1965). The original words of Pelagius are to be found in Virginitatis laus, FL 30, 172.
- (40) D. Dumville, op. cit., p. 52.
- (41) M. L. W. Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900. London, 1st ed., 1931, 2nd. ed. 1957, p. 160. See also especially the section written by Laistner entitled "The Library of the Venerable Bede" in A. H. Thompson, editor, Bede, His Life, Times and Writings, Oxford, 1935, pp. 237-262.
- (42) Haddan and Stubbs, op. cit., p. 126.
- (43) Haddan and Stubbs, ibid.
- (44) Haddan and Stubbs, Vol. 2, Part 2 (1878), pp. 292-294.
- (45) J. T. McNeill, The Celtic Churches.... p. 72.
- (46) G. de Plinval, Pélage.... p. 406.
- (47) K. Jackson, et al. Celt and Saxon (Cambridge, 1964), ch. VI, "Bede, St. Colman and the Irish Abbey of Mayo," by Nora K. Chadwick, pp. 186-205; and ch. X, "The Celtic Background of Early Anglo-Saxon England," also by Nora K. Chadwick, pp. 323-352, especially p. 333.

Chapter VI

THE MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION OF PELAGIAN TEXTS IN THE PRE-CAROLINGIAN PERIOD

In order to prove the major influence of Pelagian thought and writings on Alcuin—the primary aim of the present study—the chain of manuscript transmission in the four intervening centuries must be demonstrated. Such is the purpose of the present chapter.

Simultaneously, for each work transmitted emphasis will be laid on the specifically Pelagian elements in it. In each case the possible transmission of "heretical" material will also be addressed. In this respect three highly germane factors must be borne in mind. They prevent the establishment of the specific "heresies" of Pelagius with any certainty in the individual works, and there may in fact never have been such elements. The factors are:

1. as a recent distinguished Catholic scholar (Aimé Solignac in the Dictionnaire de spiritualité, Vol. 12, Paris, 1986, col. 2924) has written, there are "multiples obscurités" in the condemnation. In particular there is no direct record of the specific articles of accusation and condemnation by the Pope at the time. The complete disappearance of Zosimus's Tractoria of condemnation, which existed in numerous copies and was sent to the bishops of all Christendom, is quite strange. Solignac writes of "la disparition quasi totale de la Tractoria de Zosime: étant donné la large diffusion du document, on s'étonne que la Collectio Avellana ne l'ait pas

conservée alors qu'elle a transmis les deux lettres comminatoires du pape Zosime à l'épiscopat africain après la réhabilitation de Célestius et Pélage." The unexplained absence of the Tractoria raises major questions about the nature and strength of the specific charges laid against Pelagius.

2. The extreme positions of Augustine on the damnation of all unbaptized infants and the Old Testament prophets, for instance, were later rejected by the Catholic Church itself;
3. If there had been any manifestation of a "heretical" element in these works they could hardly have been transmitted over the centuries often under the names of Augustine himself or of Jerome.

Given these three very important caveats it is possible to consider the typically Pelagian features of the works transmitted. For several centuries Pelagius's concept of the liberty of man to choose to do good or bad has been summarized in the expression: "cum semper utrumque possumus" (1). Pelagius insists that freewill is given by God to man, together with a natural desire to do good: "Volens namque Deus...et liberi arbitrii potestate donare...licet nobis eligere, refutare...est enim in animis nostris naturalis quaedam, ut ita dicam, sanctitas..." (2)

This idea sharply conflicts with Augustine's concept of a "necessitas peccandi" caused by man's vitiated freewill: "Numquid libero voluntatis arbitrio? Et hoc absit: nam libero arbitrio male utens homo, et se perdidit et ipsum." (3)

His opponents saw Pelagius's concept of human liberty as divorced from divine Providence. Pelagius himself was represented as the prime enemy of grace, portrayed as a free gift from God. Nevertheless, an extraordinary and auspicious fate has preserved and transmitted the thought and texts of Pelagius down to modern times through many manuscripts. This transmittal was not limited to the work of Pelagians, "semi-Pelagians" and other supporters of Pelagius's ideas but also included several medieval scholars and scribes who may or may not have known the identity of the author of the clear Christian moral exhortations, as well as of the succinct question-and-answer method and the terse and precise biblical commentaries that they were copying.

Important works that influenced the Carolingian Middle Ages such as the ad Demetriaden, the De vita christiana and the Libellus fidei (as well as the concordance, prologues and commentary on the Pauline letters), often went under the authorship of Augustine or Jerome, if not of Popes Innocent, Damasius or Gelasius. It is particularly ironical that the thought of Pelagius should have been preserved within the Augustinian and the Hieronymian corpora themselves. In fact, by the early Middle Ages very few people, if any, noticed anything untoward or heretical in the Pelagian works (beyond the brief standard warning in the writings of Cassiodorus or Isidore). In fact, they were given so much prominence that Pelagius's Confession of Faith even became a source work in Charlemagne's own

instruction, under the guidance of Alcuin, although its true origin must have been unknown to Alcuin. Furthermore, Pelagius's Confession of Faith was produced by the Sorbonne against Luther in 1521, as Augustine's own.

The clandestine importance of Pelagius's texts is only now being realized and analyzed. While it was relatively easy in epitomes, digests or lists of errors to oversimplify Pelagius's sayings on divine grace and human free will, and even to vilify his intentions or his character, it was much more difficult to change the longer treatises, especially where the texts were believed to be Augustine's or Jerome's until modern times.

DE VITA CHRISTIANA

The most recent edition of the De vita Christiana is still the PL 40, 1031-1046. De Plinval itemizes some of the numerous manuscripts, most of which were attributed to Augustine. (4)

However, it seems that sometimes in Late Antiquity there was some doubt about this, and the text was ascribed to Caesarius of Arles (Brit. reg. 5 F.X of the 12th century) or, after an erasure in the manuscript, to the elusive Bishop Fastidius. Pelagius had himself of course been most evasive about the paternity of this particular tract. There was reason for the evasiveness, especially in 415 in Diospolis and at Jerusalem.

Pelagius fully realized the danger created by the inquisitorial mission of Orosius. He knew that even the humble prologue— "Ut ego peccator et ultimus, insipientior caeteris, et imperitior universis..." (5)—would be critically dissected by Orosius.

Pelagius also appreciated that this letter on Christian Life was an evangelistic blueprint for ideas on inpeccantia and that it condemned alms from unjust profit and faith without works. Whatever hesitations at recognizing his authorship Pelagius may have shown at that time, modern scholarship appears to accept the judgment of de Plinval followed by R.F. Evans that the work is by Pelagius. (6) In the Sankt Gallen Stiftsarchiv Manuscript No. 32 of the De vita Christiana the "incipit and the explicit attribute it to Pelagius: incipit liber pelagii heretici...explicit de vita christiana pelagii heretici; in Monte Cassino 232 the incipit and explicit give the name of Fastidius, perhaps under the influence of "Gennadius": so does the fourth volume of Quasten's Patrology, although returning the authorship firmly to the authentic works by Pelagius. (7) Of these two manuscripts, G. de Plinval had already noted that Monte Cassino 232 (XI-XII c.) was attributed over an erasure to the authorship of fastidii episcopi and that the Sankt Gallen SA 32 (IX-X c.) carried the colophon pelagii heretici, also over an erasure. (8)

Among the approximately 300 manuscripts which are extant of the De vita Christiana, de Plinval mentions only two antedating

the tenth century; the majority of extant copies date from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, and the authorship of most of these is attributed to Augustine. Thus, CLM 15819, of the ninth century is one of those attributed to Augustine.

This work by Pelagius was known in the early Middle Ages mainly under Augustine's name. Two other names, those of Bishop Fastidius and of his male correspondent Fatalis, have been associated with it by error—unless Pelagius assumed in later life the name of Fastidius. Concerning Fatalis, who for Gennadius was a man, Pelagius in fact wrote the letter to a woman, a Christian widow. Also, "Fatalis" sounds more dubious as a name than "Fastidius."

Robert Evans has pointed out that the De vita... uses several word-combinations emphasizing ideas "highly characteristic of Pelagius, e.g., sanctitas et iustitia, misericordia pietasque, securus et liber, fallit ac recipit." (9) Evans's research had established that De vita..., De virginitate, Ad Celantiam and De divina lege were all works written by Pelagius, and thus corroborated de Plinval's conclusions. However, all four of these works were to reach and influence the Middle Ages as ones purportedly written by Augustine, Jerome, Caesarius of Arles or Paulinus of Nola.

Since the de vita Christiana was transmitted for centuries under the name of Augustine, it evidently contained no discernible heretical doctrine in Carolingian times. Further, passages such as

chapter 7, where the patriarchs and the prophets (Abel, Noah, Abraham, Lot) have achieved inpeccantia, are evidently totally accepted by the Carolingians, although Augustine would have rejected any such concept (see de natura et gratia, 42).

Libellus Fidei

In the realm of the Franks in the eighth century Pelagius's Libellus Fidei was being used freely to write other Professions of Faith, especially those by Anglo-Saxon missionary-bishops such as Lullus of Mainz (who died in 786).

Annexed by the Franks in 497, Mainz had become the ecclesiastical centre in 755 of what is now Germany. Twenty years later, in 775, Charlemagne granted the city to its archbishop and his successors. Lullus was certainly then the city's bishop and probably already its archbishop, as the successor to Boniface (another Anglo-Saxon, born as Wynfreth or Wynfrid). Boniface had relinquished his offices in 754 to conduct missionary work among the Frisians. He died in the following year.

Lullus had followed Boniface to Mainz, where he was Boniface's closest assistant and chosen successor as bishop. Before Lullus became Bishop of Mainz (after 755) he had probably already written his profession of faith, although its exact date remains uncertain.

It cites Pelagius verbatim in several key passages. Although

the eighth century author used four different sources for it: he "took much larger parts" (10) from Pelagius than from the other three. One very important Pelagian idea adopted by Lullus (and Alcuin later) concerned free choice. Thus, one Lullus passage even respects Pelagius's written style by splitting "liberum" from "arbitrium" in: "Liberum sic confiteor arbitrium, ut dicam nos semper Dei indigere auxilio, hominem et peccare et non peccare posse, ut semper nos liberi confiteamur arbitrii." This aspect of Pelagius's style is discussed later in this chapter.

Numerous other examples also quite clearly demonstrate that the Libellus Fidei of Pelagius (albeit under the name of Jerome or even Augustine) was read and transmitted in the early Middle Ages in the Kingdom of the Franks by Lullus, a missionary of Anglo-Saxon origin born in the British Isles. Furthermore, clearly the text of Pelagius's Libellus Fidei had been singled out as a source by Lullus, the spiritual head of a major region and the chosen successor to Boniface.

Thus, almost 400 years after it had been written, Pelagius's spirited defence of free will was found reemphasized in a Carolingian creed.

Further, a similar comparison of texts, in Alcuin's time a little later on, shows that Pelagius's Libellus fidei had a primary influence on Alcuin and through Alcuin on Charlemagne. It remains of course true that this paradoxical transmission of Pelagius most probably (but not certainly in all cases) occurred

without the users' knowledge of the real authorship. Until very recently, the Libellus Fidei of Pelagius was listed among the Sermons of Augustine (as Sermon 236) and in numerous manuscripts among the Letters of Jerome (as Letter 16). (11)

The influence of Pelagius on Alcuin through the Libellus Fidei is demonstrable. (12) For instance, Luitpold Wallach parallels certain corresponding passages in Pelagius, taking note of the role of Alcuin, author of the king's personal profession of faith. Wallach observes that one version of the latter "offers in its present, corrected version the Libellus Fidei of Pelagius...the original profession of faith...[of which only the title is preserved in the Vatican MS (B. 106.9-10)] was in part deleted and in part removed from this codex by an editor of the eighth century, who substituted for an original version of the credo that of Pelagius." (13) However, not all scholars mention such deletions. (14)

De Plinval has observed that Pelagius's Libellus Fidei went almost always under the name of Saint Jerome and that as such it was admitted as an authentic explanation of faith by the theologians of the Carolingian period. (15) Also, in a footnote from the Councils of the time of Charlemagne, the seal of approbation was appended: "This is indeed the true integrity of the tradition of the catholic faith, that we hold and confess with a sincere heart...as expressed in the words in this work by the holy Jerome." (16) In actual fact, however, chapters 10, 11 and 13

spelled out Pelagius's inpeccantia and the tradition of free-will within the catholic faith in opposition to Jerome's views.

However, by the seventeenth century, the Libellus Fidei was acknowledged as the symbol of faith of Pelagius. Dom Jean Mabillon (1632-1707) had already determined in 1674 that the long work Albini Confessio Fidei had been written by Alcuin during Charlemagne's reign, and that Alcuin had mainly used the Pelagii Confessio Fidei as well as the semi-Pelagian work of Gennadius De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis. Mabillon's opinion to this effect in his Disquisitio was confirmed by a number of scholars. (17)

The Libellus Fidei of Pelagius that was adopted by Alcuin and by Charlemagne was a blueprint for an almost juridical assumption of personal responsibility in man. It enunciated uncompromisingly the faith of Pelagius, including his easily identifiable views on baptism in chapter 7 and his answer to Augustine and Jerome as in chapters 10, 11 and 13.

As was noted earlier with respect to de vita Christiana, acceptance of Pelagius's Libellus fidei by the Carolingians must also mean that it was not seen by the Carolingians as containing any heretical views. By then a passage such as "Nos vero dicimus hominem semper et peccare et non peccare posse, ut semper nos liberi confiteamur esse arbitrii," which would have been violently condemned by Augustine, had become part of the Confession of Faith which Alcuin taught Charlemagne and the Carolingians at Aix-la-Chapelle.

EXPOSITIONES XIII EPISTULARUM PAULI

At the beginning of the fifth century, many copies of Pelagius's Expositiones XIII Epistularum Pauli, some anonymously, some under his name, must have circulated over Western Europe. The work was clear and brief, consisting of short annotations to single passages. These terse comments were more in the style popularized by the Antiochene School of exegesis than the other extant Latin Commentaries, which were often heavily allegorical. The simplicity and moral emphasis of Pelagius's comments were bound to appeal to the practical and educated Late Roman laity and lower clergy, as well as to the Italian bishops, of the fifth century. The Expositiones... had the added advantage of being easy to carry and to travel with, as a result of their brevity.

While Souter is probably right in stating that "there need be little hesitation in affirming that no copy of the Expositiones... by Pelagius, with his name at the head of it, any longer exists," (18) there are many manuscripts of this work from Carolingian scriptoria. However, the real problem in the transmission of this most important Commentary has always been the heavy interpolation of the text.

As Dom De Bruyne most convincingly demonstrated, Pelagius's

Expositiones... were pilfered, changed and interpolated so often, partly because of its own (often anonymous) popularity, but partly too, and more importantly, because in all probability Pelagius originally wrote his annotations between the lines and in the lateral margins of Paul's text, exactly as we find in certain glossed Bibles that existed around the VIII century. (19)

Souter started a major, and I believe, still unsatisfactorily resolved, controversy with De Bruyne over the importance of Pelagius's Expositiones... to the final version of the Pauline Letters in the Vulgate. The controversy started because Souter divided the manuscripts into two types:

- (a) The Manuscripts of the Original Form.
- (b) The Manuscripts of Interpolated Forms. (20)

Cassiodorus, writing in the middle of the fifth century, mentions three Expositiones XIII Epistularum Pauli in his own library: one was that supposedly written by Primasius that is now registered in PL 68, col. 415-686. The second, anonymous, came to Cassiodorus after he had started his own work. The third was under the name of Jerome. As shown by Dom C. Charlier, Cassiodorus had Pelagius and Pseudo-Jerome or rather another copy of Pelagius in front of him simultaneously during his editing. Charlier also contends that Souter's division into groups of "Non-Interpolated" and "Interpolated" manuscripts is arbitrary and erroneous as a function of the actual content of the text of the glossa. (21)

Although Frede, Schäfer and Charlier do not accept Souter's "a priori" differentiation (22) between two groups, the MSS of the Expositiones... are nevertheless conveniently listed and commented on in Souter's edition and study. (23)

Two MSS of the pseudo-Jerome (H) filiation, already described by Souter, have recently been studied by David Dumville who has identified the young scribe of their common original, the Welshman Meirion of Powys. (24) These are:

- "3. Paris: Bibl. Nat. Lat. 9530 (olim 9525) (E). (saec. VII ex-inc. VIII). From Echternach, probably from the Abbey scriptorium which had Anglo-Saxon affiliations."

Souter deduced that Erasmus's Editio Princeps was derived from this MS (E) and thus in his list labelled it 3b.

- "4. SALISBURY: CATHEDRAL LIB. 5 (S). (saec. XI ex). copied from an Insular MS of saec. VIII to an Anglo-Saxon exemplar of saec. VIII ex."

Dumville notes: "There is evidence for the knowledge of Pelagius' Commentary in England by c. 700, but the textual relationships need thorough exploration..." (25) This evidence is enough to qualify or contradict Ogilvy who stated that the popularity of Pelagius in England (contrary to Ireland) from the seventh to the eleventh century was extremely doubtful. (26) It seems more and more obvious that Anglo-Saxon as well as Irish scribes of the seventh, eighth and ninth century took their own copies of Pelagius's Expositiones... with them to the Continent. However, there was a parallel, though more distorted, transmission

through Cassiodorus Senator and Isidore of Seville, who used and adapted Pelagius in their own work.

Pelagius, Cassiodorus and the Vulgate

For several reasons, the Expositiones... of Pelagius are by far the most often studied and discussed text of the British author in our own time, the major question being its tantalizing links with the Vulgate text of the Pauline Epistles. Zimmer started this century's research on the biblical comment of Pelagius and was followed by Souter and de Plinval, two Augustinians evidently also fascinated by the alternative.

B. M. Metzger summarizes much of the scholarship up to 1975. (27) This issue seems to divide scholars into two opposing sides with a passion that Jerome would have appreciated. Several Catholic scholars have questioned Jerome's authorship of the Vulgate texts of the Pauline Epistles. Dom De Bruyne saw in it the work of Pelagius and noted that Jerome quoted with approval passages that are rejected in the Vulgate text. De Bruyne also pointed out that Pelagius was familiar with Greek and had at least once corrected a wrong translation made by Jerome. (28) M.-J. Lagrange and F. Cavallera also denied the role traditionally ascribed to Jerome, although this role was defended by several Hieronymian proponents among whom were Buonaiuti, Mangenot, Chapman and Souter. (29)

The two most recent textual authorities are without doubt

Dom Celestin Charlier (30) and H. J. Frede (31). Frede was one of Karl Theodor Schäfer's students. (32) Although these three differ with each other on some points, all concord in rejecting Souter's approach to interpolation (and de Plinval's to the extent that he follows Souter). The debate now focusses on "interpolation" and centres on the two texts—one from Balliol being labelled (B) which Souter classified as "non-interpolated," and the other the Karlsruhe Augiensis (A) text also "non-interpolated" for Souter. The argument relates to the varying statistical correlation between each of these two individually and the different MSS labelled "interpolated" by Souter. Dom Charlier brings to the discussion the study of Paris: Bibl. Nat. Lat. 653, labelled (V) and considered "interpolated" by Souter. While giving the text (V) of Pelagius priority of composition, Charlier observes that Cassiodorus had before him, as he was working, the text (V) as well as the "non-interpolated" (A)-(B) group and the "interpolated" (H)-(G) ones, and that Cassiodorus used all at the same time.

The evidence should be objective, and Charlier remains unbiassed. Moreover, even newer lines of opposition have been formed between those who appear to be mainly former students of Karl Th. Schäfer. (33) The latest argument again centres, as it did for Souter, on Balliol 157 and on the possibility of a Vulgate text contaminated by Old Latin. In a nutshell, Balliol 157 would be "non-interpolated" but contaminated. Charlier's point of view

is much more interesting in that it veers away from this repeated emphasis on Balliol 157 to the older and historically more promising Paris Bibl. Nat. Lat. 653 (V). This is the manuscript that contains a dedicatory poem to Charlemagne, a detail making it most relevant to the present thesis, although perhaps not to the study of the Pauline Vulgate.

Most certainly, the Expositiones... and their Prologues in the Vulgate are not the work of Jerome, nor of Augustine nor of Ambrosiaster. Augustine praised Jerome's translation only of the four Gospels, not of the whole New Testament. Jerome is known to have commented on four Pauline letters. The Expositiones... of Pelagius on the biblical Pauline letters were certainly more popular than Jerome's already in Cassiodorus's time.

Concerning the Expositiones... Dom De Bruyne, following Richard Simon and Nicolas Zegers, has argued that Jerome was not only unaware of the Vulgate, but that he even severely criticized certain translations which occur in all manuscripts of the Vulgate. De Bruyne then cites fourteen examples of translations of which Jerome specifically disapproved and which are now accepted readings of the manuscripts of the Vulgate. (34)

Making a case for a prominent role played by Pelagius in the authorship of the Biblical text of the Vulgate edition, De Bruyne has argued, as have the Biblical editors Wordsworth and White, that the Concordia epistularum Pauli—in several MS, especially the most ancient and important ones, such as the Codex Fuldensis

(Fulda: LandsB. Bonif. 1), the Codex Amiatinus (Firenze: B Laur. Amiat.1), Colmar 36 etc.—were Pelagian as well as being close to the origin of the text of the Vulgate in time. (35)

Similarly, and perhaps more important yet, De Bruyne has pointed out that the two main Prologues of the Pauline Letters in the Vulgate are the Prologues by Pelagius Primum quaeritur quare... and Romani ex Iudaeis gentibusque crediderunt. These prefaces had no real rival. Further, they were found everywhere, in Spain as in Ireland, in England, France and Italy. De Bruyne adds that if all the manuscripts of the Pauline Letters had a preface by Cassiodorus, one would not hesitate to conclude that Cassiodorus had given the text its definitive form. (36) Souter concurs: "...while the Primum quaeritur prologue is found in nearly all Vulgate MSS, a complete set of Pelagian prologues has not yet been produced from a biblical MS. Dom de Bruyne, the leading authority on Latin biblical prologues, has, however, discovered a few traces of them." (37)

De Bruyne's article appeared in 1915 and evoked an immediate reaction. It would indeed be ironical to have to conclude with De Bruyne that: "Aux origines de la Vulgate de saint Paul, nous ne voyons nulle part Jérôme; par contre, nous trouvons partout Pélage. Premières citations du texte, concordance, préfaces, tout nous ramène aux hérétiques qui au début du Ve. siècle déchirèrent l'Eglise d'Occident." (38)

De Bruyne's words alluding to Cassiodorus may yet prove to be

quite prophetic, since Dom Charlier, as troubled by Souter's criteria in the textual criticism of Pelagius's Expositiones... as was Professor Schäfer, concluded with the hypothesis that all Pauline Vulgate roads led to Vivarium. (39) Charlier's view seems to have passed relatively unnoticed; Quasten's Patrology Vol. IV of 1986 does not mention it. However, it appears plausible that Cassiodorus (following Pelagius) was a more important editor of the Vulgate text of the Pauline Epistles than was Jerome.

Cassiodorus wrote the Institutiones divinarum litterarum in about 550. In them he discusses one of the texts of the Expositiones... in his library, an exemplar by Pelagius, under the name of Pope Gelasius. Cassiodorus had noticed Pelagian 'poison' in it and starts to de-Pelagianize the Commentary on the Letter to the Romans. He thus inserts in his de-Pelagianised edition of the Letter to the Romans some of the De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum of Augustine. (40) Cassiodorus then left to his less zealous monks the further task of de-Pelagianizing the commentary on the other Pauline Letters.

Another of the working texts of Cassiodorus came to him as if it was from Jerome himself. (41) It was essentially the (V) text of Pelagius. As Dom Charlier demonstrated at the International Catholic Congress of Pauline Studies of 1961, held at the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, Cassiodorus certainly had simultaneously in front of him—as he was working—two subsequent versions of the Expositiones... of Pelagius. (42)

Not only did Cassiodorus have two texts of Pelagius in front of him, but he made a choice between the two Pelagian versions in order to establish his own text "en fonction d'un critère inconnu, mais généralement excellent." (43) Consequently, one finds in Cassiodorus a double transmission of the text of Pelagius, even if he interpolated some Augustine, some Jerome, some Claudianus Mamertus, and, among others, some Faustus of Riez. (44)

Most scholars of the Carolingian Renaissance possessed copies of Cassiodorus. If Zmaragdus of Saint-Mihiel is typical of them, they also knew that Pelagius' short notes on the Pauline Letters were at the basis of Cassiodorus's biblical lemmas. Similarly, Claudius of Turin, Sedulius Scottus of Liège (which was only a short distance from Aix-la-Chapelle and at the heart of Charlemagne's empire), and Haymo of Auxerre studied and used Pelagius's Expositiones... which were preserved quite faithfully through Cassiodorus, and through the Irish monks as well.

Because the Codex Amiatinus (A) (Firenze. BLaur: Amiat. 1) is linked with Vivarium and because the oldest Latin pandect of the New Testament Vulgate is the Codex Fuldensis (F) (Fulda. LB Bonif. 1), written near Capua by Victor Bishop of Capua in 546, (45) a short time after Cassiodorus revised Pelagius, Dom Charlier has posited that the definitive version of the Pauline Vulgate may have been born in Vivarium. (46) This remains a possibility.

Nevertheless, J. Gribomont notes that Pelagius—and not Jerome—was certainly one of the stages for the Pauline Vulgate

and that Italy was very important for the transmission of the Pauline text. (47) Gribomont cites Dom Fischer on the definite attribution to the author of the Vulgate of the prologue Primum quaeritur. (48)

Just as Dom Charlier thought that the Pauline Vulgate postdated Pelagius and was really born with Cassiodorus's revision, Hermann Frede was actively searching for pre-Pelagius Latin translations, and of all places at a time and in a centre most friendly to Pelagius, the Aquileia of Bishop Chromatius and of Rufinus. As pointed out earlier, Frede is now of the opinion that the first writer who uses and comments on the Vulgate is Pelagius. (49) But Schäfer thinks that, while being *Vetus latina*, the biblical text is very close to the later Vulgate. (50)

Recent research has not eliminated the possibility that Pelagius played a major role in the transmission of the Pauline books of the Vulgate text we have today, even if, as would be not unexpected in a work of this scope, he turns out to be but one link in the scholarly chain. If Pelagius is not "the father of the Pauline Vulgate," he certainly has more claim to its putative paternity than Jerome.

It now seems not impossible to the present researcher that Pelagius's Expositiones... contained a prototype of the Pauline text. With Dom Charlier and Robert Evans, one must at least accept the primordial importance of Paris BN Lat 653 as the closest text extant of the Expositiones...

Made in Northern Italy and offered to Charlemagne, this-MS also demonstrates again the close affinities of Northern Italy with the philosophical and theological thought of Pelagius. As noted, this MS may ultimately provide the evidence needed to demonstrate at least a creative revision by Pelagius of one of the Old Latin versions of the Pauline Letters. Scholars cannot yet date the latest revision of the Pauline Letters in the Vetus Latina translation, the antepenultimate one having been completed before 410 AD, as Schäfer concludes (p. 366).

Isidore of Seville

Most Pauline commentators of the early Middle Ages appear to have abused Pelagius's Expositiones... Since these commentators often added excerpts from Ambrosiaster, Augustine and Jerome (as well as the more compatible John Chrysostom in Latin translation, Faustus of Riez and Gennadius), the message that reached Alcuin and his legions of scribes was often not completely coherent.

Isidore of Seville (c. 570-636), openly deplored the Pelagian virus. However, he not only used what we might call the Cassiodoran 'Pelagian' Biblical text, but he also "borrowed" from Pelagius and thus took some part in disseminating Pelagius's ideas. It is no secret that "Isidore of Seville was the arch-compiler of the Middle Ages" and in several works owes a debt to Pelagius. (51)

Examples came in at least three of Isidore's works: Originum sive Etymologiarum Libri XX, De ecclesiasticis officiis, and the Quaestiones de Vetere et Novo Testamento. Isidore copied almost verbatim Pelagius's favourite four-part moral law of love (dilectio vel caritas) which returns like a Leitmotiv in Pelagius's Expositiones... (52) However, where Pelagius wrote "hoc est, in dei dilectione, quae prima est", Isidore has inserted "timore vel" between "dei" and "dilectione." (53) The text thus acquires an added Augustinian dimension.

Isidore (Etym., XI, 2, 20) was also struck by Pelagius's qualifying definition of woman, when Christ is described as "factum ex muliere." (54) Pelagius's comment reads: "Hic mulieris nomen non corruptionis, sed sexus significat, sicut et Eva, statim ut facta est, 'mulier appellatur'." (55) Souter mentions Isidore's Etym., XI, 2, 20, which enlarges on the thought of Pelagius, but does not gain with prolixity: 'dicitur igitur 'mulier' secundum femineum sexum, non secundum corruptionem integritatis: et hoc ex lingua sacrae scripturae. nam Eva statim facta de latere viri sui, nondum contacta a uiro, mulier appellata est, etc.'" (56) This contamination (in the MS sense of the word) is indeed what happened all too often in the early Middle Ages to the Expositiones... of Pelagius; in fact, both in their brevity and in their format, Pelagius's brevissimae notae lent themselves eminently to changes or enhancements of this sort.

The very aim of Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville to

christianize the early Middle Ages, especially by commenting on the New Testament made the Expositiones... of Pelagius a most tempting source for excerpting, extrapolating, subtracting or adding. Furthermore, Pelagius's insistence on moral example and moral progress, on salvation Dei gratia...nemo suo merito; his insistence on faith alone, on teaching laity and clerks on the same basic New Testament principles, were bound to make his message very popular with Charlemagne's Franks. Thus, throughout the Middle Ages, Pelagius's preferences and some of his thoughts were transmitted through Cassiodorus and Isidore of Seville.

The Irish Connection

Ms Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS M.P.th.f.12 was written probably in Ireland in the last quarter of the eighth century. It is in Irish minuscule and has several Old Irish glosses..

Students of these glosses "have often had occasion to remark both on the very heavy use...of the commentary of Pelagius on the Pauline Epistles and on the unabashed references to the heresiarch by name...Among the other early Irish references to Pelagius are those in the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis and in the Book of Armagh's prologues to the Pauline Epistles." (57)

D. Dumville has investigated—and has found evidence from Wales in support of—early British transmission of Pelagius's Commentary to the medieval Irish ecclesiastical scholars. (58) At

the same time, it is becoming clearer that the Expositiones... of Pelagius were transmitted to the Carolingian empire on the Continent by Anglo-Saxon monks, probably from English MS exemplars, through such important and strategically-placed scriptoria as Echternach. In fact, when one considers the Irish transmission of Pelagius, the equally important Anglo-Saxon transmission, although less obvious, should not be underestimated. A prime example of this is, of course, Alcuin's Confession of Faith that became a manifesto as well as the symbol of an age.

If the Irish certainly received some of the texts of Pelagius through Britain, other exemplars entered southern Ireland from Italy during the seventh century (and one should not underestimate Lérins' links with Britain and Ireland). The Irish transmission of Pelagius is clearly demonstrated by the copious glosses in both Old Irish and Latin in the Würzburg MS. Thus, the works of two Christian moralists both of whom contributed much to the Carolingian educational Renaissance, namely Pelagius and Cassiodorus, are joined in a single MS. This is not such an unlikely combination as might at first appear, since both men shared a common devotion to the Christian moral and educational imperative.

As Zimmer showed, the Irish compiler of the Würzburg MS "had both the original form of Pelagius and the Cassiodorus revision in his possession." (59) A third and later glossator shows in several places the strong influence of Sedulius Scottus, so much

so that Souter was of the opinion that this glossator might have used Sedulius Scottus. This thesis would seem permissible on palaeographic grounds.

The potential influence of Sedulius Scottus on the glosses in the MS from Echternach opens up a series of interesting possibilities. Souter assumes that Sedulius Scottus influenced the glossator, while Hellmann is of the view that the glossator influenced Scottus. (60)

However, there remains the distinct possibility that the glossator could have been of the generation of Sedulius Scottus; he may even have known him and discussed the points at issue with him. Echternach is very near to Liège and has always had close religious links with that city—which was soon afterwards to acquire the unique status of a religious principality. One of the notes where the versions of Pelagius and of Cassiodorus are both cited is particularly important, since the verb redemit was used. This verb was emphasized by Pelagius and the Italian Pelagians, as well as by Chromatius of Aquileia, a friend of Pelagius: 1 Cor. 6.

20.

Würzburg: "qui non est sui(?) non suam faciat
voluntatem sed illius a quo emptus est."

"Pl. [=Pelagius] sanguine Christi: sanguis (sic) egrorum
aliis nocet sanguis Christi mundum redemit.

Ibid. Sedul. [=Sedulius] qui non est suus, non debet
sibi uiuere, sed illi cuius sanguine emptus est...non auro.

non argento, sed sanguine Christi. sanguis aegrorum aliis nocet, sanguine uero Christi mundum redemit." (61)

The Pauline Expositiones... of Pelagius contain other sections where the verb redemit is not only used but evokes an explanation of unusual length for Pelagius. For instance, Rom. 3. 24 calls forth eighteen lines of closely-reasoned commentary, praising the paramount value of baptism and of the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: "Qua nos redemit sanguine suo de morte, cui per peccatum uenditi fuimus..." (62)

This Pelagian view of redemption (as buying back) linked to an initial endowment for goodness by creation which ensures a capacity for inpeccantia (63) is consequently one of the important features that the Expositiones... of Pelagius imparted to the Würzburg compiler as well as to Sedulius Scottus. (64)

. The importance of the Irish for the transmission of texts "begins when they leave Ireland, impelled by a missionary zeal of far-reaching consequence." (65) From Iona (c. 563) to Lindisfarne and Malmesbury, the Irish founded monasteries. Then, on the Continent, Luxeuil (590) was founded by Columba the Younger (whose personality seems to have stirred up people as strongly as Pelagius's). From Luxeuil, Corbie was established a century later, Bobbio in 614 and Sankt Gallen was founded on the hermitage of the pupil of Columba, Gallus, around the same time. "The Scotti peregrini became a colourful feature of the continental scene in the eighth and ninth centuries and had a large

contribution to make, as such men as Virgil of Salzburg, Dungal, Sedulius Scottus, John Scottus Eriugena serve to demonstrate. However much these scholars became part of the Carolingian revival, their learning tended to retain its strong Irish accent." (66)

Their enthusiasm for acquiring and disseminating the knowledge of their time made the Irish the ideal transmitters of late Latin grammatical and exegetic works. Such was the role of scholars like Sedulius Scottus. It also meant that the Expositiones... of Pelagius could not have been in the hands of better scribes and scholars. In fact, the fondness of the Irish for Pelagius has frequently attracted comment since the trail-blazing works of scholars such as Ludwig Traube and Heinrich Zimmer.

Ogilvy notes: "Pelagius seems to have been popular in Ireland; and his commentary on St. Paul was, according to Esposito 'preserved, thanks largely to the efforts of Irish scholars at home and abroad in the seventh and eleventh centuries'." (67)

In Ireland church relations existed in the earliest times (as Bischoff writes) "with Rome and with Gaul, in the sixth century especially with Wales, and trade relations since antiquity also with Spain. After the seventh century the ties with Rome became stronger again, first of all in southern Ireland. It must have been very much a matter of chance what kind of literature was accessible beyond the most necessary as a result of these links in Ireland at a time when Roman civilisation was dissolving. However,

there were among such works those which otherwise had been forgotten or suppressed as apocryphal or heretical; these included the Hebrew-Gospel [Hebräer-Evangelium] and the Exposition of the Pauline letters by the Briton Pelagius." (68)

The transmission of Latin grammatical and exegetic texts through Ireland is a significant fact in itself, since Ireland was never a part of the Roman Empire. The multiple transmission of the Expositiones... of Pelagius (often under his own name, or in such forms as Pellagii, Pelg., P, Pel, Pil, Pela, Pelag, Pilag and the authoritative Pl. ait or Pl. dicit) is especially remarkable. A number of explanations have been advanced for this.

Some scholars, including Zimmer, prefer to think like Jerome that Pelagius was of Irish origin, although this view is not now generally held. (69) In studying and using Pelagius, Irish scholars would then just have been showing their patriotism.

Others insist, with Martin McNamara (70), that "only Pelagius' commentaries, not his theological works, were used, and these are more moralising than erroneous. In fact, they probably appealed to the Irish by reason of their stress on moral behaviour...Irish texts, as distinct from Pelagius' commentaries, stress the importance of divine grace in the Christian life."

On Rom. 1. 3 and 7; 3. 21-24; 4. 4-5; 5. 1 and 20 ; 8. 29; 9. 6; Gal. 1. 4 and 5. 4 Pelagius wrote of grace as redemption and as a free gift of God, not one given according to our merit. But, in agreement with moral thinkers of his time, he supported the

broad, diffuse early Christian definition of gratia as against the "Augustinian" definition of gratia (patronage) which Honorius's subjects knew but too well. This may be why the social message of Pelagius, equality and justice for all in the eyes of God, without respect of persons, found particular favour with the Irish.

Pelagius's Expositiones... have definite theological elements. The same thoughts, expressed in the same words, are developed throughout the Expositiones... as in the many other works of Pelagius. It is also difficult to establish such a fine line of difference for a Christian, Irish or not, between stressing "moral behaviour" and "orthodox behaviour." Christian orthodoxy and moral behaviour must go hand in hand.

Another argument advanced for the Irish scholars' interest in Pelagius emphasizes the innate intellectual curiosity of the Irish. It is thus Dom Morin's belief that the Irish glossators and commentators were interested in Pelagius because of their own love for unorthodox speculation. (71)

Apart from the above arguments, however, the most plausible reason remains the simple explanation mentioned earlier. The Expositiones... of Pelagius survived as the most popular in Ireland, Italy and elsewhere because they were clear, concise and to the point. There was a minimum of allegory and a maximum of common sense dispensed in the most succinct yet passionate style. Pelagius's writings and style as well as his insistence on a free choice for salvation (through love, not fear) and on the duty to

strive toward inpeccantia were highly attractive to the Irish. The christianity of Pelagius was compatible with the beliefs which were to guide the Irish Celtic Church in its successful missions in Western Europe throughout the Early Middle Ages. Further, in an age intensely religious, didactic and in a hurry to propagate its knowledge to the heathen masses, Irish or Frankish, Pelagius's Expositiones... of St. Paul were a most efficient instrument.

As abundantly proved since Cassiodorus's time, any monk could add his own comments or glosses in the margin or in between the lines, in Latin or in Old Irish, and be assured of a wide copying readership.

Typical of the high esteem the Irish scholars had for Pelagius and a most prestigious witness of Irish transmission is what Zimmer lists as "MS LA.", the Liber Ardmachanus, which is better known as the Book of Armagh (D) [Dublin, Trinity College 52]. It was written in Armagh circa 807, mostly by the scribe Fer-domnach. In the Book of Armagh "The Pauline epistles were prepared under the supervision of the abbot and scribe Torbach who, according to the Annals of Ulster, died in 808...Fer-domnach, the Armagh scribe...cited the prologue by name...This means that...his [Pelagius's] works were probably well known and deemed acceptable if an Armagh scribe could cite Pelagius by name in so important a work." (72)

It must be noted that John Gwynn, contrary to Souter, considered the text of the Book of Armagh as Vulgate with Old-

Latin intrusions, probably the opening round in a controversy that is still hotly debated today. (73)

The Book of Armagh uses a text of the Letters of St. Paul very close to that found in Pelagius. And it bears close comparison with the text used by Sedulius Scottus. Furthermore, Souter notes that "The manuscript which the Italian scribe of our Balliol MS [No.157] set out to copy, was in Irish pointed script not unlike that of the Book of Armagh to which it is textually related...this manuscript had probably been at one time in the library of St. Columban's Irish foundation at Bobbio." (74)

The Irish transmission through its close and complex ties to the text of the Book of Armagh is further confirmed when Hellmann observes that the text of the commentaries by Zmaragdus of St. Mihiel, Sedulius Scottus and Marianus Scottus (the compiler of the Vienna Nationalbibliothek MS 1247) all came from one common root, and are relatively close to the (Irish uncle) Würzburg manuscript [Würzburg. Universitätsbibliothek, MS M.P. th.f.12]. (75)

B. Bischoff makes it clear that, in Ireland, the Church brought a Latin ecclesiastical culture which provided "asylum" for some "heretical and apocryphal" literature; for instance, "The authentic form of Pelagius's Commentary on the Pauline Epistles and part of the Psalm Commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia" appear to have come from Ireland. (76) It may be added that Ireland's position on the fringe of Europe made it a protecting haven for important texts like those of Pelagius and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

Bischoff stresses the climate of independence and Celtic individualism that prevailed in Ireland at that time.

The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries

B. Bischoff observes that Christianity reached Ireland only in the fifth century and that in the sixth century, under British influence the characteristic form of Irish church organization developed, with its "Latin educational system" [Bildungswesen]... "which was based on [beruht auf] the large monastic communities." Bischoff also states that "even the memory of one other exegetic school, the Irish one..." was later "overshadowed by the names of the great Anglo-Saxons, of Bede and also of Alcuin, the one whom Charlemagne invited, and who transplanted Anglo-Saxon knowledge into the realm of the Franks [Frankenreich]." (77)

One must remember the possibility: a) that Christianity in Ireland existed and had ties with other Celtic churches before Palladius (who may have introduced an anti-Pelagian tone) and before Patrick; and b) that Alcuin's "Anglo-Saxons" may have included a fraternal band of Irish peregrini from the other island.

Certainly in the transmission of Pelagius's Expositiones... there is evidence for Irish scribes and glossators in such Anglo-Saxon foundations as Würzburg, Fulda and Echternach. There was no monastery more English in origin than Echternach, where Willibrord (658-739) was buried, which Boniface (c. 675-754) visited and where Alcuin (c. 735-804) preferred to stay. It had strong family-ties

for Alcuin; he was related to Willibrord, and his own cousin (the Anglo-Saxon Beornred) was its abbot for twenty years. Yet, there is transmission of Pelagius from Echternach through a text similar if not identical to the one known to Sedulius Scottus. Sedulius himself would seem to have visited Fulda after 850.

The initial transmission of Pelagius both to Ireland and to England now appears to have taken place through Wales. While it is true that the Celtic British church was instrumental in the foundation of the Irish church, the Irish answered most elegantly in kind by bringing back some unique Celtic traditions to the by then anglicized Northern Britain via Iona and Lindisfarne. Within Northumbria, the Anglo-Saxon and the Irish transmissions of Pelagius appear to have coalesced, with results such as Cambridge MS. Trinity College B. 10.5.

Ultimately, the transmission of the Expositiones... to the Carolingian Renaissance was a joint effort of the missionary scribes who left the British Isles for the Continent in successive waves after the late sixth century to found monasteries with their influential scriptoria. In these scriptoria their successors copied Pelagius's Expositiones... on St Paul over and over again, sometimes even under his own name, throughout the Middle Ages, and never tired it seems of writing their own commentaries in the margins. In this way, they made the question of Pelagius's origin quite irrelevant. Whether they called him by his name (as Sedulius Scottus did) or gave him pseudonyms like Jerome or Cassiodorus (as

Alcuin did), they related sympathetically to concepts Pelagius often expressed, concepts such as libertas arbitrii, which Pelagius frequently split in his writings, in a way almost reminiscent of the split infinitive in modern English, as in Rom. 11. 8, to say ne libertas scilicet tollatur arbitrii. (78)

Other Pelagian concepts suited them such as lex litterae, the terse Distinguendum, the introductive Quaeritur, Primum quaeritur, the quaerendum est short question and answer method, the urgent, almost modern Notandum and the necesse est ut imposing personal obligations. Whether Irish or Anglo-Saxon, they also understood instinctively the Pelagian meaning of inpeccantia, as observed by de Plinval. (79)

Since the Expositiones... were transmitted as one of the most popular, most frequently copied and glossed exegetical texts of the Middle Ages, often under Pelagius's own name (as was the case in Ireland), its use in Charlemagne's kingdom meant the work must have related particularly closely to the Christianity of Charlemagne's Franks. Passages commenting on the Just persons of the Old Testament (on Romans 10. 5 in the Expositiones...), or concerning the easy duty of following the law with a good conscience (on 1 Timothy 1. 5), on striving toward inpeccantia and sanctity as a duty (on Colossians 1. 22-23), all appeared Catholic and inspiring to the Carolingians, but would have seemed heresy to Augustine and the Africana Concilia of the early fifth century.

Epistula ad Demetriaden

The monks in the scriptorium of the Abbey at Reichenau (founded in 724) often attributed to Jerome the authorship of this letter of Pelagius written to Demetrias and they reproduced it in several MSS during the ninth century. The occasional attribution of this letter to the Pelagian follower Julian of Aeculanum appears to originate with Bede, whose library contained an earlier copy. (80) Bede had read it, and wrote very harshly of it. Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, also had a copy but thought it had been written by Jerome. Whatever the subjective attitudes toward Pelagius, this fact at least clearly demonstrates that works by Pelagius were being read and transmitted through Anglo-Saxon libraries.

The quite extraordinary literary fortuna of this letter can be traced through the numerous imitations of it that were sent to several prominent Christian women of Carolingian times. In this way, its fate was not dissimilar to that of the Expositiones...

From Reichenau and the ninth century are:

Karlsruhe: Aug. CV ;

Stuttgart: VII, Patr. 12, Letter 26 of Jerome. In it the heading "Hieronimus"—Jerome's name—is crossed out and followed by "ad dimitriaden virginem."

The Epistula ad Demetriaden was transmitted especially through several German scriptoria and always within the corpus of the Letters of Jerome, as reproduced in PL 30. Sometimes, 'Hieronimus'

would be crossed out and replaced by 'Pelagii heretici' as in two manuscripts from Bamberg, dating however from much later—the 12th and the 14th centuries respectively.

One must be particularly grateful for the transmission of this, the most harmonious of the letters of Pelagius, especially thankful to that anonymous scribe at Reichenau who had headed the text:

Epistola Iuliani heretici ad Demetriadem virginem male sentiens de libero arbitrio. He probably was an Anglo-Saxon, who had read his Bede, and, like Bede, he made the wrong identification. Whatever his attitude, he was a tolerant clerk and he did not suppress a masterpiece. Transmission was assured thanks to monks of his kind.

One point expressed in the Letter to Demetrias is that just and righteous men lived in the time of nature, that is in the era between Adam and Moses. This is of course a direct expression of Pelagius's views on the Condiciones temporum. The discussion of righteous men, as recounted in Genesis, which occurs in the Letter to Demetrias, finds unexpected parallel echoes in Alcuin's Quaestiones et Responses in Genesin. Furthermore, this letter by Pelagius may also, through its discussion of the time of nature, have influenced the writer of the Carolingian Capitulary to be considered in Chapter VIII of the present study.

Demetrias is exhorted to follow the secret law of her Christian conscience. In chapter 4, Pelagius writes: "Est enim, inquam, in animis nostris naturalis quaedam (ut ita dixerim) sanctitas."

There were people who were saved before the law. When human

conscience got corrupted by bad example, God sent Moses's law to act as a file to remove the rust of vice. And if already before the law there had existed "just" and holy people, how much more must we, who are instructed by Christ's grace and reborn to a better humanity, saved by His blood and healed by His example, must be better than them and inspired toward perfect justice. In chapter 8, there is a reminder that the time of grace has come, that is the time of Christ's law. Chapter 8 starts with emphasis on the the Pelagian approach to freewill at the very beginning: "Neque vero nos ita defendimus naturae bonum, ut eam dicamus malum non posse facere, quam utique boni ac mali capacem etiam profiteamur ...cum semper utrumque possimus," and ends with emphasis on inpeccantia: "...dicente apostolo: Peccatum in nobis iam non dominabitur. Non enim estis sub lege, sed sub gratia." The Pelagian concepts of freewill and inpeccantia are in this way expounded and exemplified throughout this remarkable chapter of a unique letter.

The letter to Demetrias may well be the spiritual manifesto of Pelagius. Its substance was declared heretical by Augustine, for instance in the 5th canon of the Council of Carthage of 1 May 418. It was condemned too in Augustine's Letter 188 to Juliana, the mother of Demetrias. Nevertheless, in Carolingian times this letter could not have been considered heretical, since it became a model of conduct for young Christian women.

Epistula ad Claudiam sororem de Virginitate

It must be noted that the ...de Virginitate was widely read and had a most remarkable influence on the Carolingian court at Aix-la-Chapelle. It had a similar transmission to that of the Epistula ad Demetriaden through Jerome's letters. However, it was also included in the text of letters written by Sulpicius Severus and in the Codex Regularum of Benedict of Aniane. Furthermore, in a remarkable twist of fate, it was attributed to Saint Athanasius in the Institutio sanctimonialium, and was officially approved by The Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 816. (81) It is therefore quite difficult to consider that it contained "heretical" material from the viewpoint of the ninth century, at least.

It would of course have raised the ire of Augustine and the North Africans in the fifth century, since it transmitted to the Carolingian Renaissance some of the central ideas of Pelagius, such as, for instance: "Iustitia ergo non est aliud quam non peccare. Non peccare autem legis praecepta servare. Si a malo recesseris, et non feceris bonum, transgressor es legi: quae non tantum in malorum actuum abominatione, sed in bonorum operum perfectione compleris." (82) In this chapter a description of Christian charity occurs which almost rivals the classical account in Matthew 5. From the viewpoint of Augustine the "heretical" elements would presumably have been the emphasis on iustitia and the possibility of inpeccantia, although as noted at the beginning of this chapter the Tractoria of Pope Zosima was mysteriously lost,

so that the exact "heresy" in it is (a) impossible to establish, and (b) not apparent to the Carolingians.

The MSS Attributed to Pope Sixtus III

Pelagius's Epistula de possibilitate non peccandi ("Qualiter religionis..." in Lapidge and Sharpe as No. 17) and other Pelagian letters were preserved in letters attributed to Jerome transmitted in MSS of the eighth century, from southern German scriptoria.

Among these were three important works of Pelagius, the two first having almost certainly contributed to Pelagius's condemnation by the Rescript of Honorius in his own time. The works were:

The Tractatus de divitiis (Lapidge and Sharpe No. 15);

The Epistula de malis doctoribus et operibus fidei et de iudicio futuro (Lapidge and Sharpe No. 16);

The Epistula de castitate (Clericus 736).

These four Pelagian works are attributed to Pope Sixtus III in the Vat. Lat. 3834 dating from saec. IX-X; consequently, they may also have an Italian transmission. Dom Morin discovered in Basel a later MS of the ...de castitate dating from the XII century (Basel O. IV. 18).

The message of these works is strongly Pelagian (on inpeccantia specifically, for example) which would in theory make

the attribution to a Pope rather curious, except perhaps for the Pelagian sympathies of Pope Sixtus III when he was a young priest in Rome, a point which Aimé Solignac and Flavio G. Nuvolone have pointed out. (83) The ...de divitiis reads at times like an uncompromising and rather left-wing modern manifesto. The De malis doctoribus..., discussed under The Thought of Pelagius in Chapter I, deserves a good translation. It is probably the most interesting page of the literature of the Later Roman Empire. Its neglect cannot be justified.

The ...de divitiis reflects on some themes found also in the letter to Demetrias. Further, the ...de divitiis (c. 19), the de malis doctoribus and the de castitate contain the short rules of conduct of Pelagius that one finds also in others of his works but were denigrated by Augustine (Contra duas ep. Pel. 50, 3, 14). For instance, we are instructed not to lie, not to curse, never to swear ever (omnino), not to answer evil with evil, not to perjure ourselves, to love our enemies, to pray for those who persecute and calumniate us, to read and meditate Scripture, not to address people as "Father" as a courtesy title here on earth, and to follow various other exhortations. However, as demonstrated by a Carolingian Capitulary in Chapter VIII of this thesis, many of these instructions of Pelagius were taken very much to heart during the Carolingian Renaissance.

De Induratione Cordis Pharaonis

Souter writes: "A tractate which circulated under this title in the Carolingian [sic] period as a work of Jerome, has been recently rediscovered by Dom Morin in six manuscripts, of which four at least are British in origin." (84)

Giovanni Martinetto emphasized the historical significance of the De induratione cordis Pharaonis by Pelagius in the disagreement with Augustine. (85) The background to the differences is as follows: Paulinus of Nola had received a copy of Augustine's De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum early in 397. Worried by this work's latent Manichaeism, Paulinus asked Pelagius and Jerome for written explanations and stopped all correspondence with Augustine for three years. Martinetto observes that the De Induratione.... written circa 398-399, was an orthodox analysis of a novel doctrine of predestination as formulated in Augustine's De diversis... For Pelagius, this novelty reintroduced the pagan fatum, disguised only in Christian garb, "sub gratiae colore fati dogma conatur inducere." (86) Martinetto sketches a historical context in which Augustine became increasingly more conscious of Pelagius and tried to have him convicted of novelty and heresy first (a case where offence seemed to Augustine the best defence). Martinetto concluded that the Pelagian controversy really started circa 399 with the new Augustinian theory of predestination. The De induratione... of Pelagius, basing its approach on the innate fairness of God, attacked those who "alio colore more gentilium

fata inducunt, dicentes duas massas humanae naturae, bonam et malam, a Deo esse factas." (87)

Martinetto's view is representative of the opinions of a growing body of scholars (Burns, Ferrari, etc) who perceive in Pelagianism a reaction to Augustine's concept of gratuitous divine election, with its inevitable implication of the predestination of all human beings to damnation or salvation. Prompted by Paulinus of Nola, the De induratione... of Pelagius would thus have been the first stage in this reaction. Although a study of the text of De induratione... begun by Dom Morin was later completed by Georges de Plinval, this very important work of Pelagius merits continued investigation.

Pelagius's De induratione... was probably popular with the Carolingian monks for the same reasons as were Pelagius's Pauline Expositiones... The De indurationes... also established practical and clear standards of exegesis. It emphasized major Pelagian ideas. Among other points, it contained what were almost passwords for the fairness of the justice of God and rewards for following the Law. Even more importantly, it had the effect of injecting fresh optimism into the Carolingian Renaissance by specifically attacking the Augustinian concept of humanity as a "massa" (as in "massa damnata," "vitiata," with the attendant determinism of these concepts) and emphasizing human individuality and responsibility, with a direct correlation between divine grace and human will. The de induratione was not considered heretical by the Carolingians

although it had been Pelagius's most direct rebuttal of de diversis questionibus ad Simplicianum.

Ad Caelantiam

The Epistula ad Caelantiam (L&S No. 11), attributed to Jerome, was, like the Epistula ad Claudiam sororem de virginitate (L&S No. 10) and the Epistula ad Demetriaden (L&S No. 7), a blue-print for the life of Christian women. About half of Pelagius's extant letters were written to Roman matrons and young ladies, showing a division of his attention between men and women equally, in sharp contrast to Augustine's correspondence which was mainly with men. In fairness it should be noted that Jerome's letters were also better distributed between the sexes.

Certainly, the Carolingians put into action the decisive last sentence of this letter: 'For to begin is not enough...' "Quia inchoasse non sufficit; sed perfecisse iustitia est." (88) The striving toward iustitia and inpeccantia is specifically Pelagian and was the object of Augustine's accusations of heresy centuries earlier. Once again the approval of the Carolingians (and the absence of the text of the Tractoria) make it unlikely that the work contained any demonstrably "heretical" doctrines.

At the present time (the late 1980's) more works earlier ascribed to others are being returned to the authorship of Pelagius, and Pelagius's own ideas are being re-assessed by the

Church in authoritative works as the Dictionnaire de spiritualité (tome XII, Paris, 1986) by scholars such as Aimé Solignac.

Chapter VIII of the present study discusses the importance of a Carolingian Capitulary which illustrates the direct influence of Pelagian works on the Carolingian Renaissance. The transmission of this influence certainly passed through the Irish and their stubborn dissemination of the Pelagius tradition.

However, Northumbria too, the native country of Alcuin, was also instrumental in transmitting this tradition to Alcuin's adoptive realm of the Franks. David M. Wilson, citing Lowe and Brown, observes that Northumbria was at the centre of an "artistic maelstrom" and that the major insular manuscripts of the late seventh and early eighth century are Northumbrian, not Irish.

(89)

The De induratione..., for example, continued to attract the attention of British monks throughout the Middle Ages. Moreover, at least as long as Alcuin lived, there was a steady borrowing of manuscripts from Northumbria over to the Continent, from York to Aix-la-Chapelle, Tours and Echternach.

As demonstrated in this chapter there was thus an uninterrupted chain of transmission of the manuscripts of Pelagius from the time of their writing right down to the Carolingian Renaissance. They do not appear to have been censored, cut or changed in any substantial way. Although the label "heresiarch" was attached to person of Pelagius, modern Catholic doctrinal research is coming

increasingly to the conclusion that there may never have been anything "heretical" about the actual Christian teachings and beliefs of Pelagius, only differences in emphasis and in vocabulary. Any other assumption makes it extremely difficult to explain why the works of this "heresiarch" were so faithfully transmitted as well as avidly read and used by Christians in the Carolingian Empire.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

- (1) Pelagius, Ad Demetriaden, PL 33, VIII, 1104.
- (2) Op. cit., 1100-1.
- (3) Augustine, Enchiridion, BA 9, IX, 30, p. 158.
- (4) G. de Plinval, Pélage..., p. 27, note 3; de Plinval observes that H. Schenkl lists 18 Mss from the Xth to the XVth century in Bibl. Patr. lat. Britannica (Vienna 1891). All are attributed to Augustine.
- (5) Pelagius, De vita Christiana PL 40, 1031.
- (6) R. F. Evans, "Pelagius' Veracity at the Synod of Diospolis" in Studies in Medieval Culture, Kalamazoo, (1964), pp. 21-30. Also, Four Letters of Pelagius, New York, 1968.
- (7) J. Quasten, ed., Patrology, vol. IV, 7 "Adversaries and Friends of Augustine—Pelagius," p. 473, by Vittorino Grossi. Grossi lists the de vita Christiana on his p. 469 under the heading "A. Authentic Works."
- (8) G. de Plinval, Pélage..., p. 27.
- (9) R. F. Evans, Four Letters of Pelagius, p. 30.
- (10) Wilhelm Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century (the Ford Lectures, Oxford, 1943) Oxford, 1946, p. 237. An Appendix—"Lullus's Profession of Faith", pp. 237-240—studies the four sources of Lullus's Profession, one of these being Pelagius's Libellus Fidei of 417. Another Lullus passage from Pelagius reflects the latter's views on Adoptianism. It reads: "non factus nec adoptivus sed genitus atque ita per omnia aequalis Deo Patri..." (p. 240). Use of this particular wording indicates the renewed struggle against Adoptianism in the eighth century.
- (11) Augustine, PL 39, 2181, Sermon 236; Jerome PL 30, 176, 186 Letter 16.
- (12) See Chapter VII on Pelagius and Alcuin.
- (13) L. Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature, p. 172-173.
- (14) J. D. A. Ogilvy, Books Known to the English, 597-1066, Cambridge, MA, (1967), "PELAGIUS", p. 218. Ogilvy writes: "On the use of Pelagius' Libellus fidei, ascribed in the Middle Ages to Jerome and Augustine, by Alcuin, see Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne, pp. 152-3. See also Pseudo-Jerome, Expositio Fidei, which Clavis, no. 633, 16, identifies as Pelagius' Confession of Faith to Pope Innocent (Clavis, no. 731)."
- (15) G. de Plinval, Pélage..., p. 25, "la profession de foi de Pelage au pape Innocent, Libellus fidei, est mise presque constamment sous le nom de saint Jérôme: 'Explanacio fidei s. hieronimi ad Augustinum et alypium episcopas missa. [Here note 2 reads: "Ms. de Reichenau, 18 (IXe. s.) et 52, fo 49 (IXe. s.), de Vienne 228 anc. (art.173), de Copenhague: Gl. Kgl. 28 (Xe. s.), etc."]. Elle figure à ce titre dans les collections des symboles et a été admise comme un exposé authentique de la foi par les théologiens de l'époque carolingienne."

- (16) De Plinval, ibid., footnote 3 cites Concilia aevi Karolini. M.G.H., Suppl. 1924, pp. 106-108; De imag. cultu, III, 1; "Haec est catholicae traditionis fidei vera integritas, quam sincero corde credimus et fatemur et in hoc opere beati Hieronymi verbis expressam, taxauimus." Cf. PL, 98, 1113.
- (17) Alcuin, Albini Confessio Fidei, PL 101, 1027-1098. J. Mabillon, De Confessione Fidei, id est de ejus antiquitate et auctore, ibid., 1003-1023. The scholars concerned include: A. Faure, of the Sorbonne; Jean Garnier, S.J.; C. Le Cointe, of the Oratory; De Vyon d'Herouval; Du Fresne du Cange; H. Valesius, "regius" historian; S. Baluze, of the Bibliothèque Colbertine; Cotelier, of the Sorbonne; De Launay, of the Senate of Paris. See also p. 55 in D. A. Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age," pp. 1-69 in U.-R. Blumenthal, ed., Carolingian Essays. Washington, DC, 1983.
- (18) A. Souter, Pelagius' Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul. Texts and Studies IX, 1-3, Cambridge, 1922-1926, (reprinted by Kraus, Liechtenstein, 1967), pp. 342-343. Introd., p. 5.
- (19) D. De Bruyne, "Etude sur les origines de notre texte latin de saint Paul," Revue Biblique, n.s. XII, (1915), pp. 381-2.
- (20) A. Souter, op. cit., p. xiii.
- (21) C. Charlier, "Cassiodore. Pélage et les origines de la Vulgate Paulinienne," Analecta Biblica, Investigationes Scientificae in res Biblicas 17-18, Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus (Rome 1963), p. 461 ff.
- (22) Karl Th. Schäfer, "Pelagius und die Vulgata," NTS IX (1962-1963), p. 361: "Bei der Entscheidung über die Frage, welche der beiden Textformen also die ursprünglichere zu betrachten sei, hat Souter sich leider nicht von einer vorurteilslosen Würdigung der gesamten Überlieferung des Pelagiuskommentars leiten lassen, sondern von einer aprioristischen Erwägung."
- (23) A. Souter, op. cit., p. xiii and pp. 272-318.
- (24) D. Dumville, "Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence for the British Transmission of Pelagius," CMCS 10 (Winter 1985), pp. 39-52.
- (25) D. Dumville, op. cit., p. 47, note 40.
- (26) J. D. A. Ogilvy, Books known..., p. 218.
- (27) B. M. Metzger, The Early Versions of the New Testament, Oxford, 1977, p. 356 et seq.
- (28) D. De Bruyne, "Etude sur les origines de notre texte latin de saint Paul," Revue Biblique, n.s. XII, Paris (1915), pp. 358-392, especially pp. 363 ff. and also p. 369.
- (29) B. M. Metzger, op. cit., see pp. 357-358 including notes.
- (30) C. Charlier, op. cit., pp. 461-470.
- (31) H. J. Frede, "Epistula ad Ephesios," Vetus Latina; Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, 24, 1 (Freiburg, 1962-64): 35-38.
- (32) K. Th. Schäfer, op. cit., pp. 358-359.
- (33) B. M. Metzger, op. cit., pp. 356-359.

- (34) D. De Bruyne, "Etude sur les origines de notre texte latin de saint Paul." Revue biblique, n.s. 12, XII (Paris, 1915): 358-392. "Non seulement Jérôme ignore la Vulgate, mais il blâme positivement certaines traductions qui se trouvent dans tous les manuscrits de la Vulgate. Ici je puis me contenter des exemples allégués par Richard Simon dans son Histoire critique et par mon compatriote trop oubliée, Nicolas Zegers, dans son Eparnotothes." See p. 363 et seq. for the examples from Jerome.
- (35) D. De Bruyne, ibid., p. 370.
- (36) D. De Bruyne, pp. 370-371.
- (37) A. Souter, op. cit., pp. 342-3.
- (38) D. De Bruyne, p. 371.
- (39) C. Charlier, op. cit., pp. 468-470.
- (40) A. Souter, op. cit., p. 319.
- (41) Primasius, PL 68, col. 415-686, from a lost MS from Bonnevaux. Another copy exists: GRENOBLE 270 (saec. XII), from the Grande-Chartreuse.
- (42) C. Charlier, op. cit., pp. 462-8.
- (43) C. Charlier, op. cit., p. 469.
- (44) A. Souter, op. cit., pp. 322-323.
- (45) B. Metzger, op. cit., pp. 335-336.
- (46) C. Charlier, op. cit., p. 469.
- (47) J. Gribomont, compte rendu de Vetus-Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel, t. I-1: Verzeichnis der Sigel für Kirchenschriftsteller, von Bonifazius Fischer. 2. ed., Fribourg-im-Br., 1963. t. XXIV-1: Ep. ad Ephesios, hrsg. von H.J. Frede, ibid., 1962-1964, RHE LIX (1964): 878-883.
- (48) Ibid.
- (49) H. J. Frede, op. cit., p. 36: "Der erste Schriftsteller, der die Vulgata benutzt und kommentiert, ist Pelagius."
- (50) K. Th. Schäfer, op. cit., p. 366: "Der Paulustext des Pelagius war noch ein altlateinischer, der aber der späteren Vulgata schon sehr nahe stand."
- (51) A. Souter, op. cit., pp. 341-342.
- (52) Pelagius, Expositiones... Thessalon. I, 2-4; Gal. V, 13-14; cf. also Fragment 3 from Maredsous in PLS 1, 1570.
- (53) Souter, loc. cit.
- (54) Ibid.; reference is to Isidore, Quaestiones de Vetere et Novo Testamento, 32, paras. 37, 38 (ed. Arevalo, vol. v, p. 255).
- (55) Pelagius, PLS 1, 1280. Ad Galatas, IV, 4.
- (56) A. Souter, op. cit., p. 341.
- (57) D. Dumville, "Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence for the British Transmission of Pelagius," CMCS 10 (Winter 1985): 39.
- (58) D. Dumville, ibid., pp. 39-52.
- (59) A. Souter, op. cit., p. 327, with an example from Rom. I, 20-21, first studied and paralleled by H. Zimmer in Pelagius in Irland. Texte und Untersuchungen zur patristischen Literatur, p.124.
- (60) A. Souter, op. cit., p. 328, where footnote 5 cites S. Hellmann, Sedulius Scottus, Munich (1906), p. 170.

- (61) Souter, p. 327. Here Souter's footnote No. 3 reads, after the final 'mundum redemit': "This parallel is also alluded to by Zimmer, p. 72 n." The query positioned after sui is Souter's.
- (62) PLS 1, 1128-1129.
- (63) R. F. Evans, Pelagius: Inquiries..., p. 108. See also C. A. García-Allen, "Was Pelagius Influenced by Chromatius of Aquileia?" Studia Patristica XVII, Part 3 (Oxford, 1983): 1251-1257.
- (64) R. F. Evans, ibid., pp. 108-109.
- (65) L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, Scribes and Scholars, Oxford (1974), 2nd Edition, p. 77.
- (66) Ibid., pp. 77-78.
- (67) J. D. A. Ogilvy, op. cit., p. 218. However, Ogilvy quotes Esposito inaccurately (citing the wrong issue of Hermathena—it is in fact Vol. 45 for 1930, not 20). The exact Esposito quotation reads: "Thanks, however, largely to the efforts of Irish scholars at home and abroad during the seventh to the eleventh centuries, his Commentary on St. Paul has been preserved. It was probably one of the text-books in use in the Irish monastic schools." See M. Esposito, "Notes on Latin learning and Literature in Mediaeval Ireland.—I." Hermathena, Dublin and London, XLV (1930): 228.
- (68) B. Bischoff, Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters, Berlin, 1979, p. 248-249.
- (69) D. Dumville, "Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence....," p. 39.
- (70) M. McNamara, "Early Irish Exegesis", Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association, 8 (1984), 57-96, pp. 81-82.
- (71) Dom Morin, Revue bénédictine, 38 (1926): 177, note.
- (72) J. F. Kelly, "Pelagius, Pelagianism and the Early Christian Irish" Mediaevalia, Vol. 4, 1978, p. 113.
- (73) A. Souter, op. cit., p. 126 and pp. 137-138. See John Gwynn, ed., with introduction and appendixes, Liber Ardmachanus: The Book of Armagh, Dublin and London, 1913. See discussion in H. J. Frede, Pelagius der irische Paulustext Sedulius Scottus, "Das Book of Armagh," pp. 59-86. Further Metzger, op. cit., p. 340; B. Fischer, "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache," in K. Aland, ed., Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, Berlin, 1972, pp. 37-39. Fischer describes the Book of Armagh as one of the "Mischtexte."
- (74) A. Souter, op. cit., p. 222.
- (75) S. Hellmann, Sedulius Scottus, pp. 159-166.
- (76) B. Bischoff, "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter", Mittelalterliche Studien, Vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1966, p. 210.
- (77) B. Bischoff, "Wendepunkte...", pp. 209-210. Here the relevant German passage reads, in full: "Die Namen der grossen Angelsachsen, Bedas, und Alcuins, der, von Karl dem Grossen eingeladen, die angelsächsische Wissenschaft in das Frankenreich verpflanzte, haben auch das Gedächtnis einer anderen exegetischen Schule überschattet, der irischen. Erst im V. Jahrhundert gelangte

das Christentum nach Irland, und im VI. Jahrhundert entwickelte sich unter britischem Einfluss die charakteristische Form der irischen Kirchenorganisation, die auf grossen Klostergemeinschaften beruht. Auf die Klöster stützt sich auch das lateinische Bildungswesen der Iren. Mit der Kirche kam auch eine kirchlich-lateinische Bildung, die freilich lange von dem zufällig aus Britannien und anderswoher übermittelten Literatur- und Bildungsgut abhängig war und dadurch eine gewisse Enge und Einseitigkeit erhielt. Von einem dichteren Austausch mit den alten, dem Mittelmeer zugewandten Kulturländern kann zunächst nicht die Rede gewesen sein. Dagegen bot sich in der in vieler Hinsicht noch dunklen Frühzeit irischen Christentums auch für einige häretische und apokryphe Literatur, die auf dem Festland zum Untergang bestimmt erschien, ein Asyl. Die echte Form von Pelagius' Kommentar zu den Paulinischen Briefen, Teile des Psalmenkommentars des Theodor von Mopsuestia blieben hier erhalten; Spuren der Überlieferung des Hebräer-Evangeliums und anderer Apokryphen weisen nach Irland."

The late Fr. Colm O'Grady's translation of Bischoff's Wendepunkte... (Biblical Studies, the Medieval Irish Contribution, Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association, 1 (Dublin, 1971): 74-160), including the above passage, has been of very great assistance to scholars. In the present thesis certain minor inaccuracies in that translation are corrected (i.e. the use of "France" for the correct "realm of the Franks" to translate the German Frankenreich—not Frankreich; also "great monastic communities" for the more correct "large monastic communities," etc.). The overall sense is little changed, however.

(78) See Souter, p. 104 and his examples from Expositiones...

(79) G. de Plinval, op. cit., p. 406.

(80) A. H. Thompson, ed., Bede..., Oxford, 1969, p. 252.

(81) MGH, Concil. II. S., p. 432; see also note 3 of G. de Plinval, Pélage..., p. 31.

(82) Virginitatis Laus, PL 30, ch. V, 166.

(83) Aimé Solignac and Flavio G. Nuvolone, col. 2917 in Vol. XII of Dictionnaire de spiritualité, Paris, 1986 (article on Pelagius).

(84) A. Souter, op. cit., p. 141, also notes 2 and 3.

(85) G. Martinetto, "Les premières réactions antiaugustiniennes de Pélage," Revue des études augustiniennes 17 (1971): 83-117.

(86) Pelagius, PLS 1, 1537.

(87) Pelagius, PLS 1, 1507.

(88) Sancti Hieronymi, PL 22, 1204-1220. Ad Caelantiam. De ratione pie vivendi, ch. 32, p. 1220.

(89) "The Art and Archaeology of Bedan Northumbria," pp. 1-22 of Bede and Anglo-Saxon England, R. T. Farrell, ed., Oxford, 1978. D. W. Wilson is cited from p. 13.

Chapter VII

PELAGIUS AND ALCUIN

Although Alcuin lived four centuries after Pelagius and was unaware of the probable influence on him of Pelagius (which will be discussed below) there are striking similarities in the backgrounds of both men and in the traditions to which both may have been exposed. Among the most obvious ones are their birth in Britain, the fact that neither was ordained, and that each preferred an essentially pedagogical and hortatory role in his own peregrinatio.

Furthermore, on a closer investigation of the writings and beliefs of both men, they appear to share many aspects of their individual beliefs, codes of conduct and Christian philosophy. Ultimately, they both believe in a perfecting/perfectionist religion as the ideal framework for strengthening what is best in man. Their Christian, but almost legal, philosophy of the individual human persona is remarkably similar despite the four centuries separating them.

Pelagius was not merely a forerunner of Alcuin. He was also an influence on him in such realms as justice, the key question of libertas / liberum arbitrium, the resulting rights and duties of the individual person, inpeccantia and innocence.

Moreover, Alcuin never felt at home with the idea of transmitted original sin and had to invent a complex theory to explain it that did not satisfy even himself. Almost from a lawyer's stance, Alcuin explains original sin as resulting from a divine as well as human decree that confers the status of slave on a child born of slaves. (1) Although he was not condemned as a heretic, Alcuin's ideas on original sin, and on free-will, were conspicuously shelved soon after his death.

A similar belief in individual responsibility, in the rights and duties of the individual person would also appear to have shaped their conception of the worlds visible and invisible. Both Pelagius and Alcuin insisted on the simplicity of the original Christian message; on moral rectitude, on reason, on the role of the intellect, on man's creation, redemption and adoption by an essentially good Creator.

The message of both Pelagius and Alcuin was optimistic and full of missionary zeal. Neither of them sought to be a great mystic, or wished to break new ground in exegesis, but both were to be considered theologians and both had a role in the transmission of the Vulgate text of the Bible.

Furthermore, R.F. Evans writes: "It is common to say that Pelagius was a moralist and not a theologian. There is perhaps this much truth to the commonplace: Pelagius was a clearer and more explicit moralist than theologian in the proper sense, and

both his writings and activity display a preoccupation with the concrete problems of the Christian life. But theologian he was also." (2)

Pelagius and Alcuin were both concerned with the nature of man and his moral obligations to God and fellow-men. However, one main aim of Pelagius was to oppose Manichaeism, whereas Alcuin's was to combat adoptionism. They were both good teachers and apostles who cultivated the threatened Christian flame in their respective times. Like many good teachers Pelagius and Alcuin were also great moralizers.

Both were faithful transmitters of Christian thought as they knew it. More than three hundred years separated them. Pelagius's brave Church of discontinuity (to adopt Peter Brown's term) had become, by the time of Alcuin, a stratified and centralizing Western Church depending more and more on Rome. The main sacraments of Pelagius's time—baptism and communion—were on the way to being formalized (as they did in fact soon after Alcuin's time) as the seven formal sacraments we know today. The Church, by then the official intermediary of God's grace, was by the age of Alcuin beginning to emphasize its communal potestas.

It is the view of the present writer (along the lines of enquiry pursued by de Plinval, Evans, Bonner, etc.) that the condemnation of Pelagius "was prompted by the temporary dominance of North African Christianity over a Rome distressed by Alaric's

invasion, and was in some respects unfortunate". (3) It is also the view of this writer that "Augustine had knit together many different strands of North African theology into this dreadful pattern [Augustinianism], which, thanks to the condemnation of the Pelagians, became the theology of Western Christendom." (4)

A few years after Alcuin, predestination, with its defender Gottschalk, would return to haunt post-Augustinian Christianity. However, the Catholic Church by then realized that extreme Augustinianism had its own heretical side and Gottschalk was condemned at two Councils, first at Mainz in 848 AD and then at Quierzy in 849 AD. Western Orthodox theology, not for the last time, had gone full circle.

Alcuin himself, in his own time, was strictly orthodox in theology; he read and admired Augustine. It was certainly under the influence of Augustine's doctrine of sin and the latter's literal interpretation of the Atonement that Alcuin experienced a deep depression towards the end of his life. Alcuin often quoted and relied on Augustine's works. Nonetheless, he appears to have been as selective in his use of Augustine as Pelagius had been in his use of Paul in the Expositiones....

Alcuin, like Pelagius, uses the same terse question and answer approach to the analysis of texts. In both men a similar tactful silence may occur in the presence of possible major disagreements. However, sometimes even Alcuin does not hesitate

to correct the Bishop of Hippo; also, he quotes either directly from Pelagius—as when he deals with the hypostaseis (in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, for instance)—or else he quotes Gennadius of Marseilles and Faustus Britto of Riez, both of them directly influenced by Pelagius. (5) Pelagius had influenced Gennadius's De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus (PL 83) concerning the autonomy of the three persons of the Trinity (see Alcuin, PL 101, 1055-56). Also, Faustus's definition of "persona res iuris est" (PL 62, 29) is a Pelagian concept that Alcuin, another Briton from another era, makes entirely his own in his Frankfurt Synodal letter: "siquidem persona res iuris est, substantia res naturae." (PL 101, XVI, 1338). There are more such examples.

Nonetheless, Augustine's thought coloured Alcuin's later years with a deep pessimism and a fear of heavenly retribution. It was a sorry psychological ending for a brave man. But to the end he insisted on the juridical individual rights of a person, on the inalienable human potestas, as a natural gift from God.

Liberum arbitrium--Libertas

Alcuin's major contribution to the history of ideas rests in his emphasizing the right to natural freedom for each human soul, his insistence on our liberum arbitrium as a God-given right. Despite this, his contribution was to be ignored and forgotten for several centuries. However, by 1978, l'abbé Vincent Serralda was

able to write what might be considered one of the most perceptive works on Alcuin. (6) Nevertheless, it is now time to expand and move beyond the premises of that book. In order to complement Serralda's research, attention must now be devoted to the common thread linking Alcuin and both his intellectual predecessors—Faustus of Riez [also "Britto"] and Pelagius Britto.

Serralda's linking of Faustus Britto with Alcuin was only a first step. There has been virtually no estimation of Pelagius's influence on Alcuin since the time of Mabillon. Alcuin certainly had access to some of Pelagius's work (See Chapter VI concerning the manuscripts known to have been at Tours during his abbacy).

Alcuin certainly had read the De vita Christiana by Pelagius, attributed until recently to Augustine. Alcuin had probably also read Pelagius's Expositiones... on the Pauline Epistles, the De divina lege and the ad Demetriaden that were often attributed to Jerome.

Alcuin made considerable use of Pelagius's Libellus Fidei (Lapidge and Sharpe No. 6), which was also ascribed in the Middle Ages variously to Augustine or to Jerome. One can trace numerous links in the wording and in the thought. For instance, Alcuin writes, in Interrogatio 64: "Cur homo factus est in liberum arbitrium?" Responsio: "Quia noluit creator hominem cujuslibet servum creare, quem ad imaginem suam fecit, quatenus ex voluntario bono laudabilis appareret, vel appetitu malo damnabilis." (7)

Alcuin here (and in the following Interrogatio and Responsio 65) is repeating one of Pelagius's most cherished thoughts, as spelled out by Pelagius in his letter to Pope Innocent I (which preceded his Libellus Fidei—Lapidge and Sharpe No. 6), namely: "We say that man is made by God in his image and in his likeness, and that he was thus made by God, so that he would be able to live in a praiseworthy manner, that being given the power of freewill, that is, the possibility to sin and also not to sin, that power of freewill that we say exists universally in all...but is helped by grace only in Christians....Therefore the former [who sin] are to be judged and also damned, because since they have freewill, by which they would be able to come to the faith, and merit the grace of God, they use badly the liberty granted them; however, the latter [who do not sin] are to be rewarded, because using well their freewill, they obtain the grace of God, and keep his commandments." (8)

And again "Since...we have in us a will that the creator has implanted in human nature in general..." (9) "...we have...a possibility towards two opposing capacities implanted in us by God, and it is, as I again repeat, just as a fruitful and fecund root...that can depending on the will of the cultivator himself either flourish in the bloom of virtues or repel with the thorns of vices." (10)

One further example occurs where Pelagius insists on this concept: "All the good and the bad, by which we are praiseworthy

or reprehensible, is not born with us, but is set in motion by our acts; because we are born capable of either, we are not born full but we are procreated both without any virtue, and similarly also without any vice. Before the action of one's own will there exists in a human being only what God has established." (11)

For Pelagius, man has freewill and a conscience to monitor his choices. Man was created as an individual, with an individual soul and without any tradux peccati transmitted at conception through his parents. For Augustine, man had full freewill before Adam's fall. This original sin vitiated freewill and gave man a propensity, even a necessity to do evil. Thus, Augustine writes of necessitas peccandi. (12)

Liberum arbitrium, free-will, is a concept of Pelagius which pre-supposes a different conception of God as well as a different anthropological basis to the positions taken antithetically by Augustine. In truth, "The problem of freedom and determinism is one of the most enduring, and one of the best, problems of philosophy...At one time the problem arose because the operation of Fate seemed undeniable, at another because Divine omnipotence and human wrongdoing were the subject of great interest, at another because Divine foreknowledge seemed irrefragable..." (13)

For Alcuin, Pelagius's message came under the name of Augustine and Jerome. Therefore, it should not be surprising that Alcuin is also echoing paragraph 15 of Pelagius's Libellus Fidei:

"We so confess free-will that we say we always are in need of God's help; and that they err, those who say with the Manichaeans that man cannot avoid sin, and those who assert with Jovinian that man cannot sin; for both of them take away free-will. In truth, we say that man always can either sin or not sin; so that we always must admit that we have free-will." (14) In Latin this is: "Liberum sic confitemur arbitrium, ut dicamus nos [sic, see below] semper Dei indigere auxilio; et tam illos errare qui cum Manichaeis dicunt hominem peccatum vitare non posse, quam illos qui cum Joviniano asserunt hominem non posse peccare; uterque enim tollit libertatem arbitrii. Nos vero dicimus, hominem semper et peccare, et non peccare posse; ut semper nos liberi confiteamur esse arbitrii."

Alcuin is repeating Pelagius's Libellus Fidei, to which Alcuin had direct access, probably believing it to be from Jerome's or Augustine's pen. The work had a profound effect on Alcuin's own Confessio Fidei. It is very significant that the two main sources of influence on Alcuin's Confessio Fidei were Pelagius (in his Libellus Fidei) and the Pelagian Gennadius of Marseilles (whose De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus Alcuin also used). Even if unaware that Pelagius was a direct source, at the very least Alcuin showed a remarkable affinity for Pelagian thought.

Wallach has only noted (following Mabillon) that some quotations from Alcuin "are culled verbatim from...Libellus Fidei of Pelagius of 417." (15) However, Wallach did not realize that

the whole Confessio Fidei of Alcuin derived from Pelagius's Libellus Fidei, as Donald Bullough noted in 1983: "...the... 'Faith of St. Jerome' in the early Carolingian credal collections is now universally accepted as Pelagius's." (16)

For instance, another important passage in Alcuin's Confessio Fidei occurs where Pelagius is quoted verbatim, although at this point there appears a textual problem in the PL text of Alcuin. It misquotes, in brackets, a line from Pelagius's creed as "ut dicamus non semper Dei indigere auxilio" instead of the presumed correct reading "ut dicamus nos semper Dei indigere auxilio," i.e. "Thus again we so confess free-will, that I say we not always [always] are in need of God's help: and that they so err, who say with the Manichaeans that man cannot avoid sin, just as those who assert with Jovinian that man cannot sin. For both of them take away free-will. In truth, we say that man always can either sin or not sin; so that we always must admit that we have free-will." (17)

Alcuin adds a few lines to paragraph 15 of Pelagius's Libellus Fidei, but they appear to paraphrase Pelagius's thought of confidence in a good Creator, and also in Christ who for Pelagius is "atque ita per omnia aequalem Deo Patri, ut nec tempore, nec gradu, nec potestate possit esse inferior." (18)

Similarly, Christ is for Alcuin equal to God the Father in all things so that he can not be inferior in time, rank or power. "atque ita per omnia aequalem Deo Patri, ut nec tempore, nec gradu, nec potestate possit esse inferior." (19)

In a passage quoted earlier in this chapter, Interrogatio 64 from Alcuin, another Pelagian theme was apparent: that man, created by God in his own image, was not created a slave, but a free soul endowed with free-will. One is reminded of the insistence on this very thought by Pelagius in his De malis doctoribus... (Lapidge and Sharpe, no.,16)

On the same subject, Alcuin writes Interrogatio 85: "In what way is it to be understood that subject to you shall be your desire, and that you shall command it?" Responsio: "Because you have a free-will, sin has no dominion over you but you have dominion over it; and it is in your power whether you restrain it or whether you desire it eagerly." (20)

Consequently, free-will, which was the basis of Pelagius's system of thought, and was for Pelagius God's gift to mankind, also became one of the major tenets of Alcuin, and with exactly that strength of definition which had led to the condemnation of Pelagius as a heretic in Augustine's eyes. In the light of this misprint or hypercorrection for doctrinal reasons, as the PL footnote may indicate in Migne's Patrologia Latina, it is important to emphasize that the Pelagian theme of human free-will must not be polemically divorced from its orthodox contextual view of divine Providence.

For Pelagius, as for Alcuin, free-will is God's gift to mankind. The double insistence on divine Providence and on human

freedom as the primordial and indissoluble mirrors of the Christian's life may have appeared heretical to Augustine and to the North Africans. But there was no contradiction between grace and freedom for the other Christian Churches (as in parts of Italy or Gaul, and in the East); they both belonged to the same Christian reality. For instance, Theodore of Mopsuestia thought that the existence of free-will was the only way God's power could be persuasive, and not coercive.

Of course, Augustinians anathematized Pelagius and Theodore equally. Gregory of Nyssa was to coin a word for the coexistence of grace and freedom—synergia—which although virtually unknown in the Latin West was to become the Eastern Orthodox position on the question. (21)

The actions of the Church towards Pelagius, especially after Honorius's proscriptive Rescript, while appearing strange and irrational today were mostly, in fact, politically motivated. Indeed, the ideas of Augustine may even have played a secondary role to Imperial necessity at the time, becoming simply convenient "prevenient" issues to be used against Pelagius and his ideas which were stirring up Roman segments of society. Whatever balance of reasons at the time, the so-called moderate Augustinian position triumphed and with it Augustine's assessments of God and of human nature. Nonetheless, as stated in the first chapter, Pelagius's ideas proved hard to eradicate.

Innocentia

Another definition of Alcuin's which is influenced by Pelagius's thought occurs in the question: "Quid est libertas hominis?" The answer is: "Innocentia." (22)

Not only is this definition Pelagian-inspired, but the concept itself of innocentia is crucial to human freedom for both Pelagius and Alcuin. Although it was considered in Alcuin's time to have been written by Augustine (as was the Confessio Fidei), Pelagius's De vita Christiana (Lapidge and Sharpe No. 4), in Chapter 10 "entitled Innocentiae Commendatio, discusses this major premise of Pelagian thought." The words innocentia / innocentes are repeated at least 13 times in this chapter. When a thought is close to his heart, Pelagius often writes in short, imperative sentences. Thus: "Be innocent, if you want to live with God. Be simple, if you want to reign with Christ...If you want to live...For God honours and loves men of such a kind, who are ignorant of evil, who do not know lying, whose lips do not speak deceit, in whom is seen only goodness and purity." (23)

Pelagius insists on the same message in his letter to Celantia which Alcuin believed was written by Jerome (Lapidge and Sharpe No. 11). Pelagius says in its Chapter 7: "Therefore, for you, building your spiritual home not on the lightness of sand, but on the solidity of stone, a foundation of innocence must be placed first, over which you can more easily place upright the steep roof

of justice." (24)

For Pelagius innocentia is always linked to an almost socio-legal concept of justitia / aequitas, also a prevalent idea in Alcuin's thought.

Justitia / Aequitas

The social concerns of Pelagius are illustrated in the following quotation from W. H. C. Frend about Pelagius's views on equity. "On the practical side, the Pelagian was a social reformer—in this he would contrast with the follower of the Western ascetics Jerome and Paulinus of Nola and with Augustine himself...It is interesting that Augustine was to protest against the Pelagian denunciation of wealth...If justice was demanded of a Christian on earth, how much more would it be in heaven? Behind this drive for practical reform was the belief that a Christian could and should strive for perfection. To fail was to fail in love for Christ." (25)

Accordingly, Pelagius writes to Celantia (Lapidge and Sharpe No. 11): "For, as often as you set your resolve to protect another, in the same way as you want to be protected by that other, you hold the right way to justice" (26); again, to the same Celantia: "Do not put yourself above anyone ever in nobility of origin, nor believe that any other women more obscure or of humbler birth are inferior to you. Our religion is no respecter of persons: it does not consider the conditions of men, but only

the mind of the individual. It declares slave and noble from their moral behaviour. In the presence of God, there is but one liberty, not to be enslaved to sins. In the presence of God, the highest nobility is to be shining with virtues...nor is it of interest in what state anyone is born, since we are all reborn in Christ."

The sentiment "Libertas est non servire peccatis" is a direct Pelagian influence on Alcuin's Interrogatio 65 "Quae est libertas vera?" to which Alcuin's Responsio was: "Maxima libertas est servare justitiae, et a peccato esse liberum." (27)

Further, among many clear warnings on true justice and equity, Pelagius asks: "Was not the same law of Christianity given to all, that call themselves Christians?"; Christians must not then become rich by robbing the poor as is too often the case: "For what else indeed is the principal origin of richness, but iniquity and robbery?"; the inspiration for justice comes from a fair God: "Certainly, we acknowledge a just and equal God, who is indeed the source of all equity and justice." (28)

In a direct Pelagian vein, Alcuin writes on morality, justice and judges. "Judgments must be without showing any favouritism... Unfair judges are worse than enemies. Enemies are often avoided by flight; but because of their power [again the juridical term potestas] cannot be escaped from, who try to assemble richness by the oppression of citizens...A person must not be considered in judging a trial, but the case at law...those that fearing god

judge fairly, will accept eternal rewards from God." (29)

Inpeccantia

The criterion for moral Christian conduct was not always to follow Augustinian exegesis, with its concept of original sin and double predestination, but rather what is right, as ultimately the only valid criterion. Faustus Britto believed this, as did Erasmus and Kant in later times. Alcuin was following Pelagius (just as in the preceding heading 3), when he wrote: Interrogatio 65: "Quae est libertas vera?" Responsio: "Maxima [autem] libertas est servare justitiae, et a peccato esse liberum." (30)

While it is true that Augustine, in his Retractiones (Liber I, Ch. XV, 4—reference EA 12 p. 638), appears to use some of the same words when he reiterates his former view that "Peccatum est voluntas retinendi vel consequendi quod justitia vetat, et unde liberum est abstinere" ("Sin is the will to retain or acquire what justice forbids and from which it is free to abstain"), this phraseology employed by Augustine remains very far from that of Pelagius ("servare justitiae" and "esse liberum a peccato") and represents a more negative approach.

Libertas—liberum arbitrium was, for Pelagius, an essential gift from God. For Pelagius and Alcuin, Christian morality was based on justice towards others and the greatest freedom also was to be free of sin. It certainly implied the concept of a more

fair, more reasonable God than Augustine was willing to concede. For Augustine, God was omnipotent; man had no rights and was, in any case, only conditioned to sin by his vitiated free-will. For Augustine, human free-will put man in double jeopardy: it had caused him to sin and would always cause him to sin if he were left to his own devices.

Furthermore, and as a result of the first sin, man would be conceived in sin with ever-widening effect as successive generations were born. When Pelagius said that libertas arbitrii had been given to man without a doubt by God, Augustine retorted: "We answer that the freedom of decisions placed man in a state of sin; but the corruption as a punishment subsequent to liberty has made a necessity...For, vanquished by the vice into which it fell by free choice, our nature became deprived of freedom." (31) In ...ad Simplicianum, the work that had, according to recent scholarship (Martinetto, etc), disturbed Italian Christians like Paulinus of Nola, Augustine began to show a tangible change in his perception of human freewill. Augustine, who had started, after his re-conversion to Christianity, with the reasonable concept of "Pelagian" De libero arbitrio (BA 6), now returned to earlier dualistic views of man. While he still conceded a relative value to freewill, humans were in bondage to sin and their will was neither free nor good. (32)

As E. Buonaiuti noted, "Among the various details of the anthropological doctrines of Augustine the most peculiar is his

idea of free will. Free, according to Augustine, is not he who can choose between two acts morally opposite, but only he who accomplishes with delight the will of his master. In a remarkable chapter of the Enchiridion, written circa 420, Augustine states: 'Liberaliter enim servit, qui sui domini voluntatem libenter facit. Ac per hoc ad peccandum liber est qui peccati servus est. Unde ad juste faciendum liber non erit, nisi a peccato liberatus, esse justitiae coeperit servus. Ipsa est vera libertas propter recti facti laetitiam, simul et pia servitus propter praecepti obaedientiam.' Hence he emphasizes the necessity of humility because men by themselves are unable to accomplish anything but wrong and sin." (33) (The Latin passage in this quotation translates thus: "For he serves freely who willingly does the will of his master. Hence he who is the slave of sin is free to sin. Consequently he will only be free to do good when he is freed from sin to become the slave of justice. This is true freedom, because there is joy in doing good, and at the same time a holy slavery, because he obeys the [divine] commandment.")

Consequently, for Augustine, human will was at best, weak, sick, sinful and conditioned to sin. Starting from a very different Christian tradition, Pelagius had no doubt that God wanted man to be "sine peccato", otherwise "for what reason would free-will be judged good, if it be more inclined to evil than to good?" (34) However, one question arises about the necessity of nature as opposed to the liberty of free-will.

It is well-known that Augustine misunderstood Romans, V, 12, while quoting copiously from it and elaborating on the incorrectly translated Latin text that he had before him. (35) For Augustine, vice was the result of this original sin, committed by free-will. "Uitium uero....non ab inculpabili artifice contractum est, sed ex originali peccato, quod commissum est libero arbitrio." (36) Augustine minimizes human free-will (without grace "parum est nostrae uoluntatis arbitrium", De perfectione... X, 21) and correspondingly magnifies the effect of concupiscence (cf "cur ergo concupiscentia carnis..cur ergo ista concupiscentia non mutata est ea uoluntate..." (Ibid. VI, 12).

Augustine could not understand Pelagius's system of thought, and it is more than probable that Pelagius could not accept Augustine's priorities. Not only is original sin absent from Pelagius's vocabulary; "concupiscence" too, as feared by Augustine, is a minimal problem for Pelagius. For Pelagius, God could not command impossibilities. The major difference between Pelagius and Augustine lies in their different conception of sin.

Alcuin, in his Interrogatio 65 shows a Pelagian turn of mind, especially when teaching. Both Pelagius and Alcuin were superb teachers, to judge from all independent reports, and believed the conduct of human beings could be improved. Thus, Pelagius's letter to Demetrias notes: "Nor indeed do we so defend the goodness of nature, that we say that it cannot do any evil; rather that we acknowledge openly that since it is capable of both

the evil and the good; ...we are always capable of either...Adam was ejected from paradise, Enoch ascended from the world. In both cases, God made plain the liberty of the will...Nor is this a small argument to prove the good within nature that...because also before the law, as we have said, and long before the advent of our Lord and Saviour we recall those who lived justly and saintly; how much more after his illustrious coming must it be believed that we, who are instructed by Christ's grace, and are re-born as better people...must be better than them, who were before the Law, better even than them who were under the Law, saying with the Apostle 'and now sin will not triumph over you; because you are not under the Law, but under grace' (Rom. VI, 14)". (37)

There are other examples of the tolerance which Pelagius is certain God shows to the Just of the Old Testament. For instance, Pelagius states that, since the beginning of the world, God commanded the human race to observe his precepts, and "he was always either pleased or offended by humanity...It would be long for us to go through each individual, and to review the merits of all of them." (38)

For Alcuin too "Olim itaque in populo Dei fuerunt sancti prophetae, in quibus et per quos Spiritus Dei loquebatur." (39) On this point, both Pelagius and Alcuin may be reaching further yet than the Pauline doctrine of natural law to a common heritage in the British Isles of the virtues of noble Celtic and Anglo-Saxon pagans. One Irish Christian heretic had even gone as far as to

declare that Christ had freed all souls when harrowing hell; others like Saint Patrick solved the problem by baptizing dead pagan heroes. (40)

For Augustine, some prophets of the Old Testament might be tolerated; however, the Jews themselves were the original enemies of grace; as the Jews killed Christ, so for Augustine do the Pelagians try to kill grace. (41)

For Pelagius, sin is a personal decision to imitate Adam, and is certainly not inherited from Adam at conception. Always for Pelagius, "sin is an act, the act of an individual; it is 'the performance of a deed wrongly done.' No man can be said to be guilty except for a deed which proceeds from his own individual will...to speak of sin by transmission is to take the discussion of sin out of the only context in which it makes sense on Christian terms; it is to make sin a necessary component of human existence and thus to fall into Manichaeism." (42)

Thus, Pelagius emphasizes a sense of personal responsibility for sin, whereas for Augustine, human nature is not only corrupted, but original sin is also transmitted to everyone through procreation. (43)

Even the Pelagian concept of natural necessity escaping free-will (as explained in Augustine's De natura et gratia, XLVI, 54), is to be found in Alcuin.

Alcuin also is very conscious, as Pelagius and Faustus of Riez were, of the individual right of free-will with its corresponding

and almost juridical responsibilities. Pelagius was accused at Diospolis of saying: "All are ruled by their own will." To this, Pelagius answered: "And I said this because of free-will, which God helps when man chooses the good; but when man sins, he is himself at fault because of free-will." (44) Pelagius quoted from the Psalms and Ecclesiastes in this context.

Similarly, Alcuin asks: "Why is man created the author of his own power?" The answer is: "So that he would himself be the author of either his life or his death. If in truth he were subject to a necessity, then he would not have the glory of God in his actions, nor the punishment for the evil: but he would be just as one of a herd [of cattle or of sheep which are led; used in a contemptuous way here of people]." (45)

V. Serralda, writing on Alcuin as the "first" Christian writer deeply concerned with the "philosophie de la personne", observes that, in the case of this preceding question, Interrogatio 5, "les formules sont explicites. D'une part le pouvoir juridique est désigné par le terme propre 'potestas', d'autre part l'acquisition de l'oeuvre, vie ou mort, revient en propre à la personne, 'sibi'...L'état libre, c'est-à-dire la parfaite maîtrise juridique de la personne, utilise son libre arbitre pour acquérir légitimement des 'choses' et même imposer des devoirs à la société." (46)

Alcuin holds very similar views to Pelagius on free-will, on the sovereignty and the obligations of man, on Christian morality.

and on inpeccantia. So does Faustus of Riez. In these three authors we notice a different conception of the right of man "quia noluit Creator hominem servum" (cf Interrogatio 64. above).

Just as Pelagius had written a confident dialogue to prove the goodness of God and also a pedagogical treatise for the young Demetrias. Alcuin wrote for young Pippin, Charlemagne's son, a treatise decidedly Pelagian in content. Alcuin defines life, death, man and man's liberty, with concise humour. "Quid est vita?" Answer: "Beatorum laetitia, miserorum moestitia, exspectatio mortis." "Quid est mors?" "Inevitabilis eventus, incerta peregrinatio, lacrymae viventium, testamenti firmamentum, latro hominis." A serious question is followed by a joking simile, worthy of Homer nevertheless. "Quid est homo?"—"Mancipium mortis, transiens viator, loci hospes." "Cui similis est homo?"—"Pomo." Then follows the well-known: "Quomodo positus est homo?"—"Ut lucerna in vento." (47)

This is very reminiscent of Pelagius's expression "and therefore he bids us shine as lights in the world amidst a depraved and perverse people." (48) Pelagius comments on this idea from Paul's Letter to the Philippians, 2, 14 in these terms: "Ut sitis inreprehensibiles [et] simplices sicut filii dei immaculati"—"Just because God made you, therefore consider whose sons you are, who himself being pure and saintly above all cannot have degenerate sons." ("Sicut uos deus fecit, considerate [debetis] [enim] cuius filii [utique] sitis, qui, cum in omnibus [purus] ac sanctus sit,

filios non potest habere degeneres).

In medio nationis pravae et peruersae. "That perverted and lost every rational order of nature." "Quae omnem rationabilis naturae ordinem peruertit et perdidit."

Inter quos paretis sicut luminaria in mundo. "That so much must the people of God shine in the human race, just in the same way as the sun and the moon do illuminate the world." "Sic luceat dei genus in genere humano, sicut sol et luna inlumina[n]t mundum." (49)

Throughout the de possibilitate non peccandi (Chapters III and IV especially) Pelagius's insistence that God does not order us to do the impossible shows the pragmatic optimism and pedagogical instincts of the author. This approach appealed directly to Alcuin four centuries later.

For Pelagius, therefore, God is reasonable and God is fair. Human beings have both the duty and the ability always to do what is right, and thus to strive toward inpeccantia.

"Sectamini caritates,"...quia in vestra est potestate

Both Pelagius and Alcuin taught moral Christian ethics with an undertone of Aristotelian reason, rooted in duty and happiness. For both of them, morality was a constantly active and enthusiastic striving for excellence. As a primordial corollary of this attitude came the obligation to teach others their Christian vision. Pelagius succeeded so well in his Christian teaching that he alarmed the political and ecclesiastical

defenders of the status quo. Curiously, a similar reaction seems to have occurred after Alcuin's death. In the process Alcuin's very positive ideas on truth, happiness and free-will, on the natural personal rights of each were soon forgotten. Both teachers had a high concept of virtue. Thus, Alcuin taught Charlemagne that: "Virtus est animi habitus, naturae decus, vitae ratio, morum nobilitas." (50)

It is on these very grounds, especially his message that human virtue was "naturae decus" and "morum nobilitas", that Pelagius was condemned by Honorius (and Theodosius II). In Rome and in Aquileia, Pelagius's ideas had found numerous followers in the Roman aristocracy such as the gens Anicia, attracted by his Christianity "more maiorum".

The appeal of the Pelagian ideal of virtue as the natural attitude of the soul spread widely, perhaps helped by the flow of the refugees fleeing from the victorious Goths. In writing about Caelestius, Anianus, Ctesiphon, Evangelus, and others (including many young people, religious women and bishops), de la Tullaye and de Plinval do not hesitate to mention "l'action assidue d'un parti entièrement acquis aux maximes nouvelles...On a l'impression de se trouver en présence de véritables réseaux où des propagandistes dûment stylés travaillent à l'infiltration des idées pélagiennes, établissent des liaisons, des centres d'information." (51) If this were true, the situation is not all that different from the

"réseaux", the network of teachers and inspectors created by Alcuin in the Carolingian Renaissance.

However, there is a major difference. Alcuin was chosen by a strong Charlemagne to direct the spread of ideas at the founding of the Carolingian Empire. Weak Honorius was presiding over the contraction of his Empire, and felt threatened even in his marshy retreat in Ravenna. The Sacrum Rescriptum of 418 AD contains unmistakable social and political undertones of imperial fear. It certainly aims first at Pelagius and his "new subtlety, protected by pseudo-science, raging uncontrollably, affecting faith and estimating it to be a distinguishing mark of vulgarity of the lower classes to agree with all and that it will be an honour of singular knowledge to overthrow things generally established."

(52)

The Imperial Rescript also aims at wide groups of young Pelagians in Rome and elsewhere. Honorius insists that "One must by a quickened remedy and with all haste stop those things; otherwise by strengthened exercise of bad intent young people will scarcely be forced to be restrained...and the peace under attack of the most blessed Church sways, new tinder for scandal having been kindled..." (53)

The threatened peace of the "beatissima Ecclesia" appeared a valid excuse for Honorius's rescript. Charlemagne's much later empire, however, seemed capable of channelling in a constructive way the energies of active young minds and of the numerous

refugees and of using them for the new intellectual and administrative expansion of the Latin imperium Christianum.

Both Pelagius and Alcuin used the words "natura", "naturalis", "naturaliter" a great deal, and always with a benevolent meaning; thus, for Alcuin, "si naturale est omni homini bonum amare, naturale est etiam Deum amare, quia Deus summum bonum est sine quo bono, nihil boni quisquam habere poterit." (54) Similarly, Pelagius emphasized the goodness of a just Creator who had made man in his own image: "Deum iustum et bonum impossibilia non potuisse praecipere. Bona sunt praecepta." (55)

Alcuin chose, just like Pelagius, to write several of his works on ethics and moral or social duty, in simple lines and with a minimum of repetition. In several of Pelagius's works, the Expositiones and the Interrogatio et responsio methods, which were both distinctive approaches of the author, were adopted by Alcuin. De Plinval and de la Tullaye consider the "quaerendum", "quaero" question-and-condensed-answer method one of the preferred forms of Pelagian dialectic. (56)

Both Pelagius and Alcuin believed in the freedom of the human will linked to individual responsibility. For Alcuin as for Pelagius, the sovereignty of man imposes resulting duties towards God and fellow Christians. Pelagius seems to be at the basis of Alcuin's teaching Charlemagne that charity and justice are one and the same. Albinus-Alcuin asks Charlemagne: "Sed quid tibi

justitia videtur esse, nisi charitas Dei ejusque mandatorum observatio?" His royal student answers: "Et hoc agnosco. Nihil hac justitia justius, imo nullam aliam esse nisi istam." (57)

In the Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus, Alcuin "presents the right of man as a vis naturae and makes it the principle of all responsibility, even the responsibility of answering God's love with love." (58)

Serralda also notes that "the sovereignty and obligations of man bring about the birth of the obligations of man towards God, in society, in the State, between Church and State." (59)

On the Christian Law of love, Dilectio vel caritas, Alcuin adopts the same approach and lays the same emphasis as Pelagius on the paramount importance of God's major commandment. Alcuin teaches Charlemagne that the Scripture teaches us nothing more important than to love God with all our heart, soul and mind, and others just like ourselves. (60)

Alcuin, like Pelagius, not only insists on this duty as of prime importance; he equally insists on the relative ease and joy in fulfilling it, as Pelagius so often had. (61) For Pelagius, this Law was so important that he offered an unusually lengthy comment (24 lines) on Paul's Galatians, V, 14. Pelagius also waxes poetic and becomes unusually prolific when he comments on 1 Corinthians, 13. The annotation by Pelagius of this chapter rises to a crescendo to the comment on Sectamini caritatem: "with every effort, strive after it, because it is within your power [quia in

vestra est potestate]."

Pelagius and Alcuin held similar views on baptism, and Alcuin used the very words that had started the controversy with Augustine: in the Libellus fidei Pelagii, "Baptisma unum tenemus, quod iisdem sacramenti verbis in infantibus, quibus etiam in maioribus, asserimus esse celebrandum. Hominem, si post Baptismum lapsus fuerit, per poenitentiam credimus posse salvari." (62)

On baptism, Alcuin wrote: "Unum tenens confiteor baptismam, quam iisdem sacramenti verbis in infantibus, quibus etiam in maioribus, esse celebrandum dico, atque dicens confirmo." (63)

Further, Alcuin showed a definitely Pelagian approach when, in a further paragraph, he wrote the following on baptism: "This also I hold according to the catholic faith, that all sincerely baptized with God's help and cooperation, can and must fulfil, if they wish to strive faithfully, [those things] which relate to the salvation of the soul. Not only do I not believe that some are predestined to evil by divine power, but even if there are [people] who wish to believe such evil, I declare anathema on them with all execration. For God is good, honest [pious] and omnipotent." (64)

The moral and religious priorities of Pelagius and Alcuin are remarkably similar. Their Christian moral philosophies often intersect in ways that cannot be ascribed to chance. One may well ask whether, though separated in time by almost four centuries, they were not shaped nevertheless by a common blended culture in

the British Isles which attributed great importance to the individual autonomy of man as a practical everyday right and duty.

Central "Pelagian" themes discussed in this chapter were a human being's ability to influence his own context, the ideas of liberum arbitrium / libertas, innocentia, justitia / aeguitas, inpeccantia, the belief in treating a person without prejudice both ecclesiastically and pedagogically (for he is born "et sine virtute, ita ut sine vitio"), since birth itself, however exalted, is not a guarantee of gratia (privilege). Pelagius stressed this point in Ad Caelantiam (see Chapter VI).

Alcuin held remarkably similar views, demonstrating not only a familiarity with Pelagius's work, but sympathy for their basic principles. Alcuin's moral influence on Charlemagne resembled the influence which Pelagius tried to exert four centuries earlier.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

- (1) Albini Confessio Fidei, pars III, c. XVIII. "Aut quid necesse fuit Deo hominem fieri, nunquid non aliter potuit nos salvare? Potuit utique ut Deus, ut omnipotens, si non assumeret hominem, redimere nos, sed noluit... Filii namque ex servo et ancilla nati, quid aliud esse possunt, quam parentes eorum? Decretum autem est, et divina et humana lege, ut in servitudine maneat, qui ex servis nascuntur. Ideo infantes sub originali peccato tenentur, ut nati sunt, nisi baptismi gratia liberentur." See also V. Serralda, La philosophie de la personne chez Alcuin, Appendice III, Transmission du peche originel, pp. 505-507.
- (2) R. F. Evans, Pelagius. Inquiries and Reappraisals, New York, NY, 1968, p. 91.
- (3) Christopher Stead, review of Saints and Sinners in the Early Church by W. H. C. Frend, London, 1985 in Journal of Ecclesiastical History 37 (No. 3, July 1986): 484.
- (4) W. H. C. Frend, Saints and Sinners in the Early Church, London, 1985, p. 139.
- (5) Alcuin, Confessio Fidei, III, II, PL 101, 1055, citing Pelagius (as later Gennadius and Faustus of Riez will too) on hypostaseis.
- (6) V. Serralda, La philosophie de la personne chez Alcuin, Paris, 1978.
- (7) Alcuin, Interrogationes et Responses in Genesin, PL 100, 523.
- (8) PL 48, 610. (For the Libellus Fidei see also PL 45 1716-1718.
- (9) Augustine, De gratia Christi, I, c. XXVIII, BA, p. 112.
- (10) Op. cit., p. 90.
- (11) Op. cit., II, c. XIII, p. 180.
- (12) Aimé Solignac, "Liberté," in Dictionnaire de spiritualité, Paris, 1985, col. 815.
- (13) John Thorp, Free Will. A Defence Against Neurophysiological Determinism, London, 1981, p. 1.
- (14) Pelagius, PL 45, p. 1718.
- (15) L. Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne, Ithaca, NY, 1957, pp. 152-153 and pp. 172-173. Wallach cites four direct quotations that are similar to Pelagius.
- (16) p. 55 of D. Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology and the Carolingian Age," pp. 1-69 in Carolingian Essays, U.-R. Blumenthal, ed., Oxford, 1983.
- (17) Alcuin, PL 101, Albini Confessio Fidei, Pars III, c. XXXI, 1076-7. "Sic igitur liberum confitemur arbitrium, ut dicam, nos semper indigere Dei auxilio [Pelagius, ut dicamus non semper Dei indigere auxilio]: et tam illos errare, qui cum Manichaeo dicunt hominem peccatum vitare non posse, quam illos, qui cum Joviniano asserunt hominem non posse peccare. Uterque enim tollit arbitrii

libertatem. Nos vero dicimus hominem semper et peccare, et non peccare posse; ut semper nos liberi confiteamur esse arbitrii." Cp. particularly footnote 5 above on Pelagius's Confession. It is noteworthy that the Disquisitio of Mabillon reprinted in PL 101, 1003-1023, and immediately preceding the Confessio Fidei of Alcuin, already points out the influence of Pelagius's Libellus Fidei and of Gennadius's De dogmatibus ecclesiasticis on Alcuin's Confession.

(18) PL 45, Libellus Fidei Pelagii, col. f716.

(19) Alcuin, PL 101, Pars III, c. I, col. 1054.

(20) Alcuin, PL 100, p. 524. Interrogatio 14: "Quomodo intelligendum [sit] sub te erit appetitus tuus, et tu dominaberis illius?" Responsio "Tu quia liberi es arbitrii, non habet peccatum super te dominium, sed te super illud; et in tua potestate est sive compescere, sive concupiscere illud."

(21) On synergia see Timothy Ware, The Orthodox Church, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1963, reprinted 1976, p. 226. On original sin see also John Meyendorff, Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes, New York, 1974, p. 143 et seq.

(22) Alcuin, PL 101, 976.

(23) Pelagius, De vita Christiana, PL 40, ch. X, 1039-1041. "Esto innocens, si vis cum Deo vivere. Esto simplex, si vis regnare cum Christo... Si vis vivere... Huiusmodi enim homines Deus honorat et diligit, qui malum nesciunt, qui mentiri non norunt, quorum dolum labia non loquuntur, in quibus non nisi bonitas videtur et puritas. Innocentia est quae nos commendat Deo: simplicitas est quae facit regnare cum Christo..."

(24) Pelagius, Ad Caelantiam, PL 22, ch. 7, 1207. "Aedificanti itaque tibi spirituales domum non super levitatem arenae, sed super soliditatem petrae, innocentiae in primis fundamentum ponatur, super quod facilius possis arduum culmen iustitiae erigere."

(25) W. H. C. Frend, op. cit., pp. 123-4.

(26) Pelagius, Ad Caelantiam, ch. 15, 1211.

"Quotiescumque enim talem in alterum habueris animum, qualem in te ab altero servari cupis aequitatis viam tenes."

(27) Pelagius, ibid., ch. 21. "Nulli te unquam de generis nobilitate praeponas, neque obscuriores quasque et homiliore loco natus, te inferiore putes. Nescit religio nostra personas accipere: nec conditiones hominum, sed animos inspicit singulorum. Servum et nobilem de moribus pronuntiat. Sola apud Deum libertas est, non servire peccatis. Summa apud Deum est nobilitas, clarum esse virtutibus... nec interest qua quis conditione natus sit, cum omnes in Christo aequaliter renascamur."

(28) Pelagius, PLS 1, 1387-1389, Tractatus de Divitiis, VI, 3; VII, 2; and VIII, 2.

(29) Alcuin, PL 101, De virtutibus et vitiis liber, Ch. 20, 628-629.

(30) Alcuin, PL 100, p. 523.

(31) Augustine, De perfectione iustitiae hominis, IV, 9, pp. 136-8. BA 21 "respondetur per arbitrii libertatem factum, ut

esset homo cum peccato; sed iam poenalis uitiositas subsecuta ex libertate fecit necessitatem... uicta enim uitio in quod cecidit uoluntate caruit libertate natura."

(32) Augustine, ...ad Simplicianum, I, ii, 21, PL 40, 106. "Liberum voluntatis arbitrium plurimum valet, imo vero est quidem; sed in venundatis sub peccato quid valet?"

(33) E. Buonaiuti, "The Genesis of St. Augustine's Idea of Original Sin", Harvard Theological Review 10 (1917): pp. 172.

(34) Augustine, De perfectione iustitiae hominis, ibid. "Iterum quaerendum est", inquit, "per quid efficitur homo cum peccato, per naturae necessitatem an per arbitrii libertatem. si per naturae necessitatem, culpa caret; si per arbitrii libertatem, quaerendum est, a quo ipsam arbitrii libertatem acceperit. procul dubio a deo... qua igitur ratione bonum probatur, si magis ad malum quam ad bonum prouenit est?..."

(35) See John Meyendorff, Byzantine Theology, New York, 1974, p. 144 and footnote 22 to that page also cited later on p. 149.

(36) Augustine, De natura et gratia, III, 3, p. 250.

(37) Pelagius, Epistula ad Demetriadem, PL 33, 1098-1121, ch. VIII, 1104-5. "Neque vero nos ita defendimus naturae bonum, ut eam dicamus malum non posse facere, quam utique boni ac mali capacem etiam profiteamur... cum semper utrumque possimus... Adam de paradiso ejicitur, Enoch de mundo rapitur; in utroque Dominus libertatem arbitrii ostendit... Nec illud est paruum argumentum ad probandum naturae bonum, quod illi primi homines... Nam si etiam ante Legem, ut diximus, et multo ante Domini nostri Salvatoris adventum iuste quidam vixisse et sancte referantur; quanto magis post illustrationem adventus ejus nos id posse credendum est, qui instructi per Christi gratiam, et in meliorem hominem renati sumus; qui sanguine ejus expiati atque mundati, illiusque exemplo ad perfectam iustitiam incitati, meliores illis esse debemus, qui ante Legem fuerunt; meliores etiam quam fuerunt sub Lege, dicente Apostolo, 'Peccatum in vobis jam non dominabitur; non estis enim sub Lege, sed sub gratia' (Rom. VI, 14)".

(38) Pelagius, De vita Christiana, Ch. 7.

(39) Alcuin, PL 101, Adv. Elipandum, II, 1.

(40) Patrick Wormald, p. 49 in "Bede, Beowulf and the Conversion of Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy," pp. 32-95 in Bede and Anglo-Saxon England, Robert T. Farrell, ed., Oxford, 1978.

(41) Augustine, Epistula CLVII Hilario Syracusano, "cui gratiae si fuerunt inimici Iudaei... quare sunt et isti, si in eum crediderunt, quem illi occiderunt? an ut illi accipiant praemium... et isti portent iudicium, qui sic in Christum uolunt credere, ut eius ipsam gratiam conentur occidere."

(42) R. F. Evans, Pelagius: Inquiries and Reappraisals, p. 97.

(43) Augustine, De natura et gratia, XIX, 21 and VIII, 9; Epistula CLVII Hilario Syracusano, III, 11 and 18.

(44) Augustine, De gestis Pelagii, III, 5 and 7; also, Jerome, Comm. in Hierem., II, 83, 3 and II, 96; Ep. 133, 7; Dial. adv. Pel., I, 27.

- (45) Alcuin, Inter. et Resp. in Genesin PL 100. p.517. 5. Inter. 5. "Cur homo suae potestas auctor est creatus?" Resp. "Ut sibi auctor esset [sive] ad vitam. sive ad mortem. Si vero necessitate esset subjectus, tunc nec boni operis haberet gloriam, nec mali poenam: sed esset quasi unus ex pecoribus."
- (46) V. Serralda, La philosophie de la personne chez Alcuin, pp. 384-385.
- (47) PL 101, 975-976.
- (48) PL 22, Ad Caelantiam, Ch. 23, 1215. "Et ideo sicut luminaria in mundo lucere nos iubet, in medio nationis pravae et perversae."
- (49) PLS, I, p. 1314.
- (50) PL 101, Didascalica, p. 944.
- (51) BA 21, G. de Plinval et J. de la Tullaye, p. 10.
- (52) PL 45, Sacrum Rescriptum contra Pelagium et Coelestium. Imperatores Honorius et Theodosius Augusti, Palladio prefecto praetorio. "...dolosae artis ingenio novam subito emersisse versutiam pervulgata opinione cognovimus: quae fallacis scientiae obumbrata mendaciis et furioso tantum debacchata est luctamine, ut stabilem quietem coelestis attrectaret fidei, dum novi criminis commenta invenit, insignem notam plebeiae aestimans vilitatis sentire cum cunctis, ac prudentia singularis palmam fore communiter approbata destruere. Cuius impiae commentationis auctores Pelagium Coelestiumque percrebuit exstitisse."
- (53) Ibid., 1727. "Quae maturato remedio et celeritate festina oportet intercipi; ne corroborato usu nequitiae adolescentes vix valeant coerceri...novoque scandali fomite concitato, beatissimae Ecclesiae nutet attentata tranquillitas..."
- (54) For example, Pelagius, ad Demetriaden, PL 33: "Primum itaque debes naturae humanae bonum de ejus auctore metiri..." (1100); "Unde autem illis bona, nisi de naturae bono?" (1101); [addressed to Job] "famosissimo illo athleta Dei...O virum ante evangelica evangelicum...qui aperiens occultas divitias naturae... ex se quid omnes possimus ostendit..." (1104). The Alcuin quotation is from De animae ratione I, PL 101, 639.
- (55) Augustine, De anima et gratia, BA 21, LXIX, 83, p. 408; De induratione... PLS 1, 1526. Yet, for Pelagius only, God is totally good by nature: "Nam docuit Spiritus Sanctus qualis vel quanta sit bona Dei Voluntas...et quae vel cuius potest esse bona voluntas nisi solius Dei, qui solus natura bonus est."
- (56) G. de Plinval et J. de la Tullaye, BA 21, see note 20, La catéchétique pélagienne, pp. 595-596.
- (57) Alcuin, Didascalica. Dialog. de rhet. et yirt. PL 101, 945.
- (58) V. Serralda, La philosophie de la personne chez Alcuin, p. 6.
- (59) Ibid., p. 11.
- (60) Alcuin, PL 101, 946. "Maxime cum divinae Scripturae nil aliud nobiscum agant, nisi ut diligamus Deum et Dominum nostrum ex

toto corde, ex tota anima et ex tota mente, et proximum nostrum tanquam nosmetipsos. Nam promissum habemus ab illo, qui fallere ignorat: 'jugum,' inquit, meum suave est et onus meum leve. Laboriosior est enim amor huius mundi quam Christi."

(61) Pelagius. Expositiones... PLS 1, 1284-1285, 1570.

(62) Libellus fidei Pelagii. Pl 45, 1718.

(63) Albini confessio fidei, pars III, c. XXVII, 1073.

(64) Ibid. The Latin reads: "Hoc etiam secundum fidem catholicam teneo, quod omnes veraciter baptizati Deo auxiliante et cooperante, quae ad salutem pertinent, possint et debeant, si fideliter laborare voluerint, adimplere. Aliquos vero ad malum divina potestate praedestinati esse non solum non credo, sed etiam si sunt, qui tantum mali credere velint, cum omni detestatione anathema illis dico. Deus enim et bonus, et pius, et omnipotens est."

Chapter VIII

ADDITIONAL NINTH CENTURY EVIDENCE

Florilegia

The teachers of the Carolingian Renaissance spent much time on the fields of biblical commentary, Latin grammar and the computus. The rudiments of Church doctrine were expatiated on, especially in Ecclesiastical Capitularies and Florilegia. (1)

A typical example was Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis; some Florilegia of this type were "ultimated intended to reach a wider audience" (i.e. the rare literate layman as well as priests). (2) Florilegia were a genre in Classical Graeco-Roman literature. They provided handy digests at all times, and by Later Antiquity they emphasized moral standards for all to attain "aeterna praemia", a most Pelagian concept. (3) In the ninth century, Florilegia were the domain of the monks. The selections they compiled were both for individual use and meditation and for communal readings (collectio and collatio). Alcuin himself influenced the spread of this practice in the monasteries. Also, Alcuin asked Guy de Bretagne, the reader of his excerpts from Liber de virtutibus et vitiis to "saepius relegere." (4)

The term Florilegium itself derives from flores and legere (calqued on the Greek anthologia). Dom Jean Leclercq has noted that, while the works were often structured to the taste of the individual compiler, the latter instinctively selected the most beautiful or instructive excerpts from the Bible or pronouncements

of the Church Fathers (often cited anonymously). Thus, individual preference and monastic tradition became indistinguishable. (5)

Furthermore, the ascetic Florilegia are precious documents for the study of vocabulary, for transmission of the Biblical and patristic texts, and for understanding the psychological and spiritual tendencies of the compilers and of their early medieval readers. (6)

Several Florilegia of the ninth century mention Pelagius by name as one of their sources, a significant fact that was first acknowledged in this century (usually only in passing). Often, as might be expected when the subject is the Letters of St. Paul, Pelagius became a major and most influential source. This monastic use of Pelagius is all the more significant since the monks' choice of excerpts was, in the words of Dom Leclercq, "strictly patristic" and involved "silent opposition" to medieval dialecticians. (7)

But Pelagius's Expositiones... are not his only work to be excerpted repeatedly in monastic Florilegia. Several monks were working at the same patristic compilations in the ninth century, among them Heiric, Remigius and Haymo, all three from Auxerre. The Florilegium by Haymo or Enno (most probably the monk of Auxerre, although it was preserved under the name of Haymo of Halberstadt who died on 28 March 853—see PL 118, 875-958) bears the title De varietate librorum sive de amore coelestis patriae, a collection "entirely compiled from the works of Church Fathers." (8)

Haymo includes excerpts from Pelagius on the four kinds of love. (9) Haymo addressed his work between 804 and 812 to a Pater Guglielmus (Guillaume de Gellone) to give a deeper understanding of life to a Christian in Carolingian times. Furthermore, citing the sources for Haymo's Florilegium, the editor lists: Prosper, Gregory the Great, Bede, Chrysostom, Augustine, Origen, Pelagius, Cassiodorus, Isidore, Cyprian, Ambrose, Jerome, and Basil. (10)

Another Florilegium, the Collectiones epistolarum evangeliorum de tempore et de sanctis (written by Zmaragdus of Saint-Mihiel at Tours) appears in at least eight extant manuscripts from the ninth century (MS Paris, BN lat. 9603; also MS Paris, BN lat. 13408; Paris, BN lat. 12045; MS Angers, 232; MS Einsiedeln, 39; Munich, Clm 6210; Oxford, Bodleian, Barlow, 4; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 424). Souter mentions another ten MSS, most of them from the Xth century, which are preserved in such different places as Berlin, Córdoba, Luxemburg and Boulogne-sur-Mer. (11) Zmaragdus had before him both the Expositiones... of Pelagius and the revision of the these Expositiones... by Cassiodorus.

Souter has pointed out that Zmaragdus, in his own preface to this work (to be dated between 819 and 830), declares that he had used 'Pelagius' in his compilation. Souter adds: "it is not too much to say that Zmaragdus relied most of all on 'Pelagius' for notes on the Pauline Epistles" (12)

Souter emphasizes that Zmaragdus knew no work by Primasius on the Epistles (and it has been established that there was none),

and further that Zmaragdus used Pelagius throughout the Epistles, even if a careless first editor in 1537 expanded the numerous indications P. (for ex Pelagio) to "ex Primasio". (13)

Similarly, but only once, Hatto, Bishop of Vercelli, quotes Pelagius as one of his sources, in 1 Cor. ZV, 31: "Pelagius dicit quia 'per' non semper pro iuramento accipitur: nam cum dicimus: 'per puerum misi' et similia, non iuramenti est." (14) Pelagius would appear to have been an authority to quote in the IXth century on the issue of oaths.

Sedulius Scottus, in his Collectaneum in Epistolas Pauli, knew that he was transmitting Pelagius's thought and wrote at the very beginning of his text; "Aliter secundum Pil." (15) Just as Haymo of Auxerre had, Sedulius Scottus employed many sources, including Isidore (i.e. Cassiodorus's pseudo-Primasius), and, among others, Faustus Britto of Riez, Gennadius and Cassian. Sedulius also annotated Pelagius extensively, most carefully, as his leading authority, and using a series of vocables: Pelag, Pilag, Pil, Pela, Pil, Pilg. as both Zimmer and Souter have amply demonstrated. (16)

The Pelagian Chronology of History in a Carolingian Capitulary.

Scholars have been repeatedly impressed by the transmission of Pelagius's Expositiones... on the Pauline Epistles into Ireland "and on the unabashed references to the heresiarch by name" (17)

in Ireland during the last quarter of the eighth century.

Furthermore, there are several references to Pelagius in early Irish literature. (18)

David Dumville examined the evidence of Alexander Souter's study of the Expositiones... and wrote that Souter, sixty years earlier, "was able to argue that at least two copies were written in Anglo-Saxon England in the eighth century, one of which still survives in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 9530." (19)

A scribal colophon adjoined to the text preserved in "the Paris manuscript and [written] twice in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 5" (20) indicates that the original manuscript, which was written by a person called Meirion, was copied by the Anglo-Saxon scribes in the late seventh or early eighth century. In consequence, Dumville concluded that there is testimony at least as old as the seventh or eighth century to the copying of Pelagius's Pauline Expositiones... in Celtic Britain [as well as in Ireland], almost certainly in Wales. This could give "the Brittonic churches" a hitherto unsuspected role in "the general insular dissemination" of Pelagius's main work. (21)

The Welsh ecclesiastical scriptorium where Meirion worked in the middle or the second half of the seventh century was but one of a substantial number of early medieval scriptoria, about many of which we know little.

Alcuin who was educated at the episcopal school of York (famous for its rich library) later himself taught students of

Irish, Frisian, Anglo-Saxon and other origins there. He was put in charge in 778, at about 48 years of age. We know that after joining Charlemagne's court and acquiring responsibility for Frankish education Alcuin often borrowed manuscripts from Lindisfarne and from York for the purpose of having them copied. This favoured a constant flow of ideas.

When Charlemagne in 782 made him Abbot of Ferrières and of St. Loup de Troyes, Alcuin was widely renowned as a scholar. Students were therefore eager to follow him to Charlemagne's court. Charlemagne also put Alcuin in charge of the abbeys at Ferrières en Gâtinais, at Flavigny and at St. Fosse-sur-Mer near Boulogne, the latter being most strategically placed for intellectual exchanges, since many British pilgrims would stop there.

At any one of these places, and at various times, including his many years of teaching at York (since Alcuin was fifty when he met Charlemagne), Alcuin could have read or been told about Pelagius's work. Even if Alcuin himself knew Pelagius's work only as "Augustine's" or "Jerome's", several of the monks who joined him (especially the Irish ones) could have known differently. The preceding chapter addressed the similarity in attitudes between Pelagius and Alcuin. Also, both were laymen and pedagogically inclined.

The abbey that is of most concern in the present chapter is Saint Martin de Tours at Marmoutier where Alcuin was abbot from circa 796 to his death on Whitsunday 804. There he was visited by

a succession of his compatriots. He took personal charge of the scriptorium. It was an important abbey of perhaps over two hundred monks. They are known to have complained openly about the numerous British visitors received by their abbot. One complaint has survived from four of these monks: "Oh God, deliver our monastery from these Britons who, like bees returning to their mother, all swarm here to find him." (22)

The metaphor is apt. Bees these Britons may well have been, and bees are wont to send forth swarms. It is not unreasonable to think that when they came to Alcuin at Tours they brought both manuscripts and news about manuscripts from British scriptoria.

One capitulary manuscript, probably written at Tours—but possibly traceable to Paris or Sens—was studied in 1925 by P. W. Finsterwalder; however, he did not once consider the numerous British links of the Tours scriptorium or the prodigious memory of Alcuin, man of letters; Pelagius is not mentioned either. (23) Nevertheless, the scribe who wrote this capitulary had certainly read and meditated upon Pelagius. It is a religious capitulary, of the kind which have often been contrasted, by nineteenth and twentieth century scholars, with royal Merovingian capitularies.

As recorded by E. K. Rand in his monumental work, the manuscripts made at the Tours scriptorium can be divided in time under four headings:

- Period I: The Earliest Books of Tours. [after 4th century]
- Period II: The Irish at Tours. [after circa 600]
- Period III: The Pre-Alcuinian Style. [before 796]
- Period IV: The Reforms of Alcuin. (24) [after 796]

A manuscript of Pelagius's De vita Christiana (albeit under the name of Augustine) was made at the scriptorium of Tours. It was listed as Tours: Bibl. Mun. no. 114 at the time of Rand's writing. In Rand's list, there are several works possibly by Pelagius going under the name of Opuscula by Augustine and Jerome, including letters some of whose manuscripts date from the seventh to the ninth centuries: Sulpicius Severus (Epistulae, Dialogi, Tours, B. Mun. Nos. 200 et 232); Caesarius of Arles item 220 (Opuscula, Tours, B. Mun. 617); a fragment of Philippus (Expositio in Iob, surely a Pelagian work, whether it be the one by Pelagius or the one by Julianus); this could be similar to Rome, Vat. Reg. lat. 111, by Philippus Presbyter, a well-known pseudonym for Pelagius during medieval times; also a Pontificale Damasi (saec. IX, now Leyden, B.R.U-Lat. Q. 60), which might include the so-called "ad Damasum" Libellus fidei of Pelagius. (25) All sound like distinct and early possibilities. So does a Varia Patristica (Rome, Vat. Reg. lat. 140) and a Varia ecclesiastica from saec. IX. (26)

The two most promising Tours manuscripts date from Alcuin's reforms of the abbey scriptorium and library (thus well before 820). Rand listed them as: 114 Leyden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. F113 (and containing St. Augustine's Sermo adversus quinque hereseos), and De vita Christiana, inter alia—Rand notes that the style dates before the mid-9th century; and Rome: Vat. reg. lat. 215: Exempla diversorum auctorum, one of

the most important ninth century anthologies. (27)

However, Alcuin and Tours had close links with Echternach and other abbeys. Reference to other scriptoria catalogues (28) shows that Sankt Gallen is known to have had manuscripts of Pelagius in the ninth century. For instance its Ms 132, De vita Christiana has (after erasure) the name of Pelagius as the author. Although manuscripts of Pelagius were being copied in the eighth and ninth centuries in continental scriptoria, they most probably went under the name of Augustine until erasures of the latter's name in the 10th-11th centuries reestablished the authorship of Pelagius (or "Fastidius").

Furthermore, there is abundant evidence of the travel of Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks making and carrying books throughout the Carolingian realm. The catalogue of the monasterium sancti Nazarii Laurehamense (Lorsch, pre-dating saec. X) has

(item) 437: Pelagii: Super omnes epistolas Pauli in uno codice.

In this respect, Souter emphasizes Zimmer's point "that there is evidence for the existence in the ninth and tenth centuries of MSS of Pelagius's commentary in three libraries, all of them connected with the Irish mission to the continent, at St Riquier, Lorsch and St Gall." (29) Souter adds: "That there was a manuscript of Pelagius in the Murbach library at the middle of the ninth century, we learn from the catalogue of date about 840, published by H. Bloch, where the following entry occurs:

210. *Expositio Pelagii in epistolas Pauli.*

The catalogue, moreover, contains another entry:

39. *Canones Ieronimi et Pellagii.*" (30)

There are three copies still extant of these Canons, all related to the Vulgate manuscripts of the Epistles of St. Paul.

Several authors used texts by Pelagius throughout the ninth century for their favourite compilations. Among the different types of compilations, the capitularies, especially the religious ones, were of immediate use.

The capitulary of relevance here was written with the same didactic intentions as the slightly earlier Capitularies of Gerbald of Liège (Bishop from 787 to 810) and of Waltcaud of Liège (Bishop from 810 to 831) and of Theodolph of Orléans (Bishop from 750 to 821).

Finsterwalder dates the Capitulary Bibl. Vat. Reg. Lat. 612 very soon after 858 (May 16) and ascribes it to Hérard of Tours (Bishop from 856 to 871), adding that "a user, probably of the seventeenth century, added on sheet 63 b of the manuscript at the beginning of chapter 1 of our capitulary 'Capitula HERARDI TUR PONTIF'." (31)

If the capitulary indeed originates in Tours and dates from the second half of the ninth century, the bishop would have had access to the abbey's scriptorium-library and would have depended heavily on the manuscripts gathered together there by Alcuin, by his predecessors and by his direct successors.

One must also remember that Alcuin had returned for at least a year to England. Internal strife in his native country made him go back to the Carolingian realm and Tours in 796. Consequently, even as late as 796, Alcuin could have had knowledge of Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 9530 (olim 9525) or Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS 5 or perhaps of the exemplar(s) of these manuscripts dating from late seventh or early eighth century Britain, as David Dumville established specifically from early medieval Wales. (32)

Rosamond McKitterick discusses the Capitulary in her important book The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789-895. (33) She notes Finsterwalder's puzzled comment on "The three great legal epochs," (34) and explains: "...opening with an interesting exhortation which places the Frankish bishops' lawgiving fourth in the noble procession of lawgiving. The other three great legal epochs are, according to the author of the statute, the period of natural law before the Fall, that of the Mosaic law of the Old Testament, and the time of Christ's law of the New Testament." (35) However, like Finsterwalder before, she does not mention Pelagius, although Pelagius had elaborated the intellectual systematization of the three periods of the law and called his system the Condiciones temporum, as discussed earlier in this study. Augustine referred to this systematic division as typically Pelagian and condemned it only after he changed his own views on grace. (36)

Pelagius himself referred repeatedly to his own division of historical time in, for instance, Epistula de castitate 6 [p. 132]

"Haec de testamento veteri..." and ibid., 12 [p. 150]. "tria enim tempora invenimus, in quibus diversis diversa licuisse manifestum est"; Epistula de divina lege 10 ; Epistula ad Demetriaden chapter 8 ; also in Expositiones... on Romans VII, 4 (PLS 1, 1142). Pelagius, after all, had only been systematizing a time division accepted by many Christians of the fifth century.

Although he does not mention Pelagius, Finsterwalder's comments have been detailed and telling. Thus he writes that one cannot fail to recognize a systematic plan of the compiler of the Capitulary in his treatment of the ages of the law. (37) He adds his terse and puzzled footnote stating that the "division of time is a completely personal one of our compiler. It does not follow the otherwise close example of Isidore, whose division according to the six days of creation it ignores." (38)

The first part of the Capitulary not only divides time according to Pelagius's Conditiones temporum, it even uses favourite Pelagian words throughout. A student of Pelagius finds many familiar notes in: "Notissimum, fratres karissimi..."

This passage incidentally proves that the Pelagian message was transmitted, despite the hardening of the heart of Pharaoh (i.e. the heart of the Emperor Honorius against Pelagius). Thus the first paragraph of the Introduction to the Capitulary begins:

"[1] Notissimum, fratres karissimi, quod adhuc novello mundo habuisset Deus collectionem ecclesiae non modicam, quae fideliter in multis domino servivit naturali oboediens, legi, id est: quod sibi non vellet fieri nulli faceret." (39)

The words and the thoughts are Pelagian; the first sentence culminates in one of Pelagius's most frequently repeated themes. This might be considered an ancient Christian commonplace, except that de Plinval and Ferguson have remarked on its paramount importance for Pelagius. (40)

Pelagius writes about this very biblical injunction in his De vita Christiana. This work of Pelagius was available in several copies, and sometimes under his own name to the Carolingians. In its Chapter X Pelagius writes:

"...nunc vero quid sit proximum tanquam seipsum diligere, ut possumus explicemus; quanquam ipsius causae expositio alio in loco breviter disseratur, cum dicitur, 'Quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris' (Tob. IV, 16). Dominus quoque et Salvator noster dicit... (41)

Similarly, Pelagius has a vehement and uncharacteristically long comment on this Christian "lex" in his Expositiones... concerning the letter to the Galatians, V, 14. (42)

The Carolingian Capitulary indeed follows entirely the division of time as elaborated in Pelagius's Conditiones temporum. It repeats Pelagian words and thoughts. The second paragraph of the Introduction continues:

"[2] Et quia tempus a Deo prefinitum mittendi filium suum non erat, dedit per Moysen legem, cuius terrore mala resecarentur et bona nutrirentur atque uni Deo serviretur. Cuius etiam precepta inutiliter violavit humana temeritas, ita ut innocentum sanguis effunderetur, habendi cupiditas inardesceret, hypocrisis, id est [or deest] subdola fraus, multos falleret atque summo Deo derelicto quidam idolis iuxta morem gentilium litarent." (43)

Even if, after 417-418, the division of time of Pelagius was

contested and mocked by Augustine, it obviously was accepted four centuries later as most relevant by the Carolingians. They had certainly read such writings as the four works of Pelagius attributed to Pope Sixtus III, a former Pelagian himself (Clavis 733-734-735-736). In paragraph [2] of the Capitulary, there are strong allusions to De induratione..., a work of Pelagius that was available to the Carolingians and probably appealed to them as well. Furthermore, we know that Saint-Riquier, Lorsch, Sankt-Gallen, Murbach and other monasteries had manuscripts of Pelagius.

Paragraph [3] of the Introduction to the Capitulary is also a very Pelagian list and reminder. Pelagius elsewhere often mentioned Dei mandata as well as the time of grace and man's adoption as filius [et heres]. (44)

Pelagius also insists on a similar positive idea of reigning with God in great happiness, for instance in chapter XXIV of his letter De malis doctoribus... which also contains the Pelagian rejoicing: "Grande est Dei filium esse...cum Deo regnare...inenarrabile est quod credimus..." (45). Further, the words "Et honor sive pretiosa metalla..." in paragraph 4 of the Introduction to the Capitulary, ending with a Pelagian thought and a favourite medical comparison, remind one of De induratione...

The capitulary itself is divided into three parts. Chapter I addresses the duty of the bishop; chap. II-VIII the duties of Clerics and Chapters IX-XIV the duties of the laity. This division makes for a well-balanced admonitio.

A passage of the Capitulary that again most strongly ties this text in with Pelagian doctrine is to be found in Chapter XI. Added to the evidence provided by the Introduction, it makes the Capitulary much more Pelagian yet in tone and content. Thus, Chapter XI is noticeably longer than the other chapters. It concerns the Christian duty not to swear, which was, according to de Plinval and de la Tullaye, "une des consignes caractéristiques de la discipline pélagienne." They also quote Pelagius in De divitiis : "Iubemur enim non mentiri, non maledicere, non periurare sed nec iuste quidem iurare" and note several other instances of this duty. (46)

Augustine quoted Pelagius's "Non debere iurare omnino," somewhat mockingly, in a Letter to Hilary of Syracuse. Pelagius's "Non iurabis omnino" in Ad Virg. 3 is also relevant. (47)

Finsterwalder's study shows that the author of the Capitulary in many parts of the text uses the Bible in a special, unusual, most cautious way, as if he is trying to hide his meaning. The operative word in German is verdeckt, as in the phrase in verdeckter Form used twice on p. 344. Finsterwalder writes of "our Bishop" and says that "only the Bible is cited, and it is often used in a hidden way." (48)

Finsterwalder's next paragraph returns to this impression, noting: "If the compiler however were a useable canonist, a skilfull rhaetor, his theological orientation would be a somewhat more doubtful question. He is indeed well read in the Bible and

is able in concealed form to use the word of the Bible." (49)

It is at least possible, as Finsterwalder suggests, that Hérard de Tours or the scribe who helped him write the Capitulary may, especially if he were using Pelagius from a complete text or a Florilegium in his compilation, have tried to conceal "his theological orientation." As noted earlier in this chapter, the works of Pelagius were available at Tours, if not necessarily under his own name. We know that Zmaragdus of Saint Mihiel, in a collection written at Tours in the second half of the ninth century (the Paris BN lat. 9603), had read Pelagius.

The contextual link of this Carolingian capitulary, written at Tours, which was acknowledged to be "a Continental centre under the influence of Insular habits" (50) scarcely fifty years after Alcuin, confirms the strong, multiple transmission of Pelagius through Alcuin and his "British bees." The continental monks at Tours were not spared, as their prayer had requested, a further generation of British bees. Another Anglo-Saxon followed Alcuin as abbot of Tours. Through the Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks, Pelagius's place as a Christian source, at Tours and in other monasteries of the Carolingian empire, was assured.

In summary, therefore, the importance of Tours and of its scriptorium is clear as a repository of relevant manuscripts for the transmission of Pelagius. Further, the Pelagian chronology of the ages of time, hotly disputed in the early fifth century, had reemerged by the time of Alcuin and Charlemagne, although

admittedly no-one then remembered the controversy created by Augustine over the issue. The inclusion of Pelagian chronology in a Carolingian capitulary, given the special significance of capitularies in Carolingian times (as has been pointed out by Rosamond McKitterick) for the codification of law and conduct, again highlights the importance of the influence of Pelagius's thought on behaviour in the Carolingian Renaissance. One must also remember that the Capitularies were proposed by Charlemagne at annual assemblies (the Champ de mai) of both laity and priests and that these capitularies helped organize Church and Empire, and set the moral tone of the Reform. Thus, laity was given a renewed responsibility, which conformed with Pelagius's earlier emphasis on the personal responsibility of all Christians.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

(1) H.-M. Rochais, "Florileges spirituels latins," Dictionnaire de spiritualité, vol. 5, Paris, 1937, 435-460; also Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, translated by Catharine Misrahi (New York, NY, 1962), pp. 185-188.

(2) Alcuin, PL 101, cols. 613-638. The quotation on the readers of florilegia is from Rosamond McKitterick, The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms. Royal Historical Society, London, 1977, p. 172.

(3) Pelagius, Expositiones.... 1 Cor. VII, 26-29-40; 2 Cor. VI, 10; Phil. II, 14, 18; 1 Tim. III, 13; also P. W. Finsterwalder, Zwei Bischofskapitularen.... p. 352.

(4) H.-M. Rochais, "Contribution à l'histoire des florilèges ascétiques du haut moyen âge latin. Le 'Liber scintillarum'," Revue bénédictine 63 (1953): 264, note 2.

(5) J. Leclercq, op. cit., p. 188.

(6) H.-M. Rochais, "Contribution....," p. 250.

(7) J. Leclercq, op. cit., p. 187.

(8) H.-M. Rochais, "Contribution....," p. 257: "toute entière tirée de l'oeuvre des Pères."

(9) Haymo, Florilegium, de veritate librorum sive de amore caelestis patriae, PL 118, cols. 875-958.

(10) H.-M. Rochais, "Florilèges....," col. 443

(11) A. Souter, Pelagius' Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, Cambridge, 1922-26, pp. 333-336.

(12) A. Souter, op. cit., pp. 333-336.

(13) A. Souter, op. cit., p. 320.

(14) A. Souter, p. 333.

(15) A. Souter, p. 337.

(16) Georges de Plinval, Pélage...., p. 217.

(17) David Dumville, "Late-Seventh- or Eighth-Century Evidence for the British Transmission of Pelagius," Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies (Leamington Spa: Vol. 10, Winter 1985, pp. 39-52), p. 39.

(18) David Dumville, op. cit., p. 39, note 2. See also B. Bischoff's "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter," Mittelalterliche Studien, I, Stuttgart, 1966. See also J. F. Kelly, "Pelagius, Pelagianism and the Early Christian Irish," Mediaevalia 4 (1978): 92-124.

(19) David Dumville, op. cit., p. 40.

(20) Op. cit., pp. 39-52, esp. pp. 40-42.

(21) Op. cit., p. 52. The full quotation reads: "Alongside the evidence for the use of the heresiarch Pelagius' work in seventh and eighth-century Ireland, cited at the beginning of this article, we may place testimony—of equal antiquity—to the copying of his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles in Celtic Britain, almost

certainly in Wales...we have heretofore lacked a witness to the transmission of a Pelagian work in the heretic's native land...If, given the paucity of the surviving manuscript evidence from early medieval Wales, we can nonetheless find testimony to the transmission there (and thence into England) of Pelagian exegesis, might we not allow that the Brittonic Churches played a more fundamental role in the general Insular dissemination of the heresiarch's major work that has hitherto been suspected?"

(22) Philippe Wolff, Histoire de la pensée européenne. I. L'éveil intellectuel de l'Europe. (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1971), p. 33.

(23) Paul Willem Finsterwalder, "Zwei Bischofskapitularen der Karolingerzeit. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der bischöflichen Gesetzgebung des neunten Jahrhunderts." Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. 45 Band. Kanonistische Abteilung XIV, Bohlaus Nachfolger, Weimar, 1925, pp. 336-383.

(24) E. K. Rand, A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours, I-II. (Vol. II with L. W. Jones) Cambridge, MA, 1929-34, Vol. I, p. 10.

(25) E. K. Rand, vol. II, p. 86.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid. See also F. L. Ganshof, Was waren die Kapitularien? Darmstadt, 1967. The authority on capitularies is still Professor Ganshof, a major historian of the period.

(28) G. Becker, compiler, Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui, I-II, Bonn, 1885.

(29) A. Souter, Introduction..., p. 28, citing Zimmer, p. 156 ff.

(30) Souter, op. cit., p. 301.

(31) P. W. Finsterwalder, op. cit., Note 6, p. 339.

(32) D. Dumville, op. cit., pp. 35-52.

(33) Rosamond McKitterick, The Frankish Church..., London, 1977.

(34) P. W. Finsterwalder, op. cit., p. 345, and Note 5.

(35) R. McKitterick, op. cit., p. 66.

(36) Augustine, BA 22, XVI, 30 and BA 15, IV, 4, 7.

(37) P. W. Finsterwalder, op. cit., p. 345

(38) Ibid., Note 5, p. 345.

(39) Op. cit., pp. 350.

(40) G. de Plinval, Pélage..., p. 181-182 and J. Ferguson, Pelagius..., pp. 125-127.

(41) De vita Christiana, c. X, 1039-1041, PL 40, 1031-1046. On the importance of the "Do unto others..." concept or Pelagius see also the discussion of De induratione... earlier in this thesis.

(42) PLS I, 1284-5.

(43) Finsterwalder, op. cit., p. 350.

(44) P. W. Finsterwalder, ibid.: "[3] Tunc prefinito consilio et prescientia Dei unica proles patris aeterni de celis descendit, uterum virginis introivit atque homo inter homines conspicibilis apparuit. Et quecumque [sic.] per angelos patriarchas ante mandaverat, vera esse sanctivit novella atque congruentissima mandata edidit et generi humano dedit nullumque entilem, si tamen

uni Deo credere vellet, excipi precepit. Et qui ab initio mundi diversis idolorum culturis eramus polluti, facti sumus ipso innovante a peccatis abluti et per ipsius gratiam adoptivi filii...Unde contigit, ut quia terreni regni dispexerunt felicitatem, regnat cum domino in aeterna iocunditate."

(45) PLS I, 1455.

(46) Finsterwalder, op. cit., pp. 363-364. See also BA 21, p. 592, Note 16, Interdiction de jurer, V, 40, p.109, which reads: "C'était, avec l'obligation de la prière ininterrompue: ora sine intermissione, et l'interdiction de recourir aux juges séculiers...une des consignes caractéristiques de la discipline pélagienne. Pelage ne manque pas de rappeler cette défense chaque fois qu'il rappelle à ses disciples le code des devoirs chrétiens: de divitiis, 19 (p.60): "Iubemur enim non mentiri, non maledicere, non periurare sed nec iuste quidam iurare..." cf. de operibus, 22, p.110 et de castitate, 10, p. 144: de divina lege, 10 (PL 30, 116; ad Caelantiam, 19).

Fondée sur le deuxième commandement du Decalogue (Deuter. V, 11), sur les recommandations du Seigneur (Matth.V, 34), et de l'Apôtre Jacques (Epist. V, 12), l'interdiction de jurer était de nature à frapper d'étonnement des populations méridionales de Sicile ou d'Afrique, habituées depuis toujours à donner aux moindres de leurs propres propos une affirmation intensive: "Je te jure..."

It is evident that, in this context, the Capitulary "Notissimum, fratres karissimi" is strongly Pelagian; cf "non licet mentiri, non licet maledicere, non licet iurare" (de poss. non peccandi, VI, 1, PLS I, 1463).

(47) De Plinval, Pélage..., p. 217.

(48) Finsterwalder, op. cit., p. 344.

(49) Ibid.

(50) E. K. Rand and L. W. Jones, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 47.

CONCLUSION

In reviewing the life and works of Pelagius we have sought to identify the main lines of his thought and to see which elements survived in succeeding generations and which elements were quoted, copied and adopted, whether in a camouflaged or open way.

We have further explored recently suggested and not yet fully developed ideas involving what may be geographical considerations in the background of Pelagius's views and in their subsequent diffusion. Previous research in the field does not appear to have recognized and systematically presented these strands of Pelagian thought, their origin and impact. Certain ideas of Pelagius (here identified) played a considerable role in that Renaissance which helped bring learning, a renewed interest in Latin, and a codification of law to the Carolingian Empire of the Franks.

Certainly the four Church Fathers—Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and Gregory the Great—were major figures, but Pelagius was often the real author of what passed to the Carolingians as the message of Augustine, Jerome and other Church writers. Pelagius's example (as in his striving for inpeccantia) is an identified undercurrent, the full ramifications of which remain to be explored in the light of the conclusions of the present study.

The social and political aspects of the influence of Pelagius have been underestimated or neglected, partly because discussion has hitherto centred on theology. (1) Neglect has occurred despite

the fact that Pelagius was a major writer and the first British author as well as the first British theologian. (2) He was also the first known in a remarkable chain of frequently controversial Christian peregrini from the British Isles which led ultimately to Alcuin and the Carolingian Renaissance.

A fresh examination of Pelagius has had to await the current resurgence of interest in comprehensive lexicographic and other projects concerned with the Celts, Britannic Latin and Gallic Latin. Also, the major theological controversy between Augustine and Pelagius has long obscured the objective evaluation of the influence of Pelagius. One could not imagine an article like Aimé Solignac's (and Flavio G. Nuvolone's) in the Dictionnaire de spiritualité (1986) appearing even twenty years ago. It is now possible to discuss Pelagius in an objective way. For instance, the meaning for Pelagius of gratia in its contemporary negative sense of "patronage" had been almost totally overlooked until recently (see Chapter I of this thesis).

The concentration on theology has blurred the important political aspects of anti-Pelagianism. Innocent I was pope during the critical years (for Rome as well as for Pelagius) from 402 to 417. At the time of Alaric's siege of Rome, Pope Innocent I showed extreme weakness and an ultimate dependence on Emperor Honorius. During the North African attacks on Pelagius and at a crucial period, Pope Innocent appears to have sacrificed the role of mediator (in which he might have established a consensus) in

favour of his ultimately total dependence on Emperor Honorius and the latter's close counsellors. Even more influential at the court of Ravenna than Pope Innocent (and his successor Zosimus) were Augustine's friends Alypius, Marcellinus and Olympius. Ultimately, and not surprisingly in this political situation, it was the civil power, and an Imperial Rescript from Ravenna that decided against Pelagius.

It must always be emphasized that the Imperial Rescript of 418 was a political decision of Ravenna under continuous pressure from Carthage. One possible corollary of the strong political motives for declaring Pelagius a heretic is that the religious case against him was weak. The disappearance of Zosimus's Tractoria would tend to confirm this. Further confirmation is seen in the ready acceptance four centuries later by the Catholic Carolingians of Pelagian concepts which Augustine had repeatedly condemned.

If in 418 Honorius had deferred to Pope Zosimus (who could read and understand the works of Greek theology), the result might have furthered the now much wished-for synthesis of the regional and local traditions of Christianity (including the Eastern and Western theological traditions, which were already beginning to diverge substantially by the fifth century).

From the viewpoint of Honorius and in the light of then recent history, it is of course understandable that Britain might appear to be only a source of sedition and usurpers, and that Honorius would in consequence outlaw Pelagius Britto. Nevertheless, in the

context of the rapid erosion of the Western Roman Empire, the anti-Pelagian rescripts and the following minor crusades into Britannia had serious historical consequences for the morale of Western Europe, especially of Britannia.

As J. N. L. Myres notes: "What contemporary information has survived from the sub-Roman phase was generated mainly by the ideological conflict between the Pelagian and Augustinian interpretations of basic Christian doctrine. This conflict seems to have bedevilled civilized thought among the Britons just at the time when unity was above all things essential..." (3) Also, at the time of Pelagius revulsion existed in Gaul and Britain against gratia and the corruption in Ravenna and Rome. This may have favoured the diffusion of Pelagius's ideas among the young.

Both the time of Pelagius and the Carolingian epoch were periods of intellectual ferment created by the refugees—who fled from Rome and the Goths in 410, and, much later, from Ireland and the Vikings in the 800's. Just as Pelagius's later ideas were disseminated by the earlier Roman refugees, so scholars like Sedulius Scottus spread not dissimilar views across the Carolingian realm. The chain of Christian peregrini stretched from Christian Celts and Ireland right down to the Carolingian Renaissance.

We have also been faced with another aspect of Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism (4), that is the sharp regional differences in the realm of ideas within the Roman Empire at the end of the

fourth century and the beginning of the fifth. One might say that the issue of "Pelagianism" illuminates the disintegration of the Roman Empire at the beginning of the fifth century. Division existed not only between the pars occidentalis and the pars orientalis. Within the Western part itself geographical regions such as Britain, Gaul, Dalmatia and Africa were also separated by their different mentalities. We have seen the relatively small importance to Ravenna of Britain, the "edge of the world," as compared with that of North Africa, an integral and vociferous part of the "Mare nostrum."

We cannot ignore recent research pointing to a geographical element behind the influence of Pelagius. This was discussed in Chapter III. Likewise, in terms of the Carolingian Renaissance the most important "geographic" aspect is that there had arisen a blend of Celtic (British and Irish) monastic scholarship joined with the later Saxon stream in Britannia to form a harmonious body of doctrine and moral teaching which was sufficiently coherent to impress and influence Alcuin, and through him Charlemagne and the Empire. Thus, in the British Isles, at the beginnings of what was to become later the English pragmatic and pedagogical tradition, a Pelagian-influenced fusion of Celtic and Saxon traditions was realized. It relied on a belief in the importance of free will, free choice in the pursuit of inpeccantia and justice, which rejected extreme determinism and was uneasy with the latter's religious garb, predestination.

This body of thought, still not entirely understood today because of the loss of important texts (5), is heavily indebted to Pelagius. His role has not hitherto been recognized, partly because the transmission of his heritage depended to a great extent on persistent scribal ignorance of the true origin of many Pelagian works. Attribution to Augustine, to Jerome or to others of the writings of Pelagius protected their preservation and transmission, but masked them at the same time. The authorship of several of these works has only been confirmed in the 20th century. This is now leading to the beginning of a major reevaluation of Pelagius's role in the history of Western European thought.

The morality, philosophy and religious principles of Alcuin and by implication of Charlemagne thus owe a great debt to Pelagius, a debt hitherto unacknowledged, but demonstrated in Chapters VI, VII and VIII of the present study.

To document the influence of Pelagius on Alcuin the thesis has reviewed the places, methods and times of preservation of his thought, and its transmission through the relevant manuscripts from the time of Pelagius to that of Charlemagne, taking into account the considerable obstacles erected by the many formal condemnations of Pelagius as a "heresiarch." The questions of such transmission were discussed in Chapters IV, V (including the role of the Irish) and VI (with further details on the Irish connection). Chapter VI also focussed on the manuscripts in particular, including the Pseudo-Jerome group, and laid emphasis

on the role of the Libellus fidei, the Expositiones.... the De induratione... and the De vita Christiana of Pelagius in particular. The nature of Pelagius's influence on Alcuin is demonstrated in Chapter VII. The elements of the influence linked concepts of: (1) the problem of evil; (2) the transmission of original sin; (3) methods of textual analysis; (4) each human soul's right to natural freedom as a juridical power; (5) the indissoluble link between the freedom of the human will and individual responsibility. The combination of these elements leads to the establishment, through the sovereignty of man, of obligations toward God and fellow Christians which can lead to inpeccantia. The influence of Alcuin on the educational system of the Carolingian period was very great, since he helped to form the views of the Emperor, Charlemagne, and to establish the principles used in the education of the laity and clergy.

In the case of Pelagius early mediaeval history would be distorted if important cultural differences and idiomatic expressions of faith were ignored. Modern studies of "heresy" show that, far from being a temporary aberration, it may indicate important local differences, since the religious map of Europe was quite fragmented. (6) Pelagius survived in Celtic Britain and in Ireland because his ideas were part of the culture and were woven into the idiomatic expressions of faith.

The ideas of Pelagius were also readily accepted by the Germanic Anglo-Saxon tradition which tended to revere its dead

pagan heroes and cherished a belief in justice and in a good law of nature.

Further, for the Franks (who saw themselves as the new Israel) as for Pelagius, justice should not be different for the rich and for the poor. They rejected social injustice. Alcuin instructed a willing Charlemagne that law is based on the equality of man, on equal rights under a just law and a just God.

Pelagius, the man whom Joan Liversidge defined as "a gentle and much-loved Briton" (7) disappeared quietly and with great dignity (even if his ideas never left the place of his birth). It is not unreasonable to advance the hypothesis that, after Pelagius was condemned as a heretic in Rome in 418, a friendly monastery in Wales is exactly where he could have ended his days. (8) He was last seen in the year 420, some say in Palestine, some say in Egypt, none of these assertions being based on firm evidence.

In fact, the great popularity of Pelagius's works in Ireland, along with Meirion's manuscript from Wales, would make a return circa 420 to Wales (or even Ireland later) by Pelagius a possibility. (8) It would also explain Prosper of Aquitaine's words in de gratia Dei et libero arbitrio contra collatorem, when he writes: [Pope Celestine]...expelled even from their distant retreat across the sea those persons, enemies of grace, who had taken possession of the land of their birth" (quosdam inimicos gratiae solum suae originis occupantes). (9) Such a return to Britannia could also explain why St. Germain l'Auxerrois had to

be sent so precipitately on anti-Pelagian crusades a few years later. It would also, of course, have to imply an extraordinary network of protective followers insulating an aged Pelagius Britto with great success from further attack.

It is an irony that both Pelagius and Alcuin were called Albinus—the man from Albion—even if the one was in a caricature, and the other by personal choice. What is of greater importance however is the influence (direct or indirect, and either conscious or unconscious for those affected) of Pelagius on the significant later writings and activities of Alcuin and other leading figures of the Carolingian Renaissance. Therein lies the Nachleben of Pelagius.

FOOTNOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

(1) A. Solignac and Flavio G. Nuvolone, "Pélage," cols. 2889-2942 in Dictionnaire de spiritualité, vol. 12, part 2 (Paris, 1986), especially cols. 2889 and 2934-2936.

(2) Pelagius is listed as second chronologically to Vinisius by Lapidge and Sharpe, although their dating of Vinisius (c. 400) may still allow Pelagius (their dating c. 350 to c. 430) chronological primacy.

(3) J. N. L. Myres, The English Settlements. The Oxford History of England, Oxford, 1986, p. 20.

(4) The differentiation between "Pelagianism" and "semi-Pelagianism" is specious and quite recent. Augustine saw no difference between the two; nor did Prosper of Aquitaine and Marius Mercator. The differentiation arose only in the seventeenth century. See for instance R. P. Russell's note 10 to p. 248 in Saint Augustine, the Teacher. The Free Choice of the Will, Grace and Free Will. (Washington, DC, 1968).

(5) F. G. Nuvolone, "F. Fragments divers," col. 2923 in Dictionnaire de spiritualité, Vol. 12, Part 2, Paris, 1986.

(6) Karl F. Morrison, Europe's Middle Ages. 565 / 1500. Glenview, Illinois, 1970, p. 16.

(7) Joan Liversidge, Britain in the Roman Empire. London, 1968, p. 463.

(8) A review by R. P. C. Hanson (first distributed on June 24, 1987 at the Irish Conference of medievalists in Maynooth, Ireland) of E. A. Thompson's 1984 book Saint Germanus... indicates that Hanson would agree it is possible Pelagius sought refuge in Britain after his banishment from Italy in 418. The review, entitled "St. Germanus and Britain" appeared in Peritia 4 (1985): 377-379. See p. 378.

(9) Prosper of Aquitaine, Liber contra collatorem, c. 21, PL 51.

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Ref: Clavis 728; Kenney 26; Stegmüller 6355-7; Lapidge and Sharpe (L&S) No. 2.
- Expositio interlinearis libri Iob. PL 23, 1407-70 [1475-1538].
Ref: Clavis 757; Stegmüller 3419 and 6371 (ii); L&S No. 3.
- Liber de vita Christiana (inc. 'Et ego peccator ultimus'). PL 40, 1031-46; PL 50, 383-402.
Ref: Clavis 730; L&S No. 4.
- De induratione cordis Pharaonis (inc. 'Perfectorum est'), (ed. Dom G. Morin in Revue bénédictine, XXVI, 1909, 167-88 see G. de Plinval in Essai sur..., Fribourg, 1947). PLS I, 1506-39.
Ref: Clavis 729; L&S No. 5.
- Libellus fidei ad Innocentium papam (inc. 'Credimus in Deum'). PL 45, 1716-18; PL 48, 488-91; Mansi IV, 355.
Ref: Clavis 731; Stegmüller 6370 (vii); L&S No. 6.

Epistulae:

- Ad Demetriaden (inc. 'Si summo ingenio'). PL 30, 15-45; PL 33, 1099-1120.
Ref: Clavis 737; Kenney, No. 26; Stegmüller 6370 (iii); L&S No. 7.
- Ad Marcellam (inc. 'Magnam humilitati'). PL 30, 50-5; CSEL 29, 429-36.
Ref: Clavis 738; L&S No. 8.
- De divina lege (inc. 'Praesumptionem meam'). PL 30, 105-16.
Ref: Clavis 740; Stegmüller 6370 (iv); L&S No. 9.
- Ad Claudiam sororem de virginitate (inc. 'Quantam in caelestibus'). PL 30, 168-81; PL 20, 223-27; CSEL 1, 224-50.
Ref: Clavis, No. 741; L&S No. 10.
- Ad Caelantiam (inc. 'Vetus scripturae'). PL 22, 1204-12; CSEL 29, 436-59 and CSEL 56, 329-56;
Ref: Clavis 745; L&S No. 11.
- Ad virginem in exilium missam or Consolatio (inc. 'Si Deus ac Dominus roset'). PL 30, 55-60.
Ref: Clavis 739; L&S No. 12.
- Ad Oceanum de ferendis opprobriis (inc. 'Diversorum opprobria'). PL 30, 282-8.
Ref: Clavis 744; L&S No. 13.

Ad Claudiam de ultimo iudicio (inc. 'Lectis epistulis tuis'). PL 20, 223-7; CSEL I, 219-23.

Ref: Clavis 746; L&S No. 14.

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Ref: Clavis 733; L&S No. 15.

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Ref: Clavis 734; L&S No. 16.

De possibilitate non peccandi (inc. 'Qualiter religionis'). Caspari, Briefe... 114-19; PLS I, 1457-64.

Ref: Clavis 735; L&S No. 17.

Ad adolescentem (sive) ad iuvenem (inc. 'Humanae referunt litterae'). Caspari, 14-21; PLS I, 1375-80.

Ref: Clavis 732.

De castitate (inc. 'Quamquam, illius Christianitatis'). Caspari, 122-87; PLS I, 1464-1505.

Ref: Clavis 736.

Ad discipulos in Augustine. ...de peccato originale. 15, 16; CSEL 42, 177-8.

Ad amicum in Augustine, De gestis Pelagii. 30, 54; CSEL 42, 107.

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Ref: Clavis 750.

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106

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OF THE
EXPOSITIONES...
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V-IX
CENTURIES

