

ST. BONIFACE
AND THE BIRTH OF A NEW ORDER IN EUROPE:
718-754

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
David Harry Miller
1965

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 01686 5036



8110

27

(20) 5760523

~~MAR 04 1999~~
~~112803~~
16.800657

ABSTRACT

SAINT BONIFACE AND THE CREATION OF A NEW ORDER IN EUROPE: 718-754

by David Harry Miller

One of the basic problems confronting those concerned with the history of the early Middle Ages is the process of the development of European society from ancient to medieval. As the Roman papacy was one of the most fundamental and characteristic institutions of the Middle Ages, the history of its development is of crucial importance to the creation of Medieval Europe. While the development of an institution such as the papacy is a process spanning the entire medieval period, there are periods in its history which stand out as more critical than others. Such a period is the eighth century, during the course of which the papacy was transformed from an imperial rump-patriarchate to one of the basic institutions of Medieval Europe. There are many factors which might be cited in explanation of this process, but one of the most important of them is the effect of the Anglo-Saxon missionary movement and its greatest protagonist, Saint Boniface.

The object of this thesis is to attempt to outline the role played by Saint Boniface in the development of the Medieval papacy through an examination of the basic source materials and some of the more important secondary works covering the period. Among the source materials which the author of this thesis has investigated are the correspondence of Saint Boniface, his biography by the monk Willibald, the decrees of the reforming synods inspired by Saint Boniface in France, and pertinent Frankish records of other sorts.

The conclusions of this study indicate that Saint Boniface, by enlarging the sphere of papal influence by conversion, and by his reforming activities making peoples north of the Alps conscious of papal authority, was instrumental in aiding the development of the papacy into that institution we know as typical of the Middle Ages. In addition this author has concluded that the figure of Saint Boniface looms large in relation to the alliance effected between the papacy and King Pippin the Short which ultimately led to the destruction of the Lombard Kingdom and the enfranchisement of the papacy as the leading power in Italy.

ST. BONIFACE
AND THE BIRTH OF A NEW ORDER IN EUROPE:

718-754

by
David Harry Miller

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
Department of History

1965

PREFACE

There was a time when all scholars characterized the period of the early Middle Ages as a dark age, and there are still those who think in these terms. But lately these quaint opinions are being revised and persons concerned with the study of the early Middle Ages have discovered, and are still discovering, that the so-called 'dark ages' were a period of great importance during which the basic nature of Christian European civilization was being determined. New institutions, ideas, and basic attitudes were created in this period which were the elements of a new civilization. This new civilization was not a subculture of the old Mediterranean world nor an inferior parasitic thing breeding on the decayed carcass of the old culture. It was a vibrant, creative and uniquely European civilization. The problems which confronted it were many, but they were safely surmounted because this culture was able to build institutions strong enough to enable society to survive. It was because these institutions were created and the difficulties facing early medieval society were surmounted that a real 'dark age' did not descend upon Europe.

The eighth century was one of the most crucial centuries in the development of this new Europe. Many great

events took place in the course of the eighth century which shaped the nature of things to come; the rise of the Arnulfing dynasty in Gaul, the Christianization of Germany and the final dissolution of the bonds binding the papacy to the East are three of the most important of these events, which, along with the Arab invasions and the beginning of the Nordic Völkerwanderungen, helped to determine the structure of the changes which occurred in the following centuries. These changes were brought about by many causes, but deeply involved in the changes of the eighth century, and perhaps necessary to their accomplishment, was St. Boniface the Apostle of Germany. It is the thesis of this essay that St. Boniface was one of the primary figures of this age without whom, in the final analysis, these three epoch-making events I have listed could not have taken place.

I wish to express my thanks and indebtedness to Professor Richard E. Sullivan who read this thesis and made many valuable and constructive suggestions. I also wish to acknowledge the encouragement and patience of my wife, Agnes.

D.H.M.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREFACE	11
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	v
CHAPTER ONE	1
CHAPTER TWO	27
CHAPTER THREE	37
CHAPTER FOUR	58
CONCLUSION	72
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY	80
BIBLIOGRAPHY	87

Abbreviations Used

a.	Anno. (referring to entries of annals and chronicles)
A.S.C.	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. This edition used includes readings from all the variant MSS.
Ep.	Epistle (Letter).
C.H.	Church History, a journal
H.Z.	Historische Zeitschrift
Med. St.	Medieval Studies, published by the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in the University of Toronto
M.G.H.	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
SS.	Scriptorum of M.G.H.
LL.	Legum of M.G.H.: Sectio II: Capitularia Sectio III: Concilia

CHAPTER ONE

At the time when the Anglo-Saxon Wynfrith made his appearance on the continent the Western world was in the throes of a great change. Unknown to men of that age, Europe was emerging as a distinct entity from the old Mediterranean world order - the ancient was becoming the medieval. When the Pax Romana was destroyed in the West, its idea was nursed along and men found themselves looking eastward, where on the shores of the Bosphorus, a trace of the Imperium Romanum remained, truncated, but with an aura of legitimacy. Thus men of the West tried to attach themselves to this last vestige of the empire, barbarians and Romans alike. First and foremost among those to avow their allegiance to the far-off caesars had been the Patriarchs of the West - the Roman pontiffs. But in a process beginning in the sixth century the papacy began to be separated from the empire, both physically and politically and in the middle of the eighth century, the popes of Rome threw off their allegiance to the eastern emperors and attached their fortunes to the chariot of the embryonic Carolingian state in the north, eventually exalting the masters of this state with the imperial title.

During the later phases of this papal about-face Wynfrith, his name changed to Boniface, was busily bringing Christianity and some civilization to the Teutonic heathen of north-central Europe. It is this aspect of the changeover to a new epoch, the heroic labors of the saintly Boniface, around which events seem to have turned; for he prepared the ground upon which rested the thrones of Gregory VII and Innocent III.¹ Before any attempt may be made to understand this man and his achievements we must appreciate the nature of the world in which he lived and worked and the conditions which faced him.

We know that by 754 the turning away of the Roman Church from Byzantium was accomplished in fact and that by 800 it was acknowledged in deed. But why did the popes seek to break their four-centuries-old union with the empire and resurrect the imperial idea anew in the West, conferring the Augustan title on a dynasty of mere barbarians?

The reasons lie first in the inability of the emperors to control and protect Italy, second in the increasing divergences between the East and the West, and third in the gradual development of the Roman bishopric into the papacy.

¹ Johannes Haller, Das Papsttum, Idee und Wirklichkeit, 5 Bde., verbesserte und ergänzte Ausgabe (Basel, 1951), I, 391.

Before the reign of the Emperor Justinian I Italy lay, in effect, outside the real sphere of imperial rule, though theoretically a province of the empire. Through Justinian's reconquest, Italy was returned to the imperial sphere. But the chief significance of Justinian's reconquest, for Italy, lay in the fact that through it the Byzantine treasury was vastly depleted, necessitating military cut-backs, thus leaving the West endangered.² The effect of this was compounded by the fact that at the same time the Pax Gothica had also been destroyed, leaving Italy totally undefended.³ Thus when in 568, the Lombard tribes invaded the peninsula there was no one capable of offering resistance.

By 574 the initial drive of the Lombard invasion had died out and the victorious tribesmen broke up into small groups, each to pursue its own ends. Even then the empire could not summon up enough strength to counterattack. Toward the end of the sixth century the Emperors Tiberias II and Maurice tried, in the usual Byzantine diplomatic solution to a problem, to persuade Childebert II, King of the Austrasian Franks, to attack the Lombards. But this

² A. A. Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, second English edition, 2 vols. (Madison, 1961), I, 141-142.

³ Ferdinand Lot, The End of the Ancient World and the Beginning of the Middle Ages, Tr. by P. and M. Leon (New York, 1961), p. 286.

time it did not work to the advantage of the empire. Childebert sold his support to both sides at various times, and in 591 he made peace with the Lombards. Finally, in the reign of Maurice, the empire tried again to solve the problem by the creation of the Exarchate at Ravenna. The exarch was to have both civil and military control over all Italy and rule in the emperor's name. But as the exarch could not command the loyalty of Italy, the arrangement proved ineffective.

The effect of these events on the papacy was to stimulate the assumption of civil and military responsibility begun years before when imperial abdication of responsibility pulled the papacy into the vacuum thus created. Though the defense of Italy was the duty of the exarch at Ravenna, it was in fact the pope's responsibility by the end of the sixth century.⁴ The papacy continued to profess loyalty to the empire, but the obvious inability of the caesars to protect their Italian subjects placed that loyalty under considerable strain.

Though their disunity mitigated the effects of their depredations, the Lombards continued to prove a problem, endangering the security of both pope and exarch. The

⁴L. Duchesne, The Beginning of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes, Tr. by A. H. Matthew (London, 1903), p. 2.

Emperor Constans II made the last active Byzantine attempt to stem the Lombard tide. In 663 he personally went to Italy to fight the Lombards, but after a dalliance of twelve days in Rome he retired to Sicily, leaving Italy to its fate. It began to be apparent to the Italians, with this last fiasco, that no real support was likely to come from the East. More and more the papacy appeared to the Italians to be the only 'island of liberty' in a sea of chaos.⁵ Accordingly, toward the end of the seventh century, a change took place in the thinking of most Italians; they were no longer passive. A new aristocracy, which was in control of the militia, had arisen, and as men began to realize that Italians alone would defend Italy they began to disregard the orders coming from the exarch, the impotent representative of an impotent empire.⁶

The theoretical position of the popes as supreme pontiffs of the church had been worked out by Pope Gregory I. But St. Gregory counted himself as a Roman and a subject of the Roman Empire, not foreseeing, perhaps, that papal supremacy was a doctrine inconsistent with the pope's position as the subject of a temporal ruler. And the institution to which the papacy was thus held to be subordinated,

⁵Henri Daniel-Rops, The Church in the Dark Ages, Tr. by A. Butler, 2 vols. (Garden City, 1962), I, 287.

⁶Lot, p. 302.

the Roman emperorship, was by nature predisposed toward caesaropapism, the control of theological affairs by the emperor, who was actually counted as more than a mere secular potentate.⁷ In fact, the caesars of the new Rome were in the habit of styling themselves as the "Thirteenth Apostle". Thus, at the same time as the political relations between Roma and Constantinople were deteriorating, religious quarrels arose which caused the situation to worsen.

Before the seventh century was fairly under way the first of these quarrels erupted in the form of a Christological decree of the Emperor Heraclius. The emperor was faced with Persian conquest of the rich and important provinces of the East; most of the people in these provinces were monophysitic and thus not particularly rabid in their attachment to the orthodox empire. In order to placate the religious feelings of his subjects in these provinces and to induce them to greater zeal in the imperial cause, Heraclius introduced the doctrine of monothelitism to try to smooth over theological differences.⁸ But the eastern provinces to which Heraclius had made this religious concession were soon lost. No sooner had the Persians been subdued - and Byzantium worn out in the

⁷Gustav Schnürer, Church and Culture in the Middle Ages, Tr. by G. J. Undreiner (Paterson, N.J., 1956), I, 422.

⁸Vasiliev, I, 222.

process - than had hordes of Arabs emerged from their desert homes in a flood that brought the empire more woe as the freshly re-conquered provinces were lost forever. Even though the necessity of the monothelite dogma had now been destroyed Heraclius's successor, Constans II, retained it. Constans made some attempt to reconcile the papacy to the doctrine by changing some aspects of it, but Pope Martin, soon to be a hero of the faith, condemned Constans's Typos along with Heraclius's Ecthesis at the Lateran Synod of 648. In retaliation Constans had Martin arrested and deported to the Crimea, where he at length died from the brutal treatment accorded him at the hands of the 'Thirteenth Apostle'.

Thus the monothelite heresy continued to divide East and West. In 680 the Emperor Constantine IV tried to reconcile the differences by a council at Constantinople, the Sixth Ecumenical, which condemned monothelitism. A tenuous peace with Rome was established and the pope was recognized as supreme. Constantine's peace with Rome was a short one; in 691 Justinian II called a council, the Concilio in Trullo (Quinsext), by which a series of anti-Roman measures were passed. Pope Sergius I refused to recognize the validity of such a council and Justinian II tried to arrest him; presumably he was to share the fate of Martin. But the Italian militia prevented it. The Concilio in Trullo was to be a landmark of ill-will;

Michael Cerularius later looked back upon it as the real beginning of the great schism now called after him.⁹ Papal-imperial relations continued to worsen and then improve and then worsen again until this series of petty emperors of the period 641-717, and their vacillating religious policy was rudely interrupted. In 717 a new adventurer seized the throne of the Basiloi and inaugurated a new and vigorous dynasty called the Isaurian; he was Leo III, the first of a long series of military adventurers from the Armenian frontier. Leo was fated to loose a cataclysmic quarrel which was to shake both the state and the church as no other before it had - a quarrel which was even to effect the masses of imperial subjects.¹⁰

Leo began alienating Italy by promulgating a series of tax decrees which were oppressive to the people and which were opposed by Pope Gregory II, who endorsed, as it were, the feelings of most Italians.¹¹ Then in 726 the aggressive emperor promulgated the iconoclastic decrees, destined to plunge the Christian world into great controversy. Leo knew for how much the voice of the pope counted in

⁹ Christopher Dawson, The Making of Europe (Cleveland, 1956), p. 162.

¹⁰ Haller, I, 352.

¹¹ Walter Ullman, The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages, 2nd edition (London, 1962), p. 45.

theological affairs and was determined to get his support.¹² He offered to forget Gregory's resistance to the taxes in return for papal approval of iconoclasm. Gregory refused, but made no overt move to revolt from the empire. The papacy needed protection from the Lombards, and while no other saviour appeared to be at hand the possibility of the empire could not be abandoned.¹³

During this theological and political crisis the Lombards were under the command of Liutprand, their first really great king since Alboin, and he saw a chance to profit from the problems of the empire.¹⁴ Liutprand thus set out to unite Italy under his rule and end Byzantine occupation of Italy. The Lombards had been catholicized after their arrival in Italy and there is no doubt that Liutprand meant to rule Italy in union with the church, recognizing the pope as its head.¹⁵ But such a solution would only aggravate the problem. For a Lombard power in Italy would no more tolerate a pope who was not subordinate to it than would a Greek; the pope would become Lombard patriarch - no more.¹⁶

¹²Haller, I, 352.

¹³George Ostrogorsky, The History of the Byzantine State, Tr. by Joan Hussey (Oxford, 1956), p. 145.

¹⁴Haller, I, 353.

¹⁵Ibid., I, 354.

¹⁶Daniel-Rops, I, 287.

Gregory II, then, had to walk a thin line between treason and disaster. But Leo seemed determined not to allow him to walk it in peace. Unable to get back at Rome by any direct means, he deprived the Roman see of those ecclesiastical provinces in the Balkans and south Italy which were still under his control and assigned them to the patriarchate of Constantinople.¹⁷ This was the beginning of the severance of political ties, for when Leo did this he put the papacy wholly outside the empire, and the lands of the patriarchate of Constantinople came to coincide with the real limes of the empire.¹⁸ The empire was at last a fully Byzantine state.

At the first part of the eighth century the face of the papacy was still turned eastward.¹⁹ By the middle of the eighth century it had become obvious that it was necessary to create a new political system in the West and that it was up to the papacy to do so.²⁰ Italy was not part of Byzantium, nor could it be. Nor could the papacy exist in a caesaropapistic state and remain the type of institution envisaged by St. Gregory the Great.²¹ Besides, the empire

¹⁷Haller, I, 357.

¹⁸Ostrogorsky, Byzantine State, p. 146.

¹⁹Theodor Schieffer, Wifrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas (Freiburg, 1954), p. 38.

²⁰Daniel-Rops, II, 87-89.

²¹Schnürer, I, 441.

had ceased to be Roman; from the time of Heraclius's reign it had become apparent that the empire was something new²² - not a Roman state but a Hellenized oriental state.

Historical developments had forced the emperors to confine their main attention to the East.²³ Asia Minor and the Asian hinterland had become the most important sector of interest, and from Asia Minor came the real strength of medieval Byzantium.²⁴ Indeed, even in the sixth century the divergencies between East and West were so great that the idea of unity was an anachronism; in fact, Justinian I's failure to understand the importance of the East for Constantinople instead of trooping off to Italy was nearly fatal.²⁵ Justinian's successors could not afford to forget his mistake, and by the seventh century imperial policy was being formed in Asia, for Asian problems; the West had to become subordinate to greater designs.

Constitutionally, resistance to the emperor was high treason, (and irreconcilable with the idea of the Imperium Romanum to which the papacy clung in spite of itself);

²²Dawson, p. 153.

²³George Ostrogorsky, "The Byzantine Empire in the World of the Seventh Century", Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 13, (1959), 10.

²⁴Ibid., p. 3.

²⁵Vasiliev, I, 142.

legally the church could do nothing to resist Byzantine caesaropapism and yet remain a part of the empire.²⁶

Moreover, the great events taking place north of the Alps, of which we shall speak, were bringing new peoples into the Christian fold and creating a new area of interest for the papacy. The pope was patriarch of the West, but if he remained tied to Byzantium he ran the risk of being degraded to the rank of rump-patriarch - patriarch without a province.²⁷ On the other hand, if the Lombards prevailed, the pope would be a mere Lombard bishop. A solution had to be found. This solution was the alliance with the Franks, a transalpine power. The Franks were near and powerful enough to protect Rome from the Lombards, yet far enough away not to be able to control Rome.

How was this new papal power in the West achieved? How were the Franks brought into the papal sphere? It is by answering these questions that we shall arrive at an assessment of the importance of the role of St. Boniface to the establishment of the medieval papacy.

The Frankish kingdom, soon to figure so prominently in papal policy, could not be immediately enlisted in the service of the popes, but had to be prepared for its role.

²⁶ Ullman, pp. 44-45.

²⁷ Schieffer, p. 38.

The Merovingian kings had not been particularly close or obedient to the papacy, and at the opening of the eighth century, the Arnulfings seemed equally remote. Nor was the moral quality of the church in Gaul a matter for pride. Thus no small part of the papal reorientation was to be based on the reform of the church in Gaul and its closer alignment with Rome. It is, of course, the role of St. Boniface in these affairs that interests us, but it would be impossible to understand St. Boniface's problems and the nature of his achievement without at least a cursory survey of the Gallican church in its degradation.

The Frankish conversion to orthodox Catholicism was less of a theological than a political decision. Though Clovis was doubtless sincere in his profession of faith, there was an element of political shrewdness involved; for by choosing Catholicism rather than Arianism Clovis was able to become the protector, and eventually the master, of the powerful Catholic clergy rather than their enemy as were all the other Germanic leaders.²⁸ The wisdom of his decision, from the royal point of view is demonstrated by the fact that the Merovingians were not slow in establishing their control over the church. The episcopacy offered an admirable organization and

²⁸Heinrich Fichtenau, The Carolingian Empire, Tr. by Peter Munz (New York, 1964), p. 2.

administrative system which the kings would be loath to see uncontrolled by themselves. Only a short time after Clovis's conversion bishops were being called upon to perform political services, while the entire clergy passed under civil, rather than ecclesiastical, law.²⁹ The Merovingians tended to have an ambiguous view of the church. On the one hand it was the holy mother church, though this view lost potency as time progressed, and on the other it was part and parcel of the kingdom, part of the royal patrimony, as it were. Thus they were naturally prone to insist on a voice in clerical job-filling. Even so holy a man as St. Remigius was ready to obey the royal will, even when it demanded an uncanonical election; most bishops followed his example.³⁰ This attitude even extended to episcopal elections and, thus, by the time of the first generation after Clovis the kings began to nominate and elect bishops, the practice being soon established as a general rule.³¹ At times when more than one man were candidates the king had to exercise a final choice, while at others the king merely confirmed the choice of the last

²⁹Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, 5 Bde. (Berlin, 1954), I, 137-138.

³⁰Ibid., I, 139.

³¹Gregory, Bp. of Tours, The History of the Franks, Bk. III, Ch. 2, Tr. by O. M. Dalton, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1927), II, 86.

incumbent.³² Or, should the people be united or nearly so in a choice, the king would again act as a rubber stamp.³³ In general during the early Merovingian period, (500-550), the royal power over the church was unabused, and the kings, either under church influence or in the general interest, endeavoured to put the best men in episcopal positions, so that the moral authority of the episcopacy was still rather high in spite of royal election. But of course such a system was open to abuse, as the future would demonstrate.

The Frankish political system, with its division and redivision of the realm among the sons of the kings, was bound to provide a fertile field of conflict between rival branches of the royal family. By the third generation after Clovis chronic civil wars plagued the Frankish state. In the course of these wars the church naturally suffered, its lands and property constantly being plundered. By 567 the problem was grave enough to be taken up by the Council of Tours, which threatened depredations against the church's property with anathema.³⁴ And by about the last quarter of

³²Ibid., Bk. IV, Ch. 9 (15), 24 (35-36), II, 127-128, 144-147, 157-158.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Sir Samuel Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (London, 1926), p. 442.

the sixth century the destruction of church property was so widespread that Gregory, Bishop of Tours, was prompted to lament over it in his History of the Franks:

The fathers venerated with their whole hearts the bishops of the lord and hearkened to their words; the sons not only refuse to hear, but even persecute them. The fathers enriched the monasteries and churches; the sons demolish and destroy them.³⁵

Even more tragic was the fact that the adversity of these times effected the church not only physically, but morally as well. Unworthy bishops began to hold and degrade church offices, which became prizes highly coveted, and kings soon began appointing laymen to bishoprics, causing Gregory to lament that the crime of Simon Magus had degraded the Gallican church.³⁶ Thus, by the end of the sixth century the church in Gaul was in a poor state. It was to sink even lower in the seventh.

In the seventh century the power of the aristocracy began to grow at the expense of the royal power, and in the midst of these troubled times the church continued to suffer.³⁷ By the time of Charles Martel the property of the

³⁵Gregory, Bp. of Tours, Bk. IV, Ch. 33 (48), II, 157-158.

³⁶Ibid., Bk. VI, Ch. 8 (14), 25 (38), II, 249, 270., BK. VIII, Ch. 22, 31, 39, II, 346-7, 360-1, 353-6.

³⁷Fredegarius, Chronicorum Liber Quartus cum Continuationibus, Tr. by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London, 1960), Liber Quartus, Chs. 24, 32, 36, 60, pp. 15-16, 21, 23-29, 50. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Barbarian West, A.D. 400-1000 (New York, 1962), p. 84.

church was being snapped up by lay magnates without so much as a by-your-leave, and the authority of the bishops was being destroyed through the appointment of royal henchmen to the most important sees.³⁸

During all this time Gallic relations with the Roman see, a possible source of reform and discipline, were nearly non-existent. Though recent researches indicate that the Merovingians did not completely loose touch with Rome or cease to regard the papacy with some respect,³⁹ this respect was not significant. For the Frankish church was not part of an universal church, but a Landeskirche for which the kings were more potent than the popes.⁴⁰ During this period papal authority in Gaul steadily declined until the papal vicar, the Archbishop of Arles, ceased to have any importance in church affairs.⁴¹ Indeed, though the episcopacy remained intact, the office and authority of metropolitan disappeared.⁴² This situation might have been otherwise had the popes been free enough to develop and execute a real policy in regard to Gallican affairs,

³⁸Fichtenau, pp. 13-14.

³⁹H.M. Wallace-Hadrill, The Long-Haired Kings (London, 1962), p. 243.

⁴⁰Hauck, I, 391.

⁴¹Schnürer, I, 244.

⁴²Dill, p. 482.

but, as has been noted, repeated troubles in Italy absorbed most of the papal energies. Thus the process of dissolution and corruption of the Gallican church went unhindered and the Franks' Landeskirche reached the lowest ebb of corruption when uncouth Frankish nobles began to take up ecclesiastical positions once the exclusive preserve of the better educated classes of Gallo-Romans.⁴³ From 639-741, while the state was undergoing feudalization, the church became more and more secularized.⁴⁴

The best one can say about the Merovingians is that they did not come into open conflict with the church on matters religious, and except for Chilperic, who considered himself a theologian of sorts, did not try to practice caesaropapism.⁴⁵ But they did, as has been observed, force their men on the church and kept the church from calling synods without their permission, and since freemen could not be ordained without royal permission (freemen being obliged to render military service) the lower orders of the clergy came to acquire a servile character which did much to further the corruption of the church.⁴⁶

⁴³ S. J. Crawford, Anglo-Saxon Influences on Western Christendom, 600-800 (Oxford, 1933), p. 6.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

⁴⁵ Dill, p. 480.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

Thus, as can be readily seen, the church in Gaul was, as a church, in sorry condition. When St. Boniface was faced with the reforming of it he was understandably dismayed; there had been no synods for eighty years, the authority of the metropolitan was not observed and the episcopacy was in the hands of laymen and unfit priests.⁴⁷ Yet reformed it must be; for this realm of sinners was to become the tool and the material with which the Roman church was to build a new culture and a new society in the West.

The chief source of the most effective of the seventh and eighth century missionary activity was the recently⁴⁸ established church among the Anglo-Saxons, a unique church of which St. Boniface was a son. The development of that church was one of the grandest successes of this formative period of Europe's youth, and one of the greatest sobriquets assignable to Pope Gregory I is 'Apostle of England', even though he never visited there.

⁴⁷ Saint Boniface, Letters of St. Boniface, Ep. XL (50 in Tangl's ed.), Tr. by Ephraim Emerton, Records of Civilization Sources and Studies, XXXI (New York, 1940), pp. 78-83. Note that the estimate of an 80 year lapse between the last council and the time that St. Boniface wrote is an exaggeration. St. Boniface relied on the authority of the elders of the Franks for his information.

⁴⁸ Though the first mission arrived ca. 597, it was only since the synod at Whitby that the church in England was really well established. Wilfrid, the first missionary, arrived in Frisia in 678, barely 15 years after the synod.

For though the mission sent by St. Gregory did not by any means convert all of the English or even the major part of them, it initiated the conversion of the English and later provided the organization and leadership for the newly created church.

By the end of the sixth century the Anglo-Saxons had settled down into their conquered land and had begun to develop some of the rudimentary arts of civilization. During the course of the invasions and subsequent wars through which these Teutonic heathens had won their new conquest they had acquired a reputation for extreme ferocity and cruelty. Whether the tales of St. Gregory's interview with the English slave-boys is apocryphal or not is really immaterial, for in any event the field was ripe for Roman activity. The ecclesiastics of Gaul, even though a Gallican bishop resided at Canterbury with the King of Kent, whose wife was a Frank, seemed unable to undertake a mission to their neighbors.⁴⁹

The Roman mission under Augustine was sent in 596 and established itself in Kent with ease, and though there was a short relapse to paganism among the Kentishmen when King Ethelbert died in 616,⁵⁰ Kent proved to be a permanent

⁴⁹ John Godfrey, The Church in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1962), p. 74.

⁵⁰ cf. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, MS. E, a. 616, Tr. by Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker (New Brunswick, N.J., 1961), p. 16.

addition to the Christian fold. However, Kent was the only real success of the mission sent directly from Rome. The Welsh of western Britain, remnants of a Romano-British population, were Christians, but Augustine was utterly unable to persuade them to join him in preaching to the English, their hated enemies. Other attempts of Augustine's group to expand their foundation outside Kent were discouraging for the most part; in Northumbria the fledgling church was almost completely ruined by the defeat of King Edwin by his Mercian and Welsh enemies in 632, and missions from Kent to other neighboring states were generally unsuccessful. Thus by 650 Canterbury had lost the lead in missionary enterprises.⁵¹

A good deal of the difficulty lay in the nature of the English political division. For if one of the heptarchy was converted, its rivals might be likely to cling all the more strongly to their paganism.⁵² But eventually the English were all to be converted. Though some ground was gained by Roman missionaries independent of the base in Kent,⁵³ the next great surge came in the form of an Irish

⁵¹ Sir Frank Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 2nd edition (Oxford, 1947), p. 113.

⁵² Schnürer, I, 354.

⁵³ cf. A.S.C., MS. E., a. 634, p. 18.
 Bede, The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, Tr. by J. Stevens and revised by L. Jane (London, 1910), pp. 113, 131, 137.

mission gaining its foothold in Northumbria.

Christianity did not die out in Northumbria with Edwin's defeat in 632. In 633 Oswald, Edwin's successor, was able to defeat the Welsh at Heavenfield and put the kingdom back on a solid footing. Oswald was a Christian, but he had been converted at Iona to the Celtic liturgy, and in 635 he sent to Iona for a mission to strengthen the faith among his people. St. Aidan arrived to take the matter in hand. Thus began a period of remarkable fruitfulness for the church as Aidan and Oswald were able to work together in complete harmony to spread the faith and secure Northumbria to Christianity.⁵⁴

It was through Northumbria, then, that Celtic influences entered into the English church. And these were powerful influences which dominated much of the fruitful activity of the conversion of the rest of England. Oswald was in his turn defeated in 641, but the church in his dominions was strong enough to stand without him.⁵⁵ Strong enough, in fact, to begin sending out monks to other areas to spread the word. By 660, then, the majority of the English peoples had been converted to Christianity from three basic sources: the Kentish mission originally sent by St. Gregory, independent Roman missionaries, and the

⁵⁴Godfrey, p. 105.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 106-107.

Irish monastics based in Northumbria. Thus England was divided between two liturgies and two different sets of ecclesiastical custom and organization. The Irish were calculating Easter by an archaic system and were organized into a monastic system in which episcopal authority was in some ways subordinate to an abbot's. The Romans were calculating Easter by a revised method and were organized according to the more orthodox episcopal-rule system. The two churches were bound to come into conflict over their differences and the conflict began in Northumbria, where the king was a follower of Celtic usages and the queen a follower of Roman usages. The result was the now famous Synod of Whitby in 663 A.D., at which the Irish could not avoid admitting that St. Peter was first among the apostles and gate-keeper of heaven.⁵⁶

However, the effect of Whitby was not an immediate uniting of the English under Rome, it only provided the possibility for such a union.⁵⁷ In the period immediately following Whitby the church was undergoing a period of disruption. Contributing thereto was the absence of a primate at Canterbury. The period of unification did not really begin until the papacy acted to fill the overlong vacancy at

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 23.

⁵⁷Stenton, p. 124.

Canterbury by sending Theodore of Tarsus to England.

Theodore was a Greek of long ecclesiastical experience and fitted to the task of organizing the church in England.⁵⁸ On his way north into England Theodore visited in Paris with Bishop Agilbert who had once been a bishop in Wessex and from him learned much concerning English affairs.⁵⁹ Immediately upon his arrival Theodore made a visitation of his province and then got down to the business of putting it in order. In 672 he held a synod of the church at Hertford which established England's first really organized episcopal system. In general, Theodore's archepiscopacy seems to have been successful in creating one church among the English, and that church Roman-oriented. However, the unity thus achieved was not Theodore's work alone. St. Cuthbert, a Romanized Celt, was instrumental in bringing Celt and Roman into one body because he saw that demands of unity overrode particularistic considerations.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Since Theodore was a Greek and thus liable to be tainted with some Eastern heresy, Bede says that the pope sent Hadrian along with him to be sure that he did not introduce any irregularities into England. cf. Bede, p. 163.

⁵⁹ Stenton, p. 132.

⁶⁰ Stenton, p. 126.

Thus the English church was made, and at its height was the most vibrant and productive church in Europe. The two forces influencing its creation mingled deeply, Roman missions and ideas giving it that strong pro-Roman orientation which was to be preserved through most of the middle ages, and Celtic influences giving it a scholarly tone and a zeal for spreading the gospel. The moderation of the Benedictine monks softened the rigorous asceticism of the stern Celts.⁶¹ But there is small profit in trying to discuss the relative importance of Irish or Roman influences or contributions - they mingle at all points and in each period.⁶²

The pro-Roman orientation of the English church is our chief interest. It was strengthened by moderation on the part of the men Rome chose to represent her, which moderation led the English to view Christianity as a freely chosen religion.⁶³ The Roman clergy did not push the idea of Imperium Romanum - they entered into no attempt to control national development, pushing it into romanized lines, but were content to let a Germanic culture develop

⁶¹ Richard E. Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages," Medieval Studies, XVII, (1965), 52. In fact, of Gregory's contributions to the mission field, none were so pregnant for the future as the inducement of the Benedictine order to participate.

⁶² Stenton, pp. 124-125.

⁶³ Schnürer, I, 352.

freely - yet the episcopacy gave a special oneness to the land, making cultural unity possible and paving the way for political unity.⁶⁴ The English church, with these above mentioned advantages, plus good communications with Rome and the political divisibleness of the English, was thus able to prevent the development of a Landeskirche.

Thus Anglo-Saxon Christianity was created of diverse strands and its diversity gave strength to its fabric. Out of it were to come missionaries to the continent, bringing with them Irish enthusiasm and learning and Roman order and canon. And the greatest of these was St. Boniface.

⁶⁴Ibid., I, 379.

CHAPTER TWO

The advent of Anglo-Saxon missions to the continental Teutonic tribes was not the first endeavour to convert the heathen of central Europe, but it was the first effective one. Christianity had previously been carried into Roman Germany during the period when the empire still controlled the West; for we know that representatives from Cologne and Treves were present at the Council of Arles, in 314. But the church in Germany had apparently languished with the removal of imperial protection and authority. Later years saw a somewhat sporadic stream of wandering preachers in Germany. In the fifth century an Italian monk named Severinus went north to preach and he was followed in the sixth and seventh centuries by the lauded Irish peregrini.¹

St. Columbanus arrived in Francia in the decade of the 580's and worked earnestly for reform, eventually being banished for his pains. However, he had sent his followers, Gallus, Fridolin, Thudbert, and Killian off to work among the pagan Germans in Switzerland, Bavaria and Franconia where they enjoyed some measure of success. But these Irish missionaries were preachers only; they suffered

¹Daniel-Rops, I, 305.

from a lack of organizational skills. In fact, they could develop no real organization and recognized no central authority to whom they were all obedient, and so could not really build a church that would last among the ferocious pagans of central Europe. Thus the achievements of these Irishmen were generally shortlived; each one had a commanding personality and could readily influence men, but when he was no longer present what he had built up tended to crumble.²

During the period prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons missionary work was generally independent of papal control or encouragement; the Vicars of St. Peter were engaged in coping with extremely urgent problems of their own in Italy which absorbed nearly all of the papal energy; moreover, Rome at that time lacked a pope of as outstanding competence as Gregory the Great.³

The first sign, that a change was about to take place came with the appearance of Bishop Wilfrid of York in Frisia in 678. Wilfrid had been on his way to Rome and had gone by way of Frisia to avoid his enemies. King Aldgisi of Frisia received him honorably and gave him leave to preach, which Wilfrid did during the winter he stayed in

² Sullivan, Med. St., p. 66.

³ Ibid., pp. 58-59.

Frisia. The success of this preaching seemed great and Wilfrid's biographer, Eddius Stephanus, attributed this to various and miraculous signs of God's favor which impressed and influenced the people.⁴ But the efficacy of Wilfrid's preaching was fleeting and did not long outlast his stay in Frisia, but whether or not Wilfrid made a real break into paganism in Frisia is incidental to the real significance of his connection with the missions to Germany. Most importantly, Wilfrid set his countrymen the example of proselytising among the continental heathen and thus stands as the inaugurator of the momentous invasion of Europe by Anglo-Saxon monks.⁵ The spirit of these venerable men was a manifestation of the diverse strands in the evolution of their church. The English had inherited two things of vast importance; from the Irish the urge to travel and the zeal to convert the heathen, and from their forebears the adventurous spirit and energy of a newly civilized peoples.⁶

The Irishmen had taught their pupils well, and the Anglo-Saxon missions to the continent, unlike the missions

⁴Eddius Stephanus, The Life of Bishop Wilfrid, Tr. by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 9-15.

⁵Peter Hunter Blair, An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1960), p. 163.

⁶Haller, I, 390.

of their continental predecessors, were more effective because the monks did not merely baptize thousands in wholesale lots, but preached to and instructed their converts.⁷ And on the other hand, the ability of these monks to organize and their loyalty to an organized church made their efforts more effective than those of their Irish predecessors. This is, perhaps, why one authority is led to remark that Frisia, particularly under SS. Willibrord and Boniface, was a testing ground of the theories developed by Gregory the Great.⁸

Wilfrid of York, as noted above, did not stay long in Frisia, being a missionary only by force of circumstance. But the light had been kindled among the English and the task was next taken up by Egbert, an English monk residing in an Irish monastery who, though he never went to Frisia, took in hand the organization of workers to go there. The first man sent by Egbert was Wigbert, who went in 686 to work in Frisia for two years, but who accomplished nothing. Radbod, at that time King of the Frisians, was no Aldgisl,

⁷ Richard E. Sullivan, "Carolingian Missionary Theories", The Catholic Historical Review, XLII, (1956), 279.

⁸ John Seville Higgins, "The Ultramonatism of Saint Boniface," Church History, II, (1933), 202.

no patron of missionaries - his overriding concern was the independence of his land from Frankish incursion, of which he regarded the missionaries as the vanguard.⁹ This was one of the primary difficulties encountered by the missions in Germany - Christianity was the religion of the Franks and came to be identified with Frankish overlordship. Thus in discouragement Wigbert returned home, and when he left Frisia, what was left of the church there fell into ruin.

But Egbert was made of sterner stuff and fortified by greater hope. In 690 he sent another group, led this time by a protégé of Wilfrid, Willibrord, who had spent twelve years studying in a monastery in Ireland. With eleven companions Willibrord arrived in Frisia and finding that only in that section of Frisia south of the Rhine, which was in Frankish hands, could any success be expected, he determined to get Frankish support.¹⁰ Pippin of Heristal, Major Domo of Austrasia and actual master of all Gaul, gave him leave to preach and extended him protection in Frankish Frisia.¹¹ Pippin had by 691 consolidated his control of the Franks and was at that time ready to turn to

⁹ Hauck, I, 404.

¹⁰ Ibid., I, 406.

¹¹ Bede, pp. 237-238.

the problem of gaining control of the barbaric peoples to the east of Gaul, which control was necessary to the security of Gaul.¹² Thus the understanding between Pippin and Willibrord, which inaugurated the alliance between the Arnulfing house and the German church of the Anglo-Saxon monks, was to both their advantages.¹³

A strong Frisian church would strengthen and protect Frankish interests in Frisia while the church would receive the protection it needed from the secular arm.¹⁴ But, for the church, at least, this blessing, like most others was a mixed one; for the fate of the church thus established would rise or fall with the vicissitudes of the Arnulfing house in Frisia.¹⁵ And, the alliance was only effective in mission areas; the Anglo-Saxons had no contact with the Frankish church.

Once assured of Pippin's support Willibrord insisted that papal approval of the mission and its arrangements must be sought.¹⁶ Once this approval was procured Willibrord set diligently upon his task and succeeded so

¹²Annales Mettenses, a. 691. MGH, SS, Tomus I, edidit G.H. Pertz (Hannover, 1826), p. 320.

¹³Crawford, p. 43.

¹⁴Hauck, I, 406.

¹⁵Haller, I, 390.

¹⁶Crawford, p. 43.

well that within the space of a few years a Frisian church seemed to be fairly well established. As a result Pippin desired to see Willibrord consecrated archbishop of the Frisian church - presumably to integrate Frisia into his Frankish state the more readily.¹⁷ That papal permission was sought may have been due to several factors. First, by having Willibrord consecrated in Rome the connection of the church with Frankish overlordship, so hated by the Frisians, would be de-emphasized.¹⁸ Secondly, the use of the pallium as a symbol of metropolitan authority, developed for England and transferred now to the continent for the first time, demanded papal approval.¹⁹ Thirdly, Willibrord was not likely to accede to such a plan without papal approval and Pippin could hardly refuse to go along since he needed the Frisian church.

However, in giving the pallium in this case the papacy was ~~over~~ optimistic (as were Pippin and Willibrord in asking it); Frisia was not yet stable enough to be a full-fledged province of the church.²⁰ For when Pippin died,

¹⁷ Bede, pp. 239-240. Alcuin, The Life of St. Willibrord, in Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany, Tr. and edited by C. H. Talbot (New York, 1954), pp. 7-8. Both Bede and Alcuin agree that Pippin was the motivator here.

¹⁸ Sullivan, Med. St., p. 70.

¹⁹ Wilhelm Levison, England and the Continent in the Eighth Century (Oxford, 1946), p. 52.

²⁰ Godfrey, p. 226.

Radbod was able to ally with Neustrian dissidents and retrieve Frisia south of the Rhine, forcing Willibrord out.²¹ The church lay in ruin and the flock quietly merged with the wolves. Consequently, when Wynfrith arrived on the continent for the first time conditions were so bad that he was forced to leave. These conditions persisted for several years until Charles Martel, Pippin's heir, was able to gain effective control over Frisia.²² Aldgild, Radbod's successor, was peaceably inclined any way and this plus Charles Martel's protection enabled Willibrord to try his hand in free Frisia.²³

It was in these difficult days when Gaul was in such a chaotic state of civil war following Pippin's death that the monk Wynfrith retraced his steps to the continent going directly to Rome to open a new and, with due deference to Willibrord's dedicated labor, much more brilliant chapter of Anglo-Saxon missionary history.²⁴ Willibrord's

²¹Annales Mettenses, a. 714, p. 322-3.

²²Chronicon Moissiacense, MGH, SS, Tomus I, edidit G.H. Pertz (Hanover, 1826), p. 291. Though Charles Martel seems to have acquired a major victory over Radbod in 716, it was not till Radbod died in 719 that Frisia was quiet.

²³Hauck, I, 413.

²⁴Annales Mettenses, a. 718, pp. 324-325. This entry describing the struggles of Charles Martel with his enemies notes the trip of Boniface to Rome and describes his later accomplishments: "His temporibus Winfridus, qui et postea, cum episcopus ordinaretur, Bonifacii nomen accepit, doctor catholicus, natione Anglus, primum Romam, deinde cum auctoritate Gregorii papae in Franciam ad praedicandum

work had broken some ground, but more importantly it had provided some lessons which Wynfrith and others would have to learn to be successful; thus from the moment in 690 that Willibrord sought out Pippin's support the Anglo-Saxon missions were to be bound up unmistakably and intimately with the politics and successes of the Arnulfing dynasty for 150 years.²⁵ In addition a first bond had been created between a segment of the Frankish church and Rome,²⁶ and the pope had begun acquiring a power, certainly without his contemporaries realizing it, over Christianity in the north.²⁷

But these were as yet only beginnings; slender and delicate threads. It would take labor and devotion to bring them to fruition. The missionary zeal of the Anglo-Saxons and the expansion of the Arnulfings set into motion a great push into the Teutonic wilderness, and to this push

verbum Dei venit. Idemque Bonifatius a praesule sedis apostolicae Gregorio, Magontiae civitati, metropoli Germaniae, archiepiscopus ordinatur, et legatus Germanicus Romanae ecclesiae in Franciam mittitur. Qui praedicatione sua multos populos, Thuringorum videlicet, Hessionem et Austrasiorum, ad fidem rectam a qua diu aberraverant convertit, monasteria quoque monachorum et virginum primus in partibus Germaniae instituit".

²⁵ Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 7 vols. (New York, 1938), II, 81.

²⁶ Haller, I, 390.

²⁷ Hauck, I, 407.

the papacy was a contributing party and from it reaped considerable gain as pope and Arnulfing were brought into each other's orbit.²⁸ Wynfrith-Boniface was the chief point around which pope and Arnulfing played.

²⁸ Sullivan, Med. St., pp. 68-69.

CHAPTER THREE

In Rome in 718 men's minds were solemnly occupied with the growing political and theological troubles which the popes were having with the emperor in the East, but during a calm preceeding the great theological storm precipitated by Emperor Leo III the Isaurian, a footsore Anglo-Saxon monk named Wynfrith arrived in the city.¹

He had a restless, unsteady, complex nature, dangerously wracked by the black humours of despair, The superior interests of the church alone guided him, but when they were in play this timid man was carried away by his² enthusiasm and his boldness knew no bounds....

He was full of zeal for missionary work among the heathen of Germany, and he had come to Rome expressly to lay his plans in this regard before the pope, Gregory II, and secure the papal approval for his projected undertaking.³

There have been many reasons suggested which would seem to explain Wynfrith's resolution to go to Rome: to preclude interference by others, the example of St. Willibrord or the advice of his diocesan, Bishop Daniel of

¹ Schieffer, p. 37.

² Daniel-Rops, I, 309.

³ Willibald, The Life of St. Boniface, in Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany, p. 38.

Winchester. We feel however, that all these merely confirmed Wynfrith's resolve rather than created it; his basic motivation was his zeal for orthodoxy and his respect for and allegiance to the papal throne.

Wynfrith carried with him a letter of introduction from his diocesan bishop to present to Pope Gregory in 718.⁴ In Willibald's Life of St. Boniface there is a charming description of Wynfrith's first meeting with the pope, who gazed intently at this traveler from afar as though taking his measure and asked if he had a letter from his bishop, i.e., permission to come to Rome.⁵ Sending Wynfrith away the pope read the letters in private and later spent many hours in conversation with Wynfrith after which, apparently satisfied with him, the pope sent him to make an inspection tour of the German heathen.⁶ The pope's object was to give Wynfrith a trial under field conditions before committing himself to this unknown monk and at the same time make a test probe into the wilderness for soft spots in the pagan armor.

Thus in the spring of 719, Wynfrith, renamed Boniface by the pope, left Rome with a letter from the pope instructing him that he was to be missionary priest at

⁴St. Boniface, Ep. III a. 718 (11 in Tangl's edition), p. 32.

⁵Willibald, p. 39.

⁶Ibid., p. 39.

large in Germany and that he was to insist on Roman usages wherever he went.⁷ After a short sojourn with Liutprand, King of the Lombards, Boniface crossed over the Alps into Germany. He traveled through Bavaria, an already Christian land, and on into Thüringia, where he decided to try to expand the already partly established church. But the church of Thüringia was poorly organized and disciplined and the dissolute and half-heathen churchmen whom Boniface contacted in his attempts to work there were of no credit to their cloth, and from Thüringia Boniface went on to work in Frisia.⁸ Most probably, Boniface left Thüringia not because of a faint heart, but because the dissolute and poorly instructed clergy there refused to respect either himself or his papal commission and hindered his work at every turn. Unable to accomplish anything since the authority of the pope was not respected, Boniface felt impelled to leave almost as soon as he had arrived.⁹ Apparently he had meant

⁷ St. Boniface, Ep. IV, a. 719 (12 in Tangl's edition), p. 33.

⁸ Willibald, p. 39.

⁹ Schieffer, pp. 114-115. The church here was shot through with heresy, immorality, and ignorance of canon law, but the men who opposed Boniface cannot be, according to Dr. Schieffer, the monastics of the old Irish foundations. The names Torchtwine, Berehtere, Eanbercht and Hunraed come down to us as the names of Boniface's Thüringian adversaries and they are Anglo-Saxon names. In Dr. Schieffer's opinion they were not monks but Weltpriester who had become acclimated to Frankish conditions and it does not matter if they are Franks or not; historically the confrontation still stands for the confrontation of a degenerate Frankish church with the vigor of Anglo-Saxon Christianity.

to go to Charles Martel with a request for assistance to support the papal authority in Thuringia, but had heard of Radbod's death and went on to Frisia to assist Willibrord instead.¹⁰

During Radbod's reign the church in Frisia had nearly disappeared, but now better days began to dawn for the church in that area. With Frankish protection of the Frisian area re-established, Willibrord was able to regain much of what had been lost and more besides. Boniface offered to stay three years with Willibrord in the service of the Frisian mission and set himself to work.¹¹ The young man moved into the field to preach and succeeded in converting many Frisians while at the same time learning much about the pagan mentality and the practical techniques of preaching to the pagan - knowledge which he soon began to apply with great energy and ability to bring many more men to Christ. To appreciate the extent of Boniface's achievement in later days one must review some of the difficulties which stood in his way. There was no ready made organization to do the job; the missionary had to organize things for himself.¹² Boniface had to spend a good deal of

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 116.

¹¹ Willibald, pp. 40-41.

¹² Richard E. Sullivan, "Early Medieval Missionary Activity: A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Methods," Church History, XXIII, (1954), 21-22.

his time recruiting personnel and soliciting aid, rather than preaching.¹³ On the other hand, pagans had to be impressed; only if they thought Christianity a benefit would they accept it. The attraction of Christianity had to be high; the missionary had to demonstrate the superiority of his culture through his labors; he built, he cleared land, he cultivated, he taught.¹⁴ The religious appeal had to be convincing too; instruction in dogma would not bring men to accept the new faith - that would come later - one had first to demonstrate Christ's superior power, to show pagan gods vulnerable and impotent.¹⁵ In short " . . . Christianity as presented by the missionaries must have seemed much more a new mode of living and worshipping than a theology and a system of doctrine."¹⁶

The success of the mission was great and consequently the responsibility of running the mission proved taxing to the strength of the already aging Willibrord. The number of converts was so large that one man could not both manage what had been won and direct the effort to win more. Consequently Willibrord asked Boniface to stay on

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 28-29.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 30.

with him and be his assistant bishop or chorepiscopus to direct the missions and to be his successor as holder of the see when he died.¹⁷ Boniface excused himself because he did not then, so Willibald asserts, wish the episcopal dignity for himself.¹⁸ Willibrord protested but finally Boniface was able to convince the man by pleading his prior commitment to Pope Gregory's service.¹⁹ Boniface may also have feared that acceptance of the offer would involve him in a violation of canon law; Willibrord was already consecrated head of the Frisian see and it was contrary to canonical usage for his office to be shared with another.²⁰

Having turned down Willibrord's offer because of the pope's superior claim on his time and probably also because Frisia seemed secure, Boniface decided in 721 to turn south into Hesse where the Franks were also in direct control, having conquered there in 718-20 under Charles Martel. "'Nourished in the word of faith and good doctrine . . . '" Boniface reached Amanaburch or Amöneburg, a Frankish fortress in Hesse, where he made his first

¹⁷Willibald, p. 41.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Levison, pp. 65-66.

missionary establishment.²¹ Christianity had reached the area in some form earlier and Boniface's first experience there were typical of what he found in Hesse generally; at Amöneburg he encountered two brothers, Dettic and Devrulf, native rulers who were Christians in name and pagans in practice.²² They had to be corrected in the practice of the faith - in fact they had almost to be reconverted. Then having converted and corrected many 'thousands' of their Hessian followers Boniface sent, in the same year, a messenger named Bynnan to Rome to report on how matters stood and to ask advice.²³ Thus far, Boniface had been phenomenally successful and the pope, no doubt impressed at his work, summoned him to Rome. The time had come to take serious consideration of this man and his achievements; he had proven himself an able and a loyal servant of God and if he were intellectually of the stature required and well versed in theology, then he was possibly the man who could be entrusted with creating in Germany an apostolic church province of Rome. Pope Gregory interrogated Boniface concerning his knowledge of the articles of faith and Boniface asked to be allowed to write them out rather than

²¹

Willibald, p. 42.

²²

Ibid., p. 42.

²³

Ibid., pp. 42-43.

expound~~d~~ them verbally.²⁴ Upon receiving Boniface's statement of his views, and after conversing with him about the mission, confirming his hopes, the pope raised Boniface to the episcopate.²⁵ Boniface's successes in central Germany had made that place an important center for the church, and, as he was unmistakably orthodox and well informed, he was the man to exercise supervision there, as his elevation testifies.

The elevation of Boniface by the pope was an unusual occurrence; normally elevation of missionaries to the episcopate was carried out by anyone at the scene who was qualified.²⁶ That Pope Gregory elevated Boniface himself demonstrates his interest in the project and his will to extend the sphere of papal control to areas outside Italy.²⁷ The oath taken by Boniface as bishop on November 30, 722, was also unusual:²⁸

"I, Boniface, by the grace of God bishop, promise to you, o blessed Peter, chief of the Apostles, and to your vicar, the blessed pope Gregory and to his successors, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the indivisible Trinity, and of this, thy most sacred body, that I will show entire faith and sincerity toward the holy catholic

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 43-44.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 44.

²⁶ Sullivan, Med. St., p. 75.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ St. Boniface, Ep. VIII, a. 722, (16 in Tangl's edition), p. 41.

doctrine and will persist in the unity of the same, so god help me - that faith in which, beyond a doubt, the whole salvation of Christians consists. I will in no wise agree to anything which is opposed to the unity of the Church Universal, no matter who shall try to persuade me; but I will, as I have said, show in all things a perfect loyalty to you and to the welfare of your Church, to which the power to bind and loose is given by God, and to your vicar and his successors.

But, if I shall discover any bishops who are opponents of the ancient institutions of the holy Fathers, I will have no part nor lot with them, but so far as I can will restrain them or, if that is impossible, will make a true report to my apostolic master. But if (which God forbid) I shall be tempted into any action contrary to this my promise in any way or by any device or pretext whatsoever, may I be found guilty at the last judgment and suffer the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, who dared defraud you by making a false declaration of their property.

This text of my oath, I, Boniface, a humble bishop, have written with my own hand and laid above they most sacred body. I have taken this oath, as is prescribed, in the presence of God, my witness and my judge, and I pledge myself to observe it."

The form of the oath was the same used in the oaths of the bishops of Italy, immediately subject to the pope as their metropolitan;²⁹ Boniface placed himself and his see under papal control and in addition he omitted the usual oath of allegiance to the emperor.³⁰ The first step had thus been taken to assert the primacy of Peter and make the pope the Patriarch of the West in fact as well as in theory.

The pope knew that Boniface's activities would lead him into conflict with the corrupted ecclesiastics of

²⁹Higgins, p. 203.

³⁰Ibid.

Thüringia - very well, let that happen.³¹ Boniface was going north as the champion of Rome and orthodoxy³² and a champion cannot be victorious without battles. The object of Boniface's work would be to preach and expand the faith, but he would soon have to face the task of reform because his missionary work would eventually necessitate it.³³ Thus Boniface began a new career; ". . . no longer as a mere missionary pioneer, but rather as a missionary statesman in the service of Rome."³⁴

Gregory's plans were well laid. Previously he had planned, in concert with Duke Theodo of Bavaria, to reorganize Bavaria and pull it into Rome's orbit, but the plan had fallen through due to the duke's death and the struggle for power which usually accompanied a change of rulers in Germanic kingdoms.³⁵ The plan for Bavaria was not now feasible, but Thüringia offered itself and Boniface was now to try in Thüringia what had been intended for Bavaria.³⁶ Moreover, Thüringia, situated between Frisia and Bavaria, both in one stage or another of Christianity,

³¹Hauck, I, 433.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., I, 433-434.

³⁴J. P. Whitney, "Conversion of the Teutons," The Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II, Ch. XVI (b), 537. (Cambridge, 1913).

³⁵Haller, I, 392.

³⁶Ibid., I, 393.

would connect them and give Rome a strategic position in Germany.³⁷ Accordingly the pope began, in December of 722, to write letters. To the Thūringians he wrote that Boniface was now their bishop.³⁸ And to Charles Martel he wrote asking him to extend his protection to Boniface.³⁹

Boniface was well received by Martel, whom he acknowledged as his lord and patron, and who gave him the letter requested by the pope.⁴⁰ The letter of protection given by Martel to Boniface was addressed to all Frankish officers, but made no mention of the pope, or of Boniface's being sent by the pope.⁴¹ The pope had gambled and time

37

Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters (Handbuch der Altertums Wissenschaft, 9te Abteilung, 2ter Teil, hrsg. von Walter Otto, 2 Bde.) (München, 1959), I, 43.

³⁸St. Boniface, Ep . X, a. 722, (18 in Tangl's edition), pp. 43-44.

³⁹Ibid., Ep. XII, a. 722, (20 in Tangl's edition), p. 45. We have seen how Willibrord failed when he lacked protection by a secular power and also how Boniface's first experience in Thūringia, a nominally Christian land, was marred by a lack of secular protection.

40

Willibald, p. 45.

41

St. Boniface, Ep. XIV, a. 723, (22 in Tangl's edition), p. 47. "To the holy and apostolic bishops, our fathers in Christ, and to the dukes, counts, vicars, palace officials, all our lower agents, our circuit judges (missi) and all who are our friends, the noble Charles, mayor of the palace, your well-wisher, sends greeting.

Be it known to you how that the apostolic man in Christ, Father Boniface, aman of apostolic character and a bishop, came to us with the request that we should take him under our guardianship and protection. Know that we have

would show that he had gambled wisely; Martel would need Boniface anyway and so would in all probability protect him. Martel would not act out of pious resolve but because a strong Thüringian church such as even he must know Boniface capable of creating, would be a good protection for the Frankish flank in the eastern frontier.⁴² If Martel consciously de-emphasized the papal role because he wanted to retain maximum control of this eastern area one need not be overly concerned.⁴³ A strong Thüringian church created by Boniface would be a Roman church - Martel could not change that - and such a church would not long exist even on the periphery of the corrupt Frankish ecclesiastical world before it would have its effect even in Gaul itself. Let Martel have his way - for awhile - for the future lay with Boniface and the Roman church which would soon ensnare the Frankish warlords and command their strong right arms in Rome's service.

acquiesced with pleasure and, hence, have granted his petition before witnesses and commanded that this written order signed by our own hand be given him, that wheresoever he may choose to go, he is to be left in peace and protected as a man under our guardianship and protection to the end that he may render and receive justice. If he shall be in any need or distress which cannot be remedied according to law, let him and those dependent upon him come in peace and safety before our presence, so that no person may hinder or do him injury, but that he may rest at all times in peace and safety under our guardianship and protection.

And that this may the more surely be given credit, I have signed it with my own hand and sealed it with our ring."

⁴²

Haller, I, 398.

⁴³

Manitius, I, 144.

Thus the pope solved the two basic problems Boniface had had in Thūringia in his first sojourn there by protecting him through Martel and providing him with authority to act.

Thūringia was in a state of chaos when Boniface arrived there; the Saxons were wreaking havoc in the land, and the church had lost much of its following.⁴⁴ Struggling through much difficulty Boniface began to achieve great successes; for many people were readily converted and Boniface's challenges to the pagan gods, of which his destruction of the tree shrine at Geismar in Hesse is typical, convinced those who doubted by demonstrating the impotence of pagan deities to defend their shrines or punish those who offended against them.⁴⁵

Boniface's renown spread as he achieved success in Germany and his growing fame brought many helpers, chiefly from England.⁴⁶ Working in small groups under the guidance and control of Boniface these men converted thousands of Germans in Hesse and Thūringia.⁴⁷ Boniface remained in constant contact with Pope Gregory and repeatedly asked his advice and direction on various matters, such as, a

⁴⁴ Willibald, p. 46.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 45-46.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 47.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

jurisdictional dispute with Bishop Gerald of Mainz,⁴⁸ dogmatic questions and points of canon law, marriage, clerical crimes, the order of the mass, and other sacrament.⁴⁹ The pope's advice and instruction came north in a steady flow and doubtless did much to fortify Boniface in his labors. Thus the church began to grow and grow until all of Thuringia and Hesse were Christian lands.

From 722 until 731 when Pope Gregory II died the work continued to go forward with a high level of success. Even the death of Pope Gregory II did not interrupt it. Pope Gregory III, his successor, continued the policy of his predecessor and Boniface made haste to assure him of his loyalty: when word came of the accession of the new pontiff Boniface sent messengers to re-affirm his loyalty to Rome and to make sure that the previous arrangements would continue.⁵⁰ The work had progressed so far and so prosperously by 732 that Pope Gregory sent the pallium to Boniface.⁵¹ In a letter to Boniface he noted that the pallium had been sent and told him that as archbishop he was to consecrate new bishops to administer more efficiently

⁴⁸St. Boniface, Ep. XVI, a. 724, (24 in Tangl's edition), pp. 50-51.

⁴⁹Ibid., Ep. XVIII, a. 726, (26 in Tangl's edition), pp. 53-56.

⁵⁰Willibald, pp. 47-48.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 48.

the large area he had conquered for the church.⁵² Thus the sending of the pallium was no mere reward for Boniface, but a part of papal strategy; the mission had prospered so far that a new phase must be begun. The organization of Germany as a Roman ecclesiastical province must now be attained.⁵³ The intended organization was to be left in Boniface's hands so that he could direct missionary activity in the ever-expanding area.⁵⁴

But it did not turn out as planned. The creation of new dioceses was long delayed and, for a time at least, Boniface continued as he had been before - he seemed to be an archbishop in name only.⁵⁵ Why was this so? Professor Levison suggests that the opposition of either the Franco-Rhenish bishops or of Charles Martel may be the answer.⁵⁶ In all probability it was the opposition of both. The Franco-Rhenish bishops had had free rein in the area before Boniface arrived, but he threatened to end their corrupt control of the lucrative area. He brought in discipline and set up establishments which they could not control or mulct. Moreover, the advent of papal control and discipline

⁵²St. Boniface, Ep. XX, a. 732, (28 in Tangl's edition), pp. 57-59.

⁵³Sullivan, Med. St., p. 77.

⁵⁴Richard E. Sullivan. "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan", Speculum, XXVIII, (1953), 710.

⁵⁵Hauck, I, 452.

⁵⁶Levison, p. 73.

would mean the end of a convenient arrangement by which the church was controlled by the lay aristocracy, of which these men were a part, to its own benefit. Charles Martel, on the other hand, probably felt that things had gone far enough in Thuringia. The church there was strong enough for his purposes; papal organization of it would mean his loss of real control over what went on there and he probably felt that control slipping anyway when the realization came that Boniface was not his man but the pope's. The pope was theoretical overlord of the church in the West and Martel would doubtless feel compelled to recognize this. As long as the pope was confined to Italy he could do no damage, but if he started putting the Frankish church in his pocket the world would crumble for Martel. Martel needed to control the church and he did so, but if his church ever seriously acknowledged Rome's right to intervene, the state would be seriously weakened. The Franks were surrounded by hostile peoples and had constantly to be on guard against them: Frisians, Saxons, Bavarians, Alamannians, Aquitanians and, of course, Arabs.⁵⁷ The church was rich and provided a source of revenue necessary to finance Frankish armies as well as funds to buy off ambitious nobles,

⁵⁷ Enhardi Fuldensis Annales, MGH, SS, Tomus I, Edidit G. H. Pertz, (Hannover, 1826), pp. 344-345. Annales Mettenses, Ibid., pp. 325-326.

and a strongly controlled church in the eastern areas would also make easier the Frankish control of the eastern marches so necessary to Gaul's security. Should Boniface, who was necessary to Martel as well as to the pope, be able to organize a strong papal province in the east Martel would not be able to control it and it might prove an influence on the church in Gaul which would mean a loss of both revenue and control of powerful church positions. Thus there was, in all probability, great pressure imposed on Boniface to prevent his further organizing the church and it is also probable that due to lapses into paganism and other problems among his flock he was unable to accomplish anything. It is not possible to know whether Boniface tried and failed or was prevented from trying.⁵⁸ At any rate, the pope's request had to wait.

In 738 Boniface made his third journey to Rome to confer with Pope Gregory III. Boniface was well received by the Romans, his fame having preceeded him.⁵⁹ Boniface spent nearly a year conversing with the pope and came away from Rome with orders to organize the church in the Bavarian area and with powers as legate to act as the highest ecclesiastical authority in Germany.⁶⁰ In a letter to

⁵⁸ Hauck, I, 452.

⁵⁹ Willibald, p. 49.

⁶⁰ Hans von Schubert, Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Frühmittelalter (Tübingen, 1921), p. 304.

England of about this time he called himself: " . . . German legate of the Church Universal, servant of the Apostolic See. . . ." ⁶¹ The pope was not displeased with his servant. The length of their conversation suggests strongly that the problems being faced were serious indeed and the pope must have known by this time that no man knew more about what went on in Germany than this man Boniface. That Boniface was named German legate reveals the pope's confidence in this knowledge and his implicit trust in the loyalty of Boniface.

If central Germany could not yet be organized then south Germany could be worked on. Accordingly, Boniface went into Bavaria to the bishops of which the pope wrote informing them that Boniface was their superior. ⁶² In the early fall of 739 Boniface was able to report to the pope that he had ordained three new bishops there. The pope ordered to continue to improve discipline and to hold a synod at which he should preside in the pope's stead, as his powers of legate gave him the right. ⁶³ We do not know whether the synod called for by the pope took place or not,

⁶¹St. Boniface, Ep. XXXVI, a. 738, (46 in Tangl's edition), pp. 74-75.

⁶²Ibid., Ep. XXXIV, a. 738, (44 in Tangl's edition), pp. 71-72.

⁶³Ibid., Ep. XXV, a. 739, (45 in Tangl's edition), pp. 72-74.

but reform and organization in Bavaria was carried to a satisfactory conclusion for the moment and a Bavarian synod was held before much time elapsed.⁶⁴

In 741 both Charles Martel and Pope Gregory III died. The accession of new rulers in both Rome and Francia would lead to a new phase in the life of Boniface. What had thus far been accomplished? Much, very much. As the greatest of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries Boniface had in effect created the grounds of a lasting rapport with the Frankish state. Frankish pressures on the peoples east of the Rhine had meant that only those missions run by men unrelated to the Franks could succeed, and yet such men would need to have Frankish good will - these men were Boniface and his Anglo-Saxon monks.⁶⁵ Though Martel seemed hostile to these men at times because they were the pope's men, yet he needed them as much as they did him. Though he may have balked in the organization of Thuringia, he had on the whole supported Boniface.

The confidence which had been placed in Boniface by the papacy had been richly rewarded. Haller says that it was Boniface that was entirely responsible for papal interest

⁶⁴Hauck, I, 472, cf. Concilium 7, MGH, LL:-Sectio III, Tomus II, Pars I, edidit Albert Werminghoff (Hannover, 1896), pp. 51-53. The Concilium Baiuvaricum was held in the period 740-750, possibly in the reign of Duke Odilo, who died in 748.

⁶⁵Daniel-Rops, I, 307-308.

in missions, that he had to lead the papacy to take control.⁶⁶ But in fact, Boniface came to the popes when they were beginning to look west and north for a solution of their problems, as Gregory II's attempts to organize Bavaria illustrate. The papacy had the desire to try to establish a base of power in the north, but they had no means to do so. Without a friendly state to the north nothing could be accomplished. The importance of Boniface was that he appeared at the right time, with his prejudices pro-papal and his great ability to lure Germans to the baptismal font at a time when the coming break in the east necessitated a source of papal strength in the north. Boniface provided both means and ability. As a result of his work the popes were no longer mere Patriarchs of Italy within a fading empire. He made the pope head of a large and thriving church in the north that stood wholly outside the imperial umbra. With this new, non-imperial interest, the pope himself began to stand outside the imperial sphere and could not return without abandoning the north. But the pope lacked a secular ally to protect him from the Lombards and support his official move away from Byzantium. The acquisition of that also fell on Boniface. It is a measure of the wisdom of both Gregory II and Gregory III that they recognized the value and ability of Boniface and could use him, yet allow

⁶⁶Haller, I, 397-398, 469-470.

him discretion and freedom of performance. For without Boniface the creation of the popes as the ecclesiastical leaders of the West would have been long delayed, if ever achieved.

CHAPTER FOUR

After leaving Bavaria, about 740, Boniface returned to Thüringia where he was able to carry into effect Pope Gregory's earlier plan to organize this province. He consecrated three new bishops: for Buraburg in Hesse and for Erfurt and Würzburg in Thüringia.¹ With the establishment of these sees the ecclesiastical organization of Hesse and Thüringia was fairly complete and central and south Germany were both ready to take their places as Roman church provinces. Such a new and vital growth to the east would naturally raise some questions among both the lay and ecclesiastical aristocracies of Gaul who looked upon it as a Fremdkörper and, consequently, as dangerous to themselves. The question of the future was how they would take it.² Thus Boniface could no longer continue wholly in the course he had followed for the past decade. His works had expanded as far as possible; missionary work had led necessarily to organizational work, and this must in turn lead to reformational work.³ The corrupt Frankish church

¹St. Boniface, Ep. XL, a. 742, (50 in Tangl's edition), p. 79.

²Schubert, pp. 305-306.

³Schieffer, pp. 156-157.

would exercise a detrimental effect on Boniface's flock if left alone to do so and it was apparent that to ensure the safety and integrity of the work already accomplished, the Frankish church would have to be reformed.⁴

But reform of the Frankish church would not be so simply accomplished. Both the secular aristocracy and the aristocratic episcopate of Gaul would oppose any move toward reformation and their power would have to be neutralized before anything could be accomplished.⁵

But Charles Martel had always been an enemy of reform. He had encouraged the missions for political reasons but had always maintained autocratic control of the church in Gaul and would never admit that Boniface's legatine authority extended to Gaul.⁶ However, by the time Charles Martel died, the success of the mission had piqued the strong religious interests of his son Karlomann.⁷

When Charles Martel died he divided the realm of the Franks as though he were king. Karlomann the elder son received Austrasia, Alamannia and Thüringia as his portion

⁴ Haller, I, 399.

⁵ Schieffer, p. 144. Alfons Dopsch, The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization, Tr. by M. G. Beard and N. Marshall (London, 1937), pp. 256-257.

⁶ Stenton, p. 169.

⁷ Erich Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft, 3 Bde. (Tübingen, 1933), II, 709.

while Pippin, the younger son, received Neustria, Burgundy and Provence.⁸ Karlomann was of a pious turn of mind and interested in ecclesiastical affairs.⁹ Consequently his accession meant an improvement of Boniface's relationship to the state. Karlomann realized that the best interests of the Frankish ruling house required sponsorship of reform and its extension throughout the realm - providing there were no loss of power in the bargain. The Anglo-Saxon view of the theocratic nature of monarchy would be a handy tool for the Arnufing house.¹⁰ But it was also a snare which would bring Karlomann and Pippin into St. Peter's service.

⁸Annales Mettenses, a. 741, p. 327.

⁹Ibid., a. 746-747, p. 329. In fact, Karlomann later renounced his power to enter a monastery for life.

¹⁰Schubert, p. 306. This implies not that a theory concerning the royal right to rule the church existed, but that the influence of the church upon the monarchies of England and the resulting interest of kings in affairs religious had become a distinctive feature of Anglo-Saxon life. The Roman missionary efforts in England were directed at the kings throughout the period of conversion, and all missionary progress in England depended upon close contact with and cooperation of the royal households, (Blair, p.211). The influence of the church on these kings was a primary factor determining the development of court life and this influence was so great that some kings, among whom Ceolwulf and Eadberht of Northumbria are most notable, took up a monastic vow, (Ibid). In the religious life of England the kings were important figures; they took an interest in synods, the selection of ecclesiastics for high office, and patronized the church (Ibid., p. 218, and Stenton, pp. 130, 142). The kings were the protectors of the church and often were consulted concerning ecclesiastical measures (Stenton, pp. 138, 171). This sort of control exercised by these kings is akin to that exercised by the Frankish rulers over their church, except that it is not as extensive. It would seem that it would be abused and in some cases it

Thus Karlomann determined to reform the church in his provinces. Whether Boniface suggested it or he arrived at the idea himself is not known. Having acquainted the pope with the poor state of the Frankish church and receiving permission to proceed, Boniface entered upon the task as requested by Karlomann in 742.¹¹

The first synod in Austrasia in 742 was called by Karlomann as "Dux et princeps Francorum".¹² He was careful to note that his authority prevailed and not the pope's - Boniface was in attendance as Frankish archbishop, not papal legate. The synod was called to advise Karlomann as to how the church might be reformed and the good of the people's souls obtained.¹³ Though Boniface was acknowledged as missus of St. Peter, he was, as Frankish archbishop, subordinate to Karlomann who called his churchmen together

undoubtedly was, but for the most part the exceptionally high quality of English religious life was reflected in the royal households and with a few exceptions the kings were pious men and careful guardians of the church. Some few of them even resigned their thrones to pray in Rome and many others at least made pilgrimages there.

¹¹ St. Boniface, Ep. XLI, a. 743, (51 in Tangl's edition), p. 87.

¹² Capitulare 10, MGH, LL: Sectio II, Tomus I, edidit Alfred Boretius (Hannover, 1888), p. 24.

¹³ Ibid., pp. 24-25. ". . . ut mihi consilium dedissent, quomodo lex Dei et ecclesiastica relegio recuperetur, quae in diebus praeteritorum principum dissipata corrui, et qualiter populus christianus ad salutem animae pervenire possit. . . ." The synod appointed new bishops over whom Boniface was Metropolitan, ordered yearly synods and corrected erring clerics.

to discuss his church. But though Rome had no role, it had a voice in Boniface and through this synod and others which followed the reformed Frankish clergy began to realize that the pope was actually the only power which could protect them from aristocratic aggression and safeguard their reforms.¹⁴ Thus the idea of the primacy of Peter would begin to capture the Frankish church as well in spite of the efforts of its rulers to retain control.

The synod for 742 was not the last; another was called, in accord with the decision of the first, a year later at Leptines. At this synod the decisions of the first were re-affirmed and it was added ". . . because of immanent war and persecutions by the rest of the peoples which are about us. . . ." a portion of church lands should continue to be used to support the army, as in Charles Martel's arrangement, and that annual payment should be made to the church in exchange.¹⁵ Karlomann was a faithful son of the church, but he was at this time also a practical secular ruler who needed funds. The church would be glad to give them for he was not a Martel and was

¹⁴Stenton, p. 170.

¹⁵Capitulare 11, ed. Boretius, pp. 28. ". . . propter inminentia bella et persecutiones ceterarum gentium quae in circuitu nostro sunt. . . ." cf. F. L. Ganshof, "Benefice and Vassalage in the Age of Charlemagne", Cambridge Historical Journal, VI, (1939), No.2, p. 157. Charlemagne later reduced the payment due the church to a mere token indicating ownership.

concerned with church welfare, and without his army no protection could be accorded the church when it needed it. The hostile peoples mentioned in the edict promulgating the acts of the synod were the same in some cases that threatened the security of missions in the lands east of the Rhine.

Not to be outdone by his brother, Pippin called a Neustrian synod at Soissons in 744. At that council it was decided that the faith was to be practiced in Pippin's realm as it had been constituted by the Nicene council.¹⁶ Adlabertus, who was a notorious heretic and general nuisance, was condemned and new archbishops were selected for Neustria.¹⁷ Boniface, though apparently not present at Soissons, was in touch with matters there and requested, at Pippin's instance, pallia for the three new archbishops of Rouen, Rheims, and Sens, which the pope granted, giving detailed instructions for their use.¹⁸ However, the plans were apparently changed and it was decided that there should be only one archbishop in Neustria and the pallium was requested for Grimo of Rouen alone.¹⁹

¹⁶Capitulare 12, ed. Boretius, p. 29.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 29-30.

¹⁸St. Boniface, Ep. XLV, a. 744 (57 in Tangl's edition), pp. 94-95.

¹⁹Ibid., Ep. XLVI, a. 744, (58 in Tangl's edition), p. 97. Why the change was made and the pallium requested for Grimo of Rouen alone is not clear. In his letter to the pope dated 751, (Ep. LXX (86 in Tangl's edition), p. 158),

The synod at Soissons was followed by another for Francia in general in 745, of which we know neither the location nor much of what went on. Presumably it was presided over by Boniface. Previous decisions were probably confirmed and the two heretics, the above mentioned Adlabertus and another equally notorious, were discussed and condemned.²⁰ The council also decreed that Cologne should be the archepiscopal seat of Boniface, a decision

Boniface remarks that one pallium was requested because the Frankish princes had not fulfilled their promises and were delaying so that Boniface did not know what they were going to do. The pope replied (EP. LXXI (87 in Tangl's edition), p. 160), that he did not hold Boniface responsible and that it was, in effect, up to the Franks to do whatever they desired. What these promises were we cannot know but there is no mistaking the fact that the issue was bound up in Frankish politics. Emerton suggests that the charges of simony against the pope are also involved and that Grimo of Rouen may be the only one of the three proposed archbishops not involved in a simoniacal affair of some sort (p. 97, n.). It is interesting to note that Grimo of Rouen is not mentioned in the edict of Pippin promulgated after the Synod but that the other two, Abel and Ardobertum are. (Capitulare 12, ed., Boretius, p. 29. cf. Concilium 4, ed., Werminghoff, p. 34). One might suspect in this regard that Pippin was concerned with preserving his control over the church in Neustria and felt that he could control one man better than three. One might also suspect that the presence of the names of Abel and Ardobertum in the edict means they bought their offices and that subsequently Boniface balked, finally being able to force the choice to what he considered a clean man. However, since there seems to be a lack of evidence the issue must remain obscure.

²⁰ Concilium 5, ed., Werminghoff, pp. 36-44. St. Boniface, Ep. LXI, a. 747, (77 in Tangl's edition), p. 135. They were referred by Boniface to a Roman synod held later in the same year at the Lateran Palace where they were again condemned after Denehard presented Boniface's case against them. But the two men escaped and shortly thereafter Pope Zacharius notified Boniface that they were to be sent to Rome if they continued in their evil ways.

which the pope approved.²¹

The last council in Francia in the era of Boniface was a general synod in 747 of which we again have little information. But from a letter of Boniface to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, we know that an oath of allegiance and obedience to St. Peter and the pope was taken by the clergy of Francia.²²

The object of Boniface's work in the synods, independent of the objects of Karlomann and Pippin in calling them, was to make the pope the head of the Frankish church through means of archbishops holding the pallium, and thus their offices, from Rome. The reforms were more in the nature of a concentration of power in the pope's hands than a general reformation.²³ As such, the synods were successful only in effecting loyalty to Rome, for abuses continued - particularly the idea that a Christian priest could also be a Teutonic warrior.²⁴ The problem was complicated by the attitudes of the princes towards reform. Though both Karlomann, and to a lesser extent

²¹ St. Boniface, EP. XLVIII, a. 745, (60 in Tangl's edition), p. 108. He was later and for an unknown reason shifted to Mainz without papal consultation, cf. Ep. LXXII, a. 751, (88 in Tangl's edition), p. 165, a spurious letter added to the collection and probably a reworking of a bull confirming the appointment of Boniface to Cologne in 745.

²² Concilium 6, ed., Werminghoff, pp. 45-50. The only information on this synod is the letter to Cuthbert and a letter to Pope Zachary from the Frankish bishops.

²³ Higgins, p. 207.

²⁴ Haller, I, 401.

Pippin, were genuinely pious men, they preferred to hold control of the church in their realms. They both desired the reform of abuses in the church and both were genuinely loyal to Rome in matters theological. But they were practical men and rulers, and they wanted control of lucrative church incomes and important church posts and felt a need to make the church serve important secular policies. However, if such control was exercised with moderation and the abuses of previous days did not creep into the church, political control would be no tragedy and the popes do not seem to have objected since they needed the Frankish rulers.

In 747 Prince Karlomann, in a mood of piety, became a monk and devoted his soul entirely to the spiritual world, shortly afterward abdicating his position.²⁵ As a result Pippin became effective ruler in both Neustria and Austrasia. It may have been no accident that from this point on Boniface lost his power and slipped into the background in a scene reminding one of the 'dropping of the pilot'.

One might say that this may have been no accident because it was probably desired by both Pope Zacharius and Prince Pippin.

²⁵ Annales Mettenses, a. 747, pp. 329-330.

During the period in 741-743 when Karlomann and Pippin were engaged in taking control of their inheritance, some of the conquered provinces - Bavaria, Swabia, and Aquitaine - chose to revolt and try to establish unfettered native rule once more.²⁶ Odilo, Duke of Bavaria, had been especially desirous of securing his independence and had been waiting for an opportunity for some time. In fact, his desire to reform the church in his dukedom and organize it along Roman lines had been prompted in part at least by his desire to become independent of Frankish control. Odilo was successful in getting Pope Zacharius, who hoped for aid against the Lombards, on his side and persuaded him to send a special legate to Bavaria in 742 - without consultation of Boniface and after Boniface had already completed the reorganization of Bavaria.²⁷ Odilo's rebellion was a miserable failure and the legate was captured in 743 by the Franks. The fact of papal complicity in an act of rebellion was almost enough to wreck the structure which had been erected by Boniface in central Germany.²⁸

²⁶ Ibid., a. 743, p. 328.

²⁷ Hauck, I, 495-496.

²⁸ Caspar, II, 711. There is an interesting account of the confrontation between Pippin and Sergius, the legate. Sergius, in league, apparently, with Bishop Gauzebald of Ratisbon, had attempted to stop the war between the Franks and Bavarians in the pope's name. Such a move was detrimental to the Franks since it would prevent them bringing Bavaria back under their dominion. When caught Sergius claimed that he acted without papal approval which Pippin

First it would appear to any observer that Boniface no longer enjoyed the confidence of the pope and that the pope was anti-Frankish. Thus Boniface's authority would be undermined and the Frankish princes would take the strongest steps to destroy any vestige of ultramonatism in their realm. Also the Franks would lose respect for Rome when they realized that the pope was capable of acting out of purely worldly interests.²⁹ However, Boniface was able to maintain a position above these wranglings, and was apparently able to save his own position and retrieve the pope's prestige. It would seem that though the Franks knew of the pope's complicity they chose to treat Sergius as a traitor to Rome.³⁰ Apparently Frankish policy demanded avoidance of a breach also.

accepted, though one suspects that Pippin was not fooled. Pippin noted, one may imagine, sarcastically, that there was already a papal legate in Germany. "Cui Pippinus princeps sedato pectore dixit: 'O domine Sergi, modo cognovimus, quia non probaris esse sanctus Petrus apostolus, nec legationem illius ex veritate geris. Dixisti enim nobis hesternae die, quod dominus apostolicus ex auctoritate sancti Petri et sua nostram iustitiam de Baiocariis contradixisset. Et nos diximus tibi, quod nec sanctus Petrus nec dominus apostolicus te istam legationem dicere. Idcirco autem scias, quia si sanctus Petrus cognovisset, quod nostra iustitia non fuisset, hodie in isto bello nobis adiutorium non praestitisset. Nunc vero certus esto, per intercessionem beati Petri apostolorum principis et per iudicium Dei, quod subire non distulimus, Baiocariam Baiocariosque ad Francorum imperium pertinere.'" (Annales Mettenses, a. 743, p. 328).

²⁹ Hauck, I, 496.

³⁰ Ibid.

Zacharius had, in his haste to act, nearly destroyed the church north of the Alps. Zacharius was, apparently, unable to sit back and allow events north of the Alps to be influenced by Boniface alone. He seems to have had a flair for politics and wanted to take matters in hand for himself. But he was clearly not a statesman of the calibre of either of his two predecessors who had realized that Boniface knew more about affairs in the north than they and who respected both his knowledge and his ability.

Boniface was, of course, more than slightly perturbed by the pope's actions and he let that be known to the pope. Since Zacharius had learned the hard way that he needed this old and respected hand in the north, at least temporarily, he bowed to the force of circumstances and Boniface was able to come away from the affair with wider powers as papal legate.³¹ This was, however, only the more obvious reason for ill-feeling between the two men, but it was compounded by other incidents. When Zacharius ascended the papal throne Boniface, in his first letter to him, complained that rumors had reached his flock that certain practices, pagan in nature and forbidden to Christians, were in common practice at Rome, even at the papal court itself.³² The unsophisticated minds of the newly converted

³¹

Haller, I, 399.

³²

St. Boniface, Ep. XL, a. 742, (50 in Tangl's edition), pp. 81-82.

would not appreciate the subtle distinctions of theology implied but would want to know why they could not do what the pope did. In the same letter Boniface suggested that certain dispensations had been given by the pope contrary to canon law.³³ Again on the matter of the pallia for the new Neustrian archbishops, Boniface had suggested that the pope was guilty of simony.³⁴ On another occasion the pope had questioned Boniface's judgment in the matter of selecting new bishoprics in Germany.³⁵ Thus there was a certain lack of confidence and a bitter feeling between the two men.

Pippin, on the other hand, did not want any man as his master, including Boniface, and wished, no doubt, to deal with Rome directly.³⁶ Therefore one can be too forward in speaking of Boniface's influence over Pippin. Boniface himself knew only too well that Pippin had means of communication with Rome that short-circuited his own.³⁷

Thus we say that it was no accident that when Karlomann abdicated Boniface slipped out of prominence in

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., Ep. XLVI, a. 744 (58 in Tangl's edition), pp. 97-98.

³⁵Ibid., Ep. XLI, a. 743, (51 in Tangl's edition), p. 83.

³⁶Caspar, II, 722.

³⁷Wallace-Hadrill, The Long Haired Kings, p. 243.

Francia; both Pippin and Zacharius would profit from such a development.

Boniface returned, no doubt relieved, to his missionary activities. Operating as archbishop of Mainz he carried on in central Germany until, in the last years of his life, he conceived a desire to work in Frisia once more. There in 754 he met his end as he had desired - as a martyr for Christ at the hands of Frisian barbarians.³⁸

³⁸Annales Mettenses, a. 754, p. 332.

CONCLUSION

"Nur mit Ehrfurcht kann man den Namen des 'Apostles der Deutschen nennen. . . ." ¹

The Roman bishopric had always been marked by a special quality. It was the see of St. Peter and one of several apostolic churches in major cities of the old empire. But the old empire had passed away in the West and was undergoing a remarkable transformation in the East. Ironically enough, it was in the West, where the Pax Romana had given way to the rule of unwashed barbarians, that the spirit of Romanitas was preserved - not in its purest form, but preserved nonetheless. In the East Romanitas died a slow death and was replaced by a hybrid Greco-Oriental state and culture. The difference was theological as well as cultural and slowly the East and West were alienated, the one from the other. The papacy was the Patriarchate of the West but it failed to respond to the changing conditions despite the influence of Gregory the Great. Even after the Arab invasions the Roman church's consciousness of itself as an imperial state church

¹ Alexander Cartellieri, Weltgeschichte als Machtgeschichte: 382-911, Die Zeit der Reichsgründungen (Berlin, 1927), p. 146.

remained unshaken - the face of the papacy remained turned eastward.² But the light in the east began to grow dim and the power of the East over Italy's destiny began to wane, and as it did the papacy began to run the risk of becoming an isolated imperial relic, standing outside of the new Germanic state system of the north, yet not sharing in the real life of the empire.³ The menaces against the church grew: a heretic emperor ruling in the East and the expanding state of the Lombards in Italy threatening to engulf even the Roman pontiffs. In the early part of the eighth century two popes held office, Gregory II and Gregory III, who appreciated the danger and who realized they had a potential source of papal strength to the north, and who also realized that they must cease to exist on the peripheries of both worlds and become the center of the new. But there was no means of accomplishing such an end at hand and not enough knowledge of the new and barbaric world which had to be conquered. The means came to them fortuitously - not from heaven, but from a newly civilized land far to the foggy north - England gave its first great contribution to European civilization - Wynfrith-Boniface.

²Schieffer, pp. 38-46.

³Ibid., p. 47.

He it was who provided the means of connecting the old and the new.⁴ His gaze was turned toward the north - towards Gaul.⁵ With one foot in Rome and the other in the Teutonic forests, he made it his life's work to convert the heathen and purify a heathenish version of Christianity, thus taking the first step toward a Western renewal of the church.⁶

He did more than any other man to carry Christianity and civilization to the Germans and lead them to kneel before the throne of St. Peter. To make all this possible he had also to bring the Franks into the fold of redeemed sheep through the reformation of their church; the Franks had to become a people whose rulers would be fit to be the caesars of the West. Through Boniface the reverence for Rome and the cognizance that order and discipline were a necessary part of ecclesiastical life took root in the Frankish and German churches.⁷ Though real reform took a long time, longer than one man's life, it did come, and the period of the reforming synods of Boniface, from 742-747, was the most important period of Frankish church history from the

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 144.

⁶Ibid., p. 141.

⁷Godfrey, p. 250.

conversion of Clovis to the Cluniac reforms.

In 749 Burchard, Bishop of Würzburg, and Fulrad, Abbot of St. Denis and Pippin's chaplain, were sent to ask of the pope the now famous question as to who should hold power in Francia and got the answer they were sent to get.⁸ Many have tried to see in this exchange, which resulted in the deposition of Childerich III, the last Merovingian king, and the elevation of Pippin as sole king in 750,⁹ the guiding hand of Boniface. But though it is useless to maintain his direct intervention, one must be convinced that it was a logical result of the work carried out by him in a constant attitude of ultramonatism.¹⁰ This was capped in 752 when Boniface, in his role as papal legate, annointed Pippin as King, marking the assumption of church control over the elevation of kings in Gaul.¹¹

Meanwhile events proceeded apace which were to give greater significance to Pippin's hallowing and the more than thirty years of Boniface's work that preceeded it. The Lombards and the Byzantines were dragging the pope along

⁸ Einhardi Annales, a. 749, MGH, SS, Tomus I,
edidit G. H. Pertz (Hannover, 1826), p. 137.

⁹ Ibid., a. 750, p. 139.

¹⁰ Higgins, p. 209.

¹¹ Ibid., cf. Enhardi Fuldensis Annales, a. 752,
p. 346.

a path which could only lead to an alliance between pope and Frankish king.¹² Liutprand had died in 744 and five years later Aistulf succeeded Ratchis as King of the Lombards and soon seized Ravenna. By July 751 he had displaced the Exarchate entirely and ruled in its stead, controlling north Italy. Pope Stephen, who had recently succeeded Zacharius, was able to make peace with him before he attacked Rome, but the peace was shortly violated by Aistulf. Aistulf seemed, like Liutprand before him, to wish to hold a Lombard protectorate over Rome. By this time Stephen had gotten to the point of writing the Exarchate off his slate if only Rome could remain independent, by whatever arrangement.¹³ In 754 though, for the sake of form, Stephen sent one last request for aid to the East, while at the same time asking the aid of the Franks.

Pippin came. In all he had to come to Italy several times and Charlemagne had to destroy the Lombard Kingdom before the papacy was safe - but eventually the papacy was freed of both the imperial and Lombardic yokes and the Lombards were forced to disgorge lands purportedly belonging to the papacy.¹⁴

¹²Schieffer, p. 120.

¹³Haller, I, 414.

¹⁴Annales Mettenses, a. 751-756, pp. 331-333.
Enhardi Fuldensis Annales, a. 773-776, 781, pp. 348-349.

Johannes Haller says that Pippin came out of purely religious motives: "St. Peter and always again St. Peter. . . . Only at St. Peter's will had Pippin taken up the sword."¹⁵ The King was ". . . advised and influenced by the greatest spirits of the new reform. . . ." ¹⁶ It was purely due to Boniface's influence that Pippin went south. Boniface's lifetime of work in the forests of Germany, and, even more significantly, in the court of the Franks, was, according to Haller, the ultimate factor determining Pippin's policy in Italy.¹⁷ Though perhaps Haller's thesis expresses the idea of Pippin's piety in somewhat too strong terms, it should not be discounted entirely. Religious motives played a part, undoubtedly. Gratitude may also have played a part, and ambition another part. The role of Boniface then? He did not promote it, but he made it possible. In the first place, he gave the papacy the needed incentive to cut loose from the East and look north - the pope's giving of the title Patricius Romanorum to

¹⁵ Johannes Haller, "Die Karolinger und das Papsttum", Historische Zeitschrift, CVIII, (1912), 57.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁷ cf. Martin Lintzel, "Der Codex Carolinus und die Motive von Pippin's Italienpolitik", Historische Zeitschrift, CLXI, (1940), 33-41. Lintzel maintains that Haller's thesis is not justifiable since no information on Pippin's character is available and there were other motives. But Lintzel must not be taken too seriously - he writes under the Nazi regime and is anxious to develop the concept of the stern Teutonic warrior-hero in regard to Pippin.

Pippin¹⁸ indicated papal renunciation of the empire.

Under this title one had been accustomed to refer to the imperial Exarch at Ravenna, but from 754 on in his place stood the Frankish king - the Pax Germanica settled over Italy.¹⁹ In the second place, Boniface, by his labor, made a place for the pope in Frankish thought and politics and prepared the basis of papal primacy in the north.

Boniface came at the right time, when the popes were ready to use him; but he also brought his own unique attributes to the job; namely, his ultramonatism, his monastic view and his spiritual and bodily strength. The popes were ready, but a lesser man would not have succeeded as did Boniface. "Boniface, the clearer of forests, the builder, the chider of kings and popes, the reformer, the ecclesiastical politician, the martyr is the symbol of the youthful, struggling West."²⁰ Boniface the monk was the image of a new church: "Just as from the Apostolic Church emerged the Roman Church with its pronounced differences, so from the Roman Church evolved the Teutonic-Roman Church,

¹⁸ Annales Mettenses, a. 754, p. 332.

¹⁹ Haller, I, 425. Idem., H.Z., pp. 46-7.

²⁰ Sullivan, C.H., p. 31.

which in its turn was strikingly unlike its prototype.

. . ."²¹

Thus he was one of the chief creators of a new Europe. He brought the pontifical Roman Church to the north and provided the basis of Christian medieval Europe, carrying the ideas of Gregory the Great to fulfillment and bringing into existence what even Gregory did not dream of. Without him neither the empire of Charlemagne nor the papacy of Hildebrand would have been possible.

²¹Alexander Clarence Flick, The Rise of the Medieval Church and its Influence on the Civilization of Western Europe from the First to the Thirteenth Century (New York, 1909), p. 233.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The single most valuable source to the life and work of Saint Boniface is the collected correspondence of the saint himself. The letters are available in many editions. Of those most commonly available in Latin, Ernst Dümmler and Michael Tangl's, both in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, are the best. Tangl's edition is the most recent of these two and is usually considered to be 'standard'. The edition in English used in this thesis is that of Ephraim Emerton published in the Columbia University Records of Civilization Sources and Studies Series (New York: 1940), and is a reasonably good edition and the only complete edition in English available to this writer. Professor Emerton has rearranged the sequence of the letters in order to give a more accurate sequence chronologically, and has, therefore, abandoned the order of the editions of both Dümmler and Tangl.

Along with the correspondence of Saint Boniface one must see The Life of Saint Boniface by the monk Willibald published by C. H. Talbot in a volume entitled The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany (New York: 1954), being a collection of the lives of SS. Willibrord-Clemens,

Wynfrith-Boniface, Stenn, Leoba, and Lebuin, together with the Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibrord. This life of Boniface is the standard one written soon after his death under the auspices of men who were well acquainted with him and is free of many of the common failings ascribed to medieval hagiography in general.

The Annales Mettenses, edited by G. H. Pertz in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum, I, (Hanover: 1826), was the most important of the sources used by this writer in relation to the general history of the Frankish Kingdom of this period, as well as for some specific information bearing on Saint Boniface. The Annales Enhardi Fuldensis, the Annales Einhardi and the Chronicon Moissiacenses were also useful sources as supplements to the Annales Mettenses. These materials are available in the same volume edited by Pertz of the M.G.H. It is advisable to be cautious in the use of all of this annalistic material, however, since they are, for the most part, compilations of a later date.

In addition to this annalistic material directly dealing with Carolingian affairs, The History of the Franks by Gregory, Bishop of Tours, and the Fourth Book 'Fredegarius' chronicle and its continuation proved useful in dealing with the Merovingian antecedents of the Carolingians. Gregory is available in a two volume translation by O. M. Dalton (Oxford: 1927) and Fredegarius can be used

in a new translation by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London: 1960).

While dealing with the subject of Anglo-Saxon England and the English church this writer found himself having recourse to the usual sources available, namely the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation (London: 1910). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is available in an excellent translation by Dorothy Whitelock, David Douglass and Susie Tucker (New Brunswick, N.J.: 1961). One of the special features of this edition is that it carries the variant readings of the different MSS. side by side, which facilitates comparison by the reader.

The extant records of the Frankish synods are available in two good editions. The Capitularia Regum Francorum, edited by Alfred Boretius in Sectio II of the Legum of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Hannover: 1888) in which the royal decrees concerning the acts of the synods are set forth together with the Concilia aevi Karolini, edited by Albert Werminghoff in Sectio III of the Legum of M.G.H. (Hannover: 1896), comprise the total known records of these synods. The materials in Werminghoff are a duplication of those in Boretius but contain, in addition, materials relating to councils not held in France but relevant to the subject.

There is a large amount of secondary material available dealing with Saint Boniface, either specifically or as a part of a larger story. The task of the researcher is to separate the chaff from the good. There is a necessity for a new and scholarly English treatment of the life and work of Saint Boniface, however, until the need is filled one will have to rely heavily on the magnificent Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Gundlegung Europas of Theodor Schieffer (Freiburg: 1954), which is a scholarly and well researched work. Most of the material one finds dealing with the Saint is of either a superficial nature or written from too restricted a viewpoint. There is, for example, a lot of work devoted to pointing out that Boniface was a Benedictine monk and most of which is insufficient for scholarly needs, and one is also confronted by the problem that even scholarly writers (including Schieffer) have a tendency to view the saint from a particularly nationalistic point of view (either as Apostle of Germany or as English monk).

The problem of finding good secondary materials in English is also obvious in relation to general treatments of the ecclesiastical events of the period. The three most important English sources used in this thesis were K. S. Latourette's A History of the Expansion of Christianity (New York: 1938), S. J. Crawford's Anglo-Saxon Influence on Western Christendom, 600-800 (Oxford: 1933), and England

and the Continent in the Eighth Century (Oxford: 1946), the product of a German historian in flight from National Socialism, Wilhelm Levison. There are also available translations of two important works: Henri Daniel-Rops' The Church in the Dark Ages (Garden City, N.J.: 1962) and Gustav Schnürer's Church and Culture in the Middle Ages (Paterson, N.J.: 1956). All of the books mentioned above are scholarly works and necessary to the research of this thesis, particularly Professor Levison's work. But still one must look to the following German works as indispensable to the task. Of the first rank are Johannes Haller's Das Papsttum, Idee und Wirklichkeit in a reedition (Basel: 1951) and Albert Hauck's Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, also in a re-edition (Berlin: 1954). Professor Haller's work is most important to this thesis as it is most sympathetic with the conclusions of the present writer. Both works are well-researched, scholarly efforts which stand, in this writer's view, at the head of the field. Hans von Schubert's Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche im Fröhmittelalter (Tübingen: 1921) and Erich Casper's Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft (Tübingen: 1933) complete this list of general works found by this writer to be useful in giving a fuller picture of the events at issue here.

Turning now to works of a more specialized nature, this writer recommends the following books for treatments of the Frankish world. The problems of the Merovingian Age are well treated by Sir Samuel Dill in Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (London: 1926), which, along with The Long-Haired Kings (London: 1962) of J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, gives a reasonably satisfactory view of pre-Carolingian Gaul while the introductory section of Heinrich Fichtenau's The Carolingian Empire (N.Y.: 1964 and Oxford: 1957) contains a brief treatment of the early Arnulfings. The affairs of England and the Anglo-Saxon church are ably dealt with in John Godfrey's The Church in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge: 1962), Sir Frank M. Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England (Oxford: 1947) and P. H. Blair's An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge: 1960), while A. A. Vasiliev's History of the Byzantine Empire (Madison: 1961) and George Ostrogorsky's History of the Byzantine State (Oxford: 1956) are the best treatments available in any language of the history of Byzantium. For a history of medieval latinity and Saint Boniface's place in the tradition of medieval Latin writings, see Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literature des Mittelalters (München: 1954).

While all of the relevant monographic material was by no means available to this writer, much of the most important of it was. Here again one is faced with the

necessity of discarding much of the material written on Saint Boniface which is, for one reason or another, superficial. Volume XVII of the Medieval Studies (1955), published by the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in the University of Toronto, contains an article by Professor Richard E. Sullivan entitled "The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages" to which this writer is heavily indebted. Also relevant are John Seville Higgins' "The Ultramonatism of Saint Boniface," Church History, II (1938) and Professor Sullivan's "Early Medieval Missionary Activity: A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Methods," Church History XXIII, (1954), "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," Speculum, XXVIII (1953), and "Carolingian Missionary Theories," The Catholic Historical Review, XLII (1956).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Primary Sources:

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Tr. by Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker. New Brunswick, N.J.: 1961.

The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany, Tr. and edited by C. H. Talbot, New York: 1954. Being a collection of the lives of SS. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and Lebuin with the selected correspondence of St. Boniface and the Hodoeporicon of St. Willibald.

Annales Einhardi, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum, Tomus I. Hannover: 1826.

Annales Einhardi Fuldensis, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum, Tomus I. Hannover: 1826.

Annales Mettenses, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum, Tomus I. Hannover: 1826.

Bede. The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, Tr. by J. Stevens, revised by L. C. Jane. London: 1910.

Capitularia Regum Francorum, ed. by Alfredus Boretius, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum: Sectio II, Tomus I. Hannover: 1888.

Chronicon Moissiacenses, ed. by G. H. Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum, Tomus I. Hannover: 1826.

Concilia Aevi Karolini, ed. by Albertus Werminghoff, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum: Sectio III, Tomus II, Pars I. Hannover: 1896.

Eddius Stephanus. The Life of Bishop Wilfrid, Tr. by B. Colgrave. Cambridge, 1927.

Fredegarius. Chronicorum Liber Quartus cum Continuationibus, Tr. and edited by J. M. Wallace Hadrill. London: 1960.

Gregory of Tours. The History of the Franks, Tr. by O. M. Dalton, 2 vols. Oxford: 1927.

II. Secondary Works:

Blair, Peter Hunter. An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England, Cambridge: 1960.

Cartellieri, Alexander. Weltgeschichte als Machtgeschichte: 382-911, Die Zeit der Reichsgründungen. Berlin: 1927.

Caspar, Erich. Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft, Tübingen, 1933.

Crawford, S. J. Anglo-Saxon Influences on Western Christendom 600-800. Oxford, 1933.

Daniel-Rops, Henri. The Church in the Dark Ages, Tr. by A. Butler, 2 vols. Garden City, N.J.: 1962.

Dawson, Christopher. The Making of Europe. Cleveland: 1956.

Dill, Sir Samuel. Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age. London: 1926.

Dopsch, Alfons. The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization, Tr. by M. G. Beard, and N. Marshall, London: 1937.

Duchesne, L. The Beginnings of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes, Tr. by A. H. Matthew, London: 1908.

Fichtenau, Heinrich. The Carolingian Empire, Tr. by P. Munz. New York: 1964.

Flick, Alexander Clarence. The Rise of the Medieval Church and its Influence on the Civilization of Western Europe from the first to the thirteenth Century. New York: 1909.

Godfrey, John. The Church in Anglo-Saxon England. Cambridge: 1962.

Haller, Johannes. Das Papsttum, Idee und Wirklichkeit, 5 Bde., verbesserte und ergänzte Ausgabe. Basel: 1951.

Hauck, Albert. Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, 5 Bde. Berlin: 1954.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. A History of the Expansion of Christianity, 7 vols. New York: 1938.

Levison, Wilhelm. England and the Continent in the Eighth Century. Oxford: 1946.

Lot, Ferdinand. The End of the Ancient World and the Beginning of the Middle Ages, Tr. by P. & M. Leon. New York: 1961.

Manitius, Max. Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 2te Bde. (Handbuch der Altertums Wissenschaft, 9te Abteilung, 2ter Teil, hsgbn. von Walter Otto). München: 1959.

Ostrogorsky, George. History of the Byzantine State, Translated by Joan Hussey. Oxford: 1956.

Schieffer, Theodor. Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas. Frieberg: 1954.

Schnürer, Gustav. Church and Culture in the Middle Ages, 2 vols., Tr. by G. J. Undreiner. Paterson, N.J.: 1956.

Schubert, Hans von. Geschichte der christlichen Kirche im Erühmittelalter. Tübingen: 1921.

Stenton, Sir Frank. Anglo-Saxon England. 2nd edition. Oxford: 1947.

Ullman, Walter. The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages, 2nd edition. London: 1962.

Vasiliev, A. A. History of the Byzantine Empire, 2nd English edition. Madison: 1961.

Wallace Hadrill, J. M. The Barbarian West, 400-1000. New York: 1962.

_____. The Long-Haired Kings. London: 1962.

III. Articles:

Ganshof, F. L. "Benefice and Vassalage in the Age of Charlemagne", Cambridge Historical Journal, VI, (1929), No.2, 147-176.

Haller, Johannes. "Die Karolinger und das Papsttum", Historische Zeitschrift, CVIII, (1912), 38-76.

Higgins, John Seville. "The Ultramonatism of Saint Boniface", Church History, II (1933), 197-210.

Lintzel, Martin. "Der Codex Carolinus und die Motive von Pippins Italienpolitik", Historische Zeitschrift, CLXI, (1940), 33-41.

Ostrogorsky, George. "The Byzantine Empire in the World of the Seventh Century", Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 13, (1959), 1-21.

Sullivan, Richard E. "Carolingian Missionary Theories", The Catholic Historical Review, XLII, (1956), 273-295.

_____. "Early Medieval Missionary Activity: A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Methods", Church History, XXIII, (1954), 17-35.

_____. "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan", Speculum, XXVIII, (1953), 705-740.

_____. "The Papacy and Missionary Activity in The Early Middle Ages", Medieval Studies, XVII, (1955), 46-106.

Whitney, J. P. "Conversion of the Teutons", Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. II, Ch. XVI (b), 515-542. Cambridge: 1913.

ROOM USE ONLY

