

OLDEST DAUGHTER OF THE CHURCH

schism (c. 11). If the author of the offense is a cleric, he could also be assigned an expiatory punishment *ferendae sententiae*: interdict, removal from office, or of favors, privileges, etc. that he had received and of their use (c. 1336, 1°, no. 1–3). In case of prolonged obstinacy or a particularly serious scandal, other punishments could be added, including revoking his clerical status (c. 1364 § 2), which would not include a dispensation from the law of celibacy (c. 291).

Dominique Le Tourneau

OLDEST DAUGHTER OF THE CHURCH. The expression “Oldest Daughter of the Church,” applied to France in reference to its conversion to Catholicism earlier than the other nations of western Europe, seems to be of fairly recent origin; it appears in neither the Littré (1865) nor in the Larousse *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* (1872). This leads us to believe that it is a late modification of the title “Oldest Son of the Church” used for the first time by ALEXANDER VI in reference to Charles VIII on 19 January 1495, and attributed to the Very Christian Kings up to the time of Charles X. These two names translate old prerogatives that have been expressed in different words throughout the centuries.

The origin of privileged ties that connect France to the papacy go back to the baptism of Clovis, the first Germanic king who, at the end of the 5th century, professed Christianity in union with the see of Rome, while other invaders from Gaul and the Roman empire adhered to the Arian HERESY. In the 8th century, relations between the FRANKISH kingdom and the papacy were tightened. In 751, pope ZACHARIAS recognized Pepin the Short with the title of king in the place of the last Merovingian, and had him blessed by his LEGATE, saint Boniface. In 755 and 756, Pepin, at STEPHEN II’s appeal as he was being threatened by the LOMBARD king, led two military expeditions into Italy, ending with the conquest of the EXARCHATE OF RAVENNA, which was handed over to the pope and became the PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER, later to be called the Papal State. Finally, to thank the king and his sons, pope PAUL I, brother and successor to Stephen II, gave them St. Petronilla as protector, the Roman martyr considered by legends of the time to be the daughter of ST. PETER. The pope had her body taken from the CATACOMB of Domitilla and transferred to a mausoleum next to the Vatican basilica, henceforth called “chapel of the Frankish kings.” After the building’s destruction in 1544, the mortal remains of the saint were placed in a chapel in the right nave of the new basilica.

The papacy’s alliance with the French monarchy thus sealed in the 8th century was to be confirmed regularly by a number of acts. In modern times, the epithet “Elder Daughter of the Church” appears in political treaties, in

official documents, and in the works of sacred orators; it has taken the form “Elder Daughter” when applied to a queen (Catherine de Medici is so called in a letter from the nuncio Prospero Santacroce in 1564). And, the glory of the sovereign flows out over his kingdom: GREGORY IX declared to Saint Louis in 1239 that “the kingdom of France was placed by God above all peoples,” and in 1562 we find the expression “elder kingdom of the Church,” which might be seen as an early version of the present wording. The mass celebrated every year on 31 May in honor of St. Petronilla in St. Peter’s Basilica in the presence of the French ambassador and the French colony is, still today, reminiscent of the Holy See’s secular predilection for France.

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ONOMASTICS, PONTIFICAL.

Sources. The oldest list of bishops of Rome comes from Irenaeus of Lyon (*Adv. haer.* III, 3, 3). After those of the “founders” of the Christian community, Peter and Paul, there follows a list of twelve names: Λινος (LINUS), Ανεκκλητος (ANACLETUS), Κλημης (CLEMENT I), Εναριστος (EVARISTUS), Αλεξανδρος (ALEXANDER I), Ξυστος (SIXTUS I), Τελησφορος (TELESPHORUS), Ύγιнос (HYGINUS), Πιος (PIUS I), Άνικητος (ANICETUS), Σωτηρος (SOTER), and Έλευθερος (ELEUTHERIUS). Then follow the extremely valuable accounts of nomenclature provided by EUSEBIUS of Caesarea’s *Ecclesiastical History* (LP I, V) and the *Liberian Catalogue* of 354. The latter was meant to pass as a precise chronography providing a continuous succession of popes, together with consular dates and (fictitious) imperial synchronisms (LP, VI–X). “LIBERIUS” divides the name Anacletus into two, Cletus and Anacletus.

The custom of recording in writing the date of ordination and the day of death goes back to 235. Beginning in the 4th century, the tradition of lists gains in accuracy and historical certainty. The earliest preserved manuscripts of the *LIBER PONTIFICALIS* date from the 7th to 8th centuries; legend ascribes them to Pope DAMASUS (366–84) (LP I, 48ff.). The *Liber pontificalis* was altered and completed several times, so that different editions show divergences as to the succession of the popes and their legitimacy.

On a certain number of points, the list of popes in *Pseudo-Isidore* differs from LP; it omits Linus and Cletus, changes spellings, and stops after GREGORY the Great (with only one addition, GREGORY II). The CULT OF

the first bishops of Rome, the holy POPES-MARTYRS, developed especially thanks to the efforts of the popes of the Gregorian REFORM (Bernold of Constance, d. 1100, *Micrologus*). Of the medieval historians of the papacy, Martin of Troppau (Martin the Pole, d. 1278), frequently uncritical, had the greatest influence. Bartolomeo Sacchi, known as Platina (d. 1481), wrote the last pontifical history of the Middle Ages, following his own criteria; his system of numbering is at variance with that of the *LP*. The *ANNUARIO PONTIFICIO* (1912) in its unofficial lists adopts the Roman principle of the uniqueness and legitimacy of each pope; the lists are based mainly on the series of medallions at ST. PAUL'S OUTSIDE WALLS and the research of Theodor Mommsen, Louis Duchesne, and Angelo Mercati (d. 1955); the uninterrupted succession of "legitimate" popes has been abandoned in more recent editions.

Choice of Name and Adoption of Ordinal Number: Origins. The earliest Roman lists consist mainly of Greek names, but there are also some Roman ones; the names of Greek divinities and Roman emperors are included. There are no descriptive appellations or double names among the first fifty; the Roman names are taken from the repertory of *praenomina* as well as of *nomina gentilicia* or *cognomina*, without evidence of any principle governing the choice of name. In early times, the attribution of the name Peter to Simon (Mt 16:18) or the double name of Saul-Paul (tantamount to a change of name) was not regarded as warranting the use of a double name; that practice did not develop until later, and was adopted as a way of making a theological point (Peter Lombard, *PL* 191, 1303; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, VIII, *Ep.* 238 *Ad papam Eugenium prima*). The first pope to have a double name was JOHN II Mercury (533–5); most likely he thought it unfitting for a Christian to retain the name of an ancient divinity (unlike DIOSCORUS [530] and others). In the case of JOHN XII–Octavian (955–64), it is not known whether John is the actual name of this descendant of the Tuscullani (he was a nephew of JOHN XI) or his pontifical name. The systematic change of name came to be well attested only from the end of the 10th century. In 983, Pietro da Pavia changed his first name to JOHN (XIV), no doubt out of deference to the apostle Peter; a few years later, Pietro Os Porci, otherwise known as SERGIUS IV (1009), followed suit. By taking a new name, the two familiars of Otto III, Bruno of Carinthia (GREGORY V) and Gerbert d'Aurillac (SILVESTER II), abandoned their "barbarian" first names, and they were also the first to emphasize the theological and intentional aspect of the step: Bruno linked himself with Gregory the Great, the renowned Doctor of the Church, and Gerbert d'Aurillac with the pope of the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE and the council of Nicaea (325). It was not until after the pontificate of Sergius IV (1009) that the change of name be-

came an actual rule (though not a written one). Only a few antipopes did not manage to adopt a pontifical name (THEODERIC, 1100–2; ALBERT, 1102). Just two elected popes took office under their own names (HADRIAN VI, MARCELLUS II); two others modified their names with ironic intent (Enea Silvio Piccolomini–PIUS II; Giuliano della Rovere–JULIUS II).

Beginning in the 6th century, it became necessary to distinguish popes of the same name by means of a numeral. PELAGIUS II (579–80) was the first to take on the epithet *junior*, doubtless borrowed from the tradition of the Roman emperors and consuls. In the 7th and 8th centuries, the appellation *junior* for a pope who succeeded another pope of the same name either directly or after a few years' interval became common. To distinguish a third pope of the same name, the Curia first adopted the formula *papa secundus junior* (GREGORY III, STEPHEN III), but that frequently caused confusion. The ordinal number appears for the first time under Gregory III, but it was used only sporadically. The custom of distinguishing the popes by a Roman numeral did not become the rule in registers until the 10th century; later, the practice was extended also to the metal BULLS (LEO IX) and FISHERMAN'S RINGS, whereas the emperors did not begin to be distinguished by numbers until the reign of Otto II.

Contested Ordinal Numbers. Contemporary sources and papal histories show frequent divergences in numbering, resulting from confusions, name divisions, or additions and deletions due to quarrels over legitimacy. The names listed below are particularly problematic:

1. **Donus.** Pope Donus II (after BENEDICT VI) (e.g., Platina no. 139) is imaginary. The name comes from a confusion between BENEDICT VII's title *domnus* ("lord") and the Roman name Donus (*LP* II, XVIII, and 256).

2. **Felix.** The numbering of popes named Felix presented little problem in the Middle Ages; according to the *LP*, it went as follows:

FELIX I (*Romanus*), 268/9–274, *LP*, no. XXVII, 70ff.

FELIX II (*Romanus, Mart.*), 355–65, *LP*, no. XXX–VIII, 84ff.

FELIX III (*Romanus, ex patre Felice*), 483–92, *LP*, no. L, 92ff.

FELIX IV (*Samnius*), 526–30, *LP*, no. LVI, 106ff.

Beginning in the 6th century, a host of confusions led to Felix II being venerated as a martyr (Döllinger, 1890; Kirsch, 1925). Duchesne makes him an antipope (*LP* LXXIV ff.); the *Annuario pontificio* excludes him from the list of legitimate popes, and the *motu proprio Mysteriorum Paschalis* of 1969 from the list of martyrs. Since FELIX V (Amadeus of Savoy) also is considered an antipope, the number of pontiffs named Felix recognized by Rome is reduced to three.

3. **Stephen.** In 752, the electors first chose a priest named Stephen (*quendam presbiterum Stephanum*), but

he died before being consecrated bishop, which explains why there is no mention of him in *LP* (*LP* I, 440); as a result, the successor of ZACHARIAS, who was elected that same year, was designated STEPHEN II (*LP* I, no. XCIII, 440ff.). Frederick of Lorraine, elected in 1057, is therefore correctly called *Stephanus Nonus Papa*. From the 16th century on, however, some respected historians have defended the legitimacy of the pope chosen in 752 (Panvinio, Baronius). He remained listed in the *Annuario pontificio* until 1960, so that the whole series of Stephens is off by one. At the present time, there has been a return to the medieval numbering, which is more correct (cf. *Annuario pontificio*, 1981, 11).

4. **John.** In the Middle Ages, the numbering of the popes named John, from JOHN I (523) to JOHN XIV (983), posed few problems, since the deacon John who in January 844 replaced the deceased GREGORY IV was not usually included. But from 1100 a tradition grew, based on a false interpretation of *LP*, according to which John XIV was succeeded by a second pope of the same name, so that the numbering was off by one. As the disputed pope John Philagathos was included under the name JOHN XVI, Peter of Spain in 1276 took the name JOHN XXI (not JOHN XX). The numbering adopted by historians of later centuries varies depending on their interpretation of the sources and their opinion of the candidates' legitimacy. Platina includes both the John of 844 ("Pope JOAN," after Gregory IV) and the "repeat" John XIV among the legitimate popes; accordingly he assigns the numeral XXII to Peter of Spain. Likewise acknowledging the existence of a "repeat John XIV," Baldassare Cossa in 1410 adopted the name JOHN XXIII. But doubting Baldassare Cossa's legitimacy in his turn, Angelo Roncalli in 1958 took the numeral XXIII. The legend of Pope Joan (also called Jutta, Gilberta, Agnes, Glancia, etc.), usually assigned to the 9th century, goes back to Martin of Tropaup (1277) and was introduced into the pontifical historiography of the Curia by Platina (Herbers, 1988).

5. **Marinus/Martin.** Because later traditions mistakenly listed MARINUS I (*LP* II, no. CX) and MARINUS II (*LP* II, no. CXXXI) under Martinus, in 1281 Simon de Brie took the name MARTIN IV. MARTIN V (who likewise chose the name with reference to Martin of Tours) followed this numbering, which has remained unchanged until today.

Ritual and Function of the Change of Name. For candidates with non-Christian first names, the change of name means the renunciation of paganism and the recognition of Christianity and the Christian saints; this holds true for the early examples (from John II to Silvester II) and also, in a certain way, for the *electi* of later periods who had non-Christian first names (for instance, Pius II, LEO XII, PIUS XI). In the age of the Theophylacti and Crescenzi, the pontifical name denoted membership in a

family of origin and, by extension, gentle birth (John, Benedict). It was not until the period of the popes of the Gregorian REFORM (11th–12th centuries) that the professed name took on the character of a sovereign's name emphasizing the holy function of the one who bore it. By adopting a new name, the pope distinguished himself from all other European sovereigns, who changed theirs only in exceptional cases (e.g., Charles IV, d. 1378, whose first name was Wenzel). In the era of the Gregorian reform it was, according to the sources, chiefly the *electores*, in particular the archdeacon, who seemed to intervene in the choice of name. One example is the influence apparently exercised by Hildebrand (the future GREGORY VII) on the choice and change of candidates' names, from VICTOR II to VICTOR III. URBAN II provides the first instance of a personal choice (*Urbanum illum placere vocari*—Pietro da Monte Cassino, *Chron.* IV, 2). In a few other cases, the reasons were most likely subjective (e.g., for ALEXANDER II, who linked himself to the church of S. Alessandro Maggiore of Lucca). The change of name at that time was closely tied to the Gregorians' Petrine ideology. The papacy brought up to date and extended earlier traditions, going back to the 10th century, which insisted on the real presence of Peter and the direct participation of the Prince of the Apostles in the election (*Ordo Romanus XXXVI*, ed. Andrieu, IV, 204). In the *Benedictio pape de episcopo facti*, the cardinal bishop of Ostia explicitly recalls the PRIMACY of Peter (ed. Andrieu, I, no. XXXIV, 259). The enthronement in St. Peter's (or in another church dedicated to him) and the adoption of the name of the preceding successors of Peter illustrate the role of Petrine ideology and the importance attached to Roman authority as symbolized by the saint's KEYS. From this it can be seen that the change of name was also intended to express Roman primacy and a centralizing conception of the papacy. Moreover, the ritual of the change of name fits into the general context of the adoption of imperial insignia (*cappa rubra, laudes, ferula*, throne, processions, distribution of coins, etc.). Since that time, the ritual has been carried out in three stages: 1) the deliberation between the electors (and others) and the elected candidate, immediately after the vote (these consultations are assumed, as they are not attested by the sources); 2) the proclamation of the new pope, wearing his cloak *coram publico*, under his new name; 3) the solemn enthronement under the *nomen proprium*, marking the beginning of unlimited pontifical sovereignty.

From the 13th century, change of name was above all a matter of the candidates' personal, subjective choice (for instance, Pius II, 1458: *interrogatus quo nomine vellet notari, Pio respondit*). Nevertheless, the advice or wishes of certain electors or friends were permitted. Because of the sanctity of his office, it behooved the pope to keep the reasons for his choice secret; the sources re-

veal the new popes' reasons only in a few isolated cases (BENEDICT XII, Pius II). This silence has given rise to much speculation in anecdotes and pontifical legends. John XXIII (A. Roncalli, 1958), who was the first to recall his personal motivations in the *Acta*, was an exception (AAS 50, 1958, 878ff.). The pope used his personal first name only when he wanted to speak as a private individual, in private, and with his family; the custom was often invoked by the popes when they were on the point of DEATH (examples in Krebsius). The death of the pope likewise was announced using his baptismal name. At the bottom of the text of the PETITIONS, the pontifical confirmation is made using the initial of the private first name (e.g., E. in the case of Pius II, after his first name, Enea). Popes who resigned (CELESTINE V) or were deposed were also referred to by their baptismal names (for instance, JOHN XXIII-B. Cossa by Martin V, 1417, Nov. 21: Bibl. apost. Vat., Reg. Lat. 192: *Baldassar, in eadem obedientia succedens et Johannes XXIII nominatus*).

Motive and Significance. When the Theophylacti and Crescenzi were in power, the choice of papal name chiefly followed a genealogical principle which soon appeared suspect, to the point that even close relatives avoided it. It was not until after 1500 that the custom was occasionally reverted to (PIUS III, CLEMENT VIII). The Reform popes followed in the theological and political footsteps of Gregory V and Silvester II and chose names of legendary or historical predecessors from before the *saeculum obscurum* (10th century), taking them principally from the earliest lists. This explains the remarkable frequency of the numeral II: out of a total of 27 candidates (including those who were not recognized at a later stage) who succeeded one another between 1046 (the council of Sutri) and 1145 (the assassination of LUCIUS II), 16 popes bear the numeral II. Four others similarly took the names of predecessors who had already had successors of the same name: Leo IX, STEPHEN IX, Gregory VII, SILVESTER IV.

What sources did the Gregorian reform popes draw on to create an image of their real or supposed predecessors (cultural traditions, conciliar decisions, juridical collections)? We do not know. Note that the names of only 24 candidates out of the 27 coincide with those of the collection of the pseudo-Isidorean *Decretals*. Subjective or incidental factors may have played a part, though a secondary one, in the choice of name: a saint's day that fell on the day of election (Stephen IX, Lucius II, and perhaps NICHOLAS II); a biographical link with the name of a church (Alexander II); an etymological reason (especially for the names Victor, Honorius, Urban, and Paschal). In many cases, the subjective motivations are fairly mysterious. After this period (more exactly, from Landon, 913–14), there are no more new names, so that the numeral I disappears until 1978 (JOHN PAUL I).

Whereas, between 1145 and 1159, the popes broke strikingly with the tradition of Gregorian names (EUGENE III, ANASTASIUS IV, HADRIAN IV), the popes of the Hohenstaufen era and the period from the end of the conflict between the papacy and the Staufen up to INNOCENT V (1276) returned to one exclusive source, that of the names of the Gregorian popes (Alexander, Victor, Paschal, Callistus, Innocent, Lucius, Urban, Gregory, Clement, Celestine, Honorius); here, not infrequently, the name of profession expressed a current political design (ALEXANDER III, GREGORY IX).

At the end of the 13th century, the choice of name was often made independently of any ecclesiological or political consideration. John XXI (Peter of Spain) no doubt chose this name in memory of Cardinal Giovanni Gaetano Orsini; NICHOLAS IV, as a memorial to his protector NICHOLAS III. HADRIAN V and Nicholas III recalled the patron saint of the churches they had presided over as cardinals; MARTIN IV, the patron saint of Tours. For CELESTINE V (Pietro del Morrone), etymology was most probably the determining factor. In the 14th century, John, Boniface, and Benedict, names from the *saeculum obscurum* that had lost their negative connotation, reappeared. For the Avignon popes, recalling their French predecessors amounted to a kind of politically motivated agenda: Clement IV for CLEMENT V, Innocent V for INNOCENT VI, and URBAN IV for URBAN V. During the GREAT SCHISM, the French side took the names of Avignon popes (Clement, Benedict) while the Roman side looked back to the most illustrious representatives of a Roman idea of universal sovereignty (BONIFACE IX, INNOCENT VII, GREGORY XII). In 1415, MARTIN V broke with tradition by choosing the name of the saint of the day, thus renouncing political motivation. The period of the Renaissance popes saw a craving for originality and individualization: the numeral II, which had become rare, reappeared (Pius II, PAUL II, Julius II), and the memory of pagan heroes was explicitly invoked (ALEXANDER VI's enthronement speech alluded to Alexander the Great, and the satires against Julius II recalled Julius Caesar.).

From the 16th century, the name chosen has invariably been inspired by the principle of *pietas*: PAUL IV, GREGORY XIV, CLEMENT X, INNOCENT XI, INNOCENT XII, CLEMENT XII, CLEMENT XIII, BENEDICT XIV, CLEMENT XIV, PIUS VII, PIUS VIII, and PIUS XII took the names of those predecessors who had raised them to the cardinalate. JULIUS III, PAUL V, and GREGORY XV chose the name of the pope who had launched them on their curial CAREER. CLEMENT VIII, LEO XI, INNOCENT X, ALEXANDER VII, and INNOCENT XIII chose the name of the pope who had actively supported their family. PAUL IV, PIUS V, SIXTUS V, and ALEXANDER VIII adopted the names of those predecessors whose nephews had contributed to their election. Taking a predecessor's

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name not only was a way of giving symbolic thanks but also implied the wish to be faithful to a spiritual heritage. Hence the stereotypical, conservative character of pontifical names in the modern era. Julius, Marcellus, and Sixtus were chosen once; as for the others, the choice of names over the roughly four centuries from the council of TRENT to VATICAN II boils down to nine: Paul, Pius, Gregory, Urban, Innocent, Clement, Leo, Alexander, and Benedict. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the name Clement takes the lead, and then, until 1958, the name

Pius. John XXIII (A. Roncalli, 1958) was the first to take the name of a medieval pope, thus symbolically emphasizing the end of the “papacy of the Piuses.” His successor PAUL VI’s choice was a subjective one, inspired primarily by a theological consideration. John Paul I was the first pope in history to adopt a double name, but his choice still obeyed the principle of respectful *pietas* toward his predecessors. The pontifical name of JOHN PAUL II invokes the memory of his three immediate predecessors.

List of popes named John (names, dates)	<i>LP, Annuario pontificio</i>	Platina
<i>J. Tusculanus, ex patre Constantino, 523–6</i>	J. I, no. LV	J. I, no. 55
<i>J. qui et Mercurius, 533–5</i>	J. II, no. LVIII	J. II, no. 58
<i>J. Romanus, 561–74</i>	J. III, no. LXIII	J. III, no. 63
<i>J. Dalmatinus, 640–2</i>	J. IV, no. LXXIII	J. IV, no. 74
<i>J. Syrus, 685–6</i>	J. V, no. LXXXIII	J. V, no. 84
<i>J. Grecus, 701–5</i>	J. VI, no. LXXXVII	J. VI, no. 87
<i>J. Grecus de patre Platone, 705–7</i>	J. VII, no. LXXXVIII	J. VII, no. 88
<i>J. quidam diaconus, 844</i>	[not entered]	J. VIII (Pope Joan), no. 106
<i>J. Romanus ex patre Gundo, 872–82</i>	J. VIII, no. CVIII	J. IX, no. 110
<i>J. Tiburtinus, 898–900</i>	J. IX, no. CXVIII	J. X, no. 119
<i>J. of Ravenna, 914–28</i>	J. X, no. CXXV	J. XI, no. 126
<i>J. Romanus, ex patre Sergio papa, 931–6</i>	J. XI, no. CXXVIII	J. XII, no. 129
<i>J. Romanus Octavianus, 955–64</i>	J. XII, no. CXXXIII	J. XIII, no. 134
<i>J. bishop of Nani, 965–72</i>	J. XIII, no. CXXXVI	J. XIV, no. 137
<i>J. Pietro da Pavia, 983–4</i>	J. XIV, no. CXL	J. XV, no. 142
[J. XIV repeated]	[not entered]	J. XVI, no. 143
<i>J. Romanus ex patre Leone, 985–96</i>	J. XV, no. CXLI	J. XVII, no. 144
<i>J. Philagathos, 997–8</i>	[J. XVI, antipope]	J. XVIII, no. 146
<i>J. Sicco, 1003</i>	J. XVII, no. CXLIII	J. XIX, no. 148
<i>J. Fasanus, 1003/4–1009</i>	J. XVIII, no. CXLV	J. XX, no. 149
<i>J. Romanus, germanus Benedicti, 1024–32</i>	J. XIX, no. CXLVIII	J. XXI, no. 152
	J. XX omitted	
<i>J. Petrus Hispanus, 1276–7</i>	J. XXI	J. XXII, no. 194
<i>J. Jacques Duèze, 1316–34</i>	J. XXII	
<i>J. Baldassare Cossa, 1410–15</i>	[antipope]	J. XXIII, no. 203
<i>J. Angelo Roncalli, 1958–63</i>	J. XXIII	J. XXIV, no. 214

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