



# Popes, names, and tradition: the illusion of continuity

Gregory and Pius compared

“What meaning is there to be found in the name choices of popes?”

Master thesis Religious Studies

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. E.G.E. van der Wall

Second reader: Prof. Dr. J.K. Zangenberg

Kirsten Overkamp

November 30, 2017

Words: 20478

## Content

Introduction: from Mercurius to Francis .....	2
John II, Julius II and Francis .....	3
What names “do” and “say” .....	5
Papal names .....	6
Gregory and Pius.....	7
Chapter one: a theoretical framework .....	10
The study of names .....	11
The performative aspect of naming.....	12
Name choices and traditions .....	14
Conclusion: namesakes and its influence on tradition.....	17
Chapter two: the tradition of Gregory .....	18
How Pope John XXIII put an end to the tradition of Gregory.....	19
John or Gregory? The beginning of the tradition.....	20
The tradition of Gregory: initial observations and comparisons.....	21
Developments of the papacy in the 11 <sup>th</sup> – 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries .....	22
Thematic approach: shared characteristics of the Gregories .....	25
Est nomen omen? A strategy for the study of papal names .....	27
Motives underlying name choice .....	28
Why aren’t there more Gregories? .....	32
Conclusion: Gregory and continuity .....	34
Chapter three: the tradition of Pius.....	36
The ‘Gregory-free era’ and the rise of the Pii (1417-1572).....	37
A political context: the impact of revolution and war on the papacy.....	38
Thematic approach: developments in the position of the Pii.....	40
Changing associations of ‘pius’ and ‘Pius’ .....	43
Conclusion: how Pope John XXIII put an end to another tradition .....	46
Conclusion: the illusion of continuity .....	47
Can we predict the name of the next pope?.....	49
Bibliography .....	50

## Introduction: from Mercurius to Francis

Over the years I developed a fascination for the life and papacy of Pope Julius II (1503-1513). Ever since I encountered this remarkable figure, every now and then the question plagued me: was it just a coincidence that he, Giuliano della Rovere, once pope, adopted the name Julius II and seemed to demonstrate similarities with – or wished to recall – that other Julius in the Roman history, i.e. Julius Caesar?<sup>1</sup> This paper wants to explore that intuition that there must be something in a name, especially if one chooses to be known under another name from a specific point in time – in such cases, both the act and name can hardly be void of meaning.

Therefore, this thesis sets out to answer the question ‘What meaning is there to be found in the name choices of popes?’ We need to break this question down into the two separate connected elements of ‘name’ and ‘choice’. Whether there is any meaning to be found in the specific cases of papal names cannot be detached from the question with which philosophers engaged since Socrates: what meaning is there to be found in names? Or put differently, what do names *do*? and what do names *say*? Emphasis in this thesis will be on the ‘choice’ counterpart of the question.

From the eleventh century onwards, it has become a tradition for the popes to adopt a new, papal name upon their election. This practice deserves attention, even only for the fact that in Western societies, name change is a rather unique practice.<sup>2</sup> Most people hold on to the proper names they were given at birth – nicknames or change in surname after marriage aside – and thus a name is a constant throughout life.<sup>3</sup> The popes’ name change and choice is linked with the papal the institution. It is remarkable that there is a sphere of secrecy around the name choice: only after the pope’s election and upon his first appearance, is the name he wishes to be known by revealed.<sup>4</sup> This practice raises questions about the meanings of papal names and the process underlying the choice.

---

<sup>1</sup> He seems to allude to Roman ruler Julius Caesar rather than Pope Julius I (337-352).

<sup>2</sup> Beyond the scope of this research, there are several other practices in which name change occurs such as name change after conversion or entering a monastery.

<sup>3</sup> This practice occurs in several Western societies. In most cases, women adopt the surname of their husband. Nicknames, however, are often an addition and not substitution of the given proper name, and the impact of changing surnames seems to represent a change in status rather than a change of identity.

<sup>4</sup> Eamon Duffy (2014). *Saints & sinners: a history of the popes*. Cumberland: Yale University Press. Duffy explains the procedure in appendix C “How a new pope is made,” 415-420. On the sphere of secrecy: Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller (1980). *Geschichte der Papstnamen*. Münster: Regensburg; 26: “Die Funktion des Names, persönliche und programmatische Aussagen zu unterstreichen, steht in scheinbar merkwürdigen Gegensatz zu der fast absoluten Schweigsamkeit der Päpste über ihre Beweggründe.”

## John II, Julius II and Francis

The origin of this complicated subject goes back to the sixth century CE when a name change occurred for the first time. Upon his election, Mercurius deemed his pagan name not compatible with the papacy and changed his name to John II (533-5).<sup>5</sup> His motivation might seem logical from modern perspective: to carry a name of a Roman god as the servant of the Christian god seems contradictory. His act, however, was remarkable. While often assumed that name change after conversion was common from Antiquity onwards, historian Stephen Wilson has uncovered that even in late Antiquity it was “not thought appropriate to change one’s name on conversion or at baptism” and “even the clergy hardly ever had specifically Christian names.”<sup>6</sup> The name Mercurius was not a rarity, or as Wilson puts it: “All of Olympia is found in Christian nomenclature.”<sup>7</sup> Remarkable is that bishops found no incongruity: even ‘our’ Mercurius only felt that upon his election to the papacy he should – or only then was in the position to – change his name. His choice for the name John seems not without meaning.

The election of Mercurius happened in turbulent times for the Church, complicated by the strife between king Theodoric and his successors in the West and emperor Justin and his successors in the East. Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller in *Die Geschichte der Papstnamen*, discusses the political situation in the sixth century AD in more detail than this study allows, but it is interesting to look at his conclusions.<sup>8</sup> Hergemöller makes it plausible that Mercurius’ name change to John should be considered as deliberate and politically motivated. In this continuous conflict, Mercury wanted to position himself in line of his predecessor John I (523-526), of whom he considered himself to be the rightful successor both in position and policy.<sup>9</sup> Thus, his name change seems to have been motivated not so much by a Christian but by a political argument.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Mercury’s action was remarkable for it was not the result of or resulted in a pattern of Christian

---

<sup>5</sup> Stephan Freund (2002). “Est nomen omen? Der Pontifikat Gelasius II (1118-1119) und die päpstliche Namensgebung.“ *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 40, 53-83; 62.

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Wilson (1998). *The means of naming: a social and cultural history of personal naming in Western Europe*. London: Routledge; 59.

<sup>7</sup> Idem.

<sup>8</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 24-25.

<sup>9</sup> Idem: “Dennoch werden wir kaum fehlgehen, wenn wir darin Anschluss an Johannes I. (523-6) sehen, der der erste unbestritten rechtmäßige Vorgänger Johannes’ II. gewesen war. [...] Demnach muss man in Johannes II. den ersten rechtmäßigen und unbestrittenen Nachfolger Johannes’ I. sehen; schon dies könnte Grund genug gewesen sein, dessen Namen zu übernehmen.“ Thus, Hergemöller explains „der politische Aspekt“ of the name change.

<sup>10</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 25: “In diesem Sinnen wird man sicherlich aus einen politischen Aspekt der Namensgebung berücksichtigen müssen.“

name change: popes after John II kept their baptismal names – regardless of pagan or Christian connotation – until the adoption of names suddenly and quickly became a solid tradition from Gregory V (996-99) onward.<sup>11</sup>

To illustrate what might motivate the name choices of popes, we will return to Julius II and compare him with the current Pope Francis (2013). As James Fishburne explains in his article “Shepherding the flock: Pope Julius II’s Renaissance vision of a united Italy,” Pope Julius II, actually, does invoke through his name the association with Julius Caesar and therewith makes an authority claim. The association reinforces his position as the ruler of the Papal States, besides being the leader of the Church. In these times of division, he envisioned a unified Italy: under the rule of the Papal States.<sup>12</sup> In that position, Julius II undertook many wars to win back states which were annexed by his worst enemy: Cesare Borgia. With the name Julius, the pope thus claimed to be the new and the only Julius Caesar: within a year Cesare Borgia was killed on account of the pope, “der neue Caesar duldet keinen zweiten.”<sup>13</sup> By no means went Della Rovere’s name choice unnoticed in the sixteenth century. Taking the revaluation of Antiquity in the Renaissance into account, the name Julius would have had certain positive connotations – until the satire by Erasmus.<sup>14</sup> Through the negative depiction of the pope, Erasmus denies any positive association with either Julius. The satire seems to testify that 1.) Erasmus was fully aware of Pope Julius II’s intention with the name choice, and 2.) Erasmus tried (perhaps successfully) to alter the connotations of the name through his wrecking words.

Whereas we can reconstruct the political motivations underlying Julius’ name choice, Pope Francis himself explained his choice to the public immediately after his election in March 2013. His name reflects what he aspires for the papacy: “I would like a Church of the poor, for the poor.”<sup>15</sup> Interesting in the cases of Julius and Francis is that their names are connected with or resulted in behaviour: whereas Julius tried to conquer territory for

---

<sup>11</sup> Wilson (1998) 59: “Gradually did a specific Christian nomenclature become established, with some examples of adopting new Christian names at baptism in the sixth and seventh century;” 86: “Only during the central medieval period there was a fairly rapid progressive Christianization of names.”

<sup>12</sup> James Fishburne. (2012). “Shepherding the flock: Pope Julius II’s Renaissance vision of a united Italy.” *Carte Italiane* 2, 3-13. Page 3: “Positioned at the nexus of religion and politics like no other European ruler [...] he asserts both his secular and spiritual authority.” Fishburne explains how Julius II made these claims not only through his name choice but supported it with coins and portraits in the style of Roman emperors as well.

<sup>13</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 165.

<sup>14</sup> Hergemöller (1980) has included a passage of the satire, 164-5.

<sup>15</sup> Several newspapers published Francis’ explanation, to read it in full: [telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/Pope-Francis](http://telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/Pope-Francis)

the Papal States, Francis tries to detach himself from the wealth of the Church – following the example of Francis of Assisi and trying to represent a Church of and for the poor.

What these cases seem to exemplify and what I will further explore in this thesis is the hypothesis that the name choice is the “erste und symbolreiche Amtshandlung” with which the newly elected pope effectively reveals his political or ecclesiastical intentions.<sup>16</sup> The examples, too, raise questions on the dynamics that are at play with names: it is that 1.) a name ‘fits’, or that 2.) one not only adopts a name but simultaneously the behaviour expected through the connotations a name carries, or, that 3.) *we* – aware or unknowingly – interpret the behaviour of the name carrier in such a manner that it strokes with and does not contradict the name connotation?

### What names “do” and “say”

At this point, we should further explore the intuition that there is something in a name. We should take a step back and switch our focus from the *choice* back to the *name* itself. So, what do names *do* or *say*? Some information about a social classification seems to be captured in a name. Undeniably, names are associated with different nationality (e.g. Koen or Achmed), ethnicity, social belongings, but *Zeitgeist* for example seems to reveal just as much (cf. Geertruida and Yara). The initial connotations a name might have to be adjusted after meeting the individual to whom the name ‘belongs’, just as associations with names change sometimes naturally over time – what was once modern seems now old-fashioned, or after certain events a name is strongly associated with a specific individual (e.g. Adolf or Beyoncé). Gabriele vom Bruck and Barbara Bodenhorn illuminate in *An anthropology of names and naming* that the power ascribed to names in terms of ‘what they do’ is various and can be far-reaching: “that identities can be stolen, traded, suspended and even erased through the name reveals the profound political power located in the capacity to name; it illustrates the property-like potential in names to transact social value; and it brings into view the powerful connection between name and self identity.”<sup>17</sup> At the core, naming is believed to be “the constitution of identity”.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 26.

<sup>17</sup> Gabriele vom Bruck, & Bodenhorn, B. (2006). *The anthropology of names and naming*. New York: Cambridge University Press; 2.

<sup>18</sup> Idem, 19.

This “constitution of identity” is linked with the performative aspect of naming: “it can create a conscious and political charged relationship with the past.”<sup>19</sup> In this thesis, I want to explore these aspects of naming while approaching the topic of popes’ names from the perspective of tradition: as popes have been adopting names since the eleventh century, their name choices always seem to reflect a relation with their predecessor, secular leaders, historical events such as reformation or war and the position of the Church in society. Choosing a name of a predecessor results in popes becoming ‘the second’ or ‘the third’, etc., which forces us to raise questions about name-sharing and namesakes. Therefore, we will ask questions which have already been explored in other but not papacy-related contexts such as “whether name-sharing blurs the boundary between individuals and whether names embody the attributes of others”<sup>20</sup> and whether “a person who shares a name with another is no longer fully differentiated or irreducibly unique – he comes to represent something larger than himself”<sup>21</sup> and “what it means to share a name [...] as ideas exist that those who share the same name in some sense share the same personhood.”<sup>22</sup>

### Papal names

To explore some of the above-mentioned intuitions, at the start of my research I created a schematic overview of the last millennium of the papal succession, from Pope Gregory V (996-999) up to the current Pope Francis.<sup>23</sup> The schema is built in such a manner that several observations can be made at a glance. Both the chronology of the papal succession and traditions of names are represented (respectively horizontally and vertically).<sup>24</sup> This overview should make it easy to see if, when, and how often a name is adopted. The schema is limited to the nowadays officially acknowledged popes, thus not including the

---

<sup>19</sup> Idem, 12.

<sup>20</sup> Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn, 18. In the next chapter I will elaborate on how existing research like vom Bruck and Bodenhorn’s on names is of use for this specific study. I consider all these questions, even if raised in totally different contexts, of great value for the analysis of papal names. They help to reflect on all kind of aspects connected to the question ‘what do names do’.

<sup>21</sup> Idem, 29.

<sup>22</sup> Idem, 23.

<sup>23</sup> In chapter two I discuss in detail why I have chosen to take Gregory V as the starting point of this research.

<sup>24</sup> The initial aim this schema is to identify and contrast two lines of succession: the horizontal-chronology of the papacy and the vertical-tradition of successors with the same name.

so-called 'antipopes'.<sup>25</sup> The *legenda* attached to the schema should explain the other characteristics of the schema – insofar as it is not self-explanatory.

This schema forms the basis of this thesis and I believe its strength lies in the fact that 1.) it invites to raise questions; 2.) initial observations trigger ideas about tradition; and 3.) it makes one wonder about possible trends and ruptures in the history of the papacy. I would encourage anyone to spend some moments looking at the schema and allowing oneself to speculate, for example, on motives underlying the name choices. Since this approach, in which the names form the starting point for research on traditions within the papacy, has not been undertaken before, there is an abundance of aspects to analyse. Depending on the knowledge of the history of the papacy observations could differ and could lead to diverse hypotheses and questions.

To answer the main question of this thesis 'what meaning is there to be found in the name choices of popes?' and to understand the development of the name traditions during the centuries, several questions will guide us in the analyses and explorations of the initial observations: 1.) Are there any trends to discover in why popes choose specific names? We could expect nationality, a monastic background or family ties to play a role in the choice. 2.) What is the influence of the historical context on the name choice? Are changes in trends related with historical events such as the Great Schism, war or the 'Aggiornamento.'<sup>26</sup> 3.) To what extent reflects the name the papal policy? So, can we already deduct from the name what the pope finds important – can a name be a political statement or reveal, e.g., the aspiration of Church reform?

### Gregory and Pius

Analysis of each papal name could result in interesting findings. This thesis is deliberately limited to two specific case studies: the tradition of Gregory and the tradition of Pius. There are several cumulative reasons why I have chosen these names. 1.) As I decided to

---

<sup>25</sup> The term antipope is somewhat of an anachronism; in their specific historical context, it would probably be more correct to speak of 'competing popes'. But to speak with Reginald Poole (1917). "The names and numbers of medieval popes." *The English Historical Review* vol. 32, no. 138, 465-478; 473: "I use the word without prejudice, to designate the opponents of popes whose claims were ultimately accepted." As is common nowadays, I have not included these popes in the count.

<sup>26</sup> For example, at first glance there seems to be three consecutive periods with each their own trends: first adopting names of early-Church popes in the eleventh century, followed by a period of three centuries in which barely any new names are introduced but four name traditions – Gregory, Clement, Urban and Innocent – seem to dominate (18 out of 39 popes, 135 out of 297 years), after which new trends and motives seem to collide with a change in mentality in the Renaissance.



focus on traditions, one factor was frequency. Both Gregory and Pius belong to the category of names with the highest frequency (see: appendix B, table 1). 2.) Motivation for Gregory is that this name marks the start of the new practice, and that we find the name spread over nine centuries. 3.) I have chosen to include Pius because its tradition forms a clear contrast to Gregory. Whereas there is a regular recurrence of Gregory over the centuries, Pius is only introduced in the fifteenth century and dominates from the late eighteenth until the mid-twentieth century.<sup>27</sup> 4.) Beyond numbers, both traditions have brought forth name carriers who have been of major influence on the development of the papacy, foremost Gregory VII and Pius IX. In literature on the history of the papacy their influence is stressed, often in such a manner that all successive popes had to relate to them. In this research, it is all the more interesting what the influence of a pope of this stature is on the name tradition. 5.) A reason to analyse these two traditions next to each other is their intersections. What happens with Gregory in the fifteenth century? And is it not curious that exactly in this 'Gregory-free era' we see a rise of Pius? And how about the sequence of Pius VIII, Gregory XVI and Pius XVI? How did they relate to each other? Questions like these should support the choice for both case studies. 6.) Finally, from the name-based approach these cases are perfect to compare. We will see that the name Gregory has a strong connotation which results in a rather static tradition. In contrast, the tradition of Pius develops in an entirely different manner, a development, which can, if anything, be characterized by change.

The core of this research will be the tradition of Gregory. Through its analyses, I wish to showcase what we can gain from this name-based approach; the aim is to gain new insights into how traditions come about and what part names play in this process. Ultimately, a research on traditions within the papacy confronts us with the idea of continuity throughout the papal history. Once different traditions arise and seem to contrast or even clash with each other, this unifying concept seems to be problematic. A discussion on the name traditions should incorporate questions which touch upon this issue. Thus, while tentative, I will explore what it means to have traditions within a tradition – or to say, how these name traditions affect the concept of continuity of the papacy.

---

<sup>27</sup> In the range of 183 years from 1775 until 1958, 129 years are reigned in total by seven Pius popes.

This thesis will build from a theoretical framework in chapter one, towards the analyses of the Gregories and the Pii in respectively chapter two and three. In the conclusion, we will reflect on the main question. Moreover, some possibilities for further research will be considered and we will try to predict the name of the next pope.

## Chapter one: a theoretical framework

“I asked my father, I said, “Father change my name.”  
The one I’m using now it’s covered up  
with fear and filth and cowardice and shame.”  
– Leonard Cohen, *Lover Lover Lover*.

“Why do people change their names?  
First, name changes may assist a person in shedding  
an old, unwanted identity. Second, name changes  
may express a person’s new sense of identity.”  
– Richard Alford, *Naming and Identity*, 158.

The aim of this chapter is to connect theories on personal names to the subject of the names of popes. This task comes with several difficulties, such as the fact that, on the one hand, there is no general overview work of theories on personal names, and on the other hand, existing theories have not yet been applied to the case of papal names. Taking this into consideration, a challenge arises: how to make the broader field of name study fit for our subject?

Helpful to this challenge is the work by vom Bruck & Bodenhorn. In the discussion on what names ‘say’ and ‘do’, I introduced several questions raised by them, to illustrate the value of existing research for the analysis of papal names. Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn set out to find patterns in the effects of names and naming throughout a broad range of subjects and connect them to an overarching theoretical framework. Their introduction makes insightful that even if the contexts of the discussed topics differ, each case study contributes to a general theory and that out of each case study useful questions can be deducted for new subjects. I follow their approach and in this chapter I attempt to extend the theoretical framework to include the case of papal names.

To succeed in building a useful framework for the case studies of Gregory and Pius, it is helpful to be aware of the peculiarities of papal names. I would argue to consider these names as a category on its own: the papal name seems to be on the intersection between a name and a title. The papal name looks like a personal name – it compares to royal names – but it is not identical to it.<sup>28</sup> That the papal name is not identical to a personal name, relates to the choice counterpart of this thesis and the fact that the name change

---

<sup>28</sup> Papal names compare to royal names since in both cases, members are mostly known by their first names and an additional number (cf. Emperor Henry IV, 1050-1106).

coincides with the clear shift in status. Therefore, it resembles a title. Papal names, thus, do not fit in one category but intersect or exceed them. Awareness of this complicated character of papal names will enable us to examine which aspects of personal names apply to papal names as well.

### The study of names

The study of names saw a development in the scholarly world in the 1980s. Scholars with different backgrounds started to make personal names a primary focus of their research. For decades, names had triggered interest, but in contrast to popular and semischolarly literature, names often remained a side note in academic research. Sociologist Stanley Lieberon recognized the need to systematically study “the social processes underpinning naming”.<sup>29</sup> He stood up to the task and concluded his findings in a book in which he focusses on the naming of children.<sup>30</sup> Of most value to our study, are his expositions on the probability and possibility of influence of historical events on name traditions.<sup>31</sup> In the same period, anthropologist Richard Alford set out to fill this gap in literature on personal names and naming practices.<sup>32</sup> Through a cross-cultural approach he tries to formulate general hypotheses about naming practices. For this thesis, his formulated patterns in the relation between name change and identity change are most insightful.<sup>33</sup>

A decade later, the subject gained attention from the historical field.<sup>34</sup> The value of historical research, became already clear in the discussion on Christian names in Antiquity: the analysis of papal names demands a combination of theoretical and historical discussions. Of great value is Hergemöller’s *Die Geschichte der Papstnamen*. Unique in his sort, this work functions as a historical backbone for my research. Hergemöller discusses the popes chronologically and spends a paragraph to each pope’s motives for the name choice. Interestingly, I build upon his research precisely as he

---

<sup>29</sup> Stanley Lieberon (1984). “What’s in a name? ... Some sociolinguistics possibilities.” *Journal of the Sociology of Language* 45, 77-87; 77.

<sup>30</sup> Stanley Lieberon (2000). *A matter of taste: how names, fashions, and culture change*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

<sup>31</sup> Lieberon (2000) 70-84. In the paragraph ‘name choices and traditions’ I will elaborate on this point.

<sup>32</sup> Richard D. Alford (1988). *Naming and identity: a cross-cultural study of personal naming practices*. New Haven: HRAF Press; 6.

<sup>33</sup> Alford (1988) 81-90. We will discuss this relation in the next paragraph.

<sup>34</sup> Wilson (1998) x.

envisioned it: by using his historical discussion as a starting point for further sociolinguistic research.<sup>35</sup>

Through this progress in research on names, a stronger concept of what names 'do' developed. A connection between the power of names and identity is acknowledged by scholars of all fields. At the core of the power of names lies the fact that a name carries "information about the social classification" and "plays a critical role in social life."<sup>36</sup> Moreover, names function to identify individuals, which adds to names being "the focus of a person's sense of identity."<sup>37</sup> Beside the subject – the individual 'name carrier' – there are two agents to consider on opposite sides of the spectrum: the 'name givers' and the 'name users'. The name givers (who, generally in Western societies, would be the parents) play a powerful role in "shaping identity".<sup>38</sup> As vom Bruck & Bodenhorn explain, this shaping of identity has been given a "strong moral and political spin" by post-structuralists such as Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>39</sup> Anthropologist Michael Herzfeld rightfully points to the third agent – the 'name users' – in the interplay between identity and power: he focusses on the use of the name in address and "the degree to which that identity is acknowledged or challenged by others."<sup>40</sup> Name users have a certain power to challenge the name carrier's identity; one could think of the use of (vile) nicknames instead of the personal name. In the case of popes, we should also consider the users: did people, after the election, only address the pope with his adopted name? And, what would it mean if we refer to a pope through his baptismal name instead of his chosen name, do we then negate his new status, his new identity? We will discuss these questions mainly in chapter three on the Pii.

### The performative aspect of naming

We should further explore the performative aspect of naming and link it back to the popes. Therefore, we will investigate the issue of authority: for the act of naming to be successful,

---

<sup>35</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 14: "Eine intensive namenkundliche Studie ist nicht Gegenstand dieses Buches; somit fehlen weitgehend fachwissenschaftliche Überlegungen zu namenssoziologische, - kulturellen und - psychologischen Problemen, wengleich die Arbeit möglicherweise für Untersuchungen zu diesen Themen fruchtbar gemacht werden könnte."

<sup>36</sup> Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn (2006) 3.

<sup>37</sup> Wilson (1998) *xii*.

<sup>38</sup> David Garrioch (2010). "Suzanne, David, Judith, Isaac...: given names and Protestant religious identity in eighteenth-century Paris." *French Historical Studies* 33, 33-67; 36.

<sup>39</sup> Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn (2006) 14.

<sup>40</sup> Michael Herzfeld (1982). "When exceptions define the rules: Greek baptismal names and the negotiation of identity." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 38, 288-302; 289.

the name giver must be authorized to do so. Connected herewith is the question of recognition: we could wonder how, especially in the case of Gregory V, the authority to change a name is understood and recognized. This discussion will bring us to an exploration of the effect of naming on change in status and identity.

The illocutionary act, i.e. naming, can only be successful if the conditions of authority are met. Following Pierre Bourdieu's explanation of the illocutionary act, there are three elements which contribute to the success of the act: the person, the institution, and the circumstances.<sup>41</sup> First, a person must be authorized for the naming.<sup>42</sup> This person is authorized by an institution – taking institution in the broad sense of the word as a 'set of social relations.'<sup>43</sup> This institution defines the conditions under which the act is effective; besides the authority of the person, the circumstances in which the utterance is made have to be accepted.<sup>44</sup> The conditions for a successful performative act "come down to the question of appropriateness of the speaker – or, better still, his social function – and of the discourse he utters."<sup>45</sup>

What Bourdieu calls the 'appropriateness of the speaker' is determined by the authorization of the person. Currently, the appropriateness of the pope to have the authority to change his name would not be taken into question. But how was Gregory V's authority established and recognized? The citation provides us with a possible answer to this question: the recognized social function of the pope might have enabled him with the authority to change his name. Without any transmission of the uttered discourse, it becomes difficult to reconstruct how, precisely, Gregory claimed this authority and how people reacted to it. Since we know that successive popes followed his example, we can establish that somehow the pope was "recognized as having the right" to do the naming.<sup>46</sup> It is probable that through the connection of the re-naming with the already established

---

<sup>41</sup> Pierre Bourdieu (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press; 8.

<sup>42</sup> In the example of child naming in Western societies, the authorized persons are the parents.

<sup>43</sup> In the example of child naming in Western societies, the institution at play here is the family relation, or even the societal convention.

<sup>44</sup> In the example of child naming in Western societies, the importance of the condition of the acceptable circumstances becomes clear: parents are authorized to name a child at birth – birth being the accepted circumstance for the illocutionary act. In Western society, however, we could argue that the parents lose their authority to name under different circumstances: they cannot re-name their child at a later point in life (as this is no longer accepted as the right circumstance). At this later point in life, the authority to name can be switched from the parents to the name carrier – but in that case, governmental institutions often limit the circumstances under which name changes are accepted.

<sup>45</sup> Bourdieu (1991) 111.

<sup>46</sup> Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn (2006) 11.

ritual of papal election – by which the pope is given authority by the cardinals – his illocutionary act became legitimized.<sup>47</sup>

Following on the question ‘what do names do’, we could now ask ‘what do name changes do?’ Name change often marks a ‘rite de passage’, separating a ‘before’ and an ‘after’ in which the name “helps to effect identity change.”<sup>48</sup> The name change makes the passage to a new social position known and recognized by everyone.<sup>49</sup> Alford formulates three general types of identity change in which name change play an important part: a step to a new life stage; a rejection of old identity; and a change in status.<sup>50</sup> One name change can, of course, effect more or all of these types at the same time. For the popes, we may argue that the name change confirms the new obtained status. Interestingly, a new name is both the result of change and it results in change.

### Name choices and traditions

From the effects of name change, we should continue to examine the significance of choice. I will argue in the case studies of Gregory and Pius that not only the fact that the pope changes his name but also what he chooses to change it to is of importance. The significance of this choice lies in what vom Bruck & Bodenhorn call ‘the ability of names to connect to history.’<sup>51</sup> We will examine this connection with history especially with the concept of namesakes: a pope seems to deliberately link himself with a predecessor when he chooses the same name.

While papal names could have functioned as a clear and motivated link to a predecessor, most often a sphere of secrecy concealed the choices: “Diese Funktion des Namens, persönliche und programmatische Aussagen zu unterstreichen, steht in scheinbar merkwürdigen Gegensatz zu der fast absoluten Schweigsamkeit der Päpste über ihre Beweggründe.”<sup>52</sup> We can only wonder why silence on explanations of name motives dominated – until John XXIII. Hergemöller’s work proves that we can discover

---

<sup>47</sup> For a more elaborate discussion on the legitimization of rituals, see Bourdieu (1991) 115.

<sup>48</sup> Alford (1988) 81.

<sup>49</sup> Bourdieu (1991) 118-119.

<sup>50</sup> Alford (1988) 86, 89: “Occasionally, when individuals assume special or unusual roles, they change their names to underscore the radical nature of the identity change.” Besides popes, one could also think of Korean priests or professors in traditional China.

<sup>51</sup> Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn (2006) 26.

<sup>52</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 26.

and reconstruct motives underlying a choice, but only since John XXII do popes openly elucidate their choice.

The main argument in this thesis is that – in secrecy or not – popes do not randomly make a choice, but being aware of the ability to make a statement, they make a motivated name choice. Consequently, the next step in the argument is to prove that different names capture different statements. If Gregory says something else than Pius, only then does it make sense to analyse the name choice. To test this hypothesis, three elements will be discussed: the appeal; historical factors; and the influence of the Church.

First, what is the appeal of a specific name? The answer is relative: a name on its own can be void, the association of the name with an individual or a group determines its appeal. Through associations, names can become (stereo-)typical for a given group. These, I believe, are also the dynamics at play which resulted in the rise of different name traditions within the papacy. Through the name choice, a pope revokes his namesake and the association of this pope's personality or style of reign. The association of the name can (and often has) become stronger over time and therewith the expectations of the pope's policy become more specific. These dynamics result in distinctions between the papal name traditions. Moreover, Lieberon hypothesizes that once "a name is associated with a group, it will rarely be used by members of another" – especially if they are in conflict with each other.<sup>53</sup> These dynamics are visible throughout the history of the papacy: if a new pope wants to distinct himself from his predecessor or wishes to take a new direction (or return to an old policy) for the papacy, he chooses a name that stands in clear contrast with his predecessor.<sup>54</sup> The fact that a name functions as a powerful tool to establish an identity and connects the pope to a given tradition, determines its appeal.

Second, we should examine what kind of factors can be of influence on name choices. Here, it is important to make a distinction between personal and papal names. Considering whether social and historical events are of factor in name choice, it becomes clear that papal names know a different development than trends in personal names. Lieberon discusses the effect of social and historical events on changes in trends of personal names. On the one hand, he concludes that "fundamental changes in the social

---

<sup>53</sup> Lieberon (1983) 81-82.

<sup>54</sup> We will revisit this argument in the paragraph on popes in the eleventh century, 'est nomen omen', in chapter two. It would be interesting be to explore the name choices of anti-popes. Based on preliminary observations, my hypothesis would be that during conflicts of authority, popes and anti-popes alike try to claim legitimacy of succession with competing name choices.



order often affect the attractiveness of tastes” and that existing trends in personal names “lose their appeal and are replaced by newer tastes.”<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, he stresses to be careful in drawing conclusions about the influence of historical events on changes in names: “It is all too easy to find some plausible connection between a fashion change and developments within a society.”<sup>56</sup> If we see a change, we try to explain it on the basis of history. We should, however, be aware that “it is far easier to find plausible ad hoc explanations of tastes than to find correct ones.”<sup>57</sup> Taking historical events as explanation for changes, leads to conclusions which “are more apparent than real.”<sup>58</sup> Considering Lieberson’s argument in the next chapter, we will discover that there is a difference between the personal and papal name: the choice for a given papal name seems all the more influenced by historical events.

Third, we need to consider to what extent the Church has explicit influence on name choices. It was only from the late sixteenth century onwards that the Church formulated rules about personal names.<sup>59</sup> The Council of Trent (1545-1563) caused this shift, thereafter the Church determined that “children should be given the names of canonized saints.”<sup>60</sup> This fitted in with the spirit of the Council, in which the Church emphasized piety and fidelity to God. The Church encouraged the names of Catholics to reflect these virtues, in imitation of the saints.<sup>61</sup> Thereafter, the practice of Catholic personal names knows an interesting development. Over time, the practice of naming after saints changes in meaning: it was “no longer a religious act, it reflected rather ‘tradition’ and the passing of ‘family’ names.”<sup>62</sup> When in the nineteenth century more secular names grow in popularity, the Church once again tries to regulate name practices: the Church condemns secular names and publishes lists of approved names.<sup>63</sup> Garrioch actually debates the influence of the Church on naming practices, as he argues that “no ruling was obeyed.”<sup>64</sup> Moreover, in the case of papal names, there have never been formulated rules. We could explore the

---

<sup>55</sup> Lieberson (2000) 73.

<sup>56</sup> *Idem*, 13.

<sup>57</sup> *Idem*, 82.

<sup>58</sup> *Idem*, 79. Lieberson illustrates his argument with an example of parents naming children after movie stars. While the popularity of the name seems to be the result of the popularity of the movie star, he explains that these observations “do not reflect any true underlying shift”; other factors and broader trends should not be disregarded.

<sup>59</sup> Wilson (1998) 100.

<sup>60</sup> *Idem*, 191.

<sup>61</sup> Garrioch (2010) 36.

<sup>62</sup> Wilson (1998) 192.

<sup>63</sup> Garrioch (2010) 55.

<sup>64</sup> *Idem*.

impact of the Council of Trent on change in papal trends or try whether name choices of popes have been disapproved by cardinals for example. There seems at least one implicit rule: the name Peter is off limits.

#### Conclusion: namesakes and its influence on tradition

So, we have discussed the characteristics of papal names within – and in contrast to – the theoretical framework on personal names. Through the link between theories of names in general and its application to the case of popes in specific, we have gained a clearer understanding of 1.) what names do; 2.) what name changes do; and 3.) what the significance of choice is.

There is, however, one more aspect to discuss in order to understand papal names as part of a name tradition and this brings us to the subject of namesakes and the question ‘how do popes relate to their namesakes?’ This will be the focus point throughout the analyses of Gregory and Pius. Most of the questions raised about namesakes touch on “the tension between individuality [... and the] identification with other bearers of the same name.”<sup>65</sup> Scholars have wondered “whether name-sharing blurs the boundary between individuals,” to the extent that name-sharing makes the individual “no longer fully differentiated or irreducibly unique”, arguing that through the name he is part of a larger whole.<sup>66</sup> This aspect of name-sharing will be addressed in the next chapter: how do the Gregories relate to each other? To what extent do popes themselves try to transcend their individuality by placing themselves in a tradition? Can we discern all the Gregories, especially if we speak of the ‘Gregorian reform’? Besides, we should consider intended functions of name-sharing such as preservation of the memory of a predecessor.<sup>67</sup> These functions will be dealt with in the discussion on motives underlying name choices in the next chapter.

---

<sup>65</sup> Herzfeld (1982) 289.

<sup>66</sup> Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn (2006) 18; 29.

<sup>67</sup> Alford (1988) 74.

## Chapter two: the tradition of Gregory

“What did a name matter? He had been born in St Petersburg, started growing up in Petrograd, finished growing up in Leningrad. Or St Leninsburg, as he sometimes liked to call it. What did a name matter?”

Julian Barnes – *The Noise of Time*

In this chapter, we will try to understand the tradition of Gregories throughout history. This tradition knows several influential popes and an interesting development which seems correlated to historical events and the position of the pope in relation to worldly powers. Most of all, the name Gregory connotes reform. The name is therewith so strongly connected that if we speak of Gregorian reform, do we know which Gregory and which reform is meant? Or the sum of all? This brings in questions raised in the former chapter on namesakes and individuality and tradition. We will link the Gregory tradition to the concept of continuity; the relations between the namesakes and their shared characteristics contribute to the idea of a continuous papacy.

Analysing the Gregories and trying to understand the tradition, there are several questions to consider. First, the probability of explanations will be discussed. As Lieberon demonstrates, there always seem to be probable explanations for changes and developments which on closer inspection might not reflect underlying causes.<sup>68</sup> Thus, it is necessary to be careful in making conclusions on the tradition based on the historical context of the popes and their motivations for a specific name (e.g. nationality, a monastic background, predecessors, etc.). For this, the research by Stephan Freund on pope Gelasius II is most helpful. In his article, he demonstrates which questions and which steps in analysis will help to determine what motivated a pope to adopt a certain name and to what extent that name is an indication of his papacy.<sup>69</sup> Thus, we will develop a strategy to interpret different motives underlying the popes' name choices and we will be able to analyse the relations between the Gregories. In this manner, we can place the development of the tradition in its historical context, wondering even why there have not been more Gregories. We will connect the meaning of the choice with the meaning of the name and question what the impact has been of the two most influential popes, Gregory

---

<sup>68</sup> Lieberon (2000) 73-84.

<sup>69</sup> Freund (2002) 72-75.

the Great and Gregory VII, on the name tradition. Especially, the influence of Gregory VII on the papacy is of so profound, that all his successors (whether namesakes or not) had to relate to him; thus, we will consider to what extent this pope has established not just *a* but *the* connotation of the name.

#### How Pope John XXIII put an end to the tradition of Gregory

We start our research into the Gregories at the end by turning to pope John XXIII to understand why the name of Gregory will most likely not be chosen by any pope soon. In the light of the 'Aggiornamento', John XXIII declared during the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) "the right of every human being to the private and public profession of their religion."<sup>70</sup> As Duffy explains, "all these were signs of a growing liberation," which stood in stark contrast with "the systematic denial of that right by popes since Gregory XVI."<sup>71</sup>

There has not been a condemnation, or anything of the kind, of either the name Gregory or one of the popes associated with it, but the new direction the Catholic Church entered after the Second Vatican Council contrasted with former papacies – including Gregory XVI's. What this new direction precisely entailed was highly debated, and not accepted by certain groups within the Church. Remarkable is one of the lesser known radical group of sedisvacantists: they declare "all popes from John XXIII as heretics and therewith the Santa Sede vacant." Moreover, "several entitled the anti-modern Italian cardinal Giuseppe Siri as [anti-pope] Gregory XVII."<sup>72</sup> Could this be a random name choice? No, we have already established the strong association of the name with reform and church authority; to consider the name choice of this anti-pope a coincidence, would be to deny the message and conviction of the sedisvacantists.

A to-be-elected pope might, of course, wish to return to this tradition: the schema of the popes illustrates multiple returns to names which had been out of the running for centuries (cf. 261: John XXIII; 245: Benedict XIII; 217: Leo X; 228: Urban VII; 250: Pius VI; 262: Paul VI – to name a few). If one, however, would once again choose to adopt Gregory

---

<sup>70</sup> Duffy (2014) 356. Aggiornamento is an Italian concept that can be described as 'bringing up to date.'

<sup>71</sup> Idem, 356.

<sup>72</sup> Frans Willem Lantink (2012). "Herbronning in tegenlicht. Pauschap en wereldkerk van Vaticanum II tot Benedictus XVI." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 371-394; 380: "Minder bekend is de radicale groep van sedisvacantisten die alle pausen vanaf Johannes XXIII als kettters en daarmee de Heilige Stoel als onbezet verklaren. Sommigen betitelden de anti-modernistische Italiaanse kardinaal Giuseppe Siri (19-6-1989) als (tegenpaus) 'Gregorius XVII.' Volgens wilde samenzweringstheorieën zou Siri in het conclaaf van 1958 gedwongen zijn geweest van de uitverkiezing afstand te doen."

then this deed will – in the least – not be void of meaning. We will revisit this argument, but at this point (both in the analysis and in history) we could argue that pope John XXIII put an end to the Gregory tradition and a return to it will to all probability be controversial.

#### John or Gregory? The beginning of the tradition

From the end, we travel centuries down to the beginning, and once again encounter John. As we have seen in the introduction, in the sixth century a pope changed his name for the first time upon his election – into John. His act, however, found no succession: it took almost five more centuries before name change became a solid tradition. In those five centuries, there have been three more cases in which a pope upon his election changed his name: to John.<sup>73</sup> Some would argue to take John XII (130, 955-63) as the starting point of the name changing tradition, considering he lived only a few decades before Gregory V, but: “die Namensänderung Johannes XII. in der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts zog keinen dauerhaften Konsequenzen nach sich.”<sup>74</sup>

After these four individual cases, a new practice is born when elected pope Bruno changes his name to Gregory V.<sup>75</sup> There are two arguments to let this new practice start with Gregory V. First, Bruno was the first to change his name to something other than John. Second, it is intriguing that his example was followed by successive popes: all the sudden, name change became a general practice.<sup>76</sup> Remarkably, the practice leads to name change even when the baptismal name was John. Freund underscores that at one point the change of name might – besides (church-)political reasons – have been linked to the origin or association of the birthname of the pope. Mercury can be argued to be too pagan, just as Catelinus and Ottaviano could have called into memory ancient Roman namesakes and therefore ‘unfit’ for a pope.<sup>77</sup> Following this logic, there is no ‘need’ to change the name of Giovanni: not only a biblical name, John I (53; 523-26) was a revered saint. Of the first

---

<sup>73</sup> John III (56, 561-74) was born as Catelinus; John XII (130, 955-983) was born as Ottaviano and John XIV (136, 983-84) was born as Pietro.

<sup>74</sup> Freund (2002) 62.

<sup>75</sup> The name change might, too, have been motivated by the German sound of his baptismal name. Freund (2002) 63: “Die Pontifikate Gregors V. and Silvesters II., glaubt man der Forschung, so waren die Motive die für die Römer fremd klingenden Taufnamen Bruno und Gerbert für die Änderung des Namens verantwortlich gemacht.”

<sup>76</sup> In three exceptional cases kept the popes their baptismal name: John XVIII (141; 1003-9) who was the third successor to Gregory V, and centuries later Adrian VI (218; 1522-23) and Marcellus II (222; 1555).

<sup>77</sup> Freund (2002) 63.

ten popes after Gregory V, two popes change their names to John (John XVII: 140; 1003, and John XIX: 144; 1024-32), one pope maintains his birthname (John XVIII: 141; 1003-9) but also two popes adopt a new name instead of Giovanni (Sylvester III: 146; 1045, and Gregory VI: 148; 1045-46). Throughout the history, up till now, there have only been three more popes to adopt the name John while there have been fifteen more with Giovanni as baptismal name (see appendix A).<sup>78</sup>

Unfortunately, there are no sources which explain why this practice was adopted by all popes.<sup>79</sup> My hypothesis is that this practice enables popes to make a symbolic or political statement about their new status. Moreover, the name functions as a link to a certain predecessor, connecting namesakes and reinforcing the idea of continuity of the papacy. The analysis of the Gregory tradition will further our understanding of the ability of a name to make a statement and our understanding of how namesakes relate to each other. Let us first turn to the scheme and explore the characteristics of the tradition of the Gregories.

### The tradition of Gregory: initial observations and comparisons

In this paragraph three steps will be made. First, some initial observations and questions will be discussed. Second, the necessary historical context for the developments within the papacy from the eleventh until the nineteenth century will be given. After this concise overview of historical events, in the third step, we will compare the Gregories in a thematic discussion.

Looking at the Gregories in the overview, there are two aspects that stand out: 1.) there is a frequent recurrence of the name throughout the history; and 2.) there are

---

<sup>78</sup> There could have been another John: Jorge Mario Bergoglio disclosed that he would have chosen the name John if he would have been elected in 2005. In 2013, however, he revealed himself as pope Francis. See: "Pope Francis would have been named pope John XXIV, before ultimate decision on papal moniker." [www.huffingtonpost.com/pope-francis-pope-john](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/pope-francis-pope-john). Accessed: June 15, 2017.

<sup>79</sup> An early inquiry into the origin of this practice is undertaken by Poole (1917). His article stresses the difficulty of detecting the inventor of the practice due to lack of information. He argues that John XII's first name was not Ottaviano, but his second name: thus, he was not the inventor, but John XIV, 465-70: "This is the earliest example of a change of name which is entirely beyond dispute, and the person elected bore the name of Peter. [...] The change was made because the name was Peter. [...] Not long after John XIV two foreigners, a German and a Frenchman, attained the papacy. [...] It may be that Bruno of Carinthia and Gerbert of Aurillac thought their names incongruous to the papal series. At all events, they followed the example of Peter of Pavia." Stressing the uncertainties, it could be possible to agree with Poole, making John XIV the 'inventor' of the practice, but I would maintain to ascribe to Gregory V the start of the tradition.

several ‘gaps’ to remark – such as the period between Pope Gregory XII and Gregory XIII.<sup>80</sup> The frequent recurrence of the name Gregory raises the question ‘how does a tradition develop?’ How do namesakes relate to each other, and is there a special relationship with the first; the early Church Father Saint Gregory the Great? We will discuss this in the paragraph ‘motives underlying name choice’.

Noteworthy, the tradition of Gregory shows similarities with the tradition of Innocent. We could wonder whether the similarity in recurrence is a coincidence or the result of a connection between the names through a comparable connotation.<sup>81</sup> Besides, the gaps in the tradition raise questions as well: in appendix C, table 5 we notice four long-term gaps prior to Gregory VIII, Gregory XI, Gregory XIII and Gregory XVI. What caused these gaps, could there have been circumstances that made unappealing or even ‘off limits’? Both these questions will be addressed in the paragraph ‘Why aren’t there more Gregories?’.

The observations and questions could be placed on three levels in this thesis: 1.) on the level of tradition we will discuss the characteristics of Gregory; 2.) on the level of the history of the papacy we will take into account how the recurrences of a name contribute to the concept of continuity; and 3.) on the level of interpretation we question whether we can circumvent the danger of anachronistic interpretations, confusing our connotation of the name and knowledge of history with motives, intentions and messages of the popes.

#### Developments of the papacy in the 11<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries

To understand the story of the Gregories, we need to look at several events and developments of the papacy in relation to politics. We will start with the power struggle between Gregory VII (1073-85) and king Henry IV (1056-1105) which resulted in the so-called Investiture Controversy, and we will end with the contra-revolutionary attitude of Gregory XVI towards a revolutionary Europe and unifying Italy during the Risorgimento.<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> For an overview of the tradition, see appendix C, table 6.

<sup>81</sup> For the comparison with the tradition of Innocent, see appendix C, table 7.

<sup>82</sup> In this thesis only limited words can be spent on the history of the papacy. Of much help in putting the individual popes in a historical and political context is Eamon Duffy’s (2014) *Saints & sinners: a history of the popes*. He has pleasantly written a history of the popes, as he calls it himself: a history as even his extensive work has its limitations. Frans Willem Lantink & Jeroen Koch’s (2012) *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut* is a valuable addition to Duffy. Their work consists of contributions of many authors, who all discuss the history of the popes from a different approach. I am in debt to both these works and would recommend these studies to anyone in search for more historical knowledge.

Over the course of the eleventh century, tensions grew between the two major rulers – the German king Henry IV and the Pope Gregory VII – over the right to appoint bishops. Gregory started to claim ultimate authority in his role as pope. Thereby, he claimed a new status in comparison to his predecessors, who were, in theory, “lords of the world”, but who, in practice, were “strictly and often humiliatingly subordinated to the power of the local Roman aristocracy, or to the German ruling house.”<sup>83</sup> Between Gregory and Henry it came to the Investiture Controversy, resulting in depositions and excommunications and without a happy ending for either: both died in exile. The power struggle about the highest authority continued for over a century. For a limited period, during the papacy of Innocent III which is remembered as “the pinnacle of papal power,” the struggle seemed decided in favour of the popes.<sup>84</sup>

After struggles with the German kings in the eleventh and twelfth century, however, the papacy finds itself in conflict with the French crown in the fourteenth century. This leads to an even more disastrous situation for the Church; the seventy-year exile at Avignon which “came to be known as the Babylonian Captivity of the papacy.”<sup>85</sup> Gregory XI returned to Rome. The return did not restore the papal authority at once; instead, due to discontent over the newly elected Urban VI (1378-1389) and divisions among French and Roman cardinals, a second, competing pope, Clement VII (1378-1394) was elected: the Great Schism had begun.<sup>86</sup> Throughout three decades, there were two popes; during 1409-1417 even three popes competed for authority at the same time.<sup>87</sup> It were restless times, the popes excommunicated each other, reinforcing theirs and undermining the authority of their rivals. The Church faced a dilemma to end the Schism: if cardinals had the power to depose a pope at a Council, would this not undermine the structure and authority of the papacy all together? Nevertheless, it was decided to resolve the Schism in this manner. The first Council at Pisa (1409), however, complicated the matter: Roman Pope Gregory XII (1406-17) and Avignon Pope Benedict XIII (1394-1417) were deposed

---

<sup>83</sup> Duffy (2014) 111. Duffy illustrates this supremacy of the aristocracy: “Of the twenty-five popes between 955 and 1057, thirteen were appointed by the local aristocracy, while the other twelve were appointed (and no fewer than dismissed) by the German emperors.”

<sup>84</sup> Idem, 138.

<sup>85</sup> Idem, 163.

<sup>86</sup> Idem, 168.

<sup>87</sup> Bram van den Hoven van Genderen (2012). “De papegaai van de paus en de kameel van de kardinaal. Van Rome naar het Babylon aan de Rhône en weer terug. De tijd van ballingschap, schisma en concilies (ca. 1300-ca. 1460).” In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 131-152; 131.



and a new pope, Alexander V (1409-10) was elected. But “neither of the old popes accepted their deposition, and so the Church had now three popes.”<sup>88</sup> Only years later, was the issue resolved at the Council of Constance (1414-1418). John XXIII (1410-1415) and Benedict XIII were deposed, and Gregory XII was offered “the face-saving gesture of a dignified abdication.”<sup>89</sup>

The Great Schism was a shock for the Church. The missing of the name Gregory for over 150 years seems the result of this episode. We could hypothesize that this gap in the tradition is caused by a deliberate avoidance of the name: had not the name Gregory become too tightly connected with this dark period in the history of the papacy? In addition, the names Clement, John, Benedict and Urban are, also, not chosen in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries; this could attest the plausibility of the hypothesis.

Only at the turn of the Renaissance to the Contra-Reformation, do we see a continuation of the Gregory tradition. Of most influence for the development of the Church was the Council of Trent (1545-1563).<sup>90</sup> In the period following the Council, popes like Gregory XV (1620-1622) underscore the success of the Contra-Reformation: Gregory canonized ‘the four great saints’ of the Contra-Reformation in March 1622.<sup>91</sup> Besides, the short papacy of Gregory XV was of lasting influence on development of the Church and its role in the world with the foundation of the missionary institute of the Propaganda Fide.

Shortly after Gregory XV’s papacy, the illusion of the success of the Contra-Reformation is abolished in the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648). Taking a leap of 208 years, we only find a new Gregory in ‘post-Napoleon’ Europe. In this period of revolutions and the forming of nations, Gregory XVI (1831-1846) struggles with the changing position of the pope in the world. What place, figuratively and literally, is there left for the Papal States in a unifying Italy? Again, a Gregory takes a contra-revolutionary stand. His views on the papacy and anti-modernity arguments, as voiced in *Mirari Vos* (1832) and *Singulari Nos* (1834) became the narrative of the popes until John XXIII.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Duffy (2014) 170.

<sup>89</sup> Idem, 169-170: “In the long perspective of history, the Roman Catholic Church had accepted that the ‘real’ popes were Urban and the successors elected by his cardinals and their successors.” Thus, accepting Gregory XII, making Benedict XIII, Alexander V and John XXIII anti-popes.

<sup>90</sup> Van den Hoven van Genderen (2012) 165.

<sup>91</sup> Canonisation of Teresa of Avila, Ignatius Loyola, Philip Neri and Francis Xavier.

<sup>92</sup> Jeroen Koch (2012). “Een pauselijk katholicisme. Het ultramontanisme in de negentiende eeuw.” In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 283-96; 284.

Thematic approach: shared characteristics of the Gregories

To further explore the meaning of name choices, we will question whether there are characteristics shared by some, several or all the Gregory popes. Through the discussion of three themes can we, in this point of research, draw conclusions on similarities between the Gregories.

First, a characteristic of Gregory tradition is its connection with Rome. Possibly more than any other papal names, Gregory is associated with the city of Rome. One of the connections with Rome is the monastery on the Caelian hill, where Gregory I lived as a monk before he was elected pope. Already under Gregory V became this monastery known as the Saint Gregory the Great Monastery. The monastery was of importance especially to Gregory IX as he was there formally elected pope, and to Gregory XVI who had been its abbot. In addition, the name choice of the French Gregory XI symbolizes and emphasizes the connection between the papacy and the city of Rome. He was the pope who returned to Rome after the seventy-year exile at Avignon: “a deeply religious man of mystical temperament, he believed Rome to be the only right place for the Pope.”<sup>93</sup> We could also agree with Hergemöller who argues that the name had already become “zum typischen Römernamen” by the fact that both Gregory I and Gregory VII were born citizens of Rome and concerned for, and involved in its independence.<sup>94</sup>

Second, characteristic of the tradition is the pope’s struggle for his position in the world. This was especially the case in the reign of Gregory VII with his struggle with the German king Henry IV. Interesting, an image of Gregory the Great was created as “the last pope of undisputed allure,”<sup>95</sup> and taken as an example by Gregory VII. The writings of Gregory the Great about the borders between spiritual and worldly power (note: not separation) mainly contributed to this highly valued image of the pope. The deposition of Gregory VII’s predecessor and superior illustrated the tensions between the spiritual and worldly authority claims of the pope on the one hand and the (German) king on the other, and Gregory VII’s “whole pontificate was a repudiation of the right of any king ever again to do such a thing.”<sup>96</sup> Throughout his pontificate he had a troubled relationship with

---

<sup>93</sup> Duffy (2013) 168. Or as Hergemöller (1980) 135, well-formulated it: “the name too reflects his return to Rome.”

<sup>94</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 61. Already for Gregory V was the ‘Roman’ aspect of the name of factor.

<sup>95</sup> Mayke de Jong (2012). “Pausen, vorsten, aristocraten en Romeinen. Van Gregorius de Grote (594-604) tot Adrianus (872-882).” In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 53-70; 53.

<sup>96</sup> Duffy (2014) 121-123.

Henry IV and it ended with his own deposition. Gregory VII is most known for this power struggle and his claims of highest authority. It is important to be aware of the double function of the pope; besides head of the Church, the pope was the leader of the Papal States. This possession of the Papal States caused dilemmas throughout the history; it legitimized expansion of papal power, but it formed an obstacle, too, for spiritual and churchly tasks.<sup>97</sup> Even though several Gregories chose to focus more on the spiritual than political aspects, ever since Gregory VII the name could not be detached from the debate over power. Over the centuries, popes had increasing difficulties to hold on to the territory – and legitimacy – of the Papal States. As we learned, Gregory XVI faced the biggest challenge. While he had an “exalted a strictly monarchical”<sup>98</sup> view for the papal office, and argued worldly and spiritual supremacy of the pope, he was elected in a period of political crisis: Risorgimento, or unification of Italy. The Risorgimento movement started after the fall of Napoleon in 1815 and, after three wars of independence, led to a unified Italy and a loss of the Papal States in 1870.<sup>99</sup>

The third theme that characterizes the Gregories is the development of missionary activity. Once again, there is a link to the ‘ancestor’ of the tradition, Gregory I. He known for the propagation of Christendom in the Anglo-Saxon world and became an example for missionary popes.<sup>100</sup> The propagation, however, saw a new form in the late eleventh century: the Crusades. Just a decade before the First Crusade, Gregory VII supported military expeditions against enemies of Christendom, Islam in Spain and Sicily. He wished to install an army, the *militia Sancti Petri*, for these expeditions. Even though this army was never established, the initiative led to the rise of *milites Christi*. From Gregory IX onwards, the Crusades became a point of discussion: to what extent could violence be legitimized? The pope sanctioned the armed conflict but supported missionaries.<sup>101</sup> In the next decades there was an increase of missionaries, encouraged by popes like Gregory X, who himself had travelled through the Middle East before he was elected. During his

---

<sup>97</sup> Van den Hoven van Genderen (2012) 140.

<sup>98</sup> Duffy (2014) 284. These views are published in *Il Trionfo della Santa Sede* (1799).

<sup>99</sup> We will discuss the consequences of these developments in chapter three, Pius IX (1846-1878) lost his territory to the nation.

<sup>100</sup> Vefie Poels (2012). “Pontifex missionum. Missiepausen in de periode van de *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (1622-1967).” In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 297-317; 300.

<sup>101</sup> Maaïke van Berkel (2012). “De kalief van Christus. De paus, de opmars van de islam en de kruistochten.” In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 87-102; 96.

papacy, the issue of legitimacy of the Crusades was highly debated and the polarisation between peaceful missions and armed conflict became clear in the Second Council of Lyon.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, the pope drafted plans for a Crusade – but he died before any action was, or would be, undertaken. Centuries later, another Gregory is connected with a renewed élan for – peaceful – missions: in 1622, Gregory XV founded the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, which from that moment onward served as the most important official Church institute for missions.<sup>103</sup> Short lived, but great legacy thanks to the Propaganda Fide. Gregory XVI named himself deliberately after this predecessor, he was the prefect of the Propaganda Fide. Under his papacy, attention for and prestige of the mission increased.<sup>104</sup>

This thematic approach illustrates that there are characteristics shared by the Gregories. These first analyses of the relationships between the popes show that there are cross-connections, allowing a pope to link himself with a specific predecessor for a specific reason. Beyond the individual relationships, the popes are part of a tradition that combines and comprises all. A note must be made: are these characteristics exclusive to the Gregories or are they shared by other popes as well and might the Gregories share characteristics with popes of the other name traditions too? We will address this in the paragraph ‘Why aren’t there more Gregories,’ in which, among others, the relationship between Gregory and Innocent is discussed. First, we need to develop a strategy to deal with these questions.

#### [Est nomen omen? A strategy for the study of papal names](#)

A good example of analysing the meaning of a pope’s name is set by Stephan Freund. In his case study on Pope Gelasius II (161; 1118-1119) he sets out to answer the question: ‘Est nomen omen?’ or: is the name chosen by the pope a sign for the policy of his papacy? He uses three questions in his analysis of the name choice which will be of help in this research too.

Gelasius II is one of the reform popes of the eleventh century. When, in this period, popes start to change their names, it is remarkable that most, like Gelasius, adopt a name

---

<sup>102</sup> Berkel (2012) 100.

<sup>103</sup> Poels (2012) 297.

<sup>104</sup> Idem, 306.

of an early Church predecessor, making them the second of that name.<sup>105</sup> The difficult political situation and the relationship between popes with Emperor Henry III and his successor could be a factor: it left popes longing back to an idealized early Christianity. And this desire was translated by them into their name choices: “Bei den meisten Päpsten der Reformzeit ist daher der Rückgriff auf einen ersten Träger der jeweiligen Papstnamen festzustellen, der dafür offenbar symbolisch stehen sollte.”<sup>106</sup> Beyond this longing back, Freund wants to analyse whether the specific choice for the name Gelasius can be explained.

In a manner similar to the thematic approach above, Freund compares characteristics, policies and writings of Gelasius II with his namesake Gelasius I (492-496). To support his hypothesis that the name choice was deliberate, he formulates three questions which help distinguish coincidence and superficial similarities from conscious imitation and deliberate name choice: 1.) does the pope know his predecessor? For example, the pope could be familiar with his namesake through a biography or other writings. 2.) Is there any indication that the pope made a deliberate allusion to this predecessor? Indications could be a comparable political situation or a similar background (whether family, monastic, or national). 3.) If 1 and 2 receive a positive answer, does the pope, then, behave in a similar manner, that, thus, *nomen* actually becomes *omen*?<sup>107</sup>

These questions help establishing the meaning of name choices of the popes, in this thesis, however, we need to add one more step and translate it to traditions. In the case of Gelasius II, there is just one namesake, but what happens when a name tradition develops in which an influential pope seems to constitute the connotation of the name?

### Motives underlying name choice

At this point, we should pose another follow-up question, shifting our focus from what *names* do to what *popes* want to do with them. Thus, we now turn to the intentions of the popes and we dive into motives underlying the name choice. As already became clear in the introduction, a seemingly easy question ‘why did a pope choose Gregory?’ is complicated by the sphere of secrecy around the name choice. We face a lack of

---

<sup>105</sup> Poole (1917) 471: “there were eighteen popes elected, and all but five of them were the second of their name.”

<sup>106</sup> Freund (2002) 64.

<sup>107</sup> Idem, 72-73.

explanations, sources or testimonies.<sup>108</sup> In this light, the value of Hergemöller's work cannot be stressed enough: connecting different sources, he shows how to discover and reconstruct motives. Hergemöller's chronological approach helps to put our discussion of traditions into perspective. This approach helps us to understand two important dynamics at play in the name choices: 1.) trends in name choices and 2.) relations between different names. First, analysing trends underlying name motives, Hergemöller distinguishes ten periods, arguing that in each period the name choices are motivated on similar grounds. In this manner, he explains trends such as the so-called 'Zweier-Schema' and demonstrates a broader shift underlying name choice: in the sixteenth century, a new motive 'der dankbaren Verehrung' developed and pope-cardinal relations became often the deciding factor.<sup>109</sup>

Second, a good example of how Hergemöller illustrates the relationship between different names is his discussion of the name choice of Gregory XII (1406-1417): "Während Bonifatius IX an Bonifatius VIII., Innozenz VII. An Innozenz III. erinnert hatte, so beschwor Gregorius XII. mit Gregor VII. den dritten der drei Grossen: Man muss die Einheit und den Tritonus der drei Namen des römischen Schisma-Papsttums in Zusammenhang sehen."<sup>110</sup>

We could make some notes on his approach; at times, the classifications of the periods seem too general or in a sense fabricated. Often, there are several possible motives (both personal and political) underlying a name choice. Discussing each period based on the leading trend could result in the creation of an incorrect or anachronistic hierarchy of motives: in his approach, in each period only one motive seems to determine the name choice, other motives become secondary. There needs to be some caution in this construction of trends: if a name choice has not been explicitly explained by the pope himself, we might overestimate one motive over the other.

We will now turn to the motives of the Gregory popes. I have made a selection of six Gregories 1.) to illustrate the diversity of possible motives underlying the name choice and 2.) to analyse the development of the tradition. We can argue that each pope wants to

---

<sup>108</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 140.

<sup>109</sup> The Zweier-Schema is Hergemöller's concept for the phenomenon of the eleventh century: most popes adopted a name of early Christianity popes and became the second of that name, cf. footnote 106. About the new motive of reverence Hergemöller says, 171: "Der Neuernannte wählte somit den Namen desjenigen Vorgängers, der ihn besonders gefördert oder seiner Familie zum Aufstieg verholfen hatte. Besonders beliebt war es, auf denjenigen Papst zurückzuverweisen, der den Erwählten ins Kardinalskolleg aufgenommen hatte."

<sup>110</sup> Idem, 140.

establish a link with a specific namesake. Thus, we will ask: which namesake? And then: why this namesake? What motives were deciding for his name choice; religious, political, or personal reasons?

1.) Gregory V (996-999) alluded to Gregory the Great. Besides the possibility that he wanted to establish a link with this famous predecessor for the wish of reform, an important argument is that Gregory was a 'Roman name'. He, a German pope with a German given name (Bruno), "Sicherlich wollte er durch die Erinnerung an den Römer Gregor I. [...] bei den Römern, denen er als Fremder und Eindringling erscheinen musste, Kredit gewinnen."<sup>111</sup>

2.) We could argue that Gregory VII's (1073-1086) name choice was personally motivated: he had been a staff member of Gregory VI (1045-1046) and honoured his superior in this manner. But his personal motive had political implications. Interestingly, his predecessor, Gregory VI, had chosen his name to gain approval and goodwill from the German king Henry III.<sup>112</sup> He wished to gain this goodwill by establishing a link with his predecessor, Gregory V – the pope who had been installed by his uncle, the German Emperor Otto III. Thus, for Gregory VI, the name choice became a tool to establish his relationship with the German king too. Unfortunately, this relationship was not one without troubles and Gregory VII saw (and accompanied) his beloved predecessor when he was banned and deposed by king Henry III in 1046. Now, we can understand the political implications of Gregory VII's name choice: he chose the name in reverence of his predecessor, emphasizing his loyalty to pope Gregory VI and not to the German king. We can understand his name choice as his first political deed, an omen of his papacy which would be predominated by the authority struggle between the pope and king.

3.) After Gregory VII, whatever the intentions or motives of the popes were, or to which specific namesake they wished to allude, in a way, those would all be overshadowed by his legacy. This extent of Gregory VII's legacy can be exemplified with the case of Gregory VIII (1187). Gregory VIII wished to link himself with the first of namesakes; Gregory the Great. He wanted to recall this papacy which was to him an example of "Heiligkeit und benediktinischen Tugenden," but, as Hergemöller explains, even a hundred years later, one could not adopt the name without recalling the memory of

---

<sup>111</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 37.

<sup>112</sup> Idem, 44.

Gregory VII.<sup>113</sup> Unfortunately, he died within two months upon his election – leaving us unable to speculate whether one really could not ‘skip a beat.’ Had he reigned for several years, we could have analysed his policies and papacy and we might have been in the position to categorize him as ‘a Gregory the Great’ or ‘a Gregory VII’ or could have made any real conclusions about the impact of Gregory VII’s legacy on his Gregorian pontificate.

4.) An interesting case appears with Gregory XIII (1572-1585). While he might have alluded to Gregory I, his name choice seems decided by a new motive: he was elected on the day of Saint Gregory the Great. Now we face a difficulty: could we accept this as the one and only reason for the pope to call himself Gregory? And even if we could sidestep our objections to a possible superficiality, how do we deal with the concept of tradition? Even if the day was the motive, do we not agree with Hergemöller that “zugleich aber hatte er damit automatisch an die anderen berühmten Träger des Gregor-Namens angeknüpft, besonders an Gregory VII., aber auch an Gregor IX. und Gregor X.”<sup>114</sup> From our point in history, we cannot ignore his position in the Gregory tradition and we are able to interpret his papacy as a Gregorian: he shares characteristics with several namesakes on subjects such as reform and mission. Had he been elected on another day, had he chosen another name, would we have interpreted his actions in a different way?

5.) We could understand Gregory XV’s (1621-1623) name choice as an example of the new trend of the ‘dankbaren Verehrung’. With his name, he honoured Gregory XIII, the pope who gave him a position in the Curia, and Gregory XIV (1590-1591), the pope who helped him developing his career his career. We could also understand his name choice as an exception to this trend: why did he not choose to be known as Paul, in reverence of Pope Paul V (1605-1621) who made him Cardinal in 1616? This example illustrates the difficulty of interpreting motives and intentions, Hergemöller tells us that Gregory, actually, was in doubt, but in the end decided to honour his first promoter – who happened to be of Bolognese family alike himself.<sup>115</sup>

6.) The last of the Gregories, Gregory XVI (1831-1846), might illustrate best how a pope relates to his namesakes and becomes part of a tradition. We could think of three different motives, recalling three different namesakes to explain Gregory XVI’s name choice. First, he had been the Abbot of the Saint Gregory monastery in Rome and we could

---

<sup>113</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 94.

<sup>114</sup> Idem, 192.

<sup>115</sup> Idem, 198.



imagine that he wished to emphasize this aspect of his life and association of the name Gregory, alluding to the monk and Church father Gregory the Great. Second, he had been the prefect of the Propaganda Fide, the missionary institute which had been founded by Gregory XV. Third, we should take into consideration the political situation in which he was elected: we know of the struggles of the Church in the Risorgimento of Italy and thus an allusion to Gregory VII and his authority claims seem apparent as well.<sup>116</sup>

Here we reach the most important point of this discussion: we can search for, (re)construct, or invent motives, we can look for and create relations between the namesakes in order to understand the tradition – but that is not the aim of this work. We do not try to pinpoint exactly where to find the meaning of the name choice. It is not about finding those motives that can help us explain the policies of the popes, but it is about questioning whether the name choices might help us understand the history of the popes. While some raised questions will be left unanswered in this thesis, we have gained valuable insights through this approach: the relationships between the namesakes and the development of the tradition show the complexity of how an individual pope connects to his predecessors. To a limited extent, the pope himself can decide with his name choice how to position himself in the (Gregory) tradition by establishing or emphasizing connections. For the other part, the interpretation of his name choice can go beyond his motives or intentions; for example, we consider the legacy of Gregory VII unignorable while many – even most – successive Gregories were more involved in Church affairs than world politics and authority struggles.

#### Why aren't there more Gregories?

Now we have unravelled several motives, we could also wonder whether there were reasons not to choose the name Gregory. This brings us to the question 'Why aren't there more Gregories?' As already noticed, there are several remarkable gaps in the Gregory tradition: 101 years after Gregory VII, 94 years after Gregory X, 155 years after Gregory XII and the most remarkable 208 years after Gregory XV. For the first three cases, the circumstances might explain the lack of Gregories in the following periods. First, the name choice of Gregory VII was an exception in the 'Zweier-Schema' and we see a continuation of this trend after his pontificate as well. Successive popes might have preferred to link

---

<sup>116</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 213: "Der Name [impliziert] zugleich ein politisch-kirchliches Programm und verdeutlicht die Regierungsziele Gregorius' XVI."

themselves to predecessors of early Christianity than to a pope whose pontificate was dominated by politics. Or formulated differently, his legacy might have been considered too vast a heritage for a pope to take on and proclaim the successor. Second, the gap after Gregory X (1271-1276) could be explained by the fact that soon after his pontificate, the papacy faced its exile to Avignon (1309-1376) and popes with an affinity to the French crown would not connect themselves with this Roman name tradition. Third, as hypothesized above, the gap after Gregory XII could be explained by the fact that he was the last pope of the Great Schism.

But what about the gap after Gregory XV (1621-1623)? Why was he without successors for more than two centuries? Perhaps, the explanation for this phenomenon cannot be found in the specific circumstances of this pope, but in the developments of other name traditions. The case of Gregory XV will show that we cannot fully understand one tradition, without knowledge of the others. First, the tradition of Innocent is important as it is comparable to the Gregories, both in development as in connotation. The comparison between the development of the traditions becomes clear in appendix C, table seven: from Gregory VII and Innocent III (1198-1216) onward they show a similar pattern throughout the centuries. There is a tight connection between these two popes and their legacies are often compared.<sup>117</sup> In this manner, the two traditions became connected and the names Gregory and Innocent got similar connotations. If we, then, return to the gap after Gregory XV, it is surprising to see a continuation of Innocents. Thus, we could, tentatively, hypothesize that other reasons than the connotation of Gregory underlie the lack of successors – we could think of explanations based on Hergemöller’s concept of ‘der dankbaren Verehrung.’<sup>118</sup> Second, would we fully want to understand the gap between Gregory XV and Gregory XVI, we would have to include an analysis of the tradition of Clement as they have many successors in the intermediate period.<sup>119</sup>

Thus, even the analysis of the Gregory tradition has its limitations in this thesis. I have, nevertheless, wished to include these explorations on the gaps because they illustrate the importance of analysing each tradition within a broader context. We cannot understand the development of one tradition without looking at the bigger developments

---

<sup>117</sup> The similar dynamics in the traditions are underscored by Hergemöller (1980) in his explanation of Innocent V’s name choice, 111: “Ebenso wenig wie sich ein Papst “Gregor“ nennen konnte, ohne an Gregor VII. und Gregor IX. zu erinnern, war es zu dieser Zeit möglich, sich „Innozenz“ rufen zu lassen, ohne zugleich auf Innozenz III. und Innozenz. IV Bezug zu nehmen.”

<sup>118</sup> Cf. footnote 109.

<sup>119</sup> For some thoughts on the Clement tradition, see appendix B, point four.

in the papacy and we gain a better understanding of the development of the Gregory tradition if we place it in context. We can, successfully, establish the three aspects which, combined, form the answer to the question ‘why aren’t there more Gregories’. The first aspect is the historical context: a name can become ‘off-limits’. The second aspect can be described as the option to choose another name tradition with a similar connotation. The third aspect seems determining in more recent centuries: the influence of the personal link between the pope and his predecessors on the name choice.

### Conclusion: Gregory and continuity

It seems almost redundant to conclude that we can consider the Gregory tradition continuous: does the concept ‘tradition’ in itself not connote continuity? The definition of ‘tradition’ almost reads as a description of the Gregory popes:

- An inherited, established, or customary pattern of thought, action, or behaviour (such as a religious practice or a social custom);
- Cultural continuity in social attitudes, customs, and institutions;
- Characteristic manner, method, or style.<sup>120</sup>

We have seen that, with their name choice, the popes wished to establish connections with their namesakes. In this manner, there developed a tradition of popes with a characteristic style, there is a continuity in both attitudes and customs, and the adoption of the name was paired with a certain ‘Gregorian’ thought and behaviour.

This brings us back to the question at the beginning of this chapter: if we speak of Gregorian reform, do we know which Gregory and which reform is meant? From our point in history, we can argue that the connotation of ‘Gregorian’ is the sum of all the characteristics of the Gregory popes throughout the century – ‘Gregorian’ combines the association of Rome, missions, authority struggle and reform. ‘Reform’ could recall the writings of Saint Gregory I, the educational reforms of Gregory XIII, the Propaganda Fide of Gregory XV, or many other Church affairs the Gregory popes were involved in. It would not be surprising, however, if one, first and foremost, thought of Gregory VII.

---

<sup>120</sup> Definitions of Merriam-Webster. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/tradition> accessed: November 26, 2017.

In most literature, there is an endless repetition emphasizing Gregory VII's influence on the tradition: no next pope could choose the name without alluding to him. This might be a somewhat anachronistic view on his legacy; over the centuries, the influence of his papacy became stronger interpreted. In our times, the papacy of Gregory VII with all its struggles and claims seems overshadow other developments and characteristics of the tradition. The impact of his pontificate on the position of the Church must be acknowledged, but at the same time, his legacy does not equate the whole Gregory tradition. The story of the Gregories is not one of merely power struggles. The authority claims of Gregory VII and Gregory XVI have been far-reaching and strongly stated, but the name Gregory connotes reform: this is the merit of the many Gregories who were concerned with Church affairs and whose reforms have highly impacted the development of the papacy and Church life.

## Chapter three: the tradition of Pius

“In the early morning of august 29, 1799 in the French town of Valence passed away an old man described in his death certificate as ‘citizen Giovanni Angele Braschi, occupation: high priest.’ During his life time, he was better known as pope Pius VI. Never before had a pope died under such humiliating circumstances.”<sup>121</sup>

Peter Raedts, 271

From our reflections on any continuity in the Gregory tradition, we will now turn to the story of the Pii. This tradition knows a less straightforward, continuous, development which makes us consider whether a tradition can too be characterized by change. On first observation, continuity might seem the most obvious characteristic of the Pius tradition: we see long-term papacies and several direct successions.<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless, the Pii form a strong contrast with the Gregories: where Gregory recalls a very specific idea – reform – Pius does not. We might be able to recall several characteristics of individual Pius popes, knowing Pius IX (1846-1878) for his reactionary attitude and claim of infallibility, or knowing Pius XII (1939-1958) for, on the one hand, his difficult position in World War II and on the other hand, his popularity and emotional veneration. But what connects the Pii popes? Why did they choose the name Pius? What does the name connote? Throughout this chapter, we will deal with these questions.

Again, the historical context will be key to understand developments in the Pius tradition. The first insights about the relationship between the Pii will derive from the thematic analysis: many Pii struggled, in different ways, with a similar issue: what kind of leader must the pope be? Analysing the Pius tradition, two aspects stand out: 1.) the Pii can be divided in pairs, and 2.) the name association seems subject to change. In the paragraph ‘Changing meanings of “pius” and “Pius,” we will discuss whether the pope’s wish to link himself a namesake was the deciding factor in the name choice, or an interpretation of the word ‘pius’. Here, in the analysis of the Pius tradition, another

---

<sup>121</sup> Peter Raedts (2012). “Romantische visies op het middeleeuws pausschap.” In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 271-282; 271: “In de vroege morgen van 29 augustus 1799 overleed in de Franse provinciestad Valence een oude man die in de overlijdensakte werd aangeduid als ‘burger Giovanni Angele Braschi, beroep: hogepriester.’ Tijdens zijn leven was hij bekender geweest als paus Pius VI (1775-99). Nog nooit was een paus onder dergelijke vernederende omstandigheden gestorven.”

<sup>122</sup> For an overview of the Pius tradition, see appendix D, table 8.

complexity of names is introduced: this papal name is not only superseding the categories of title and personal name, it is 'a word' too, and a famous one for that matter.<sup>123</sup>

### The 'Gregory-free era' and the rise of the Pii (1417-1572)

The story of the Pii commences after the papacy's return from Avignon. It is connected with the new period, known as the Renaissance – we could also refer to it as the 'Gregory-free era', emphasizing how the traditions of Gregory and Pius intersect. The Gregories were succeeded by popes with a different style, popes involved in different issues – focussed on 'worldly' rather than Church affairs. This change can be explained; e.g., in the sixteenth century, only a few popes had a background in theology. Most popes came from aristocratic families and made a lot of effort to establish the position of their family while "dismantling the network of his predecessor."<sup>124</sup> Popes, in their double role of both religious and political leader, focussed on reinforcing the position of the Papal States as well.

In general, the Renaissance is understood as a period that brought about new values, from rediscovering Antiquity, to an increased appreciation of the arts, to what Hergemöller describes as a change in mentality focussing on "Originalität und Individualität."<sup>125</sup> This change in mentality is reflected in the name choices: originality and individuality were determining motives and as result, new names were introduced.<sup>126</sup>

One of the best examples of these Renaissance popes is Aeneas Piccolomini, who chose to be known as Pius II (1458-1464). As "one of Italy's most famous Humanists" Pius II is in many aspects a remarkable figure.<sup>127</sup> His name choice is most interesting; it

---

<sup>123</sup> A word well-known: pius is the epitome of Vergil's Aeneas. Moreover, it would be interesting to compare the case of Pius with Innocent and Clement: papal names which have a counterpart as a word/concept as well.

<sup>124</sup> Of high influence were the Borghese, Farnese, Gonzaga, de Medici and Orsini family. Guido de Bruin (2012). "Het pausdom van de renaissance tot de verlichting (1450-1750)." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 153-172; 163: "Een nieuwe paus moest telkens beginnen met het familienetwerk en patronagesysteem van zijn voorganger te ontmantelen."

<sup>125</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 143.

<sup>126</sup> Idem. Thus, we find new names which: "Bezug zum Träger primär persönlicher und privater Natur war. Somit herrschte insgesamt Originalität vor: Es werden Namen bevorzugt, die noch nicht allzu abgedroschen klangen oder die seit langer Zeit, oft seit Jahrhunderten, nicht mehr in Gebrauch waren. [...] So erscheinen wieder Namen wie Martin, Eugenius, Pius, Paulus, Sixtus, Julius, Leo und Hadrianus, die allesamt schon fast vergessen waren. Hinzu tritt die Individualität, die sich gesamtgeschichtlich erklären lässt als [...] die Mentalität des Renaissancemenschen."

<sup>127</sup> Duffy (2014) 184: "The popes were enthusiastic patrons of the Renaissance. [...] Aeneas was known throughout Italy and beyond as a connoisseur, an historian and the author of erotic plays and tales."

could be a link to the early Christianity pope Pius I (c. 140- c. 155), but we could question whether this was his intended allusion. More likely, he saw an opportunity to express his ‘Originalität und Individualität:’ 1.) individuality by not placing himself in any existing tradition, 2.) originality with his deliberate choice for Pius. One schooled in classics would immediately recognize the wordplay on his baptismal name Aeneas: pius is Aeneas’ counterpart, he alludes Vergil’s protagonist who is the embodiment of piety and whose personal adjective is ‘pious’, or in Latin: pius.

If we recall our discussion about what name change does, the connection between name change and identity change, how, then, should we interpret Pius II’s deed? On the relations between namesakes – considering the ‘Renaissance’ image of Pius II – should we even try to find a connection between this founder of the tradition and, for example, its most famous – but also most ‘reform-minded’ – successor Pius IX? To discover possible relations between the Pii, let us first turn to the historical context.

#### [A political context: the impact of revolution and war on the papacy](#)

The Pius popes are connected with difficult, stressful episodes in the history of Europe, especially from Pius VI (1775-1799) onward. The French Revolution of 1789 turned its attack to the Church. At first, Pope Pius VI rejected the Revolution and “the destruction of the Church of France was watched in helpless horror at Rome.”<sup>128</sup> Then, the Revolution reached Rome: the pope was unable to withstand Napoleon and Rome is invaded in 1796. Unwilling to resign as the leader of the Papal States, Pius was taken prisoner by Napoleon and transported to France in 1798. After the most humiliating death of the pope, both Rome and his title taken away, it was not certain whether Pius VI would have a successor.

The papacy continued, but so did its troubles. After several months of ‘sede vacante’ a new pope, Pius VII (1800-1823), was elected. He, too, found himself in a difficult relation with Napoleon. However hesitant, he had to accept the ‘invitation’ to coronate Napoleon as Emperor. When he, then, travelled to Paris in 1804, he was, surprisingly, met with much enthusiasm along the way. Despite, or due to the fate of his predecessor, “it was clear to everyone that the papal office had gained more mystique than it lost in the flux and turmoil of the Revolution.”<sup>129</sup> Napoleon, now Emperor, was not pleased with these sentiments and a year later, the relationship between the pope and the emperor hit a

---

<sup>128</sup> Duffy (2014) 257.

<sup>129</sup> Idem, 266.

turning point when Napoleon became king of the Northern Republic of Italy. The pope started to speak out against his behaviour of '*Rex Totius Italiae*' or, as Duffy formulates it: the pope "bitterly resented" Napoleon's annexation of Italy and he "had begun to speak in the tones of Gregory VII."<sup>130</sup> This resulted in an even more tensions, leading to the kidnapping of the pope in 1809. Uncertain years were to follow, but the story ends with the famous defeat of Napoleon in 1814 – and the restoration of the Papal States.<sup>131</sup>

In barely two decades, the fierce resentment towards to Church in France were exchanged with a rediscovering of "the value of ancient institutions, established authorities and tradition."<sup>132</sup> The papacy became a symbol of protest against everything that had gone wrong in the Revolution.<sup>133</sup> Even though "the Romantic generation of 1800 made the pope the symbol of peace and harmony," we already learned that the papacy faced increasing difficulties.<sup>134</sup> Pius IX (1846-1878) continued Gregory XVI's resistance against the Risorgimento movement – but not from the start of his papacy. Pius IX had been elected as a liberal pope. The Revolution of 1848 changed everything: the pope had to flee and on his return to Rome, he turned his back on the developments of modernity.<sup>135</sup> Instead, he idealized the medieval papacy and "mirrored himself to his great predecessors of the Middle Ages," such as Gregory VII and Innocent III.<sup>136</sup> At the same time, the Church – like the evolving nation state – was reformed in a process of bureaucratisation and centralization. The papacy of Pius IX is characterized by the paradoxical results of these developments: while the pope obtained an unparalleled power position in the Church, he lost the Papal States to the Italian nation September 20, 1870.

Just at the outbreak of World War, Pius X died (1903-1914). During his papacy, the pope was not directly confronted with revolution, but he strongly opposed the developments that followed out of the revolutions of the former century and he is known for his vehement suppression of modernism.<sup>137</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> Duffy (2014) 268.

<sup>131</sup> Idem, 272: "This restoration of the Papal States is the single most important fact about the nineteenth-century papacy."

<sup>132</sup> Idem, 276.

<sup>133</sup> Raedts (2012) 273.

<sup>134</sup> Idem, 275: "De romantische generatie van 1800 verkoos de paus boven de keizer als symbool van vrede, orde en harmonie."

<sup>135</sup> Koch (2012) 289.

<sup>136</sup> Raedts (2012) 281: "De paus begon zichzelf te spiegelen aan zijn grote middeleeuwse voorgangers."

<sup>137</sup> In the following, we will learn that Pius X can, too, be described with a highly contrasting characterization. Next to his anti-modernist stance, he was venerated as an immensely popular and open-hearted pope.



Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) was able to retrieve sovereignty for the Vatican with the Lateran Treaty of 1929. This treaty with Benito Mussolini had political consequences: in the age of totalitarian regimes the Vatican had to oblige to neutrality.<sup>138</sup> So Mussolini bought himself an ally – or at least silenced possible opponents. In the following decade, the relation between the pope and Mussolini was relatively good; like the common sentiment, the Vatican deemed communism and not fascism the biggest threat.<sup>139</sup> At the eve of World War II, however, Pius XI spoke out against the expansion of “the evil of ‘excessive nationalism’ and racial politics.”<sup>140</sup> “Deeply committed to the papacy’s role as spiritual leader of all nations, Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) spent his first months as pope in a hopeless effort to prevent the war.”<sup>141</sup> But six months into his pontificate, World War II was a fact with Hitler’s invasion of Poland. To this day, beyond Pius XII’s diplomatic efforts, there is a fierce debate about the role of the pope and the responsibility of the papacy in the war.<sup>142</sup>

#### Thematic approach: developments in the position of the Pii

The political situations were of great impact on the papacy and the changing position of the pope. In the tradition of the Pii three themes dominate: 1.) the pope as prisoner; 2.) authority; and 3.) popularity and veneration of the pope.

First, Pii popes developed a narrative of the pope as prisoner. As we learned, Pius VI and Pius VII had both been held captive by Napoleon: Pius VI died in captivity, and Pius VII had basically been a prisoner of Napoleon between his kidnapping in 1809 and emperor’s defeat in 1814. Pope Pius IX, too, felt captured by the political powers: he did not accept the loss of the Papal States to the unified Italy and declared himself ‘the

---

<sup>138</sup> Jan Bank (2012). “Pius XI en Pius XII. De katholieke kerk in een tijd van totalitaire ideologieën.” In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 347-370; 352: “Aan geestelijken werden in deze overeenkomst elke politieke activiteit verboden. [...] Priesters waren in het interbellum actief in diverse christendemocratische partijen in Europa. Door het Vaticaanse beleid werden zij gedwongen hun leidende rol op te geven.”

<sup>139</sup> Duffy (2014) 346.

<sup>140</sup> Bank (2012) 356: “In het laatste jaar van zijn pontificaat heeft Pius XI zich steeds ondubbelzinniger uitgelaten over het kwaad van het ‘excessieve nationalisme’ en over de nationaalsocialistische rassenpolitiek.”

<sup>141</sup> Duffy (2014) 346.

<sup>142</sup> Bank (2012) 364. They discuss whether Pius XII has openly and strongly denounced the deportations of Jews and whether he has explored all his options to secure the lives of Jews in Rome.

prisoner of the Vatican.’<sup>143</sup> Pius X (1903-1914) followed his example: like his namesake, Pius X contested the confiscation of the Papal States which made him “the voluntary ‘Prisoner of the Vatican.’”<sup>144</sup> When Pius XI regained sovereignty in 1929, the pope was no longer the prisoner of Napoleon or the Vatican, but he became “the prisoner of the Quirinal:” the pope remained restrained by the political power.<sup>145</sup> Over the centuries, “there is a long list of popes denigrated by secular rulers.”<sup>146</sup> To a certain extent, however, the story of the Pii is unique due to the fact that, especially, Pius IX claimed this status of prisoner. He created a narrative of suppression: “as ‘Vicar of a Crucified God’ he was prepared to suffer, but never to surrender.”<sup>147</sup>

Second, this narrative of Pius as prisoner was met with devotion of Catholics who came to see the pope as martyr. His suffering increased his moral authority. For decades, the pope had struggled to hold on to his position as political leader. Following the humiliating death of Pius VI, which was considered the ultimate low in papal history, and the loss of the Papal States in 1870, the papacy underwent a paradoxical development. The pope was now without any worldly power, but he gained enormous authority as a spiritual leader.<sup>148</sup> Pius IX desired to establish the pope’s ultimate moral authority: at the First Vatican Council (1869-1870), he claimed papal infallibility and declared the pope the primary condition for catholicity.

Third, these developments resulted in a different relationship between Catholics and the pope; the shift to moral authority is accompanied by a strong increase of popularity and new forms of veneration. We can identify three forms: 1.) veneration of the martyr in case of Pius VI, Pius VII, and Pius IX; 2.) veneration of Pius X as ‘il Papa-Re’; and 3.) veneration of the pope as ‘alter Christus’ in the case of Pius XII.

1.) The increase of popularity is to be connected to the image of the pope as martyr. Duffy describes Pius VI’s pontificate as one of the most disastrous, but, in a sense, the dishonourable circumstances of the pope under Napoleon boosted loyalty of the catholic laity to the pope. Put stronger: “martyrdom wipes all scores clean, and in the eyes of the

---

<sup>143</sup> Vincent Viaene (2012). “Het Italiaanse Risorgimento. De Romeinse kwestie en de internationalisatie van het negentiende-eeuwse pausdom.” In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 259-270; 265.

<sup>144</sup> Duffy (2012) 321.

<sup>145</sup> Bank (2012) 353. The Italian parliament is located on the Quirinal Hill.

<sup>146</sup> Lantink (2012) 244: “De lijst van door wereldlijke machthebbers gekleineerde pausen door de eeuwen heen is lang.”

<sup>147</sup> Duffy (2012) 289.

<sup>148</sup> Koch (2012) 285.

world Pius VI died a martyr.”<sup>149</sup> Napoleon made Pius VII martyr as well. When he imprisoned Pius VII, he only added to the moral prestige of the pope.<sup>150</sup> Especially this martyrdom strengthened the moral authority of the papacy and veneration became an expression of catholic piety.<sup>151</sup> During the pontificate of Pius IX, this veneration, ‘la devoziona al papa,’ is encouraged and thanks to new mass media the pope became a popular icon.<sup>152</sup>

2.) Pius X decided that to leave the idea of the pope as martyr in the past and to focus on the future. No longer a captive, Pope Pius X wished to reconquer the world and he positioned himself as a king.<sup>153</sup> This renewed image was continued by his successor; Pius XI canonized the theme of kingship in 1925, when he installed the feast of Christ the King.<sup>154</sup> Moreover, Pius X made an appeal to a new sort of devotion from the Catholics. Already with Pius IX the aspect of emotion in veneration had been accentuated, Pius X desired a complete compliance by invoking deeper sentiments of love for the pope.<sup>155</sup> His attitude was one of “personal approachability” and this combined with his policies and “handsome face and warm, open-hearted manner, won an immense popular following for Pius X.”<sup>156</sup>

3.) This trend of growing veneration of the popes continued and reached its culmination with the last Pius pope: Pius XII. When Pius XII is characterized, adjectives seem to fall short: he was “austere,” “mystical,” and “intensely devout.”<sup>157</sup> He was considered “the beating heart of the Church” and his presence “animated the holy city.”<sup>158</sup> The descriptions of Duffy and De Valk give an idea of the intense veneration of this pope, who is depicted as “everyone’s idea of a Catholic saint” and simply “wás the papato

---

<sup>149</sup> Duffy (2014) 260.

<sup>150</sup> Raedts (2012) 276: “Het pausschap [kwam] ineens weer in een heel nieuw licht te staan. Dat bleek toen Napoleon in 1809 [...] nog een keer de fout maakte om de paus uit Rome te laten wegslepen en gevangen te zetten in Fontainebleau. Het enige wat hij daarmee bereikte, was dat hij van Pius VII, net als van Pius VI, een martelaar maakte en daardoor het morele prestige van het pausschap nog verder opvijzelde.”

<sup>151</sup> Hans de Valk (2012). “De cultus van de paus in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw.” In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 319-336; 320.

<sup>152</sup> Duffy (2014) 290: “In the age of cheap popular print, [...] the face of Pio Nono was better known than that of any pope in history.”

<sup>153</sup> Idem, 322: “In an age in which monarchies were tumbling everywhere, the pope had become the last absolute monarch.”

<sup>154</sup> De Valk (2012) 338.

<sup>155</sup> Idem, 339.

<sup>156</sup> Duffy (2014) 321. In addition to this image of Pius X, we should remark his fierce church politics opposing modernism (cf. footnote 137). In this discussion, I have chosen to focus on the ‘personal’ aspect because it illustrates the developing, changing, relationship between the pope and the laity.

<sup>157</sup> Idem, 345.

<sup>158</sup> De Valk (2012) 330.

vivente.”<sup>159</sup> How paradoxical that by now, the pope, who had lost all worldly authority, was venerated, seemly without boundaries as he was called, without restraint, the ‘alter Christus.’<sup>160</sup>

Reflecting on these developments, both political and sentimental, we can argue that the Pius popes are connected; from Pius VI onward, the popes built upon the legacies of their predecessors, establishing a new position for the papacy. Though, the connection seems to be just that: one Pius relates to his predecessor. If there are no ‘cross-relations’ is there then a tradition to become part of?

### Changing associations of ‘pius’ and ‘Pius’

The tradition of Pius knows a different development than the Gregories because it mainly consists of pairs. Therefore, the concept of namesakes is less applicable to the Pii: the tradition is mostly based on a direct link between a pope and his predecessor, less on the association of popes with the connotation of the name.

Not all Pii have been included in our discussion so far. From Pius II we jumped to Pius VI. The peculiarity of the Pius tradition, which can be described as ‘a lack of continuity’ explains this the best: the story of the Pii is more fragmented than the Gregories – and thus harder to summarize. This will become clear in the following analysis of motives underlying the name.

One final time, let us return to the beginning of the Pius tradition. We learned that Pius II adopted the papal counterpart of his baptismal name Aeneas. We can still wonder how we should interpret his papal name: was his choice for Pius motivated by a refusal to ‘shed his old identity’ of the Humanist? Or was it actually the opposite; he did entitle one of his works *Aeneam reiicite, Pius recipite* (reject Aeneas, accept Pius).<sup>161</sup> I agree with Hergemöller that we could hardly understand his statement as a complete rejection of his old identity, it mostly underscores the wide range of meaning of the word ‘pius.’<sup>162</sup> We can only conclude with certainty that he deliberately put a spin on the name. The motive

---

<sup>159</sup> Respectively, Duffy (2014) 345; De Valk (2012) 332.

<sup>160</sup> De Valk (2012) 333.

<sup>161</sup> Pope Pius II, eds. Thomas Izbicki, Gerald Christianson & Philip Krey (2006). *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius: selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), 1405-1464*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.

<sup>162</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 152. Damit [*Aeneam reiicite, Pium recipite*] hat er allerdings sicherlich nicht die Kontinuität und Verbindung des humanistischen Enea Silvio mit dem christlichen Papst Pius II. völlig leugnen oder zurückweisen wollen, sondern wohl lediglich auf den breiten Bedeutungsspielraum des Wortes „pius“ Bezug genommen.

of his first successor – his nephew – is more obvious: Pius III (1503) named himself after his uncle who had promoted him.<sup>163</sup>

Why we speak of pairs and not just successions, becomes clear with the case of Pius IV (1559-1566). He did not choose the name to link himself with his predecessors, but he was motivated by the meaning of the word. He wanted to be that what the name captured; 'pious'. His name choice demonstrates a contrast with not only the Renaissance popes but his namesakes too: "Pius [hatte] zum ersten Mal seit dem Hochmittelalter wieder rein religiöse Motive."<sup>164</sup> Pius V (1566-1572), the austere pope, did wish to establish a clear link with his direct predecessor whose name and policy he adopted.

It took more than two centuries for another pope to adopt the name Pius. The motives of Pius VI (1775-1799) are remarkable: 1.) he wished to avoid association with the politics of his predecessors (Benedict XIV, Clement XIII and Clement XIV) and thus he looked for a name without any recent namesakes. 2.) He had a religious motive to choose Pius: he valued the concept of piety. Moreover, with his name, he linked himself to the only pope (Pius V) who had been canonized since the fourteenth century.<sup>165</sup> Rather straightforward, Pius VII (1800-1823) had chosen the name out of respect for his banned predecessor. The fate of this pair of Pii under Napoleon contributed to interpretation of the name/word pius, especially since "Napoleon I. Bonaparte am 5.5.1821, d.h. am Festtag des hl. Pius V., gestorben war. Selbstverständlich interpretierte man dies als gottgewollte Fügung, als Rache des Heiligen für die Untaten, die Napoleon an dessen Namensnachfolgern begangen hatte."<sup>166</sup>

Pius IX chose the name in memory of Pius VII, who had preceded him as bishop of Imola.<sup>167</sup> Thus, his motive is a simple example of the trend of reverence. The case of Pius X (1903-1914) is slightly more complicated. Hergemöller tells that Pius X hesitated over his name choice: should he follow the trend of reverence and name himself after the pope who had promoted his career? Then, he should have adopted Leo since it was Leo XIII (1878-1903) who had made him both bishop and cardinal.<sup>168</sup> But, as Duffy emphasizes,

---

<sup>163</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 162.

<sup>164</sup> Idem, 191.

<sup>165</sup> Idem, 209.

<sup>166</sup> Idem, 212.

<sup>167</sup> Idem, 214.

<sup>168</sup> Idem, 218.

Pope Pius X was deliberately chosen in contrast to the papacy of Leo XIII.<sup>169</sup> So, Pius deviated from the prevailing motive and established through his choice a link with several namesakes. He declared that “In memory of the Holy Fathers, especially of those who have suffered and resolutely endured the persecutions of the Church and themselves, I will be called Pius.”<sup>170</sup> While most often, his relation with Pius IX is stressed because he is seen as his successor in ‘the fight against modernity’, the pope places himself in a tradition of Pii. We could even say that only now this tradition took shape, he was the first Pius to emphasize a connection with (plural) namesakes. Thus, we could conclude that Pius X’s relation with his predecessors was the main motive. Nonetheless, it is interesting that Duffy includes a comment of the French cardinal Mathieu about the election of Pius X: “We wanted a pope who had never engaged in politics, whose name would signify peace and concord.”<sup>171</sup> I do not believe that either the name or the word ‘pius’ had ever before connoted “peace and concord.” This testimony, however, illustrates that associations of the word pius might have change over time.

That Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) continued the tradition was surprising. Benedict XV (1914-1922) had been of enormous influence on both his style and career; he had made him Archbishop of Lepanto. In many ways, he followed the example of Benedict and during his papacy he continued Benedict’s policies. Once again, there seems to be an exception to the trend of ‘dankbaren Verehrung’. But, Pius is believed to have given this explanation: “I was born under a Pius [Pius IX], I came to Rome under a Pius [during the papacy of Pius X, 1914], and Pius is a name of peace, therefore I wish to carry it.”<sup>172</sup> Two comments should be made, 1.) Pius’ name choice was, thus, not an exception to the trend of reverence, but he chose different popes than his direct predecessor. 2.) ‘Pius is a name of peace’: we saw that Pius X also associated pius with peace – in the case of Pius XI it is, however, uncertain whether he associated the word with peace, or his predecessor: Pius X had died at the outbreak of World War I.<sup>173</sup>

---

<sup>169</sup> Duffy (2014) 320.

<sup>170</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 219. Own translation: “In memoriam Pontificum Sanctorum quorum patrocinio maxime indigeo, et illorum ultimis praecipue temporibus persecutiones Ecclesiae et in ipsos illatae strenue pertulerunt, vocabor Pius.”

<sup>171</sup> Duffy (2014) 320.

<sup>172</sup> Own translation, based on Hergemöller (1980) 221.

<sup>173</sup> Idem: “Die erläuternde Hinzufügung, dass „Pius“ ein Name des Friedens sei, klingt zunächst etwas erstaunlich. Sie ist vermutlich nicht begriffsgeschichtlich zu interpretieren, etwa in dem Sinne, dass „pietas“, das rechte Verhältnis zu Gott und den Mitmenschen, die Basis für ein friedvolles Zusammenleben der Menschen untereinander darstelle, sondern wohl eher in dem Sinne, dass der Neuerwählte in den

How intricate to unravel Pius XI's motives are, how apparent Pius XII's name choice is: he is a textbook example of the reverence motive and when he was asked to reveal his name, he would have said: "Pius XII! For all my religious life and career have been under popes with this name, especially out of gratitude to Pius XI, who has always shown me his love."<sup>174</sup> We should notice that he also alludes to Pius IX and Pius X, and in this manner continues the recent development in the Pius tradition, namely, establishing links with several namesakes.

#### Conclusion: how Pope John XXIII put an end to another tradition

I included the Pii in this thesis to illustrate differences in name traditions. We learned that a central element in the Gregory tradition is the relationship between namesakes. We can now conclude that the Pius tradition developed in a different manner. A certain lack of continuity characterizes the tradition – only from Pius X onward can we truly consider it a tradition: only he and both his successors established – while on completely different grounds – connections with several namesakes. Before that, the Pius pope was only linked to his direct predecessor which explains the phenomenon of pairs. Not in the least, political situations threatened the continuity of both the Pius tradition and the entire papacy. After Pius VI it was uncertain whether the Church would continue. We have seen that the Pius popes could secure the continuation of the papacy, on the one hand, by their refusal of the changing society, on the other hand, by their ability to change their position by gaining popularity and moral authority.

Besides all the differences, whether in the development, motives or associations, the Gregories and Pii have their ending in common: Pope John XXIII seems to have put an end to this tradition as well. The debate about Pius XII and his position in World War II might discourage current popes to adopt the name Pius. The new era the Church entered with the papacy of John XXIII and the implementations of the Second Vatican Council might be more determining in the ending of the Pius tradition. In the end, is the Pius tradition not strongly associated with its most famous namesake, Pius IX? He was the pope of the First Vatican Council; the pope of the infallibility. Could we imagine a Pius in the era of the *Aggiornamento*?

---

Vorgängern des Namens den Friedenswillen verkörpert sah; – besonders wird er an Pius X. gedacht haben, der bei Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges gestorben war."

<sup>174</sup> Own translation, based on Hergemöller (1980) 222.

## Conclusion: the illusion of continuity

In the perspective of the uninterrupted apostolic succession since the foundation of the Church through Christ, the pope became the personification of the Church, her ‘incarnated’ historical continuity.<sup>175</sup>

– Hans de Valk, “De cultus van de paus,” 330

At the beginning of this thesis, we raised many questions concerning what names, name changes, and name choices ‘do’. We expected that there must be something in a name – in a papal name as well. Nevertheless, we learned that the names of the popes had not yet been studied extensively. While the articles by Freund and Poole, the historical discussion of Wilson and, of course, the most interesting work by Hergemöller have been of enormous help in this thesis, we moved beyond their research by placing our analyses of the Gregories and the Pii in a theoretical framework. Beyond the names of popes themselves, we wished to gain insight into trends underlying name choices, the relation between namesakes and the development of name traditions. Retracing our steps, we can conclude the discussed theories on personal names enabled us to understand many aspects of the papal names. Similar to the observations by vom Bruck & Bodenhorn’s on the effect of names and naming, we have seen that the names of popes establish a link with the past, a relation with predecessors. Moreover, the dynamics of name change as discussed by Bourdieu and Alford are at play in papal names as well: a new name is paired with a new social status and is, thus, the result of change and results in change itself. The chosen name of the pope marks his new position.

Besides names and name changes, we raised questions on the aspect of choice: why does a pope choose a specific name? We discovered that mostly in this aspect, papal names differ from personal names. Opposite to Lieberman’s observations of trends in personal name choices, we have seen that historical events have been of strong influence on the name choices of popes. Therefore, I proposed to consider the papal names a distinct category: while comparable to a personal name, a papal name is not identical to it. With this hypothesis, I wish to have contributed to the study of names. While we have gained

---

<sup>175</sup> De Valk (2012) 330: “In het perspectief van de ononderbroken apostolische successie sinds de stichting van de kerk door Christus werd de paus de verpersoonlijking van de kerk, haar ‘vleesgeworden’ historische continuïteit.”



insights into papal names with the help of general name theories, I believe that more research on papal names would create a more complete understanding of the functions and effects of names. Especially in relation to the overarching concept of continuity, the study of papal names would contribute to a further understanding of the role of names in traditions.

To conclude, let us now return to the main question: what meaning is there to be found in the name choices of popes? We argued that the choice is only significant if names have different connotations. After our analyses of the Gregory and the Pius tradition, we can come to the conclusion that different names, indeed, do evoke different expectations of a pope. With the development of a tradition, due to e.g. namesakes with similar characteristics or a very influential pope, the name obtains a stronger association. We have learned that from the beginning of the practice in the eleventh century, name choices have been motivated and were not made randomly. Over the centuries, traditions gained significance: thus, we can and should ascribe meaning to the name choice. The adoption of the new name is the pope's first official act. With this first act, the pope can reveal how he wishes to position himself in the history of the papacy. His choice can provide us with information about his religious views, his political stance or his loyalty to a certain predecessor. We have seen in the examples of Pius II, Julius II and Francis that the pope's choice not to place himself in a tradition is just as significant.

Through this approach of analysing and comparing the Gregories and the Pii, we have gained insights into the interesting development concerning the papacy. Nevertheless, many questions about papal names remain. Further research could be done 1.) on the intricacy of names themselves; e.g. we raised questions about those papal names which have a complex relation with concepts (such as Pius, Innocent and Clement); 2.) as to the development of traditions, more attention should be paid to those names that 'fell out of the running': what dynamics led to the development of some and to the ending of other traditions? Moreover, the appendices could be the starting point of further research, for example on the influence of family relations. Appendix E, table 11 shows the family connections and, remarkably, we see that family members did not per se become namesakes. Following Hergemöller, more research on sources and testimonies of popes themselves or their contemporaries will contribute to our knowledge of motives underlying and/or reactions to the name choices.

Most interesting, I believe, would be to question what the influence of all the name traditions is on the 'illusion of continuity'.<sup>176</sup> Taking all the differences between the name traditions into account, we may wonder in what ways exactly the papacy represents a continuity: if we analyse the name traditions, does not the idea of interruptions or even clashes come to mind? How does a pope, who (with his name choice) wants to clearly contrast himself to his predecessor, become the 'incarnated continuity' of the papacy?

Can we predict the name of the next pope?

Finally, are we able to predict the name of the next pope? The answer is of course 'no', but we can make some estimated guesses. For example, we now know that several names are 'off limits'. It is unlikely that the next pope will be a Gregory, since this name would not only hint at a return to the papacy before Vatican II, it could also be considered a political statement – recalling the claims of Gregory XVI and his objections to the Risorgimento. Similarly, we discussed the association of Pius IX to Vatican I and the debate about Pius XII which will probably result in an avoidance of the name. In my estimation, neither current Pope Francis will have a name successor. His name choice was unconventional and some see his papacy in the same way. It is likely that next a more traditional pope will be elected and that this will be reflected in the name choice. Maybe, after all, there will be another John. Or perhaps, Francis has opened up new possibilities. Will the name Peter ever be adopted? Up till the fifteenth century, the name Paul had been avoided – but Paul II (1464-1471) illustrates that limits can change, disappear or be exceeded.<sup>177</sup> Probably, Peter will remain without namesakes because the adoption of the name might imply too vast pretensions. Whatever the name of the next pope will be, I am convinced we can find meaning in his choice.

---

<sup>176</sup> Frans Willem Lantink, Jeroen Koch (2012). *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 8: "De geschiedenis van het pausschap is [...] een geslaagde presentatie van continuïteit. De radicale breuken ten spijt, moest het pausschap zich steeds opnieuw uitvinden onder de pretentie hetzelfde instituut te blijven."

<sup>177</sup> Hergemöller (1980) 155: "[Paulus II. hatte] durch die Übernahme des Apostelnamens eine wirklich originelle und auffällige Entscheidung getroffen, da man bislang, vermutlich aus Scheu und Ehrfurcht, den Namen Paulus ebenso vermieden hatten, wie den Petrusnamen."

## Bibliography

- Alford, R. D. (1988). *Naming and identity: a cross-cultural study of personal naming practices*. New Haven: HRAF Press.
- Bank, J. (2012). "Pius XI en Pius XII. De katholieke kerk in een tijd van totalitaire ideologieën." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 347-370.
- Berkel, van M. (2012). "De kalief van Christus. De paus, de opmars van de islam en de kruistochten." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 87-102.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bruck, vom G. & Bodenhorn, B. (2006). *The anthropology of names and naming*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruin, de G. (2012). "Het pausdom van de renaissance tot de verlichting (1450-1750)." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 153-172.
- Duffy, E. (2014). *Saints & sinners: a history of the popes*. Cumberland: Yale University Press.
- Espelo, van D. (2012). "Tussen ritueel en realiteit. Karolingen en pausen in de tweede helft van de achtste eeuw." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 71-86.
- Fishburne, J. (2012). "Shepherding the flock: Pope Julius II's Renaissance vision of a united Italy." *Carte Italiane* 2, 3-13.
- Freund, S. (2002). "Est nomen omen? Der Pontifikat Gelasius II (1118-1119) und die päpstliche Namensgebung." *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 40, 53-83.
- Garrioch, D. (2010). "Suzanne, David, Judith, Isaac...: Given names and Protestant religious identity in eighteenth-century Paris." *French Historical Studies* 33, 33-67.
- Hergemöller, B. (1980). *Die Geschichte der Papstnamen*. Münster: Regensburg.
- Herzfeld, M. (1982). "When exceptions define the rules: Greek baptismal names and the negotiation of identity." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 38, 288-302.
- Jong, de M. (2012). "Pausen, vorsten, aristocraten en Romeinen. Van Gregorius de Grote (594-604) tot Adrianus (872-882)." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 53-70.
- Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. (2012) *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom.

- Lantink, F.W. (2012). "Herbronning in tegenlicht. Pauschap en wereldkerk van Vaticanum II tot Benedictus XVI." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 347-370.
- Lieberson, S. (1984). "What's in a name?... Some sociolinguistic possibilities." *Journal of the Sociology of Language* 45, 77-87.
- Lieberson, S. (2000). *A matter of taste: how names, fashions, and culture change*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Pius II, eds. Izbicki, T., Christianson, G., & Krey, P. (2006). *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius: selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), 1405-1464*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
- Poels, V. (2012). "Pontifex missionum. Missiepausen in de periode van de *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (1622-1967)." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 297-317.
- Poole, R. (1917). "The names and numbers of medieval popes." *The English Historical Review* vol. 32, no. 138, 465-478.
- Raedts, P. (2012). "Romantische visies op het middeleeuws pausschap." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 271-282.
- Squires, N. (March 16, 2013). "Pope Francis says he chose his name because he wants a 'Church of the poor, for the poor.'" *The Telegraph*. Retrieved May 7, 2017, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/Pope-Francis>
- Valk, de H. (2012). "De cultus van de paus in de negentiende en twintigste eeuw." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 319-336.
- Van den Hoven van Genderen, B. (2012). "De papegaai van de paus en de kameel van de kardinaal. Van Rome naar het Babylon aan de Rhône en weer terug. De tijd van ballingschap, schisma en concilies (ca. 1300-ca. 1460)." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 131-152.
- Viaene, V. (2012). "Het Italiaanse Risorgimento. De Romeinse kwestie en de internationalisatie van het negentiende-eeuwse pausdom." In eds. Lantink, F.W. & Koch, J. *De paus en de wereld: geschiedenis van een instituut*. Amsterdam: Boom, 259-70.
- Wilson, S. (1998). *The means of naming: a social and cultural history of personal naming in Western Europe*. London: Routledge.

## Appendix A: full schema of the popes

### Legenda

The schema gives an overview of the popes (anti-popes not included) from Gregory V to the current Pope Francis. The complete oversight is spread over four pages. If placed under each other, pages iii and iv display the traditions from Gregory to Callixtus, similar, pages v and vi display the traditions from Honorius to Francis. The schema should be read horizontally and vertically at the same time, with the blocks providing information about the popes; his number, the year of his election and the abbreviation of his name. The columns give an overview of the tradition of the name: at a glance one can see if, when, and how often a name is adopted. The colours have a supporting function in the schema, to make the reader alert of the beginning, end, and peculiarities. Green indicates the start of the name tradition; the green number indicates the first pope who chose the specific name. The yellow block indicates the end of the name (at least, the end to this date: a next pope could reintroduce and continue a tradition). Two blocks have a distinctive colour, blue to mark the longest papacy of Pius IX and orange to mark the current pope. The names marked in red are listed below because they had noteworthy baptismal names.

### Abbreviations:

Gr = Gregory	Vc = Victor	Hn = Honorius	Bf = Boniface
Sl = Sylvester	St = Stephen	In = Innocent	Pi = Pius
Jn = John	Nc = Nicholas	Ct = Celestine	Pl = Paul
Sr = Sergius	Ax = Alexander	Lc = Lucius	Sx = Sixtus
Bn = Benedict	Ur = Urban	Eu = Eugene	Jl = Julius
Cl = Clement	Ps = Paschal	An = Anastasius	Mr = Marcellus
Dm = Damasus	Gl = Gelasius	Ad = Adrian	Jp = John Paul
Leo = Leo	Cx = Callixtus	Mt = Martin	Fr = Francis

Explanation of the names marked in red: '>' indicates the baptismal name

142: Sergius IV	>	Pietro	220: Paul III	>	Alessandro
146: Sylvester III	>	Giovanni	221: Julius III	>	Giovanni
148: Gregory VI	>	Giovanni	222: Marcellus	>	Marcello
161: Gelasius II	>	Giovanni	223: Paul IV	>	Giovanni
164: Innocent II	>	Gregorio	224: Pius IV	>	Giovanni
169: Adrian IV	>	Nicholas	228: Urban VII	>	Giovanni
187: John XXI	>	Pedro	229: Gregory XIV	>	Niccolò
188: Nicholas III	>	Giovanni	230: Innocent IX	>	Giovanni
192: Celestine V	>	Pietro	232: Leo XI	>	Alessandro
193: Boniface VIII	>	Benedetto	234: Gregory XV	>	Alessandro
194: Benedict XI	>	Niccolò	236: Innocent X	>	Giovanni
203: Boniface IX	>	Pietro	240: Innocent XI	>	Benedetto
211: Paul II	>	Pietro	241: Alexander VIII	>	Pietro
212: Sixtus IV	>	Francesco	243: Clement XI	>	Giovanni
213: Innocent VIII	>	Giovanni	245: Benedict XIII	>	Pietro
215: Pius III	>	Francesco	249: Clement XIV	>	Giovanni
216: Julius II	>	Giuliano	250: Pius VI:	>	Giovanni
217: Leo X	>	Giovanni	253: Pius VIII	>	Francesco
218: Adrian VI	>	Adriaan	255: Pius IX	>	Giovanni
219: Clement VII	>	Giulio	262: Paul VI	>	Giovanni











## Appendix B: general analysis of papal names

From Gregory V (138; 996-999) up to and including the current pope Francis (266; 2013) there have been 32 different names. In this appendix, we will discuss several observations of papal names. The following six are based on the schematical overview:

1. There is one unique occurrence: Francis (266; 2013).
2. 7 names are without succession.
3. 10 names have a single successor.
4. The highest frequency: there are 5 names with an average of 11 occurrences.
5. Middle-high frequency: there are 5 names with an average of 6 occurrences.
6. Small frequencies: there are 4 names with an average of 3,5 occurrences.

First, current Pope Francis forms a category on his own. He has been the first to introduce a new name: all other popes have adopted a name which had occurred at least once in the history of the papacy. John Paul I (263; 1978) is somewhat an exception to this tradition as well, he was the first to adopt a double name – but he did name himself after his predecessors John XXIII (261; 1958-1963) and Paul VI (262; 1963-1978).

Second, there have been seven names without successions, all but Marcellus II (222; 1555) in the eleventh and twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis, it would be interesting to analyse why those popes were not succeeded in name: where there any specific reasons, such as a bad reputation, why those names were not adopted anymore? Perhaps the result was more random, from the beginning of the tradition in the eleventh century throughout the twelfth, many names of early Christianity popes are adopted, but only a few develop into a tradition.

Third, there are ten names with a single succession.<sup>2</sup> This observation partly illustrates the same dynamics as the names without succession; Sylvester III (146; 1045), Victor III (158; 1086-1088) and Lucius III (171; 1181-1185) represent the trend of the eleventh and twelfth century, in which the ‘Zweier-Schema’ was followed by the ‘Dreier-

---

<sup>1</sup> Popes without name successions are: Sergius IV (142; 1009-1012); Damasus II (151; 1048-1049); Stephen IX (154; 1057-1060); Paschal II (160; 1099-1118); Gelasius II (161; 1118-1119); Anastasius IV (168; 1153-1154) and Marcellus II (222; 1555).

<sup>2</sup> The names Sylvester, Victor, Callixtus, Lucius, Eugene, Martine, Boniface, Sixtus, Julius and John Paul only occur twice.

Schema', but after the 'Dreier-Schema', only a few names developed into traditions.<sup>3</sup> The lack of succession of Boniface could more be explained by the fact that Boniface IX (203; 1389-1404) was pope during the Great Schism (1378-1417). We see that popes, at least for a while, do not adopt the names of popes associated with the Great Schism.<sup>4</sup> Specific casestudies could uncover possible explanations for the lack of succession of the other names.

Fourth, the five names with the highest frequency of occurrence are given in table 1. This thesis has analysed the tradition of Gregory and Pius and has included some observations on the Innocent tradition. Without a doubt, Benedict and Clement would make good casestudies as well. The long-term gap between Benedict XII (197; 1334-1342) and Benedict XIII (245; 1724-1730) would be interesting to explore. The relationship with Clement tradition is remarkable; there are more name traditions which frequently appear as pairs (Gregory and Innocent; Alexander and Urban), but the successions between the Benedicts and Clements in the first half of the fourteenth century and, again, in the eighteenth century are noteworthy. Moreover, analysis of the relation of Clement with Pius would be interesting: the Clement tradition comes to a sudden end when the Pii take over their line of tight successions in the late eighteenth century, when Pius VI (250; 1775-1800) succeeds Clement XIV (249; 1769-1775).

<b>Name</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>First pope</b>	<b>Last pope</b>
Gregory	12	138; 996	254; 1831
Benedict	8	143; 1013	265; 2005
Clement	13	149; 1046	249; 1769
Innocent	12	164; 1130	244; 1712
Pius	11	210; 1458	260; 1939

Table 1

---

<sup>3</sup> Hergemöller (1980) ..

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion on page 24, in the paragraph 'Developments of the papacy in 11<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Fifth, the five names with a middle-high frequency of occurrence are given in table 2. One could be surprised to find John in this category; the numbers in this tradition run high – the most recent John was the 23th (261; 1958-1963). The name, however, has only been adopted six times since the eleventh century. Even more remarkable, the gap between John XXII (196; 1316-1334) and his predecessor counts more than six centuries: was the name John so unappealing, or maybe unremarkable?

<b>Name</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>First pope</b>	<b>Last pope</b>
Leo	5	152; 1049	256; 1878
John	6	140; 1003	261; 1958
Alexander	6	156; 1069	241; 1689
Urban	7	159; 1088	235; 1623
Paul	5	211; 1464	262; 1963

Table 2

Sixth, the names with a small frequency of occurrence are given in table 3. This group is least interesting as a category. The circumstances of last popes might offer explanations for the lack of succession. For example, to a certain extent, Nicholas V (208; 1447-1455) was a successful Renaissance pope who gave a new impulse to the city of Rome. However, during his papacy, Constantinople was captured by the Ottoman empire (May 29, 1453) and the pope was unable to offer help to the Byzantine Emperor and the church overseas. The event darkened his papacy and might have made the name of the pope associated with it, less appealing to successors. That the name Celestine has not been adopted after Celestine V (192; 1294) might be the result of his resignation: after only five months, the pope stepped down, thus not leaving a tremendously appealing legacy behind.

<b>Name</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>First pope</b>	<b>Last pope</b>
Nicholas	4	155; 1050	208; 1447
Honorius	3	163; 1124	190; 1285
Celestine	4	165; 1143	192; 1294
Adrian	3	169; 1154	218; 1522

Table 3

If we look at the overall development of the papacy, we can make five more observations.

7. Between Gregory V and Gregory VI (148; 1045-1046), there occur 5 names.
8. Of the next twenty popes, 18 adopt a new name.
9. Only in the late thirteenth century introduce two popes a new name.
10. In the Renaissance, several new names are introduced.
11. After the Renaissance, most names find no successions (20 out of 30).

Thus, seventh, from the start of the tradition with Gregory V (138; 996-999) up to his tenth successor, Gregory VI (148; 1045-1046), there occur five names. Remarkable is that out of the first five names to have been adopted, Sylvester and Sergius are soon without succession, while Gregory and Benedict turn out to become traditions with a high frequency of occurrences.

Eighth, with the next twenty popes, from Clement II (149; 1046-1047) up to Adrian IV (169; 1153-1154), we see that eighteen new names are adopted, out of which seven after Lucius III (171; 1181-1185) have no successions.

Ninth, after Adrian IV, no new name is adopted until Martin IV (189; 1281-1285). In the same period, one other pope introduces a name not yet adopt before: Boniface VIII (193; 1294-1303).

Tenth, only 166 years and seventeen popes later, is another new name adopted in the mid-fifteenth century by the Renaissance pope Pius II (210; 1458-1464). In this period, his example is followed by three popes; Paul II (211; 1464-1471), Sixtus IV (212; 1471-1484) and Julius II (216; 1503-1513).

Eleventh, from Pius II onward, again seven names are without successions, from the twenty-five names adopted to that point, only nine remain. Table four illustrates the current state of the name traditions in 1458. The left name column mark in green which names are still in the running, de right name column mark in red which names are out of the running. Of the newly introduced names, only Pius and Paul develop into traditions. Moreover, after Sixtus V (227; 1585-1590) twenty out of thirty names are out of the running. In following centuries up to John Paul I (263; 1978), popes have limited themselves to a choice of one out of ten name traditions. Table five shows an overview Overview of the frequency of the occurrences of the names between 1590 and 1978.

State of name traditions in 1458

Name	#	First	Last	Name	#	First	Last
Gregory	8 (12)	138; 996	205; 1406	Sylvester	2	139; 999	146; 1045
John	5 (6)	140; 1003	196; 1316	Sergius	1	142; 1009	
Benedict	6 (8)	143; 1012	197; 1334				
Clement	5 (13)	149; 1046	198; 1342	Damasus	1	151; 1048	
Leo	1 (5)	152; 1049		Victor	2	153; 1055	158; 1086
				Stephen	1	154; 1057	
				Nicholas	4	155; 1050	208; 1447
Alexander	3 (6)	156; 1069	181; 1254				
Urban	5 (7)	159; 1088	202; 1378	Paschal	1	160; 1099	
				Gelasius	1	161; 1118	
				Callixtus	2	162; 1119	209; 1455
				Honorius	3	163; 1124	190; 1285
Innocent	6 (12)	164; 1130	204; 1404	Celestine	4	165; 1143	192; 1296
				Lucius	2	166; 1144	171; 1181
				Eugene	2	167; 1145	207; 1431
				Anastasius	1	168; 1153	
Adrian	2 (3)	169; 1154	186; 1276	Martin	2	189; 1281	206; 1417
				Boneface	2	193; 1294	203; 1389

Table 4

## Overview of popes between 1590 and 1978

						228 1590 Ur VII			
229 1590 Gr XIV							230 1591 In IX		
			231 1592 Cl VII	232 1605 Le XI					233 1605 Pl V
234 1621 Gr XV						235 1623 Ur VIII	236 1644 In X		
					237 1655 Ax VII				
			238 1667 Cl IX						
			239 1670 Cl X				240 1676 In XI		
					241 1689 Ax VIII		242 1691 In XII		
			243 1700 Cl XI				244 1721 In XIII		
		245 1724 Bn XIII	246 1730 Cl XII						
		247 1740 Bn XIV	248 1758 Cl XIII						
			249 1769 Cl XIV					250 1775 Pi VI	
								251 1800 Pi VII	
				252 1823 Le XII				253 1829 Pi VIII	
254 1831 Gr XVI								255 1846 Pi IX	
				256 1878 Le XIII				257 1903 St Pi X	
		258 1914 Bn XV						259 1922 Pi XI	
								260 1939 Pi XII	
	261 1958 Jn XXIII								262 1963 Pl VI

Table 5



## Appendix C: the Gregories

### Overview of the tradition

	Details	Background	Characteristics
	St Gr I#64 590-604	ERE Ben	- First pope from monastic background - Known for his missions and writings - Venerated as the fourth Church father
41y #9	Gr V #138 996-9	HRE	- First German pope - Appointed by his uncle Emperor Otto III - Start of the name change tradition
27y #8	Gr VI #148 1045-6	PS	- Name choice as allusion to papacy of St Gregory I - Known for religious reform - Deposed by king Henry III
101y #15	Gr VII #157 1073-86	HRE Ben	- He was a monk and later member of staff of Gr VI - Known for his writings and Investiture controversy - Troubled relationship with king Henry IV: he died in exile - Remembered most for supreme authority over secular rulers
40y #4	Gr VIII #173 1187-87	PS Ben	- Proposed Third Crusade - Prioritized Church reform over power struggle with the king - Died only after a couple weeks
30y #5	Gr IX #178 1227-43	PS OFS	- Nephew of greatest pope of the papal pinnacle, Innocent III - Known for the Papal Inquisition and missions - Published the <i>Liber Extra</i> ; collection of papal decretals
94y #15	Gr X #184 1271-76	HRE OFS	- First pope after three-year interregnum - Second Council of Lyon - Wanted to reunite with East Schism
28y #3	Gr XI #201 1370-78	France	- Last French pope - Returned to Rome from Avignon - Last pope before Great Schism
155y #20	Gr XII #205 1406-17	Rep. Venice	- Three popes claim authority: Boniface, Innocent and Gregory - Deposed in order to end the Great Schism - Last pope to resign until Bn XVI
5y #2	Gr XIII #226 1572-85	PS	- Man of the world; former law professor - Known for reforms in education (clergy colleges) + calendar - Created network of nuncios
30y #4	Gr XIV #229 1590-1	Milan	- He was appointed cardinal by Gregory XIII - Died very soon
208y #19	Gr XV #234 1621-23	PS	- Founded the Propaganda Fide - Politically involved in divided Europe - Subsidies for catholic army in Thirty-Year War
	Gr XVI #254 1831-46	Rep. Venice Cam.	- Former Abbot of Gregory the Great monastery - Last non-bishop to be elected to the papacy - Contrarevolutionary agenda; <i>Mirari Vos, Singulari Nos</i> - His successor is Pius IX

Table 6

#### Legenda:

ERE: Eastern Roman Empire  
HRE: Holy Roman Empire  
PS: Papal States

Ben.: Order of Saint Benedict  
Cam.: Camaldolese monks  
O.F.S.: Secular Franciscan Order

## Comparison between the Gregories and Innocents

<b>Gregory VIII-XVI</b>	<i>(Intermediary popes)</i>	<b>Innocent III-XIII</b>
173: Gr VIII (1187)	174: <i>Ct III</i>	176: In III (1198-1216)
178: Gr IX (1227-41)	175: <i>Ct III</i>	
	177: <i>Hn III</i>	
	179: <i>Ct IV</i>	180: In IV (1243-54)
	181: <i>Ax IV</i>	
	182: <i>Ur IV</i>	
	183: <i>Ct IV</i>	
184: Gr X (1271-76)		185: In V (1276)
	186-198	
201: Gr XI (1370-78)	200: <i>Ur V</i>	199: In VI (1352-62)
	202: <i>Ur VI</i>	204: In VII (1404-6)
	203: <i>Bf IX</i>	
205: Gr XII (1406-17)		
	206-212	
		213: In VIII (1484-92)
	214-225	
226: Gr XIII (1572-85)	227: <i>Sx V</i>	
	228: <i>Ur VII</i>	
229: Gr XIV (1590-1)		230: In IX (1591-2)
	231: <i>Ct VIII</i>	
	232: <i>Le XI</i>	
	233: <i>Pl V</i>	
234: Gr XV (1621-23)	235: <i>Ur VIII</i>	236: In X (1644-55)
	237: <i>Ax VII</i>	
	238: <i>Ct IX</i>	
	239: <i>Ct X</i>	
		240: In XI (1676-89)
	241: <i>Ax VIII</i>	242: In XII (1691-1700)
	243: <i>Ct XI</i>	244: In XIII (1721-24)
	245-253	
254: Gr XVI (1831-46)		

Table 7

## Appendix D: the Pii

### Overview of the tradition

	Details	Background	Characteristics
	St Pi I #9 c. 140-155		- Not much is known about this pope of the early Christianity - There seems to be no relation with his namesakes
39y #4	Pi II #210 1458-64		- Baptismal name is Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini - One of Italy's most famous Humanists - Unsuccessfully committed to the Crusade
56y #8	Pi III #215 1503		- Nephew of Pius II - Died very soon
direct succ.	Pi IV #224 1559-66		- Pope in the Renaissance tradition - Former Bolognese lawyer - Nephew of Paul III and nepotism
203y #24	St Pi V #225 1566-72		- Former shepherd with sober lifestyle, austere pope - Contra-reformation, implementing reforms Council of Trent - Last canonized pope until Pius X
direct succ.	Pi VI #250 1775-1799		- Aristocrat without pastoral experience - Increased popularity under harsh treatment Napoleon - Died in captivity, revered as martyr
6y #1	Pi VII #251 1800-23	Ben.	- Humiliating position as prisoner under Napoleon - Crowned Napoleon to Emperor - Restoration of the Papal States
15y #1	Pi VIII #253 1829-31		- Made cardinal by Pius VII - Not much discussed in literature; a short papacy in still turbulent times
25y #1	Pi IX #255 1846-78		- Elected as liberal pope with the promise of reform - After coup 1848, return to policy predecessor Gr XVI - Increased popularity through martyr-narrative of suffering - Known for First Vatican Council and claim of infallibility
6y #1	St Pi X #257 1903-14		- First peasant pope in three centuries - Practical reforms concerning centralisation and uniformity - Known as pope of the people and for renewal of Church life - Immensely popular, canonized in 1950
direct succ.	Pi XI #259 1922-39		- Known as a scholar, he was made cardinal by Benedict XV - Lateran Treaty of 1929 with Mussolini - Spoke out against fascism at the outbreak of WWII
	Pi XII #260 1939-58		- Obvious successors as pope and namesake to Pius XI - Fierce debate about his role as moral leader in WWII - Immensely popular and venerated

Table 8

## Appendix E: Backgrounds, relations, and eras

### Worldly or monastic background

Wordly	Ben.	Can. Reg.	Cist.	Sec. Fran.	Dom.	Fran.
138; Gr V	142; Sr IV					
148; Gr VI	154; St IX					
	157; Gr VII					
	158; Vc III					
	159; Ur II					
	160; Ps II					
	161; Gl II	163; Hn II				
		164; In II				
		166; Lc II				
			167; Eu III			
		169; Ad IV				
		173; Gr VIII		178; Gr IX		
				184; Gr X	185; In V	191; Nc IV
	192; Cl V				194; Bn XI	
			197; Bn XII			
		198; Cl VI				
		200; Ur V				
201; Gr XI						
205; Gr XII				206; Mt V		
					208; Nc V	
210; Pi II						212; Sx IV
215; Pi III						216; Jl II
224; Pi IV					225; Pi V	
226; Gr XIII						227; Sx V
229; Gr XIV						
234; Gr XV				242; In XII	245; Bn XIII	
				246; Cl XII		249; Cl XIV
250; Pi VI	251; Pi VII					
253; Pi VIII				255; Pi IX		
				256; Le XIII		
				257; Pi X		
				258; Bn XV		
				259; Pi XI		
				260; Pi XII		
				261; Jn XXIII		

Table 10

#### Singular occurrence:

207. Eugene IV: Augustine.

223 Paul IV: Theatine

254. Gregory XVI: Camaldolese.

266 Francis: Jesuit.

## Family relations

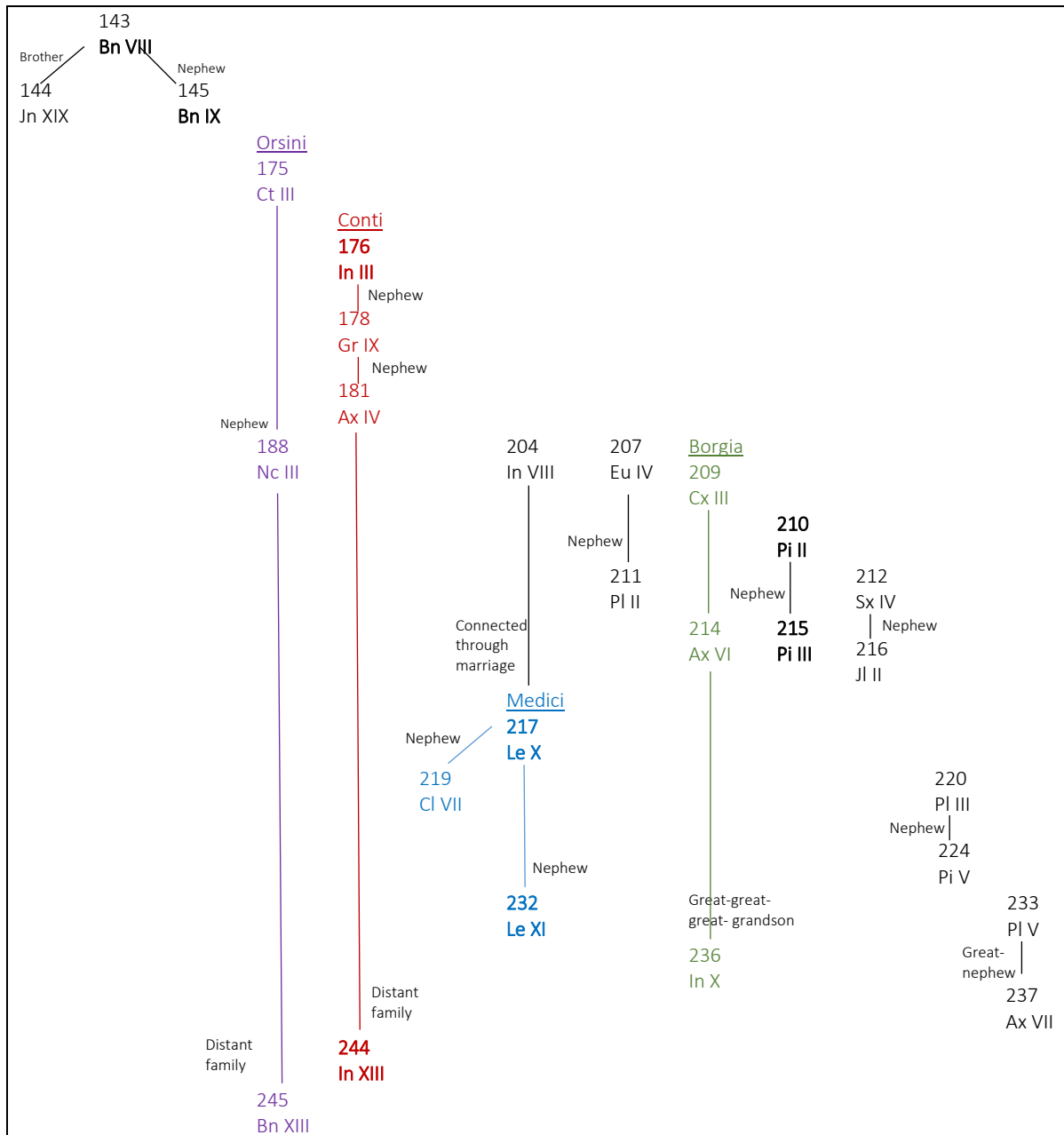


Table 11

In a similar manner, it would be interesting to create an overview of pope-cardinal relations.

## Overview per century

Century	<5y	5-8y	>8y
11th: 996-1099 138; Gr V – 159; Ur II  Popes #22	138-140; 142, 146-151; 153, 154, 156, 158	141; Jn XVIII: 6y 144; Jn XIX: 8y 152; Le IX: 6y	143; Bn VIII: 12y 145; Bn IX: 13y 155; Nc II: 9y 157; Gr VII: 12y 159; Ur II: 11y
12th: 1099-1198 160; Ps II – 175; Ct II  Popes #16	161, 165, 166 168, 171-174	162; Cx II: 5y 163; Hn II: 6y 167; Eu III: 8y 169; Ad IV: 7y 175; Ct III: 7y	160; Ps II: 17y 164; In II: 13y 170; Ax III: 20y
13th: 1198-1303 176; In III – 193; Bf VIII  Popes #18	179, 182, 185-190; 192	181; Ax IV: 7y 183; Cl IV: 6y 184; Gr X: 5y 191; Nc IV: 6y	176; In III: 18y 177; Hn III: 11y 178; Gr IX: 14y 180; In V: 11y 193; Bf VIII: 9y
14th: 1303-1404 194; Bn XI – 203; Bf IX  Popes #10	194	197; Bn XII: 7y 200; Ur V: 8y 201; Gr XI: 7y	195; Cl V: 11y 196; Jn XXII: 18y 198; Cl VI: 10y 199; In VI: 10y 202; Ur VI: 11y 203; Bf IX: 14y
15th: 1404-1503 204; In VII – 214; Ax VI  Popes #11	204 209	208; Nc V: 8y 210; Pi II: 6y 211; Pl II: 7y 213; In VIII: 8y	205; Gr XII: 11 206; Mt V: 14y 207; Eu IV: 16y 212; Sx IV: 13y 214; Ax VI: 11y
16th: 1503-1605 215; Pi III – 231; Cl VIII  Popes #17	210, 218, 222, 223, 228, 229, 230	221; Jl III: 5y 224; Pi IV: 7y 225; Pi V: 6y 227; Sx V: 5y	216; Jl II: 10y 217; Le X: 9y 219; Cl VII: 11y 220; Pl III: 16y 226; Gr XIII: 13y 231; Cl VIII: 13y
17th: 1605-1700 232; Le XI – 242; In XII  Popes #11	232, 234, 238, 241	239; Cl IX: 6y	223; Pl V: 16y 235; Ur VIII: 21y 236; In X: 11y 237; Ax VII: 12y 240; In XI: 13y 242; In XII: 9y
18th: 1700-1800 243; Cl XI – 250; Pi VI  Popes #8	244	245; Bn XIII: 6y 249; Cl XIV: 6y	243; Cl XI: 21y 246; Cl XII: 10 y 247; Bn XIV: 18y 248; Cl XIII: 11y 250; Pi VI: 25y
19th: 1800-1903 251; Pi VII – 256; Le XIII  Popes #6	253	252; Le XII: 6y	251; Pi VII: 23y 254; Gr XVI: 15y 255; Pi IX: 32y 256; Le XII: 25y
20th: 1903-2005 257; Pi X – 264; JP II  Popes #8	263	258; Bn XV: 8y 261; Jn XXIII: 5y	257; Pi X: 11y 259; Pi XI: 17y 260; Pi XII: 19y 262; Pl VI: 15y 264; JP II: 27y

Table 12