

# **MODULE HI1201**

## **EUROPE, 1000-1250: CONFLICT OF CHURCH AND STATE**

**ECTS Value: 10**

**Professor Robinson**

### **HI1201 - LEARNING OUTCOMES**

On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

- ☐ Outline chronologically the principal ecclesiastical, politico-ecclesiastical and cultural developments in western Europe in the period 1000-1250
- ☐ Assess the causes and immediate consequences of the conflict between ecclesiastical and secular authorities during this period
- ☐ Discuss the core features of European society during the high middle ages
- ☐ Analyse the impact of different aspects of ecclesiastical, politico-ecclesiastical and cultural development on Europe during the high middle ages
- ☐ Undertake a basic analysis and evaluation of selected primary

sources in translation relating to western European history in the high middle ages

- ☒ Present and discuss in written and oral format analysis of key questions relating to the history of Europe during the high Middle Ages.

## 1. INTRODUCTION TO MODULE HI1201

This module traces the transition from the harmonious cooperation of church and state that characterised Europe in 1000 to the first conflict of empire and papacy in the late eleventh century and the growing estrangement of the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the following century and a half. The module contrasts the claims of kings and emperors to control the church and the assertion of independence by the papacy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The most important topics for discussion are the growth in papal authority, the development of the religious orders, intellectual history and the growing importance of the schools and the emergence of religious dissent and heresy in Europe.

Module **HI1201** is available as an option to Single Honors History, Two-Subject Moderatorship and History and Political Science Junior Freshman students.

This module is a compulsory element of the Junior Freshman course in Ancient and Medieval History and Culture.

The module may also be taken by Socrates students and Visiting students with the permission of the Department of History.

Module HI1201 consists of **two lectures** each week throughout Hilary Term, together with a series of **six tutorials**, for which written assignments are required.

The **assessment** of this module will take the form of:

- (1) an **essay**, which accounts for **20%** of the over-all assessment of this module  
*and*
- (2) a two-hour **examination** in Trinity Term, which accounts for **80%** of the over-all assessment. Candidates are required to answer **two** questions from a choice of **ten**.

## 2. A Guide to Module HI1201

### Europe, 1000-1250: Conflict of Church and State

#### Church and Society in the Eleventh and early Twelfth Century

The relationship between the Church and the secular power in the early Middle Ages was one of mutual assistance. An important example is the French church's response to the limitations of royal power in France: the development by the bishops of the institutions of 'the peace of God' (*pax Dei*) and 'the truce of God' (*treuga Dei*) to protect the clergy, church property and the vulnerable.

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition pp. 349-50, second edition pp. 442-3.

Of particular significance was the eleventh-century conception of emperorship: (a) the 'Roman' idea of emperorship ascribed to the emperor an obligation to protect the papacy; (b) the 'Augustinian' idea of emperorship ascribed to the emperor an obligation to spread the Christian faith by conquest as an armed missionary.

The clerical servants of the emperors developed the 'royal theology' of the eleventh-century German kingdom and western empire, which made the ruler a 'sacral' (or 'pontifical') king, who was the protector of the Church.

This had the consequence that by circa 1000 the Church was under secular domination. The characteristic institutions of the Church in feudal society-were the practice of 'investiture' and the institution of 'proprietary churches'. To critics of secular domination the principal consequences of the feudalised Church were the 'heresies' of simony (purchase of ecclesiastical office) and nicholaitism (clerical marriage).

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition chapter 7, second edition chapter 9 and pp. 235-44; **R.W. Southern**, *The making of the Middle Ages* chapter 3, section 1.

#### Monastic reform in the tenth and eleventh centuries

The first protests against secular domination of ecclesiastical institutions took the shape of a reform of monasticism based on the Rule of St. Benedict. There were patterns of monastic reform, notably Gorze (Lotharingia in the kingdom of Germany), Cluny (Burgundy in the kingdom of France).

The most successful pattern of monastic reform in the eleventh century was that of Cluny, characterised by spectacular expansion (both dependent monasteries and monasteries 'in confraternity' with Cluny) and by its influence on the non-monastic Church.

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition pp. 237-49, second edition pp. 320-30.

Monasteries were a vital institution in the life of the secular aristocracy: the success of Cluny was closely linked to its relations with the feudal aristocracy.

See **R.W. Southern**, *Western society and the Church in the Middle Ages* pp. 223-30.

#### The Papal Reform Movement, 1046-1122

The mid-eleventh century was the crucial moment in the history of the papacy, when theories of papal supremacy over the Church (based on the 'Petrine primacy'), of papal monarchy, were first put into practice using newly created instruments of centralisation: the college of cardinals, papal councils, papal legates. The aims of the papal reform: the eradication of simony and clerical marriage and all secular control over the Church and its property.

The phases of the papal reform:

(i) 'the German papacy' (1046-57), protected by Emperor Henry III, involving co-operation of emperor and pope;

(ii) 'the Tuscan papacy' (1057-73), protected by Margrave Godfrey ('the Bearded') of Tuscany, involving a new defensive strategy and new allies, notably an alliance with the Normans of southern Italy;

(iii) 'the Gregorian papacy' (1073-85), involving the radicalisation of papal reforming aims. Gregory VII's attempt to reform the 'imperial Church system' provoked conflict with the German king, leading to 'the Investiture Contest' and civil war in the empire.

By the end of the eleventh century the key issue to emerge in papal-imperial relations was that of lay investiture: i.e. who controlled the imperial episcopate, pope or emperor? The concordat of 1122 offered a compromise solution.

See **R.W. Southern**, *The making of the Middle Ages* pp. 134-51; **R.W. Southern**, *Western society and the Church* pp. 91-106; **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition pp. 249-91, second edition pp. 332-78.

### **Monastic reform in the earlier twelfth century**

The idea of a return to the ideal of the primitive Church inspired the monastic reforms of the Carthusians, Molesme and Cîteaux.

The reinterpretation of the Benedictine Rule at Cîteaux focused on Abbot Stephen Harding and the *Charter of Charity*, his constitution for the abbey of Cîteaux. The expansion of Cistercian organisation was made possible by (i) lay benefactors on the frontiers of Christendom and (ii) the economic basis of the order, the *conversi* (lay brethren)

The central figure in the Church of the first half of the twelfth century was Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, monastic reform propagandist, adviser of popes, crusading preacher, mystical theologian.

See **R.W. Southern**, *Western society and the Church* pp. 250-64; **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition pp. 296-306, second edition pp. 388-96.

### **Twelfth-century intellectual life: the Schools**

The key event in intellectual life in the period 1050-1150 was the rise of the cathedral schools as the main centres of education for the clergy (the literate class), in place of the monasteries.

The curriculum that the clergy studied was that of the seven liberal arts: *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic), *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music). The increasing importance of the art of dialectic (logic) in the school curriculum is evident in the period 1050-1150. The characteristic method of theological investigation developed in this period, known by historians as the 'Twelfth-century Renaissance', was 'scholasticism', i.e. dialectic in the service of the Christian faith. The two principal intellectuals of this period were the scholars and teachers Anselm, abbot of Bec (later archbishop of Canterbury) and Peter Abelard.

The resultant 'text-book movement' and the systematisation of theology and canon law of the early twelfth century had an influence outside the cathedral schools. Many of the graduates of the cathedral schools found employment not only in ecclesiastical but also in secular government. During the twelfth century governments were increasingly influenced by the attitudes that these civil servants had imbibed from their training in the schools.

See **R.W. Southern**, *The making of the Middle Ages* chapter 4; **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition chapter 15, second edition chapter 18.

### **Empire and papacy in the twelfth century, 1122 -1198**

#### **(a) The papal schism of 1130**

During the pontificates of Calixtus II and Honorius II papal reforming aims were directed towards an alliance with the episcopate, while papal political strategy was directed towards an alliance with the German king and western emperor. Opposition to these new policies inside the college of cardinals resulted in the papal schism of 1130, when rival factions of cardinals elected Innocent II and Anacletus II. While Anacletus relied on his close relations with Count Roger II of Sicily, whom he raised to the kingship, the eventual victory of Innocent II depended on his alliance with Emperor Lothar III.

See **I.S. Robinson**, *The Papacy, 1073-1198* pp. 65-77

#### **(b) The second conflict of empire and papacy, 1159-1177**

Emperor Frederick I's policies of increasing the monarch's influence over the German Church and restoring monarchical authority in Italy caused tensions with the papacy in the pontificate of Hadrian IV. These tensions contributed to the schism of the papacy in 1159, when the majority candidate Alexander III was opposed by a series of anti-popes supported by Frederick I. The second conflict of empire and papacy (1159-77) in ideological terms saw the claims of the 'holy empire' of Frederick I threaten the independence of the 'holy Roman church'. In practical terms, the independence of the papacy was saved by Pope Alexander III's alliance with the Italian cities (the Lombard League) and the Norman kingdom of Sicily. Frederick I lost the war but won the peace. Imperial authority was consolidated by a marriage alliance with the kingdom Sicily which eventually produced 'the union of the Kingdom [of Sicily] and the Empire' and the encirclement of the papacy.

See **R.H.C. Davis**, *History of Medieval Europe* pp. 315-40

#### **Pope Innocent III and the Secular Powers**

Innocent III became pope at a particularly propitious moment, a vacancy in the German kingship and empire, and he seized the opportunity to impose his view of the papal plenitude of power in spiritual and temporal affairs and his idea of the pope as arbiter in secular politics. This was illustrated by his intervention in the war between King Philip II of France and King John of England and by his promotion of the Fourth Crusade.

The keynote of his political programme was security for the papacy, based above all on firm control of the Patrimony of St. Peter and intervention in the succession to the German monarchy to ensure the election of a pro-papal king. He found himself, however, successively supporting three different candidates: Otto of Brunswick, Philip of Swabia and Frederick II.

See **R.H.C. Davis**, *History of Medieval Europe* pp. 341 –53

#### **Heresy and the new religious orders**

The Church faced threats to its monopoly from new religious movements, fired by the New Testament ideal of 'apostolic poverty', by lay enthusiasm and by dissatisfaction with the official Church and enjoying widespread support in the Rhineland cities, the cities of northern Italy and in southern France (Languedoc).

The origins of western European heresy are illustrated by the case-studies of the Cathars, the Waldensians, the Humiliati, the Beguines.

The papal policy of the repression of heresy was signalled by the decree *Ad abolendam* of the council of Verona (1184). Innocent III was the foremost innovator in pursuit of the policy of repression. His conception of the lay powers as the 'secular arm' of the Church (inspired by the canonist Master Huguccio) was most clearly expressed in the Albigensian crusade waged against the heretics in southern France.

The ideal of 'apostolic poverty' was captured by the official Church in the form of the new religious order of the friars: the Friars Preachers (Dominicans) founded by Dominic of Caleruega and the Friars Minor (Franciscans) founded by Francis of Assisi. The papacy envisaged the friars as an instrument for reforming the Church under papal

direction. In the pontificates of Gregory IX and Innocent IV the increasing influence of the papacy transformed the Franciscan order.

See **R.H.C. Davis**, *History of Medieval Europe* pp. 349-52, 353-65.

### **The third conflict of empire and papacy, 1227-1250**

Frederick II's initial relationship with the papacy in the pontificate of Honorius III was one of cooperation, in which Frederick embraced Honorius's conception of the role of the emperor, pursuing the crusade and the suppression of heresy.

Frederick's determination to bring the kingdom of Italy 'into the unity of the empire', however, revived the Lombard League of city-republics and prompted the conflict of empire and papacy, in which Gregory IX and Innocent IV dedicated themselves and the resources of the Church to the destruction of Frederick's Italian ambitions.

See **R.H.C. Davis**, *History of Medieval Europe* pp. 368-82.

### 3. Lecture Topics (January-April)

- 1 The idea of empire in the eleventh century
- 2 The Church in the early eleventh century and the origins of reform
- 3 Monastic reform in the eleventh century: Cluny
- 4 The reform of the papacy, 1046-1057
- 5 The reform of the papacy, 1057-1073
- 6 Pope Gregory VII and the reform of the Church
- 7 The first conflict of empire and papacy: Henry IV and the 'Investiture Contest'
- 8 The resolution of the 'Investiture Contest'
- 9 Monastic reform in the twelfth century: Cîteaux
- 10 Bernard of Clairvaux: his influence on Church and Christian society
- 11 The papal schism of 1130
- 12 The second conflict of empire and papacy, 1159-1177

*Reading Week: No Lectures*

- 13 Pope Innocent III: his conception of papal authority
- 14 Pope Innocent III: papal interventions in politics
- 15 Intellectual history: the origins of scholasticism
- 16 The career of Peter Abelard and the rise of the cathedral schools

*St Patrick's Day: No Lecture*

- 17 The impact of the 'Twelfth-century Renaissance' on Western Europe
- 18 The origins of heresy in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries
- 19 The repression of heresy
- 20 The origins of the orders of the friars
- 21 The third conflict of empire and papacy: Emperor Frederick II

### 4. Essay Titles

Students are required to write an essay on **one** of the following topics **at** the time prescribed by the Junior Freshman Course Handbook.

Essays should not exceed **2,000 words**.

On the presentation of the essay please consult the Junior Freshman Course handbook, section 7, *Guidelines for Writing Essays*. The footnotes and bibliography of your essay must conform to these *Guidelines*.

Please complete the essay cover-sheet provided by the Department and attach to the essay before handing it into the Departmental Office (Room 3143) on the date given in the



Junior Freshman Course Handbook. Students must sign the essay register when submitting an essay.

Please note below the **recommended reading** for each essay, which is indicated in abbreviated form beneath each essay title. The numbers refer to the **Reading List** for this module (see below, section 5)..

1. *Discuss the connection between the Cluniac monastic reform and the papal reform movement in the second half of the eleventh century.*

**Reading:** 1 (Brooke), 4 (Brooke), 6 (Cowdrey, Robinson, Constable), 38 (Jedin), 39 (Morris), 41 (Tellenbach), 44 (Robinson), 48 (Cowdrey), 57 (Brooke), 58 (Lawrence), 61 (Cowdrey), 62 (Hunt), 63 (Hunt)

2. *What were the aims of the papal reform movement of the eleventh century and to what extent were these aims achieved ?*

**Reading:** 1 (Brooke), 3 (Southern), 4 (Brooke), 6 (Robinson), 7 (Blumenthal), 38 (Jedin), 39 (Morris), 40 (Southern), 41 (Tellenbach), 42 (Barracough), 43 (Ullmann), 44 (Robinson), 45 (Partner), 46 (Tierney), 47 (Tellenbach), 48 (Cowdrey)

3 *What set the Cistercian order apart from other monastic movements in the twelfth century ?*

**Reading:** 1 (Brooke), 6 (Constable), 38 (Jedin), 39 (Morris), 40 (Southern), 41 (Tellenbach), 57 (Brooke), 58 (Lawrence), 64 (Evans), 65 (Knowles), 66 (Williams)

4. *Discuss the importance of the cathedral schools in the 'Twelfth-century Renaissance'.*

**Reading:** .1 (Brooke), 3 (Southern), 6 (Luscombe), 77 (Southern), 78 (Morris), 79 (Brooke), 80 (Haskins), 81 (Knowles), 84 (Luscombe), 85 (Clanchy), 86 (Luscombe)

5. *Discuss the causes of the papal schism of 1130.*

**Reading:** 7 (Robinson, Loud), 33 (Matthew), 38 (Jedin), 39 (Morris), 42 (Barracough), 43 (Ullmann), 44 (Robinson), 45 (Partner), 50 (Bloch)

6. *What did Pope Innocent III achieve either in the field of politics or in the struggle against heresy ?*

**Reading:** 2 (Davis), 38 (Jedin), 39 (Morris), 42 (Barracough), 43 (Ullmann), 45 (Partner), 46 (Tierney), 54 (Tillmann), 55 (Jacob), 56 (Sayers)

If the topic of heresy is chosen see also: 70 (Bolton), 72 (Lambert), 73 (Brooke), 74 (Strayer), 75 (Wakefield), 76 (Sumption)

7. *Analyse the causes of the heretical movements of later twelfth and early thirteenth-century Europe.*

**Reading:** 38 (Jedin), 39 (Morris), 40 (Southern), 70 (Bolton), 71 (Moore), 72 (Lambert), 73 (Brooke), 74 (Strayer), 75 (Wakefield), 76 (Sumption)

8. *Discuss the issues in the conflict of papacy and empire in the Investiture Contest or in the reign of Frederick I Barbarossa or in the reign of Frederick II.*

**Reading: Investiture Contest:** 1 (Brooke), 4 (Brooke), 6 (Robinson), 7 (Blumenthal), 16 (Fuhrmann), 17 (Haverkamp), 18 (Barracough), 22 (Robinson), 38 (Jedin), 39 (Morris), 41 (Tellenbach), 42 (Barracough), 43 (Ullmann), 44 (Robinson), 46 (Tierney), 47 (Tellenbach), 48 (Cowdrey), 49 (Robinson)

## 5. Reading List

### General Works

*The following three works provide a useful guide to the course:*

1. **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962-1154* (second edition, 1987 and subsequent editions).
2. **R.H.C. Davis**, *A History of Medieval Europe* (1957), part II.
3. **R. W. Southern**, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (1953).

*See also the following general works:*

4. **Z.N. Brooke**, *A History of Europe, 911-1198* (1956) (a narrative account).
5. **Maurice Keen**, *The Pelican History of Medieval Europe* (1970)
6. *The New Cambridge Medieval History c.1024-c.1198* volume 4, part I (2004)  
especially chapters by **H.E.J. Cowdrey** (The structure of the Church, 1024-1073), **I.S. Robinson** (Reform and the Church, 1073-1122), **G. Constable** (Religious communities, 1024-1215), **D. Luscombe** (Thought and learning)
7. *The New Cambridge Medieval History c.1024-c.1198* volume 4, part II (2004)  
especially chapters by **U.-R. Blumenthal** (The papacy, 1024-1122), **G.A. Loud** (Southern Italy in the eleventh century), **I.S. Robinson** (The papacy, 1122-1198), **G.A. Loud** (Norman Sicily in the twelfth century)

### Kingship and Church in France

8. **Jean Dunbabin**, *France in the Making, 843-1180* (1983), especially pp. 133-245 (eleventh-century France); pp. 256-373 (twelfth-century France).
9. **E.M. Hallam**, *Capetian France 987-1328* (1980) pp. 64-110 (eleventh-century France); pp. 111-203 (twelfth-century France).

*On the Capetian monarchy see:*

10. **Robert Fawtier**, *The Capetian Kings of France* (English translation, 1960).
11. **Beryl Smalley**, 'Capetian France' in: *France: Government and Society* edited J.M. Wallace-Hadrill and J. McManners (1957)
12. **J.W. Baldwin**, *The government of Philip Augustus: foundations of French royal power in the Middle Ages* (1986)
13. **Marc Bloch**, *The sacred touch* (English translation, 1924) (a study of 'sacral kingship', concerned with the alleged healing powers of the Capetian kings).

### Kingship and Church in Germany and the Western Empire

14. **Josef Fleckenstein**, *Early medieval Germany*, (1978) pp. 117-51 (Ottonian background: see in particular the section on the imperial Church, pp. 124-30); pp. 177-96 (early Salians).
  15. **Timothy Reuter**, *Germany in the early Middle Ages* (1991)
  16. **Horst Fuhrmann**, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050-1250* (English translation, 1986), especially pp. 31-49 (King Henry IV and the early years of the papal reform movement); pp. 51-81 (Henry IV and the conflict with the papacy); pp. 81-134 (the early twelfth century); pp. 135-80 (Frederick I); pp. 180-6 (Henry VI; Frederick II).
  17. **Alfred Haverkamp**, *Medieval Germany, 1056-1273* (English translation, 1988), pp. 101-24 (Henry IV and the reform papacy), pp. 124-47 (early twelfth century), pp. 221-35 (Frederick I), pp. 235-44 (Henry VI), pp. 244-59 (Frederick II).
  18. **Geoffrey Barraclough**, *The origins of modern Germany* (second edition, 1947)
  19. **Timothy Reuter**, 'The "imperial church system" of the Ottonian and Salian rulers', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982), 347-74
- On the meaning of the title 'emperor', held by the German king, see:*
20. **Geoffrey Barraclough**, 'The medieval empire: idea and reality' in: Geoffrey

Barracclough, *History in a changing world* (1955)

21. **Robert Folz**, *The concept of empire in Western Europe from the fifth to the fourteenth century* (English translation, 1969)

*Studies of the relationship of particular emperors with the Church:*

22. **IS. Robinson**, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (1999)

23. **Peter Munz**, *Frederick Barbarossa* (1969).

24. **Marcel Pacaut**, *Frederick Barbarossa* (English translation, 1970)

25. **Geoffrey Barraclough**, 'Frederick Barbarossa and the twelfth century' in: *History in a changing world* (as no. 39)

26. **T.C van Cleve**, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (1970).

27. **David Abulafia**, *Frederick II* (1988).

*On the imperial kingdom of Italy see:*

28. **Giovanni Tabacco**, *The struggle for power in medieval Italy* (1989) pp. 151-76 (on the tenth and eleventh centuries); 182-236 (on the eleventh and twelfth centuries).

29. **J.K. Hyde**, *Society and Politics in medieval Italy* (1973)

### **Kingship and Church in Southern Italy: the Kingdom of Sicily**

30. **D.C. Douglas**, *The Norman achievement, 1050-1100* (1969)

31. **D.C. Douglas**, *The Norman fate, 1100-1154* (1976) .

32. **R.H.C. Davis**, *The Normans and their myth* (1976)

33. **D.J.A. Matthew**, *The Norman kingdom of Sicily* (1992)

34. **D.S.H. Abulafia**, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean* (1987)

35. **J.J. Norwich**, *The Normans in the south* (two volumes, 1966) and *The kingdom in the sun* (1970)

36. **Helen Wieruszowski**, 'Roger II of Sicily, *rex-tyrannus* in twelfth-century political thought', *Speculum* 38 (1963)

*On the relations of 'church' and 'state' in southern Italy see:*

37. **G.A. Loud**, 'Royal control of the Church in the twelfth-century kingdom of Sicily' in *Religion and national identity* (*Studies in Church History*, 18, 1982)

### **General Works on Church History**

38. *Handbook of Church History* edited H. Jedin and J. Dolan, volumes 3 (1968) and 4 (1980)

39. **Colin Morris**, *The Papal Monarchy: the Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (1989)

40. **R.W. Southern**, *Western society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (1970).

41. **Gerd Tellenbach**, *The Church in western Europe from the tenth to the early twelfth century* (English translation, 1993)

### **The Papacy**

42. **Geoffrey Barraclough**, *The medieval papacy* (1968).

43. **Walter Ullmann**, *A short history of the papacy in the Middle Ages* (1972)

44. **I.S. Robinson**, *The Papacy, 1073-1198* (1990), especially pp. 65-77 (the schism of 1130); 78-84 (the schism of 1159); pp. 367-97 (the papacy and the Normans); pp. 398-524 (the papacy and the empire).

*On the territorial interests of the papacy see:*

45. **Peter Partner**, *The Lands of St. Peter* (1972) especially pp. 107-58 (the Investiture Contest) pp. 159-228 (the twelfth century); pp. 229-43 (Pope Innocent III); pp. 244-57 (the early thirteenth century).

*On the relations of the papacy with the secular powers see:*

46. **Brian Tierney**, *The crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300* (1964).

*The following are specialist studies of particular aspects of papal history:*

47. **Gerd Tellenbach**, *Church, State and Christian society at the time of the Investiture Contest* (English translation, 1940).
48. **H.E.J. Cowdrey**, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085* (1998)
49. **I.S. Robinson**, *Authority and resistance in the Investiture Contest* (1978), especially pp. 1-11 (the aims of the papal reform movement)
50. **Herbert Bloch**, 'The schism of Anacletus II and the Glanfeuil forgeries of Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino', *Traditio* 8 (1952), especially pp. 159-74.
51. **Walter Ullmann**, 'The pontificate of Adrian IV' in: Walter Ullmann, *The Papacy and, political ideas in the Middle Ages* (1976).
52. **Walter Ullmann**, 'Cardinal Roland and Besançon' (as in no. 51).
53. **Peter Munz** (editor), *Boso's Life of Alexander III* (1973), introduction.
54. **Helen Tillmann**, *Pope Innocent III* (English translation, 1980).
55. **E.F. Jacob**, 'Innocent III' in: *Cambridge Medieval History* volume 6
56. **J.L. Sayers**, *Pope Innocent III* (1991)

## The Religious Orders

57. **C.N.L. Brooke and W. Swaan**, *The monastic world, 1000-1300* (1974)
58. **C.H. Lawrence**, *Medieval monasticism. Forms of religious life in western Europe in the Middle Ages* (1984), especially pp. 76-96 (Cluny), pp. 125-45 (the new monasticism of the twelfth century); pp. 146-66 (Citeaux); pp. 167-75 (military religious orders); pp. 192-212 (the friars).
59. **G. Zarnecki**, *The monastic achievement* (1972)
60. **M.D. Knowles**, *From Pachomius to Ignatius* (1966) (on monastic rules)  
*On monastic reform in the eleventh century see:*
61. **H.E.J. Cowdrey**, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian reform* (1970)
62. **N. Hunt** (editor), *Cluniac monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (1971) (essays by R. Morghen, K. Hallinger)
63. **N. Hunt**, *Cluny under St. Hugh, 1049-1109* (1967)  
*On twelfth-century monasticism see:*
64. **G.R. Evans**, *The mind of St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (1983)
65. **M.D. Knowles**, *The historian and character* (1963) (essay on Bernard of Clairvaux)
66. **W.W. Williams**, *Studies in St. Bernard of Clairvaux* (1927)
67. **J.C. Dickinson**, *The origins of the Austin Canons and their introduction into England* (1950) (on the Augustinian canons).  
*On the friars see:*
68. **R.B. Brooke**, *The coming of the friars* (1975),
69. **J.R.H. Moorman**, *St. Francis of Assisi* (second edition, 1963)  
*On popular religious movements see*
70. **B. Bolton**, *The medieval reformation* (1983).
71. **R.I. Moore**, *The origins of European dissent* (1977)
72. **M.D. Lambert**, *Medieval heresy: popular movements from Bogomil to Hus* (1977)
73. **R.B. Brooke and C.N.L. Brooke**, *Popular religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe 1000-1300* (1984)
74. **J.R. Strayer**, *The Albigensian crusades* (1971)
75. **W.L. Wakefield**, *Heresy, crusade and inquisition in southern France, 1100-1250* (1974).
76. **J. Sumption**, *The Albigensian crusade* (1978)

## Intellectual History : the Schools

77. **R.W. Southern**, *Medieval humanism and other studies* (1970)
78. **Colin Morris**, *The discovery of the individual, 1050-1200* (1972).
79. **C.N.L. Brooke**, *The twelfth-century Renaissance* (1969)

80. **C.H. Haskins**, *The Renaissance of the twelfth century* (1927)
81. **David Knowles**, *The evolution of medieval thought* (second edition, 1988)  
*On particular thinkers and teachers see:*
82. **R.W. Southern**, *St. Anselm and his biographer* (1963)
83. **G.R. Evans**, *Anselm* (1989)
84. **D.E. Luscombe**, *The School of Peter Abelard* (1969)
85. **M.T. Clanchy**, *Abelard: a medieval life* (1997)
86. **D.E. Luscombe**, *Peter Abelard* (Historical Association pamphlet, 1980)

## 6. Tutorial Assignments

In addition to lectures, you are required to attend a series of one-hour tutorials in this module. The times and places of the meetings of these tutorial groups will be posted on the Departmental noticeboard at the beginning of Hilary Term.

The required written work must be presented punctually as directed by the tutorial teacher.

The following pages contain the series of topics for discussion and the documentary evidence (in English translation) that will be used in the tutorials.

The themes of the tutorials will be as follows:

*Tutorial 1* Eleventh-century monastic reform: Cluny

*Tutorial 2* The papal reform movement, 1046-1059

*Tutorial 3* The papal reform movement: Pope Gregory VII

*Tutorial 4* The Cistercian Order and Bernard of Clairvaux

*Reading Week: No Tutorials*

*Tutorial 5* The second conflict of empire and papacy, 1159-77

*Tutorial 6* Pope Innocent III

### TUTORIAL ONE:

#### ELEVENTH-CENTURY MONASTIC REFORM: CLUNY

Read the accompanying documents concerned with the monastic reform movement initiated by the abbey of Cluny (Burgundy) in the tenth and eleventh centuries, then write a commentary of *about 500 words* on these documents, including some or all of the following topics.

*Topics for Discussion:*

1. Comment on the foundation charter of Cluny (Document 1), discussing the motives of William 'the Pious', count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, in founding Cluny. Explain how the terms of the charter affected William's rights as the former monastic proprietor of Cluny.
2. Comment on the privilege of 'spiritual exemption' ('Roman liberty') conferred on Cluny in Documents 2 and 3. (The term 'spiritual exemption' or 'immunity' is discussed at length by **H. E. J. Cowdrey**, No. 81.)
3. Document 4 gives a satirical and highly oblique account of the reform of the abbey of St Martin of Tours by Cluniac monks. The author, Adalbero of Laon, was a conservative bishop, hostile to monastic reform, objecting both to the expansion of Cluny and to the special privileges of Cluniac houses. Like many contemporary and later bishops, Adalbero saw the 'spiritual exemption' of Cluny as a threat to episcopal authority. Explain the purpose of this satire, bearing in mind that the 'Saracen' (i.e. Moslem) invasion mentioned here in fact never took place.
4. Document 5 presents two rival accounts of the reform of St Martial in Limoges (a) from the point of view of the cardinal legate (i.e. papal envoy) who assisted Abbot Hugh of Cluny in achieving the reform; (b) from the point of view of the monks of Limoges

who opposed the reform (see **Cowdrey**, No. 81). Compare the two versions.

5. What do Documents 6 (by the leading papal adviser, Cardinal Peter Damian of Ostia, who was also the papal legate who intervened in the reform of St Martial in Limoges, 1062) and 7 (a speech by the reforming pope Gregory VII) tell us about the attitude of the reform papacy to the Cluniac reform movement?

**Reading:**

**C. N. L. Brooke**, No. 1; *Handbook* No. 38; **C. Morris** (No. 39); **G. Tellenbach** (No. 41) works from Nos. 57-63 of the reading list, especially **H. E. J. Cowdrey**, No. 81).

## **ELEVENTH-CENTURY MONASTIC REFORM: CLUNY - DOCUMENTS**

### **1. Foundation charter of Cluny (11 September 910)**

Since it is clear that the providence of God has so provided for certain rich men that, by means of their transitory possessions, if they use them well, they may be able to merit everlasting rewards.... I, William, count and duke by the gift of God, diligently pondering this, and desiring to provide for my own salvation while I am still able, have considered it desirable - nay, most necessary - that from the temporal goods which have been conferred on me I should give some little portion for the gain of my soul....

I hand over from my own rule to the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, the possessions over which I have sway, namely, the estate of Cluny, with the court and demesne manor, and the church in honour of St Mary the mother of God and of St Peter the prince of the apostles, together with all the things pertaining to it, the manors, the chapels, the serfs of both sexes, the vines, the fields, the meadows, the woods, the waters and their outlets, the mills, the incomes and their revenues, what is cultivated and what is not, in their entirety.... I give these things, moreover, with this understanding, that in Cluny a regular monastery shall be constructed in honour of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and that there the monks shall congregate and live according to the rule of St Benedict, and that they shall possess, hold, have and order these same things for all time.... And let the monks themselves, together with all the aforesaid possessions, be under the power and dominion of the Abbot Berno, who, as long as he shall live, shall preside over them regularly according to his knowledge and ability. But after his death, those same monks shall have power and permission to elect anyone of their order whom they please as abbot and rector, following the rule promulgated by St Benedict, in such a way that neither by intervention of our own nor of any other power may they be impeded from making a purely canonical election. Every five years, moreover, the aforesaid monks shall pay to the church of the apostles at Rome ten shillings to supply them with lights; and they shall have the protection of those same apostles and the defence of the Roman pontiff; and those monks may, with their whole heart and soul, according to their ability and knowledge, build up the aforesaid place.

And through God and all his saints, and by the awful day of judgement, I warn and abjure that no one of the secular princes, no count, no bishop whatever, not the pontiff of the aforesaid Roman see, shall invade the property of these servants of God, or alienate it, or diminish it, or exchange it, or give it as a benefice to anyone, or constitute any prelate over them against their will.

### **2. Pope Gregory V, privilege for the abbey of Cluny (999)**

We decree according to the demand and confidence of divine judgement, strengthening it with the penalty of anathema, that no bishop or priest of any kind shall presume to come into that same venerable monastery for the purpose of ordination or consecration of the

church or priests or deacons, or the celebration of Mass, unless he has been invited by the abbot of that place. But it is to be lawful for the monks of that place to receive anybody of whatsoever rank from wherever it pleases you [Abbot Odo] and your successors. Those who are to be consecrated abbots are to be elected from the congregation itself according to the advice of all the brethren, and they are to summon whichever bishop they wish to consecrate them.

### **3. Pope John XIX, privilege for the abbey of Cluny (1027)**

We decree according to the demand and confidence of divine judgement, strengthening it with the penalty of anathema, that no bishop or priest of any kind shall presume to come into that same venerable monastery for the purpose of ordination or consecration of the church or priests or deacons, or the celebration of Mass, unless he has been invited by the abbot of that place. But it is to be lawful for the monks of that place to receive anybody of whatsoever rank from wherever it pleases you [Abbot Odilo] and your successors. Those who are to be consecrated abbots are to be elected from the congregation itself according to the advice of all the brethren, and they are to summon whichever bishop they wish to consecrate them. We forbid under the proclamation of the same anathema this same place to be oppressed by an interdiction or excommunication or anathema by any bishop whatsoever, or any priest. For the authority of the Holy Apostolic See does not suffer the full liberty which she has conceded to anyone to be curtailed by any other person, nor are the brethren of that place, wherever they may be, to be liable to the sentence of excommunication of any bishop.... We decree and sanction by the authority of him whose deputy we are, although we are unworthy, that this same place is to be a refuge of mercy, a haven of all piety and salvation, to those who take refuge there for the sake of their salvation. Let the righteous man obtain refuge there and let the wicked man who wishes to repent not be rejected.... We moreover decree and lay down that when the abbot of that place dies, no other is to be ordained there through the violence of any individual, but the father who must preside over the community is to be elected by the congregation itself according to the fear of God and the regulation of the lawmaker Benedict, and that the bishop who pleases him is to be summoned to consecrate him.

### **4. The poem of Bishop Adalbero of Laon to King Robert II of France (1022/30)**

*Bishop Adalbero describes how, horrified by the growth of vice and indolence in the kingdom, he sought the aid of the Cluniacs.*

When competent counsels had been taken, it was decided to consult the great master of monks: 'Gaul still possesses religious men nourished on the rules of our ancestors. Let us send one of our brethren to C.' A prudent decision: so our man set off that evening. The next morning he returned and, leaping from his foaming steed, cried, 'Ho there! Where is our bishop? Where is the dear little fellow?' His dress was in complete disorder: he no longer wore a monastic habit, but a bonnet of Lybian near fur, a short cloak and tunic, and at his belt a sword.... His best friends among the brethren had difficulty in recognising him. In this grotesque equipment he appeared in the bishop's presence, who said to him, 'Is it really you, my monk, you whom I sent to C.?' The other, putting up his fists, waving his arms in the air, turning his neck and rolling his eyes, said, 'I am a soldier now, and if I remain a monk, it will be with a difference. But I am no longer a monk; I fight under the orders of a king - henceforward my lord is Odilo, King of Cluny.... Let me communicate the message of my master. The savage race of Saracens has invaded France; they are occupying it and despoiling it. Everywhere blood is flowing, sanctuaries and the relics of saints are being violated. Now the diocese of Tours is being ravaged and depopulated; St Martin, in tears, cries out for a defender. Odilo has compassion on him; he has gone to Rome to secure help for his monks. But the religious of Cluny raise their voices: "Come, master, arm those subject to you".... So their leader armed the young men and placed them in chariots and mounted the old



monks on horses....’

## **5. The case of the reform of Saint-Martial, Limoges**

### **a. Peter Damian, *The Journey to France* (1062)**

Unless the authority of Rome had been brought to bear and unless someone from the Apostolic See who inspired awe had come to its aid, the monastery of St Martial seemed likely to be ruined and to suffer the gravest harm.

### **b. Account of the case by one of the monks of St Martial in 1062**

The rightful monks were driven out by lay power and high-handed violence. Those who were responsible acted by their own sheer force, against law, against right, against the canons of the Church, against papal decrees and against all ecclesiastical order. In face of all protests, they utterly disregarded the law by handing over the monastery to Abbot Hugh and setting him up as abbot in the seat of St Martial.

## **6. Peter Damian on Cluny: *The Journey to France* (1062)**

From the very day of its foundation, the monastery of Cluny has been so eminently free by an innate and tranquil freedom, that it should be subject to no ecclesiastical or secular person save the Roman pontiff. God’s mercy has ordained that, where the burden of earthly subjection has been done away with, devotion to his service should be fullest; and that, where there is no liability to earthly service, the full dignity of the monastic profession should be completely revealed.

## **7. Pope Gregory VII, allocution at the Roman council of Lent 1080**

Although there are many monasteries beyond the mountains which have been nobly and religiously founded to the honour of Almighty God and the holy apostles Peter and Paul, there is one in those parts of the world that belongs to St Peter and to this church by an especial right as its own peculiar possession: I mean Cluny, which from the very first was given over to the honour and protection of this Apostolic See. By God’s mercy it has come to such a peak of excellence and religion under its holy abbots that it surpasses all other monasteries that I know, even much older ones, in the service of God and in spiritual warmth. For it has never had an abbot who was not a saint. Its abbots and monks have never in any way dishonoured their sonship of this church.... They have always exhibited the liberty and dignity of this holy see of Rome, upon which they were founded from the beginning; and from generation to generation, they have nobly upheld its authority.

## **Tutorial TWO**

### **THE PAPAL REFORM MOVEMENT, 1046-1059**

Read the accompanying documents concerned with the first phase of the history of the reform papacy (1046-1059), then write a commentary of *about 500 words* on these documents, including some or all of the following topics.

#### *Topics for Discussion:*

1. Document 1, the imperial coronation *ordo*, composed in Rome, presents the papal theory of the functions of an emperor. Document 2 (composed by a monk in a German abbey under imperial protection) shows the reality of Emperor Henry III's control over the imperial Church and the papacy. Discuss the imperial regime of Henry III and comment on the contrast between Documents 1 and 2.
2. Document 3 is a contemporary account of Leo IX's council of Rheims (on which see R.W. Southern (Reading List no. 3, chapter 3). Discuss the reforming activity of Leo IX, of which this council is the most famous incident, and explain the issue of simony mentioned in Document 3.
3. Explain the idea of the papal primacy described in Document 4 (a work of uncertain

authorship, dated in the pontificate of Leo IX) and discuss the importance of the primacy for the papal reform movement.

4. Document 5 contains the views of Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, the principal adviser of the popes between 1049 and 1061, on simony and the ceremony of lay investiture, by means of which eleventh-century kings appointed bishops. Discuss these views.

5. Documents 6 and 7 contain the details of two policy measures taken by Pope Nicholas II and the cardinals in 1059: (a) a new method of electing the pope, and (b) the recruiting of the Norman princes of southern Italy as the pope's vassals. Both measures revolutionised the position of the papacy. Explain (a) the significance of the reform of papal election procedures detailed in Document 6 and/or (b) the importance for the papacy of the feudal relationship with the Norman princes.

*Reading:*

**C. N. L. Brooke** (No. 1); **C. Morris** (No. 39); **G. Tellenbach** (No. 41 and No. 47); **G. Barraclough** (No. 42); **W. Ullmann** (No. 43); *Handbook* (No. 38).

## THE PAPAL REFORM MOVEMENT, 1046-1059: DOCUMENTS

### 1. Imperial Coronation *Ordo* (order of service) C, first used at the coronation of Henry II (1014)

Then the lord pope shall give the ring to the emperor-elect and say, 'Receive the ring, the symbol of the holy faith, the very foundation of kingship, the increase of power by which you shall learn to triumph over your enemies, to destroy heresies, to unite your subjects and bind them together in adherence to the Catholic faith....' The prayer after giving the ring: 'O God, from whom all power and rank is derived, favour your servant in his office and may you reward him throughout his tenure of it and may he strive continually to please you.'

Here he girds on the sword and says, 'Receive this sword, conferred on you with the blessings of God; and with this may you succeed in resisting and expelling all enemies of your own and of the Church of God and in guarding the realm entrusted to you and in protecting the fortresses of God with the aid of the invincible victor Our Lord Jesus Christ....' The prayer after giving the sword: 'O God ... favour our most Christian king, that all the strength of his enemies may be broken by the prowess of the spiritual sword and utterly crushed by his army....'

When the lord pope places the crown on the head of the emperor-elect, he shall say, 'Receive the symbol of glory in the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Spirit, so that, spurning the ancient enemy and every infection of vice, you may so love justice and prudence and conduct yourself so mercifully that you may receive the crown of the eternal kingdom....'

### 2. Henry III and the 'German Papacy'

**Herman of Reichenau, *Chronicle***

**1046** King Henry [III], gathering a strong army, set out for Italy.... When he came to Piacenza, he accorded an honourable reception to Gratian, whom the Romans had installed as pope, having expelled his predecessors. And so, near the Feast of the Lord's Incarnation [25 December], not far from Rome at Sutri, a synod was held where the case of the unlawful popes was dealt with; and [Henry] deprived Gratian, who was condemned there, of his pastoral staff. Then with the consent of all, Romans and others, he elected as supreme pontiff of the Roman Church Bishop Suidger, who for six years had ruled the church of Bamberg [Pope Clement II]....

**1047** Around that time the emperor appointed a number of bishops. He installed in the church of Ravenna, Hunfried, his chancellor in Italy; in Constance, Theoderic, his

chancellor for his other lands and provost of Aachen; in Strassburg, Herrand, provost of Speier; in Verdun, Theoderic, provost of Basel, his chaplain....

**1049** At that time, Bruno, Bishop of Toul was elected by the emperor and sent to Rome, where he was received with the greatest honour, and during Lent ordained as pope, with the name Leo IX....

### **3. Pope Leo IX's Council of Rheims, 1049**

**Anselm, monk of St Rémi, Rheims, *History of the church of St Rémi in Rheims***

When they had sat down and silence was ordered, at the command of the lord pope, Peter, deacon of the holy Roman church rose and made a short speech about the subjects to be discussed in that synod: concerning the many unlawful practices contrary to the decrees of the canons that existed in the territory of Gaul, that is, concerning simoniacal heresy.... Afterwards he directed his speech towards the bishops and warned them under the anathema of papal authority that if any of them had attained to holy orders by means of simoniacal heresy or had promoted anyone to the same office in return for a reward, he should make it clear by a public confession. The first to rise at these words was the archbishop of Trier and he replied that he had neither given nor promised anything for the bishopric that he had received and that he had sold holy orders to no one. Then [the archbishops of] Lyons and Besançon rose and professed that they were free of any such fault. Then the aforementioned deacon turned to the archbishop of Rheims and asked him what he would answer concerning those matters of which the others had cleared themselves. But he rose and asked for a delay until the next day, saying that he wished to speak to the lord pope in private and when this had been granted him, all the rest rose in order, clearing themselves from any such suspicion using the words of the previous men, except for four, namely Langres, Nevers, Coutances and Nantes. After the discussion of their cases had been left for that day, the deacon turned the course of his speech to the abbots who were present and admonished them to confess if they perhaps had entered the Lord's sheepfold otherwise than by the door [John 10:1].... In the morning the bishops again assembled in the same place with the abbots and the other orders of the Church and ... the deacon of the Roman church said that it was fitting to begin where yesterday's synod had ended, namely the case of the bishop of Langres. When he was sought for, to submit to the examination of the synod, he was summoned three times by the same deacon, on behalf of God and St Peter, the prince of the apostles, whose vicar was there present. The bishops of Senlis and Angers were sent to his lodgings, so that they might summon him to the council if they chanced to find him there.... But the bishop of Nevers rose and confessed that a large amount of money had been given by his relatives but without his knowledge, and after he had received it, he had committed some offences against ecclesiastical religion: he declared that he therefore feared the punishment of divine vengeance. If it seemed fitting to the lord pope and the present assembly, therefore, he would lay down his office rather than let his soul perish by retaining it. When he said this, he placed his pastoral staff at the feet of the pope. The latter, however, was moved by such devout conduct on the part of so great a man and, with the approval of the synod, he caused him to confirm on oath that the aforementioned money had been given without his consent and thus he restored to him his episcopal office by giving him another staff.... Finally those who had been sent to summon back the bishop of Langres returned and announced that he had feared an investigation of his offences and had taken refuge in flight. Then by the command of the pope..., according to the judgement of the whole council, he was condemned to the punishment of excommunication.... At this point in pious devotion and with a joyful heart the lord pope was moved to tears and said: 'The blessed Remigius still lives!' Then at his command they all rose and, prostrating themselves with him before the tomb of that saint, they most devoutly sang the antiphon *Holy Remigius* in full. After this the bishop of Coutances rose and confessed that, without his knowledge, the bishopric had been

bought for him by one of his brothers. When he had discovered this, he had wished to flee so that he would not receive that ordination unlawfully but he had been violently captured by that same [brother] and he had been endowed with the episcopal office against his will. When he was ordered to confirm this on oath, he did not decline to do so and thus was judged not to have incurred the offence of simoniacal heresy. Finally [the bishop of] Nantes came forward and confessed that his father had been bishop of that city, that during the latter's lifetime he had taken possession of the gift of the bishopric and on his death it had been granted to him by means of spending money. By the judgement of the synod, therefore, the ring and pastoral staff were taken from him and he was deprived of the office of bishop, although through the intervention of the bishops the office of priest alone was granted to him.

#### **4. Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida (attributed), *The Holy Roman Church* (1053)**

The holy Roman and apostolic church being made, after Christ, head of all churches by a privilege of special authority, both divine and human, influences the members of all Christendom according to the character and ability of its bishop or ruler, so that their soundness corresponds to the soundness of the Roman church, and they rejoice or languish in unison with it.... Indeed, all men look up to the pinnacle of the apostolic see with so much reverence that they seek to discover rulings of the sacred canons or the ancient law of the Christian religion in the sayings of the master of the apostolic see rather than in the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers. Men merely find out that the pope wishes or does not wish, so that they too may submit or adjust their lives to his will. If, as is supremely expedient to him and to all men, ... the pope strives to keep himself blameless in deed and word before God and man, I say truly that he makes the whole world run after God, being stirred and inspired together with him....

#### **5. Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, *Three Books against Simoniacs* (circa 1060)**

*On the staffs and rings given by the hands of lay authorities*

The supreme bishops who must be venerated throughout the world have decreed at the instigation of the Holy Spirit that in episcopal elections the choice must be made by the clergy and confirmed by the metropolitan, and the request of the laity and people confirmed by the consent of the prince. But in fact, everything is done in a perverted order in utter contempt of the Christian religion, and the first things come last and the last, first. For the lay authority comes first in electing and confirming, and then, willy-nilly, the consent of laity, people and clergy follows, and the metropolitan's decision comes last of all. But men appointed in this way are not to be accounted bishops, because they have been elected in an upside-down manner ... because they are originally elected by men who have no business to do it. For how can it belong to lay persons to dispose of the mysteries of the Church and dispense pastoral grace in the form of the staff and the ring, on which the whole consecration of a bishop chiefly depends...? Again, the ring bears the sign of heavenly secrets, which charges the preachers to set apart the secret wisdom of God and to speak it among the perfect, but to withhold it like a sealed letter from the imperfect.... Whoever, therefore, invests a man with staff and ring undoubtedly claims all authority of a pastor by taking this on himself. Once these have been handed over, how can the clergy, the people and the laity or the metropolitan who is to perform the consecration decide freely about such prelates, when the staff and ring have already been given to him? What remains to them but compliance? ... Many can remember the fury of monetary transactions which spread throughout Germany, Gaul and the whole of Italy from the time of the Ottos to that of Henry, son of Conrad, emperor of august and holy memory. He in his time did remove some of the sacrilege both from himself and from the ecclesiastical persons of the Empire entrusted to him; and he wished to remove it all, but was kept by untimely death from fulfilling the wish of his heart.

## **6. Pope Nicholas II, Election Decree of April 1059**

Most beloved brethren and fellow bishops, you in your blessedness know how many adversities this apostolic see, of which God has made me the servant, suffered at the death of the lord Stephen [IX], our predecessor of affectionate memory, and how many repeated blows it received at the hands of dealers in the heresy of simony. Hence, we must with God's assistance prudently provide against future mishaps and provide for the constitution of the Church in future lest - which God forbid - the evil revive and triumph once more. So, equipped with the authority of our predecessors and of other holy fathers, we decree and ordain:

§1. That on a death of a bishop of this universal Church, the cardinal bishops, having first very thoroughly discussed the matter together, shall then summon the cardinal clergy to them, and then the rest of the clergy and people shall in the same way come to consent to the new election;

§2. That (lest the disease of corruption have any opportunity to creep in) the churchmen shall take the lead in electing the pope and the others shall merely follow.... Since the Apostolic See is set above all the other churches in the world and so cannot have a metropolitan over it, the cardinal bishops undoubtedly perform the office of metropolitan; that is, they promote the chosen bishop to the apostolic throne;

§3. Let them choose someone from the bosom of the Roman church, if a suitable man can be found; if none there can be found, let them take one from another church;

§4. Due honour and reverence shall be preserved for our beloved son Henry, who is at present recognised as king, and who, it is hoped, will become emperor if God permit it, as we have already permitted it; and so shall the honour and the reverence due to his successors who personally obtain this right from the Apostolic See;

§5. But if the corruption of depraved and wicked men has brought it about that a pure, genuine and spontaneous election cannot be held in Rome, the cardinal bishops, with clerks of the church and catholic laymen (even a few), may be lawfully empowered to elect the bishop of the Apostolic See in any place which they deem more suitable;

§6. Once the election has been made, if the storm of war or the malign efforts of men prevent the man elected to the Apostolic See from being enthroned according to custom, nevertheless he shall be authorised to rule the holy Roman church as pope and to administer all of its property ....

§7. But if anybody is elected and even ordained and enthroned in violation of this our decree promulgated by the decision of the council, everyone shall hold him not as pope but a devil, not an apostle but an apostate; and by the authority of God and of the holy apostles Peter and

Paul, he shall be cast out from the doors of the holy Church and subjected to perpetual anathema....

## **7. Oath of Robert Guiscard to Pope Nicholas II (August 1059)**

I, Robert, by the grace of God and St Peter, duke of Apulia and Calabria and, with the help of both, future duke of Sicily, will from this hour forward be faithful to the holy Roman church and the Apostolic See and to you, my lord Pope Nicholas.... So far as is in my power, I will support the holy Roman church in holding and acquiring the temporalities and possessions of St Peter everywhere and against all men, and I will help you to hold the Roman papacy securely and honourably.... I will faithfully ensure that the holy Roman church shall have each year such payment as has been laid down from the lands of St Peter that I hold or shall hold.... Moreover, if you or your successors shall depart this life before me, I will assist in the election and consecration of a pope to the honour of St Peter according to the advice of the leading cardinals and of the Roman clergy and people.

## TUTORIAL THREE

### POPE GREGORY VII (1073-1085)

Read the accompanying documents concerned with the measures taken by Pope Gregory VII (1073 - 1085), then write a commentary of *about 500 words* on these documents, including some or all of the following topics.

#### *Topics for Discussion:*

1. Document 1 is a memorandum dictated by Gregory VII to a scribe in the papal chancery in 1075, concerning the powers of the pope. Summarise its contents.
2. Document 2 contains Gregory's objections to the conduct of King Henry IV of Germany. Comment on these objections.
3. Documents 3 and 4 are the complaints which king and pope made against each other at the beginning of their conflict (1076). Explain the grievances of each party.
4. Write an account of the events at Canossa (January 1077) using Documents 5 and 6. Comment on the motives behind Gregory's description of the events (Document 5).
5. Summarise Gregory VII's idea of the relations between the papacy and the secular power (Document 7).

#### *Reading:*

**C.N.L. Brooke** (No. 1); **R.W. Southern** (No. 3, No. 40); **C. Morris** (No. 39); **G. Tellenbach** (No. 41, No. 47); **B. Tierney** (No. 46); **G. Barraclough** (No. 42); **W. Ullmann** (No. 43); **Jedin, Handbook** (No. 38).

### POPE GREGORY VII (1073-1085): DOCUMENTS

#### **1. The *Dictatus Papae* [dictates of the pope] in the *Register* of Pope Gregory VII (1075)**

- §1. That the Roman church was founded by God alone.
- §2. That only the bishop of Rome is lawfully called 'universal'.
- §3. That he alone may depose or reinstate bishops.
- §4. That his legate may preside over all bishops in council, even if he is of inferior rank, and may pronounce sentence of deposition against them.
- §5. That the pope may depose persons in their absence.
- §6. That, among other things, we must not stay under the same roof with persons whom he has excommunicated.
- §7. That he alone may establish new laws to meet the urgent needs of the times, found new dioceses or make a canonry into an abbey and divide a rich bishopric and combine poor ones.
- §8. That he alone may use the imperial insignia.
- §9. That the pope is the only man whose feet shall be kissed by all princes.
- §10. That his title alone shall be read out in churches.
- §11. That this title is unique in all the world.
- §12. That he may depose emperors.
- §13. That, when necessary, he may transfer bishops from one see to another.
- §14. That he may ordain a clerk from any church, wherever he wishes.
- §15. That one ordained by him may hold a commanding but not a subordinate position in another church, and must not accept a higher rank from any other bishop.
- §16. That no council may be called 'general' without his commandment.
- §17. That no chapter or book may be recognised as canonical without his authority.
- §18. That no sentence of his may be retracted by anyone, and he is the only one who can retract it.

- §19. That he must not be judged by anyone.
- §20. That no one shall dare to condemn anyone who appeals to the Apostolic See.
- §21. That the more important lawsuits of any church must be referred to the Apostolic See.
- §22. That the Roman church has never erred, nor, as Scripture tells us, will it ever do so.
- §23. That the bishop of Rome, if he has been canonically ordained, is undoubtedly made a saint by the merits of St Peter . . .
- §24. That by his commandment and with his permission, subordinate persons may bring accusations.
- §25. That he may depose and reinstate bishops without summoning a council.
- §26. That no one may be regarded as a catholic if he is not in agreement with the Roman church.
- §27. That the pope can absolve the subjects of the wicked from their fealty to them.

## **2. The decrees of Gregory VII against lay investiture**

*(a) Alleged reference to a decree against investiture in a letter of Gregory to Henry IV (December 1075). Note that the term 'investiture' nowhere appears in this letter.*

Gregory ... to King Henry, greeting and apostolic benediction, if he obeys the apostolic see as becomes a Christian king....

We marvel exceedingly that you have sent us so many devoted letters and displayed such humility by the spoken words of your legates ... and yet in action showing yourself most bitterly hostile to the canons and apostolic decrees. To mention no other cases, the way you have observed your promises in the Milan affair ... and what your intentions were in making them, is evident to all. And now, heaping wounds upon wounds, you have handed over the sees of Fermo and Spoleto (if indeed a church may be given away by any human power) to persons entirely unknown to us.... This edict, which some who place the honour of men above that of God call an intolerable burden, we, using the right word, call rather the truth and the light necessary for salvation; and we have given judgement that it is to be heartily accepted and obeyed, not only by you and your subjects but by all princes and peoples who confess and worship Christ; though it is our special wish and would be especially fitting for you, that you should excel others in devotion to Christ as you are their superior in fame, in status and in valour.

*(b) Decree against lay investiture, Gregory VII's Roman council of November 1078*

*Note that this is the first reference to the term 'investiture' in the documentation of Gregory VII's pontificate.*

Canon III. Since we understand that lay persons invest with churches in many regions, contrary to the ordinances of the holy fathers, and that numberless disturbances have arisen in the Church as a result, and that the Christian religion has been trodden underfoot, we decree that no clergyman may receive investiture of a bishopric, abbey or church from the hands of an emperor or king or any other lay person, male or female. And if one should so presume, let him know that the investiture is, by apostolic authority, null and void, and that he lies under excommunication until he makes proper satisfaction.

## **3. Letter of Henry IV to Gregory VII (January 1076)**

Henry, king not by usurpation but by the holy ordinance of God, to Hildebrand, now not apostolic pontiff but a false monk.

You have earned this salutation by the disorder which you have created: for you have spared no estate within the Church, and brought disorder, not honour, and curses, not blessings, upon all. Not only have you not scrupled to touch the rulers of the holy Church, archbishops, bishops and priests, although they are the Lord's anointed, but you have even trampled them underfoot like slaves who know not what their master does. By

treating them in this way you have won popular acclaim... and we have borne with this, striving to maintain the honour of the Apostolic See. But you have interpreted our humility as fear and dared to threaten to take away from us the royal power granted to us by God: as if we received our kingship from you, and as if kingship and empire lay in your hand and not in God's. Our Lord Jesus Christ called us to the kingship: he did not call you to the priesthood. For these were the steps in your ascent: by cunning (which is abomination to a monk) you got money; by money, favour; by favour, arms; by arms you invaded the seat of peace; and from the seat of peace you shattered peace by arming subjects against prelates.... You have touched me, anointed as I am to rule (however unworthy I may be) although the tradition of the holy fathers teaches that I am to be judged by God alone and asserts that I am not to be deposed for any crime except - which God forbid! - for straying from the faith. For the wisdom of the holy bishops entrusted the judgement and deposition even of Julian the Apostate not to themselves but to God alone. And the true pope, St Peter himself, proclaims, 'Fear God, honour the king' (I Peter 2:17); but you, because you do not fear God, dishonour in me his appointee....

I, Henry, king by the grace of God, with all our bishops, say to you: Come down, come down!

#### **4. Gregory VII's first excommunication of Henry IV (Lent 1076)**

St Peter, Prince of the Apostles, we beg you to lend us your ears and to hear us, your servant whom you have from childhood and even to this day delivered from the hands of the wicked who hated and still hate me for my loyalty to you. You, and my lady the mother of God, and St Paul, your brother among all the saints, are witness that your holy Roman church dragged me against my own will to its helm; that I had no plan to seize your throne by violence; that I would sooner end my life as a monk than seize your place by worldly cunning for the sake of earthly glory.... Strengthened by your trust in me, for the honour and protection of your church, on behalf of God Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, by your power and authority I forbid King Henry, son of the Emperor Henry, who has rebelled with unheard of insolence against your church, to govern any part of the kingdom of the Germans or of Italy; and I absolve all Christians from any oaths to him which they have already taken or shall take in the future, and I forbid anyone to serve him as if he were king....

#### **5. Letter of Gregory VII to the German princes (January 1077)**

Because for love of justice you have made common cause with us and taken the same risks in the service of Christ, we have taken special care to send you this accurate account of the king's penitential humiliation, his absolution and the course of the whole affair from his entrance into Italy to the present time.

According to the arrangement made with the envoys sent to us by you, we came to Lombardy about twenty days before the date at which some of your leaders were to meet us at the pass and waited for their arrival to enable us to cross over into that region.... Meanwhile we received information that the king was on the way to us. Before he entered Italy he sent us word that he would make satisfaction to God and St Peter and offered to amend his way of life and continue obedient to us, provided only that he should obtain from us absolution and the apostolic blessing.... Finally of his own accord and without any show of hostility or defiance, he came with a few followers to the fortress of Canossa, where we were staying. There, on three successive days, standing before the castle gate, laying aside all royal insignia, barefoot and in coarse attire, he ceased not with many tears to beseech the apostolic help and comfort.... All marvelled at our unwonted severity and some even cried out that we were showing not the earnestness of apostolic authority but rather the cruelty of a savage tyrant. At last, overcome by his persistent show of penitence and the petitions of all who were present, we released him



from the bonds of excommunication... accepting from him the guarantees described below, confirmed by the subscriptions of the abbot of Cluny [Hugh I], or our daughters, the Countess Matilda [of Tuscany] and the Countess Adelaide [of Turin] and other princes, bishops and laymen....

And now that these matters have been arranged, we desire to come over into your country at the first opportunity, that with God's help we may more fully establish all matters pertaining to the peace of the Church and the good order of the land. For we wish you clearly to understand that, as you may see in the written guarantees, the whole negotiation is still in suspense.... Remember that we have not bound ourselves to the king in any way except by frank statement (as is our custom) that we may expect our aid for his safety and honour, whether through justice or through mercy, and without peril to his soul or our own.

#### **6. Oath of Henry IV to Gregory VII at Canossa (January 1077)**

I, King Henry, within the term which our lord Pope Gregory shall fix, will either give satisfaction according to his decision regarding the discontent for which the archbishops, bishops, dukes, counts and other princes of the kingdom of Germany are accusing me, or I will make an agreement according to his advice... and when this is done I will be prepared to carry it out. Again, if the lord Pope Gregory shall desire to go beyond the mountains or elsewhere, he shall be safe, so far as I and all whom I can constrain are concerned, from all injury to life or limb and from capture....

#### **7. Letter of Gregory VII to Bishop Herman of Metz (March 1080)**

Everybody knows the words of our Lord and Saviour, who says in the Gospel, 'You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church... and whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven also, and whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven also.' (Matthew 16:18-19) Are kings excepted here, and are they not among the sheep which the son of God entrusted to St Peter?... Who does not know that kings and dukes originated from those who, being ignorant of God, strove with blind greed and insufferable presumption to dominate their equals, that is, their fellow men, by pride, violence, treachery, murder and almost every other crime at the instigation of the Prince of the World, that is, the Devil?... Moreover, every Christian king, when he comes to the end of his life, must beg like a poor wretch for the help of a priest, that he may escape from the dungeon of Hell... and may appear at the judgement of God released from the chains of his sins. And who - even among laymen, let alone among princes - being on point of death, has ever begged for the assistance of an earthly king for the salvation of his soul? What king or emperor can, by virtue of the office he is charged with, snatch any Christian from the power of the Devil by holy baptism...? To which of them is given the power of binding and loosing in Heaven and earth? From this we can clearly deduce how much greater is the power of the priestly office. ... Little intelligence, therefore, is needed to realise that priests have precedence over kings. And if kings are to be judged by priests for their sins, who is more entitled to judge them than the bishop of Rome?

### **TUTORIAL FOUR:**

#### **THE CISTERICAN ORDER AND BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX**

Please write a commentary of not more than 500 words on the documents provided, answering some or all of the following questions.

The documents in Section I record the monastic 'customs' (*consuetudines*) - i.e. the monastic regulations - and the constitution of the Cistercian Order.

- (1) What were the aims of this new religious order ?
- (2) What was innovatory about Cistercian monasticism in the early twelfth century ? Comment in particular on the role of the *conversus* (1 §8) in Cistercian monasticism. See one or more of the following works on the main reading-list: **C.N.L. Brooke** (No. 1 and No. 57), **R.W. Southern** (No. 40), **C.H. Lawrence** (no. 58). The documents in section **II** are writings of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux, illustrating his relations with the papacy (a) during the schism of 1130-8 and (b) in the pontificate of Eugenius III.
- (3) Comment on the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux on the Church of his day. See **G.R. Evans** (No. 64) and **M.D. Knowles** (No. 65).
- (4) Describe the origins of the schism of Innocent II and Anacletus II in 1130. See **I.S. Robinson** (No. 44) pp. 69-75. In the light of Bernard's letters (1), (2), comment on the role of Bernard in the papal schism of 1130-8 (see **I.S. Robinson** No.44, pp. 75-77) and on the role of Emperor Lothar III in the papal schism (see **I.S. Robinson** No. 44, pp. 444-5, 447-8, 450-1).
- (5) In the light of document **II(3)** comment on Bernard's conception of the papal office. See **C.N.L. Brooke** (No. 1); **B. Tierney** (No. 46) p. 88. See also **C. Morris** (No. 39) and *Handbook* (No. 38).

## CISTERCIAN ORDER AND BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX: DOCUMENTS

### I. The Cistercian Order

#### (1) The Customs of the Cistercian Order (*The early legislation of the Cistercian Chapter General*)

§1. *Where monasteries must be constructed* No monasteries of ours must be constructed in cities or fortresses or on manors, but in places far from where men gather together.

§ 2. *Of uniformity of conduct in divine and human affairs* So that an indissoluble unity may be forever maintained between the abbeys, it is first laid down that all shall interpret the Rule of St. Benedict in one way and observe it in one way, so that the same divine service books, the same food, the same clothing and the same customs in all things shall be found everywhere.

§3. *That it is not lawful to have different service-books ....*

§4. *Of clothing* The dress shall be plain and cheap, without furs or linen, such as the Rule prescribes.

§5. *Where food for the monks shall come from* Food must come to the monks of our order by the work of their hands, by the cultivation of land and by the rearing of sheep and hence it is lawful for us to possess for our own use waters, woods, vineyards, meadows and lands distant from the dwellings of secular men, and also to possess animals.... We can have granges, which must be looked after by lay brothers [*conversi*], either near to or far from the monasteries, but not more than a day's journey from them....

§8 *Of the conversi* Work at the granges must be done by lay brethren.... By permission of the bishops we receive these lay brethren as indispensable to us and to assist us and we take them under our care like monks and regard them, no less than the monks, as brothers and as sharers in our goods, both spiritual and temporal.

§9 *That we are not to have revenues* The law of our Order forbids us to own churches, altars, tombs, tithes of other men's labour or sustenance, manors, villeins, rents from land, revenues from furnaces and mills and other like things which are repugnant to monastic purity.

§10 *What it is lawful for us to have in the way of gold, silver, jewels or silk* Altar cloths and the vestments of ministers shall have no silk in them.... All ornaments of the monastery, vessels and utensils shall be free of gold, silver and jewels, except for the chalice and the fistula; we are allowed to have these two things made of silver and gilded, but they must not be of real gold.

**(2) The ‘Charter of Charity’ (*Carta Caritatis*) (late twelfth-century version)**

Before the Cistercian abbeys began to put forth branches, the lord Stephen and his brothers ordained that no abbeys might be founded within the diocese of any bishop before he had had a constitution drawn up, ratified and confirmed by the monastery of Cîteaux and the others that had sprung from it, for the purpose of avoiding unseemliness between the bishop and the monks.... They decided to call this decree the ‘Charter of Charity’, because it refuses to impose any taxes and pursues only love and the interests of souls in divine and human affairs....

We wish and command them to observe the Rule of St. Benedict in all things as it is observed in the New Monastery. Let them not introduce any new interpretation in reading the holy Rule: they shall interpret and keep it as our forebears, the holy fathers, the monks of the New Monastery, interpreted and kept it and as we interpret and keep it today.... We wish them to observe customs and to use a chant and all books necessary to the hours of day and night and to celebrate masses which shall be modelled on the customs and books of the New Monastery, so that there may be no disharmony in our actions but that we may live in one love, by one Rule and by similar customs....

When the abbot of the New Monastery comes to visit any of these other monasteries, the abbot of the other monastery shall give way to him in all parts of the monastery by way of acknowledging that the church of the New Monastery is the mother of his own church.... The abbot of a greater church shall, either in person or through one of his fellow abbots, visit once a year all the monasteries which he has founded. And if he visits the brothers more frequently than that, they shall rejoice all the more. The house of Cîteaux shall be visited simultaneously by the four senior abbots, that is, those of la Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond, in person....

If any abbot is known to be offending against the holy Rule or abetting the faults of the brothers entrusted to him, then the abbot of the mother church shall up to four times admonish him to amend, either by himself or through his prior or by whatever means are most fitting. But if he is not corrected thereby and will not give way voluntarily, then a certain number of abbots of our congregation shall assemble and shall remove this transgressor of the holy Rule from his office.... If (which God forbid) the abbots of our Order realise that our mother, the church of Cîteaux is flagging in her holy resolution and departing from the observation of the Rule, then, through the four senior abbots, acting in the name of the other abbots, they shall admonish him up to four times to correct himself. The other rules which are laid down to deal with other abbots who appear to be incorrigible shall be diligently enforced against him.

## **II. Bernard of Clairvaux**

**(1) Bernard of Clairvaux, Letter to Archbishop Hildebert of Tours (*written in 1131 to persuade him to support the cause of Pope Innocent II*)**

Innocent, the anointed of the Lord, has been set up for the fall and the rise of many. Those who are of God have freely chosen him, but he who stands against him is either Antichrist or his follower. ‘The abomination of desolation’ ... persecutes Innocent and with him all who are innocent. Innocent has fled from his face, for ‘when the lion roars, who shall not be afraid?’<sup>1</sup> He has obeyed the words of the Lord, ‘when they persecute you in one city, flee to another’. He has fled and by the flight that he has endured, following the example of the apostles, he has proved himself truly an apostle.... His city has cast him out, but the world has received him.... Whether that sinner who sees

it and is enraged likes it or not, he cannot prevent Innocent from carrying a crown of glory and being exalted before kings. Do not all the princes know that he is truly the chosen of God ? The kings of France, England, Spain and last of all the king of Rome have received Innocent as pope and recognised him alone as the bishop of their souls.... The choice of the most worthy of the Sacred College, the approbation of the majority of the people and (what is more than all this) the witness of a pure life, all combine to commend Innocent to everyone and establish him beyond doubt as the supreme pontiff.

<sup>1</sup> This biblical quotation referring to 'the lion' is a punning allusion to Innocent II's rival, Pope Anacletus II, whose family name was Pierleone ('Peter, son of *Leo*').

**(2) Bernard of Clairvaux**, Letter to Emperor Lothar III (*written after Lothar had intervened in the schism to bring Innocent II back to Rome and after Innocent had crowned him emperor in 1133. Bernard urged Lothar to make a second Italian expedition, which he eventually undertook in 1136.*)

Blessed be God who has raised you up to be a sceptre of salvation amongst us for the honour and glory of his name, to restore the imperial dignity, to support the Church in an evil hour and finally to work salvation even now upon the earth. It is His doing that the power of your crown spreads and rises more each day, ever increasing and growing in dignity and splendour before God and men. And it was certainly by His strength and power that you were able to make such successful progress in the difficult and dangerous journey you undertook for the peace of your kingdom and the liberation of the Church.... It is not any of my business to incite to battle, but I do say without hesitation that it is the concern of a friend of the Church to save her from the mad fury of the schismatics, that it is the duty of the emperor to uphold his own crown against the machinations of that Sicilian usurper. Just as it is to the injury of Christ that a man of Jewish origin<sup>1</sup> has seized for himself the see of Peter, so it is against the interests of the emperor that anyone should make himself the king of Sicily.

<sup>1</sup> Anacletus II was descended from an eleventh-century Jewish convert in Rome.

**(3) Bernard of Clairvaux**, *Treatise on Consideration* (addressed to Pope Eugenius III, circa 1150)

*[Criticism of the increasing judicial business of the papal curia]*

What slavery can be more degrading and more unworthy of the Supreme Pontiff than to be kept thus busily employed, I do not say every day but every hour of every day, in furthering the sordid designs of greed and ambition ? What leisure have you left for prayer ? What time remains over for you for instructing the people, for edifying the Church, for meditating on the law ? True, your palace is made to resound daily with noisy discussions relating to law, but it is not the law of the Lord, but the law of Justinian. I have read indeed that the apostles were brought to judgement, but I can nowhere find that they ever sat in judgement themselves. They never exercised the office of judge: they reserve that for the day of judgement.... Consequently it is on the sins of men, not over their possessions that your judicial power ought to be exercised, for it is on account of the former, not for the sake of the latter, that you have received the keys of the kingdom of heaven....

*[Definition of papal authority over the Church]*

Let us examine with greater care who you are, that is to say, what role you fulfil at this time in the Church of God. Who are you ? You are the High Priest and the Supreme Pontiff. You are the prince of pastors and the heir of the apostles. By your primacy you are an Abel; by your office of pilot in the ship of Peter you are a Noah; by your patriarchate you are an Abraham; by your orders you are a Melchisedech; by your dignity you are an Aaron; by your authority you are a Moses; by your judicial power

you are a Samuel; by your jurisdiction you are a Peter and by your unction you are a Christ.... You are the sole supreme shepherd not only of the sheep, but also of the other pastors. Do you wish to know how I prove this ? I prove it from the words of Christ. He said to Peter, 'If you love me, feed my sheep' [John 21: 17]. To which - I do not say of the other bishops, but even of the other apostles - was the entire flock entrusted so absolutely and so indiscriminately ?

*[Definition of papal authority over the secular power]*

... He who would deny that the [secular] sword belongs to you, has not, I believe, sufficiently weighed the words of the Lord, where He said, speaking to Peter, 'Put up *your* sword into the scabbard' [John 18:11]. For it is here plainly implied that even the material sword is yours, to be drawn at your bidding, although not by your hand. Besides, unless this sword also belonged to you in some sense, when the disciples said to Christ, 'Lord, behold, here are two swords' [Luke 22:38], He would never have answered, as he did, 'It is enough', but rather, 'It is too much'. We can therefore conclude that both swords, namely the spiritual and the material, belong to the Church and that, although only the former is to be wielded by her own hand, the two are to be employed in her service. It is for the priest to use the sword of the word, but to strike with the sword of steel belongs to the knight; yet this must be by the authority and will of the priest.... Therefore, take in hand at once the sword which has been given you to strike with.

## TUTORIAL FIVE

### THE SECOND CONFLICT OF EMPIRE AND PAPACY

Read the accompanying documents concerned with the conflicts between Emperor Frederick I and the papacy, then write a commentary of *about 500 words* on these documents, including some or all of the following topics.

*Topics for Discussion:*

- (1) The Documents 1-3 refer to the relations of empire and papacy in the pontificate of Hadrian IV and in particular to the 'incident of Besançon' of 1157 (See **W. Ullmann** (No. 52); **I.S. Robinson** (No. 44) pp. 461-70). Discuss this incident, commenting on what it tells us about Frederick I's attitude towards the papacy and Pope Hadrian IV's attitude towards the emperor.
- (2) Document 4 reveals the political ideas of the imperial court in the reign of Frederick I. It is an extract from a Latin play, *The Play of Antichrist*, composed by a cleric under the influence of the imperial ideas of the Staufien court. What was the Staufien conception of imperial power, as revealed by this document and by Documents 1-3 ?
- (3) Documents 5 and 6 refer to the Council of Pavia, held by Frederick I in 1160 to achieve recognition throughout western Europe for his candidate for the papacy, 'Victor IV' and the condemnation of Pope Alexander III (formerly Cardinal Roland Bandinelli of S. Marco, elected by a majority of the cardinals). (See **I.S. Robinson** (No. 44) pp. 473-5.) Document 5 is the official account of the council issued by Frederick I. Document 6 is a critical account of the council by a supporter of Pope Alexander III: the English scholar John of Salisbury, adviser of the archbishop of Canterbury. Discuss the circumstances of the double papal election of Alexander III and 'Victor IV' in 1159 and compare the rival accounts of the Council of Pavia.
- (4) Document 7 is the text of the Peace of Venice (1177), which ended Frederick I's conflict with Alexander III. What factors brought Frederick to make peace with the pope whom he had previously refused to acknowledge ? Explain the references in the Peace to 'the king of Sicily' and 'the Lombards'. Judging from its provisions, to what extent can the Peace of Venice be called a victory for Alexander III ?

**Reading:**

See the chapters on Frederick I in **R.H.C. Davis** (No. 2); **H. Fuhrmann** (No. 16); **A. Haverkamp** (No. 17); **P. Munz** (No. 23); **M. Pacaut** (No. 24); **G. Barraclough** (No. 25).

## THE SECOND CONFLICT OF EMPIRE AND PAPACY: DOCUMENTS

### (1) The claims of Frederick I towards Rome and the empire

*The speech of Frederick I on receiving an embassy from the people of Rome, 1155, according to the account of his uncle, the chronicler Bishop Otto of Freising*

**Otto of Freising**, *The Deeds of Frederick*

Do you wish to know the ancient glory of your Rome and the dignity of the senatorial office, to see its array of tents and the powers and discipline of the order of knights and their fine indomitable courage as they advance into battle ? Behold our commonwealth! All those things are to be found among us; all of them have come down to us, together with the empire.... You boast that I was summoned by you, that you made me first a citizen and then a prince, that I received from you what was yours. I leave it to any wise man to judge how irrational and false this unprecedented argument is. Let us consider the deeds of modern emperors. Did not our divine princes Charles [the Great] and Otto [I] tear the city, together with the whole of Italy, from the Greeks and Lombards and add it to the Frankish dominions ? It was not handed over by anyone as a favour, but conquered by their skill and courage.... I am the lawful owner. Let him who can, 'snatch the club from the hands of Hercules'. Will the Sicilian<sup>1</sup> you trust in, do that ? Let him look at earlier examples. The hand of the Franks or Germans has not yet lost its power.... You demand that I should swear to protect the country even at the risk of my life.... Why should I not defend the country, and especially the seat of my empire, even at the risk of my life, when I have contemplated restoring its frontiers as far as I am able ?

1 King William I of Sicily (1154-66).

### (2) **Rahewin**, *Continuation of the Deeds of Frederick*

*[The papal legates who came to the imperial assembly of Besançon, 1157, read out the following letter.]*

'... For you ought, most glorious son, to recall to mind how joyfully and gladly your mother, the holy church of Rome, received you the other year, with what heartfelt affection she treated you, what unlimited dignity and honour she conferred upon you and how by most willingly conferring the emblem of the imperial crown upon you, she sought to nurture your supreme highness in her most kindly bosom and did nothing which she knew would clash with the royal will. And we have no regrets at having gratified your wishes in all things: indeed had your excellency received even great benefits [or 'benefices': *beneficia*] at our hands (if such were possible) we had had good reason to rejoice, reflecting how we and the church of God could be benefited and made greater by you....'

This letter was read and the chancellor Rainald presented it carefully in a faithful translation; whereupon the princes who were present were seized with great indignation, for there was considerable asperity running throughout the letter and it seemed to be opening the way to future trouble. All were especially incensed at hearing it said in the this letter that the emperor's unlimited dignity and honour had been conferred on him by the Roman pontiff; that the emperor had received the emblem of the imperial crown at his hands; and that the pope would have had no regrets had the emperor received even greater benefices at his hands.... The audience were compelled to a strict understanding

of these words and to believing this interpretation of their meaning because they knew that some of the Romans were audaciously asserting that our kings had hitherto held the empire of the city of Rome and the kingdom of Italy by gift of the popes. They had set this out not only in words but also in writings and pictures and handed it down to posterity. Hence, over a picture of this kind in the Lateran palace, these words concerning Emperor Lothar appear: 'The king appears before the gates and first swears to do his duty to the city. Then he becomes the pope's vassal and takes the crown which he gives him.' This picture and the inscription over it had been reported to the emperor by imperial vassals when he was in Rome a year or two before, and it had violently annoyed him. It is said that, after making a friendly complaint about it, he had received Pope Hadrian's agreement to the removal of the inscription and the picture, lest such an empty thing should give cause for dispute and disagreement to the greatest men in the world.

When all these things were considered, the clamour and disturbance among the lords of the kingdom at such an extraordinary embassy grew greater and it was said that one of the papal legates had asked (adding fuel to the fire), 'From whom does he have his empire, if not from the lord pope?' The fury at this remark reached such a pitch that one of them, Otto, count palatine of Bavaria, as it was said, drew his sword and threatened the legate with death. But Frederick by the authority of his presence quelled the tumult, gave the legates a safe-conduct and ordered them to be taken to their lodgings and to set out on their way at dawn. He added in his orders that they were not to stray here and there on to the lands of bishops or abbots, but to return to Rome by the direct route. And while they went back, having accomplished nothing, what the emperor had done was prudently announced by letter throughout the kingdom, as follows.

'Since the might of God, from which all power in heaven and on earth is derived, has entrusted us, the anointed of God, with ruling the kingdom and the empire, and has ordained that peace shall be preserved for churches by imperial weapons, it is with the deepest grief that we are forced to complain to you, our affectionate lord, that causes of discord, seeds of evil and pestilential poisons are being scattered abroad from the head of the holy Church....'

**(3) Rahewin, *Continuation of the Deeds of Frederick***

*[A further letter of Frederick to the bishops of Germany, 1157]*

There are two means by which our empire ought to be ruled: the holy laws of the emperor and the good customs of our predecessors and fathers. We have no wish and no power to overstep the limits which these set upon the Church; we will reject anything which is at odds with them. We gladly show due reverence to our father; but we regard the free crown of our empire as a benefice from God alone. We acknowledge that the first vote in the election belongs to the archbishop of Mainz and the remaining votes to the other princes in due order; the anointing of the king to the archbishop of Cologne; and the supreme anointing, that is, as emperor, to the supreme pontiff....

**(4) *The Play of Antichrist (circa 1160)***

The general instruction of the emperor of the Romans: 'As the histories have told us, the whole world was the property of the Romans. It was the zealous efforts of the first Romans that constructed the empire; the weakness of their successors has led to its decadence. With the power of our majesty we undertake to restore it. Therefore, let all kings now pay to the empire the tributes instituted for this purpose in ancient times. But, as the French nation is valorous in battle, let their king render military service to the empire. Command him, therefore, to offer us his homage and his vows of loyalty....'

The message of the emperor's envoys: 'The emperor of the Romans greets the illustrious king of the French, dear to his heart. For your enlightenment, we would have you know that you are subject to Roman Law: the redoubtable judgement of the

powerful empire reminds you of this. Therefore, we invite you to render service to it and we inform you of the order to come and put yourself without delay at its disposal.'

**(5) Letter of the Council of Pavia, February 1160**

Since the turmoil in which the apostolic see has been involved has exceedingly wounded the hearts of Christians, we, who have assembled in Pavia to heal the schisms and to restore the peace of the church, have thought best fully to intimate to all of you the nature of the case and the manner of procedure and the ruling of the holy council. We do this in order that the facts shown forth simply and truly in the present writing may forcibly expel any false impressions which the hearers may have conceived, and that henceforth they may not be deceived by schismatic writings. When, therefore, all of the Orthodox congregated at Pavia in the name of the Lord had taken their seats, the case was lawfully and canonically tried and diligently, investigated during seven successive days. And it was sufficiently and canonically proved in the eyes of the council through capable witnesses, that, in the church of St Peter, our lord pope Victor and no other had been elected and solemnly clad in the papal mantle by the sounder part of the cardinals, at the request of the people and with the consent and at the desire of the clergy; and that, Roland the former chancellor being present and not objecting, he was placed in the chair of St Peter; and that there, by the clergy, of Rome and the cardinals, a grand *Te Deum* was sung to him; and that thence, wearing the stoles and other papal insignia, he was led to the palace. And the clergy and people being asked according to custom by the notary if they agreed, replied thrice with a loud voice: 'We agree.' It was proved also that Roland [Alexander III], on the twelfth day after the promotion of pope Victor, going forth from Rome was first clad with the mantle at Cisterna.... It was proved that Roland, being interrogated by the rectors of the Roman clergy and the clergy of his cardinalate as to whether they were to obey pope Victor, expressly confessed that he himself had never been clad with the papal mantle, and expressly said: Go and obey him whom you shall see to receive the papal mantle....

Being sufficiently instructed, therefore, from all these things, and the truth being fully declared on both sides, it pleased the reverend council that the election of pope Victor, who like a gentle and innocent lamb had come to humbly receive the judgment of the church, should be approved and confirmed, and the election of Roland should be altogether cancelled. And this was done. The election of Pope Victor, therefore, after all secular influence had been removed and the grace of the Holy Spirit invoked, being confirmed and accepted, the most Christian emperor, last, after all the bishops and after all the clergy, by the advice and petition of the council, accepted and approved the election of Pope Victor. And, after him, all the princes and an innumerable multitude of men who were present, being asked three times if they agreed, replied, rejoicing with loud voice: 'We agree.' On the following day, that is, on the first Saturday in Lent, Pope Victor was led with honour in procession from the church of St. Salvatore outside the city, where he had been sheltered, to the universal church. There the most holy emperor received him before the gates of the church, and, as he descended from his horse, humbly held his stirrup, and, taking, his hand, led him to the altar and kissed his feet. And all of us ... kissed the feet of the pope. And on the next day, namely Sunday, a general council was held and the lord pope, and we with him, with blazing candles excommunicated Roland the chancellor as schismatic, and likewise his chief supporters; and we handed him over to Satan unto the death of the flesh, that his spirit might be safe at the day of the Lord.

We wish, moreover, that it be not bidden from your prudent discernment that Roland the chancellor and certain cardinals of his following had formed a conspiracy while pope Hadrian was still alive. The tenor of this conspiracy was, moreover, that if Pope Hadrian should happen to die while they were still living, they should elect one cardinal from those who were banded together in that conspiracy.



**(6) John of Salisbury, *letter concerning the Council of Pavia*, June 1160**

To his master and dearest friend Randolf de Serres, John of Salisbury sends greeting and whatever there is better than that.

While you look upon the disasters of the universal Church, while you measure the dangers, the reflection adds grief to grief, grief such as you cannot bear. Nevertheless in all this you have been more gently treated than I, for you ... are not compelled to be present and to weep at every breath and at every hour, and at every complaint of a desolate family; nor do you by any means fear that there is hanging over you either exile or the necessity of committing some infamous crime. For you live under a prince who is thought of with joy and benediction [Louis VII of France]. We, however, fear beyond measure lest the German emperor circumvent and subvert with his wiles the serenity of our prince [Henry II of England]. It seems to me to make very little difference whom the presumption of the little assembly of Pavia supports, unless that the election of Alexander, if any one doubted of it, is confirmed by the very testimony, of the opposing party.

To pass over the rashness of one [Frederick I] who has presumed to judge the Roman church which is reserved for the judgment of God alone, and who, when he ought to have been excommunicated - as the disgraceful treatment of the cardinals at Besançon shows - cited through a peremptory edict before his judgment seat two men, and, having already made up his mind as to the sentence, greeted one with the name of his old office and dignity, the other with the title of Roman pontiff, revealing to the senators and people his secret inclination: whatever has been done at Pavia is found to be contrary, as well to common fairness, as to the lawful constitutions and sanctions of the Fathers. Of course the absent were condemned, and in a case which was not investigated, nay, which had no right to be investigated there, or in that way, or by such men, impudently and imprudently and iniquitously, a sentence was hurriedly given.

... Those men ignore or pretend to ignore the, privilege of the holy Roman church. Who has subjected the universal Church to the judgement of a single church ? Who has constituted the Germans judges of the nations? Who has conferred authority on these brutal and impetuous men of electing at their will a prince over the sons of men? And, indeed, their fury has often attempted this, but, God bringing it about, it has often had to blush, prostrate and confused, over its iniquity. But I know what this German is attempting. For I was in Rome, under the rule of the blessed [Pope] Eugenius [III], when, in the first embassy sent at the beginning of his [Frederick I's] reign, his intolerable pride and incautious tongue displayed such daring impudence. For he promised that he would reform the rule of the whole world, and subject the world to Rome, and, sure of success, would conquer all things, if only the favour of the Roman pontiff would aid him in this. And this he did in order that against whomsoever he, the emperor, declaring war, should draw the material sword, against the same the Roman pontiff should draw the spiritual sword.

**(7) The Peace of Venice, 1177.**

1. The lord emperor Frederick, according as he has received the lord pope Alexander as catholic and universal pope, so he will exhibit to him due reverence, just as his, Frederick's, catholic predecessors have exhibited it to his, Alexander's, catholic predecessors. He will also exhibit the same reverence to the pope's successors who shall be catholically enthroned.

2. And the lord emperor will truly restore peace as well to the lord pope Alexander, as to all his successors and to the whole Roman church.

3. Every possession and holding, moreover, whether of a prefecture or of any other thing, which the Roman church enjoyed and which he took away of himself or through

others, he will restore in good faith; saving all the rights of the empire. The Roman church also will restore in good faith, every possession and holding which it took away from him through itself or through others; saving all the rights of the Roman church.

4. The possessions also which the lord emperor shall restore, he will also aid in retaining.

5. Likewise also all the vassals of the church whom, by reason of the schism, the lord emperor took away or received, the lord emperor will release and will restore to the lord pope Alexander and to the Roman church.

6. Moreover the lord emperor and the lord pope will mutually aid each other in preserving the honour and rights of the church and the empire; the lord pope as a benignant father will aid his devoted and most beloved son, the most Christian emperor, and the lord emperor, on the other hand, as a devoted son and most Christian emperor, will aid his beloved and reverend father, the vicar of St. Peter....

9. The lord emperor and the lord king Henry [VI], his son, closes a true peace with the illustrious king of Sicily for fifteen years, as has been ordained and put in writing by the mediators of the peace.

10. He closes also a true peace with the emperor of Constantinople and all the aiders of the Roman church, and he will make no evil return to them, either through himself or through his followers, for the service conferred on the Roman church.

11. Concerning the complaints and controversies, moreover, which, before the time of Pope Adrian were at issue between the church and the empire, mediators shall be constituted on the part of the lord pope and the lord emperor to whom it shall be given over to terminate the same through a judgment or through an agreement....

17. [All the German archbishops and bishops who had supported Frederick I and opposed Pope Alexander III shall retain their positions.] All the clergy who belong to Italy or to other regions outside the German realm, shall be left to the disposition and judgment of the lord pope Alexander and his successors....

20. All those ordained by any former primates, or by their delegates, in the realm of Germany, shall be restored to the grades thus received; nor shall they be oppressed by reason of this schism....

23. The lord pope and the cardinals will close a true peace with the lord emperor Frederick and Empress Beatrice, and King Henry [VI] their son, and all their supporters, save as to the spiritual matters which by the present writing are left to the disposition and judgment of the lord Pope Alexander, and saving all the rights of the Roman church against those who retain the possessions of St. Peter, and saving those things which are prescribed above as well on the part of the church as on the part of the lord emperor and of the empire....

25. And the lord pope, calling together a council as quickly as it can be done, shall, together with the cardinal bishops and the monks and ecclesiastics who shall be present, declare the excommunication against all who shall attempt to infringe this peace. Then in a general council he shall do the same....

27. The emperor, moreover, shall confirm with his own oath and that of the princes, the aforesaid peace with the church, and the aforesaid peace of fifteen years with the illustrious king of Sicily, and the truce with the Lombards, for six years, namely, from 1 August; and he shall cause the Lombards who are of his party to confirm this same truce, as has been arranged and put down in the general wording of the truce.... The lord emperor, also, shall corroborate the aforesaid peace with the church, and with the illustrious king of Sicily for fifteen years, and the truce with the Lombards, in a writing of his own, and with his own signature and that of the princes.

## **TUTORIAL SIX**

### **POPE INNOCENT III**

Read the accompanying documents concerned with the claims made for the papacy by

Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), then write a commentary of *about 500 words* on these documents, including some or all of the following topics.

*Topics for Discussion:*

1. Discuss the ideas of the papal primacy over the Church and over the secular powers contained in the extracts in Document 1 and in Documents 2-4.
2. Discuss the aims of Innocent III concerning the German kingship and his interventions in the attempts to elect a German king during his pontificate. Comment on the justification of his intervention presented in Document 2.
3. Discuss the intervention of Innocent III in the war between King Philip II Augustus of France and King John of England. Comment on the papal justification of this intervention presented in Document 3.
4. Discuss the measures taken by Innocent III against heretical movements in western Europe during his pontificate, culminating in the Albigensian Crusade. In what ways are these measures reflected in the terms of Document 5 ?

*Reading:*

**R.H.C. Davis** (No. 2); **C. Morris** (No. 39); **B. Tierney** (No. 46); **G. Barraclough** (No. 42); **W. Ullmann** (No. 43); *Handbook* (No. 38); **H. Tillmann** (No. 54); **E.F. Jacob** (No. 55); **J.L. Sayers** (No. 56).

## POPE INNOCENT III: DOCUMENTS

### (1) Definitions of papal authority

#### (a) **Innocent III**, *Sermon on the consecration of the pope* (1198)

To me is said in the person of the prophet: 'I have set thee over nations and over kingdoms, to root up and to pull down and to waste and to destroy and to build and to plant' [Jeremiah 1:10]. To me is also said in the person of the apostle: 'I will also give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound in heaven' [Matthew 16:19] ... thus the others were called to a part of the care [*in partem sollicitudinis*] but Peter alone assumed the fullness of power [*plenitudo potestatis*]. You see then who is this servant set over the household, truly the vicar of Jesus Christ, successor of Peter, anointed of the Lord, a God of Pharaoh, set between God and man, lower than God but higher than man, who judges all and is judged by no one.

#### (b) **Innocent III**, *Letter to the Tuscan nobility* (1198)

Just as the founder of the universe established two great lights in the firmament of heaven, a greater one to preside over the day and a lesser one to preside over the night, so too in the firmament of the universal Church, which is signified by the word 'heaven', he instituted two great dignities, a greater one to preside over souls, as if over day, and a lesser one to preside over bodies, as if over night. These are the papal authority and the royal power. Now, just as the moon derives its light from the sun and is indeed lower than it in quantity and quality, in position and in power, so too the royal power derives the splendour of its dignity from the papal authority.

### (2) The right of the pope to intervene in the election of the king of the Germans

#### **Innocent III**, *Decretal Venerabilem* (1202)

*The German bishops and secular princes had complained that their rights as the sole lawful electors of the German king had been violated by the pope's sending a legate to participate in the royal election.*

Among other things, certain princes urge this objection in particular: that our venerable brother the bishop of Palestrina, legate of the apostolic see, acted as either an elector [in the election of the German king] or as a judge of the election. If as an elector, he put his sickle in a stranger's harvest<sup>1</sup> and, by intervening in the election, detracted

from the dignity of the princes. If as a judge, he seems to have proceeded incorrectly since one of the parties was absent and should not have been judged contumacious<sup>2</sup> when he had not been cited to appear. We indeed, by virtue of our office of apostolic service, owe justice to each man and, just as we do not wish our justice [jurisdiction] to be usurped by others, so too we do not wish to claim for ourselves the rights of the princes. We do indeed acknowledge, as we should, that the princes, to whom this belongs by right and ancient custom, have the right and power to elect a king who is afterwards to be promoted emperor. We acknowledge this in particular because this right and power came to them from the apostolic see, which transferred the Roman empire from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charles the Great.<sup>3</sup> But the princes should acknowledge, and indeed they do acknowledge, that right and authority to examine the person elected as king, who is to be promoted to the imperial dignity, belong to us who anoint, consecrate and crown him [as emperor]. For it is regularly and generally observed that the examination of a person pertains to the one to whom the laying on of hands belongs. If the princes elected as king a sacrilegious man or an excommunicate, a tyrant, a fool or a heretic, and that not just by a divided vote but unanimously, ought we to anoint, consecrate and crown such a man ? Of course not. Therefore, replying to the objection of the princes, we maintain that our legate, the bishop of Palestrina, did not act either as an elector ... or as a judge when he approved King Otto [IV] and rejected Duke Philip [of Swabia]. And so he in no way usurped the right of the princes or acted against it. Instead he exercised the office of one who declared that the king was personally worthy and the duke personally unworthy to obtain the imperial dignity, not considering so much the zeal of the electors as the merits of those elected....

It is clear from law and precedent that, if the votes of the princes are divided in an election, we can favour one of the parties after due warning and a reasonable delay, especially after the [imperial] unction, consecration and coronation are demanded of us, for it has often happened that both parties demanded them. For if the princes after due warning and delay cannot or will not agree, shall the apostolic see then lack an advocate and defender and be penalised for their fault ?

<sup>1</sup> A biblical phrase (Deuteronomy 23:25) understood by medieval biblical interpreters to be a command against interfering in the jurisdiction of others.

<sup>2</sup> The offence of contumacy was the refusal to come to a court of law when summoned.

<sup>3</sup> This is the papal doctrine of *translatio imperii*, 'the translation of the empire', referring to the action of Pope Leo III, who in 800 had crowned the Frankish king Charles (Charlemagne) emperor, the first western emperor of the Middle Ages, supposedly replacing the Byzantine (Greek) emperors, who had reigned in Constantinople since the fourth century.

### **(3) A defence of papal intervention in the war of King Philip II of France and King John of England**

**Innocent III, Decretal Novit (1204)**

*The French bishops, on the instructions of King Philip II, had complained about the pope's intervention in what was purely a feudal dispute between the king and his vassal, John, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and count of Anjou.*

Let no one suppose that we wish to diminish or disturb the jurisdiction and power of the king [of France], when he ought not to impede or restrict our own jurisdiction and power. Since we are insufficient to exercise all our own jurisdiction, why should we wish to usurp another's ? But the Lord says in the Gospel, 'If thy brother shall offend against thee, go and rebuke him between thee and him alone... And if he will not hear [you], tell the church. And if he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the

publican' [Matthew 18:15]. Moreover the king of England is ready, so he asserts, to prove fully that the king of the French is offending against him and that he has proceeded according to the rule of the Gospel in rebuking him and, having achieved nothing, is at last telling it to the church. How then can we, who have been called to the rule of the universal church by Divine Providence, obey the divine command if we do not proceed as it lays down, unless perhaps [King Philip II] shows sufficient reason to the contrary before us or our legate. For we do not intend to judge concerning a fief, judgement on which belongs to him – except when some special privilege or contrary custom detracts from the common law – but to decide concerning a sin, of which the judgement undoubtedly belongs to us and we can and should exercise it against anyone....

No man of sound mind is unaware that it pertains to our office to rebuke any Christian for any mortal sin and to coerce him with ecclesiastical penalties if he spurns our correction. That we can and should rebuke is evident from the pages of both the Old and New Testaments.... That we can and should exercise coercion is evident from what the Lord said..., 'Lo, I have set thee over nations and over kingdoms to root up and pull down and to waste and to destroy and to build and to plant' [Jeremiah 1:10]. No one doubts that all mortal sin must be rooted up and destroyed and pulled down. Moreover, when the Lord gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven to blessed Peter, he said, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven' [Matthew 16:19].... But someone may say that kings are to be treated differently from other man. We, however, know that it is written in the divine law, 'You shall judge the great as well as little and there shall be no difference of persons' [Deuteronomy 1:17].... Although we are empowered to proceed in this fashion against any criminal sin in order to recall the sinner from error to truth and from vice to virtue, this is especially so when it is a sin against peace, which is the bond of love.... Finally, when a treaty of peace was made between the kings and confirmed on both sides by oaths which, however, were not kept for the agreed period, can we not take cognisance of such a sworn oath, which certainly belongs to the judgement of the Church, in order to reestablish the broken treaty of peace ?

#### **(4) A statement of papal authority in the sphere of secular jurisdiction**

##### **Innocent III, Decretal *Per venerabilem* (1202)**

*A reply to the request of Count William of Montpellier that the pope legitimise his illegitimate children. The count reminded the pope, as a precedent, that he had recently legitimised illegitimate children of King Philip II of France.*

Your humility has requested through our venerable brother, the archbishop of Arles, who came to the apostolic see, that we deign to adorn your sons with the title of legitimacy so that the defect of birth would not hinder their succeeding you. That the apostolic see has full power in the matter seems clear from the fact that, having examined various cases, it has given dispensations to some illegitimate sons – not only natural sons but also those born of adultery – legitimising them for spiritual functions so that they could be promoted to bishops. From this it is held to be more likely and reputed to more credible that it is able to legitimise children for secular functions, especially if they acknowledge no superior among men who has the power of legitimising except the Roman pontiffs; for greater care and authority and worthiness are required in spiritual affairs and so it seems that what is conceded in greater matters is lawful also in lesser ones....

Now the king [of France] acknowledges no superior in temporal affairs and so, without injuring the right of anyone else, he could submit himself to our jurisdiction and did so. It seemed to some indeed that he could perhaps have granted the dispensation himself, not as a father to his sons, but as a prince to his subjects. But you know that you are subject to others and so you cannot submit yourself to us in this matter without

injuring them unless they give consent and you are not of such authority that you have the power of granting a dispensation yourself.

Motivated by these considerations, we granted the king the favour requested, deducing from both the Old and the New Testaments that, not only in the patrimony of the church where we wield full power in temporal affairs, but also in other regions, we may exercise temporal jurisdiction incidentally, after examining certain cases. It is not that we wish to prejudice the rights of anyone else or to usurp any power that is not ours, for we are not unaware that Christ answered in the Gospel, 'Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's' [Luke 20:25].... There is indeed a priest or judge above them to whom the Lord said in the person of Peter, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven' [Matthew 16:19]. This is the vicar of Him who is a priest forever according to the order of Melchisedech, established by God as judge of the living and the dead.... In these matters [of judgement], whenever anything difficult or ambiguous has arisen, recourse is to be had to the apostolic see, and if anyone disdains to obey its sentence out of pride, he shall be ... separated from the communion of the faithful, as if dead, by a sentence of excommunication.... Accordingly [the apostolic see] is accustomed to exercise the office of secular power sometimes and in some things by itself, sometimes and in some things through others.

Therefore, although we decided to grant a dispensation to the sons of the aforesaid king of the French ... we do not assent to your petition although we embrace your person with arms of special affection and are willing to show you special favour in any matters in which we can do so honourably and in accordance with God's will.

### **(5) Measures against heresy**

*Innocent III's great reforming council, the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, among other business, summarised the measures that had been taken during the pontificate to exterminate heretical movements in western Europe.*

#### **Fourth Lateran Council (1215) canon 3**

We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy that raises against the holy, orthodox and Catholic faith which we have above explained; condemning all heretics under whatever names they may be known, for while they have different faces, they are nevertheless bound to each other by their tails, since in all of them vanity is a common element. Those condemned, being handed over to the secular rulers of their bailiffs, let them be abandoned, to be punished with due justice, clerics being first degraded from their orders. As to the property of the condemned, if they are laymen, let it be confiscated; if clerics, let it be applied to the churches from which they received revenues. But those who are only suspected, due consideration being given to the nature of the suspicion and the character of the person, unless they prove their innocence by a proper defence, let them be anathematized and avoided by all until they have made suitable satisfaction; but if they have been under excommunication for one year, then let them be condemned as heretics. Secular authorities, whatever office they may hold, shall be admonished and induced and if necessary compelled by ecclesiastical censure, that as they wish to be esteemed and numbered among the faithful, so for the defence of the faith they ought publicly to take an oath that they will strive in good faith and to the best of their ability to exterminate in the territories subject to their jurisdiction all heretics pointed out by the Church; so that whenever anyone shall have assumed authority, whether spiritual or temporal, let him be bound to confirm this decree by oath. But if a temporal ruler, after having been requested and admonished by the Church, should neglect to cleanse his territory of this heretical foulness, let him be excommunicated by the metropolitan and the other bishops of the province. If he refuses to make satisfaction within a year, let the matter be made known to the supreme pontiff, that he may declare the ruler's vassals absolved from their allegiance and may offer the territory to be ruled

lay Catholics, who on the extermination of the heretics may possess it without hindrance and preserve it in the purity of faith; the right, however, of the chief ruler is to be respected as long as he offers no obstacle in this matter and permits freedom of action. The same law is to be observed in regard to those who have no lords superior to them. Catholics who have girded themselves with the cross for the extermination of the heretics, shall enjoy the indulgences and privileges granted to those who go in defence of the Holy Land....