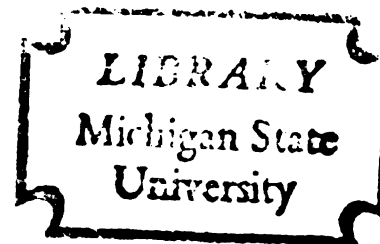


THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PAPACY
AS VIEWED BY THOSE
OUTSIDE THE ROMAN CURIA

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
CAROLE JEANNE DOBSON
1975



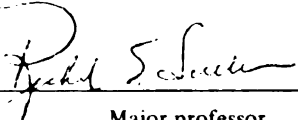
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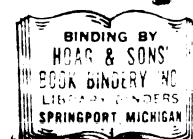
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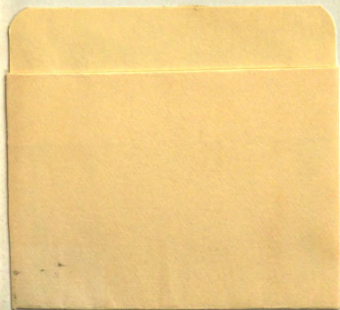
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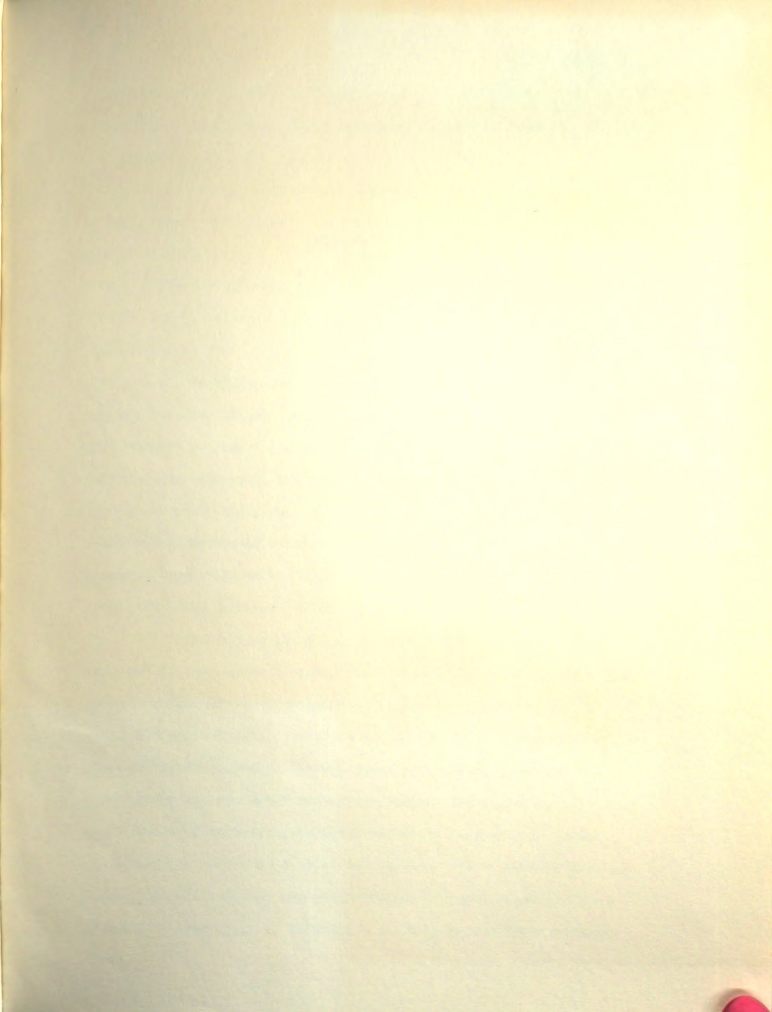
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ABSTRACT

THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PAPACY
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By

Carole Jeanne Dobson

This dissertation attempts to explore the various opinions held about the papacy by those outside the Roman curia during the thirteenth century. The groups studied include the secular rulers (kings and emperors), the clergy, and those lay groups which expressed opinions about the papal institution. Only France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire have been included in the study. Chronicles have provided the bulk of the source material, but political tracts, poetry, and literature written for spiritual edification have also been used.

Historians generally agree that the thirteenth century marked the high point of papal power during the Middle Ages. Papal organs of government extended over the whole of Western Europe and, directly or indirectly, affected the lives of all Europeans. However, the thirteenth century also witnessed an increasing number of complaints against papal corruption, greed, and worldliness. It is the thesis of this dissertation that, while Europeans in general accepted the papacy as a vital institution, their views on what the papacy should be doing and on the extent of papal power differed, sometimes dramatically, from the views held by the various popes.

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Because of these varying expectations and conceptions of papal power conflict and crises of papal corruption were common throughout the century. Because of the position of the papacy during the thirteenth century, the greatest dispute between the secular rulers and the papacy. At one point or another almost all the secular leaders denied the right of the papacy to purely political affairs and claimed that they, not the popes, were to hold the prime control over local churches and churchmen. After years of bitter conflict with the papacy over these points the holy Roman Empire (perhaps from lack of proposed) This dissertation attempts to explore the various opinions held about the papacy by those outside the Roman curia during the thirteenth century. The groups studied include the secular rulers (kings and emperors), the clergy, and those lay groups which expressed opinions about the papal institution. Only France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire have been included in the study. Chronicles have provided the bulk of the source material, but political tracts, poetry, and literature written for spiritual edification have also been used. (unless it) Historians generally agree that the thirteenth century marked the high point of papal power during the Middle Ages: Papal organs of government extended over the whole of Western Europe and, directly or indirectly, affected the lives of all Europeans. However, the thirteenth century also witnessed an increasing number of complaints against papal corruption, greed, and worldliness. It is the thesis of this dissertation that, while Europeans in general accepted the papacy as a vital institution, their views on what the papacy should be doing and on the extent of papal power differed, sometimes dramatically, from the views held by the various popes.

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Because of these varying expectations and conceptions of papal power conflict and cries of papal corruption were common throughout the century. Leaders of the period looked to the papacy for spiritual guidance. The greatest disputes occurred between the secular rulers and the papacy. At one point or another almost all the secular leaders denied the right of the papacy to meddle in purely political affairs and claimed that they, not the popes, were to hold the prime control over local churches and churchmen. After years of bitter conflict with the papacy over these points the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II proposed to rid the Church of all its wealth and to limit the papacy to strictly spiritual functions in order to save the world from corrupted and greedy churchmen. While none of the monarchs went as far as Frederick, they, too, frequently complained that the various popes were overly ambitious, corrupt, or even heretical, when Rome attempted to exert control in the political arena.

These same cries of papal corruption were also voiced among the clerical classes who resented papal interference in local matters (unless it was to their benefit) and especially papal monetary demands. Therefore, while churchmen, like secular rulers, did accept the papacy as the religious head of Western Europe, they often saw individual papal actions as signs of greed and corruption. Even those prelates who fully endorsed the great papal reform schemes were quick to protest if the papacy's methods conflicted with their own ideas on how the various reforms should be accomplished.

The laity also showed frequent signs of discontent over the existing papal institution. Although only a few heretical groups, such as the Cathars and the Waldensians, expressed a desire to see the

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papacy destroyed, there were few who did not want to see some changes made in the Roman curia. After Francis of Assisi none of the lay religious leaders of the period looked to the papacy for spiritual guidance. Also, while most of the century's frequent penitential and apocalyptic movements had no connection whatsoever with the papacy, a few such as the Pasteureaux and the Apostolic Brethren ended by blaming the existing evils of the world on a corrupt papacy. This idea that the supposed corruption of the papacy was somehow to blame for the world's problems was repeated by Dante, who called for the popes to get out of political affairs and to return to their spiritual duties. Thus, while the papacy's dream of a united Christendom-- a dream shared by all of Europe's Christians-- required that the popes be able administrators and politicians, many saw the papacy as sacrificing its spiritual functions in pursuit of worldly goals.

A DISSERTATION

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Interdisciplinary Studies

1975

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expectations of those affected by the institution.

The thirteenth century, generally considered by historians as marking the high point of the medieval papacy, began under Pope Innocent III, who, as one chronicler maintained,¹ would have ruled the world had he lived ten more years, and ended under Pope Boniface VIII, who was deified as a usurper and heretic before being made a prisoner of the French at Anagni and dying a short while afterwards in humiliation at Rome. The question of what caused this tremendous change of attitude towards the papal institution has been the subject of numerous inquiries ever since the events at Anagni.

¹ Bishop Richard of Poissy as cited in Salicrú de Adán, "Cronica," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XLII, pp. 19-20.

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de l'Influence de la Papauté Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel Roi de France and

In F. W. C. Human institutions, whether political, religious, social, or otherwise, are ultimately dependent for their authority upon two possible sources: physical coercion and/or general acceptance by those persons or groups with which the institutions are involved. Of these two methods the latter is generally regarded as the more acceptable, while the use of force is usually considered as evidence of a breakdown in the credibility of an institution. The proper functioning of any institution without physical force is therefore in direct correlation to how well that institution meets the needs and expectations of those affected by the institution.

Influence. The thirteenth century, generally considered by historians as marking the high point of the medieval papacy, began under Pope Innocent III, who, as one chronicler maintained,¹ would have ruled the world had he lived ten more years, and ended under Pope Boniface VIII, who was defiled as a usurper and heretic before being made a prisoner of the French at Anagni and dying a short while afterwards in humiliation at Rome. The question of what caused this tremendous change of attitude towards the papal institution has been the subject of numerous inquiries ever since the events at Anagni.

¹Boniface VIII (1933).

¹Bishop Sighard of Parma as cited in Salimbene de Adam, "Cronica," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXXII, pp. 19-20. *Innocent III* (6 vols.; 1905-1908).

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² Church and

³ The Crisis

⁴ Boniface VI

⁵ The Sicilia

⁶ Innocent II

Dante and many of his contemporaries blamed Boniface's fate on the pope's own bad faith along with a general overall corruption in the existing papal institution. The theme of Boniface as a bad pope has been repeated in Dupuy's seventeenth-century Histoire du Differend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII et Philippes le Bel Roy de France and in E. R. Chamberlin's The Bad Popes (1969). Most historians, however, have avoided this simplistic answer. A. L. Smith² and Brian Tierney³ blamed the decline of papal power on the papacy's disastrous war against Frederick II in the mid-thirteenth century, although their interpretations of this war differed markedly. Tierney saw the war as giving rise to new theories of the state, while Smith believed Innocent IV's pontificate marked a high point of papal corruption which in turn led to an irreparable loss in papal prestige. T. S. R. Boase⁴ and Steven Runciman⁵ blamed the papacy's decline on its Sicilian policies which allowed too much French influence. Gordon Leff's Heresy in the Later Middle Ages (1967) accused the papacy of losing touch with the spiritual needs of the age. Meanwhile, Achille Luchaire's multi-volume work on Innocent III⁶ denied that the papacy was really very strong even at the beginning of the century. These are only a few of the many explanations offered for the seemingly great decline in papal prestige from the

principles behind papal government. The primary focus of this

chapter will be ²Church and State in the Middle Ages (1913).

since, as ³The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300 (1964).

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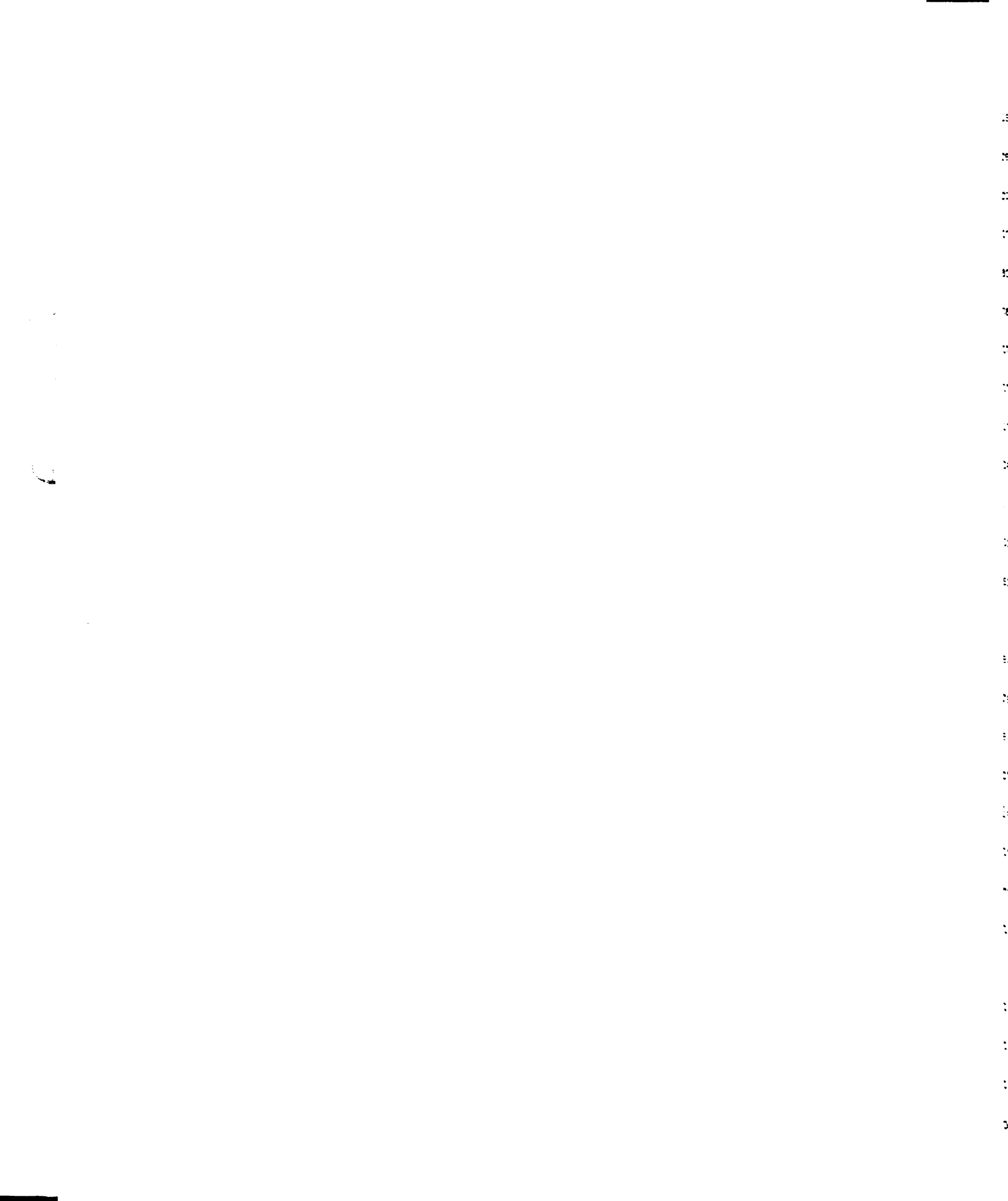
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pontificate of Innocent III to that of Boniface VIII.

Largely ignoring the works of those directly involved in the papal government, this dissertation has attempted to trace the concepts of papal power held by those outside the Roman curia throughout the century to determine not only what these concepts were and if they coincided with papal ideals but also if there were drastic changes in the attitudes towards the papacy between 1198 and 1303. Since perhaps the most striking feature of the papacy of this period was its almost total commitment to putting its ideals and theories into actual practice, it was necessary for the various popes to advance theories that would correspond as nearly as possible to the expectations of the rest of European society. With no standing army or other military force the papacy was almost entirely dependent upon its prestige for power; its spiritual weapons, such as excommunication and interdict, could have little practical effect upon a public which was indifferent or hostile to it as an institution. Therefore, while prestige was the basis of papal power, this prestige was dependent upon the acceptance of papal theories in that they provided the framework for actual practice.

Because it is first necessary to outline papal objectives and assumptions, Chapter One will deal with the basic principles behind papal government. The primary focus of this chapter will be on the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), since, as most modern historians agree, there was no radical change in papal theories throughout the remainder of the century. Moreover, the theories behind papal government will be stressed much more than their practical application by the various popes. Since this chapter



is largely introductory and is meant primarily to serve as a point of reference for later chapters, secondary sources have been used, major controversies regarding papal theories have largely been ignored, and the sympathetic views of Brian Tierney and J. A. Watt have been accepted. Unlike many historians who view the medieval papacy from national or religious biases, these two historians have attempted in their works to present papal views within a papal framework; that is, they have attempted to show how the popes themselves saw their role in thirteenth-century society. Another great aid in this chapter has been Horace Kinder Mann's The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (18 vols.; 1926-1931). While in many respects out of date and perhaps too apologetic, this work gives a very adequate view of the great scope of papal activity during the height of its power.

The remaining three chapters will deal with the expectations and reactions of other segments of European society in regard to the papacy. Chapter Two will be devoted to the ideas and expectations of the secular rulers, Chapter Three to the opinions of churchmen, and Chapter Four to the views of various sections of the laity. Since these chapters hope to cover a rather wide time span, they will only be concerned with a limited geographical area: the Holy Roman Empire, France, and England, since their interplay with the papacy was most crucial during the thirteenth century.

Since, as already stated, this work covers a rather wide time span and geographical area, sources have had to be more selective than inclusive. Assuming that theories are usually formulated after the fact, I have depended heavily upon the chronicles of the period to determine what the people were doing and what they thought about

papal activities. The chronicles of Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, and Salimbene de Adam have been the most useful, since they all covered wide time spans and were interested in all European events rather than with purely local affairs. Of course, other less comprehensive chronicles have been used to augment the three above-mentioned chronicles for greater depth in particular areas. Unfortunately, my own time limits have prevented me from reviewing all the chronicles of the period. While chronicles provide the bulk of the primary source material used, the major political poems of the era by such men as Rutebeuf, Walther von der Vogelweide, Peire Cardenal, and Dante Alighieri have been used when they pertain to the papacy. The great mass of thirteenth-century religious poetry has been ignored, since it does not directly pertain to the subject of papal prestige. Another major primary source has been the diplomatic correspondence of Frederick II, whose struggle with the papacy further defined the boundaries of church and state. Theoretical writings have been generally ignored except in the cases of Dante, Thomas Aquinas, and a few others whose works were well known during the period or offered a novel approach to the problems of papal power. Secondary sources have also been widely used, especially in regard to the heretical movements and the reigns of various monarchs, since the primary source material on both these themes tends too often to be extremely prejudiced.

There are numerous limitations to this work. It does not pretend to offer any final solution or explanation for the thirteenth-century papacy. Since it concentrates on the opinions of those outside the Roman curia, such vital issues as the papacy's financial

problems, papal control over legates and cardinals, and other internal problems have been generally ignored. However, the understanding of these subjects is necessary for a total comprehension of the papacy during the period. Also, the papacy here has been dealt with as an institution and the personalities of the various popes-- undoubtedly an important factor to many contemporaries such as Matthew Paris and Salimbene-- have been generally overlooked. Such a distinction between the office and the man holding the office is never that clearly drawn in real life. Assuming that the papacy was to be obeyed blindly because of its supposedly divine origin-- another rather absurd assumption in real life-- there has been no attempt here to make any moral or other judgments on particular papal practices. Indeed, most individual papal policies have been ignored except when they seem to demonstrate the opinions of those outside the curia. The division of this work into clergy, secular rulers, and laity is quite arbitrary and has been used primarily for the sake of providing some type of order. While such divisions did exist, these three groups were continually interacting with each other and reacting to much the same outside stimuli. National particularities were very evident throughout the period and would have perhaps provided a better method of division; but, since papal theory did distinguish groups primarily according to their functions in society, I have used the three stated classifications.

Another major limitation of this work is the fact that it concentrates almost exclusively upon criticism directed against the papacy. Because the major aim has been to determine why the events of Anagni took place and why there was no general response of outrage among either the clergy or the laity, the vast amount of literature

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supporting the papacy has largely been ignored. This weakness is particularly evident in Chapter Three where the clergy have been discussed. Such vital groups as the canon lawyers, the scholastics, the Dominicans, and the Conventual Franciscans, all of whom gave almost unquestioning loyalty to the papal institution, have generally been omitted from any discussion. Indeed, the whole group of ecclesiastical reformers who generally supported papal power and prestige has been ignored except in cases where their reform ideas conflicted with the papal reform program. A true assessment of the thirteenth-century papacy would have to take these factors more into consideration. The reader should be aware that, although the high papal ambitions of such thirteenth-century popes as Innocent III were somewhat modified after 1303, it was not until over two centuries later that the papacy lost its claim to be called the one spiritual head of Western Europe.

Chapter Four has posed the most numerous difficulties. Since literacy was extremely low and there were no public opinion polls taken during the thirteenth century to indicate how the masses of Europe felt towards the papacy, only the attitudes of those groups which were most vocal can be assessed with any accuracy. How representative of popular opinion these groups were is therefore ultimately unknowable. The question as to whether these groups represented an outward manifestation of widespread, but covert, feelings among the laity as a whole or whether they merely reflected a limited interest group has been left largely unsettled except in cases where an answer is evident. Only when several sources agree on the interpretation of some papal activity or event can a general attitude be determined. There is also the problem that few people

content with the status quo have much motivation to record their ideas. This leaves the bulk of literature to be written by those persons alienated or angry at the existing institutions. An accurate analysis of the heretical movements and their relationship to the papacy is also almost impossible. Pious inquisitors often tended to destroy original heretical works and to paint the heretics in the worst possible light. Modern historians dealing with heresy also have their own biases. While the old view of the heretics as the noble forerunners of the Reformation has generally been discarded, many modern historians give a disproportionate importance to the heretical movements so that they seem to be the prime force in the society rather than a rather limited social phenomenon. Also, few historians have been able to escape

without passing some moral judgment, either positive or negative, on the heretics and their ideas. Given these problems, it is almost totally impossible in most cases to make a definite statement on the attitude of the heretics towards the papacy and to analyze their relationship to Rome. The attempt nevertheless has been made to determine if and when the papacy was a direct target of the heretics or merely a part of a whole social order against which the heretics were rebelling. New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 18-74. While in most ways agreeing with French, Sainton places more emphasis on the "innovations" wrought by Gregory VII. A more theoretical approach to the development of papal ideas is offered by Albert Hays, Christianity and Politics: A History of the Principles and Principles of Church and State (New York: J. S. Lippincott, 1938), pp. 7-34. The importance of the concept of empire to the development of papal theory is stressed by Robert Foltz, The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century, trans. by Shirls Ann Ogilvie (Great Britain: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1968), pp. 77-97; and William D. McGreevy, "Papal Potential Potentials and the Sources of Temporal Authority in Late Medieval Papal Hierocratic Theory," Speculum, XLVIII (October 1973), pp. 654-682.

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the same time the reintroduction of Roman law into European thought in general and into canon law in particular brought a more logical and unified approach to problems of church government.³ The importance of this new system CHAPTER I greatly enhanced by the fact that with only two minor exceptions all of the thirteenth-century popes re THE PAPAL VIEW OF ITS ROLE IN SOCIETY dialectic.⁴

Moreover, canon law and scholasticism defined many of the conclusion: Although most of the doctrines regarding the papacy's functions had been developed during the preceding centuries,¹ it was not until the thirteenth century that canon lawyers and theologians began to systematize these earlier ideas into a unified whole.² At

minion to both canon law and theology. (issued with a first reform spirit and

¹For a general discussion of the development of papal theory before 1200 see Walter Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1955). Ullmann tends, however, to picture the popes as uniting in a vast conspiracy to usurp secular power and is therefore not to be relied upon as a final authority for the development of papal power. An older and more sympathetic view is provided by Richard Chenevix Trench, Lectures on Medieval Church History (London: Macmillan and Company, 1897), pp. 149-167. Despite its obviously moralistic overtones, Trench's view that the papacy rose to power through various historical circumstances, such as the idea of Rome and the importance of religion to the medieval mind, probably comes closer to portraying the events leading up to doctrines of papal supremacy. A more modern version is presented by Roland H. Bainton, The Medieval Church (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 10-74. While in most ways agreeing with Trench, Bainton places more emphasis on the "innovations" wrought by Gregory VII. A more theoretical approach to the development of papal ideas is offered by Albert Hyma, Christianity and Politics: A History of the Principles and Struggles of Church and State (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1938), pp. 1-34. The importance of the concept of empire to the development of papal theory is stressed by Robert Folz, The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century, trans. by Shiela Ann Ogilvie (Great Britain: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1969), pp. 77-97; and William D. McCready, "Papal Plenitudo Potestatis and the Sources of Temporal Authority in Late Medieval Papal Hierocratic Theory," Speculum, XLVIII (October 1973), pp. 654-662.

and new interpretations of old laws; pp. 211, pp. 181 and 204-205.

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the same time the reintroduction of Roman law into European thought in general and into canon law in particular brought a more logical and unified approach to problems of church government.³ The importance of this new system of thought was greatly enhanced by the fact that with only two minor exceptions all of the thirteenth-century popes received their training in canon law and dialectic.⁴

Moreover, canon law and scholasticism derived many of their conclusions from the activities and pronouncements of the individual popes so that the three were almost totally interrelated.⁵

The tone of thirteenth-century papal thought was set by the period's first pope Innocent III, who had received extensive training in both canon law and theology. Imbued with a firm reform spirit and a legalistic mind, this pope set out to define the proper role of the papacy in the world. His emphasis upon codifying and in

the thirteenth century; Trench, op. cit., p. 162; Helen Jane Waddell, The Wandering Scholars (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955), pp. 142-143; R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West, Vol. V: The Political Theory of the Thirteenth Century (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1928), p. 4; and Ewart Lewis, Medieval Political Ideas (2 vols.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), vol. II, p. 433.

³C. H. Lawrence, ed., The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages (London: Burns and Oates, 1965), p. 120; and Clarence Gallagher, S.J., "Canon Law and the Christian Community: I, A Classical View," Heythrop Journal, XII (July 1971), p. 295.

⁴Bernard McGinn, "The Abbott and the Doctors: Scholastic Reactions to the Radical Eschatology of Joachim of Fiore," Church History, XL (March 1971), p. 30. The two exceptions were the physician John XXI and the hermit Celestine V.

⁵Trench points out that neither the canonists nor the scholastics were particularly original, but says that both were primarily concerned with justifying the status quo through the use of reason and new interpretations of old laws; op. cit., pp. 162 and 204-208.

enlarging the mass of canon law created a new legalistic framework for the government of the Church.⁶ In 1234 Gregory IX brought together the most important statements of Innocent along with the older body of canon law to form the Decretales.⁷ This new comprehensive compilation was added to by all of the thirteenth-century popes, especially Innocent IV and Boniface VIII.⁸ Also, during the middle of the century Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the scholastic theologians, further augmented the definition of the Church's role in society by applying Aristotelian logic to Christian doctrines. While these new systems of thought tended to be legalistic and theoretical, they nevertheless were essentially religious in that both canon law and scholasticism were based upon the fundamental tenets of the Christian faith. The primary goal in life was still eternal salvation; and Christ was still considered the true mystical head of the Church. What canonists and scholastics did do was to press these religious premises to their logical conclusion and to provide a system for their practical application in the real world. Human reason was thus made to complement divine revelation.

⁶ Lawrence, op. cit., p. 121. For the importance of Innocent III to thirteenth-century canonist thought see J. A. Watt, "The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century: the Contribution of the Canonists," Traditio, XX (1964), pp. 179-317. Watt states that Innocent was "the most important papal legislator of the thirteenth century and an outstanding analyst of papal primacy."

⁷ Brian Tierney, Foundations of the Conciliar Theory (Cambridge: University Press, 1955), p. 17.

⁸ Brian Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 150.

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Moreover, while making the world into a logical and orderly whole, they prescribed almost a divine mission to the papacy.

Papal theories centered on the two Christian-Platonic concepts of unity and hierarchy. The world supposedly consisted of the natural and fundamental unity of all creation under God, whose will was revealed through the teachings of the Christian faith. Christianity was thus the one "true" religion and God the center of life. Since man's purpose in life was his return to God, the Perfect Unity, his spiritual well-being was necessarily of much more importance than any material comfort. As Thomas Aquinas stated, "Wherefore, as there can be nothing which is not created by God, so there can be nothing which is not subject to his government."⁹ It was for these reasons that the Church, as established by Christ, the Son of God, through Peter, was to be the primary leader of society.¹⁰ These ideas were clearly expressed in the papal bull Unam Sanctam (1302):

By our faith, we are forced to believe and maintain one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. This we firmly believe, and we confess simply that out of it there is no salvation, nor remission of sins, for the spouse in the Canticles declared 'One is my dove, my perfect one is but one, she is the only one of her mother, the chosen of her that bore her' (Cant., vi, 8). This represents the one mystical body of which the head is Christ--the God in Christ, and in which there is one Lord, one

Horace Kinder Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, Ltd., 1923), vol. VIII, pp. 346-347.

⁹ Thomas Aquinas, The Summa Theologica, trans. by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., 1941), First Part, Q 103, Art 5.

¹⁰ Marcel Pœcaut, "L'autoité pontificale selon Innocent IV," Moyen Age, LXVI (1960), pp. 104-106. R. W. Southern stated that one of the fundamental characteristics of the Middle Ages was the complete identification of the Church with the whole of society; Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 16.

power, faith and one baptism.¹¹ Furthermore, as Aquinas maintained, this Church was incapable of error because of its unity with God through the Holy Spirit.¹² Because Christian society supposedly consisted of a single unity, it was believed that there had to be a single, ultimate source of authority and this source was to be the pope, the successor of Peter. The great canonist Hostiensis thus defended papal power on the grounds that it was necessary in the interests of unity and concord.¹³ The interests of the Church as well as those of Christian society were thus completely identified with those of the papacy.¹⁴

While the world was believed to consist of a single unity, it was also supposedly arranged in a perfect hierarchy. This Platonic concept of hierarchy which had long played a primary role in Christian theology and which also provided one of the basic theoretical principles for the institution of feudalism was generally accepted as the basis for order during the thirteenth century. Accordingly, authority went from higher to lower in a perfect pyramid fashion to preserve the proper working of human society.¹⁵ God, the ultimate peak of this hierarchy, held all authority; and all true world, the papacy depended not on any human decree, but on divine

¹¹ Horace Kinder Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, Ltd., 1931), vol. XVIII, pp. 346-347.

¹² Aquinas, op. cit., Second Part of Part Two, Q 1, Art 9.

¹³ Gallagher, op. cit., p. 285.

¹⁴ Maureen Purcell, "Changing Views of Crusades in the Thirteenth Century," Journal of Religious History, VII (June 1972), p. 15.

¹⁵ Gallagher, op. cit., p. 285.

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power had to come through Him. Because of the preeminent importance of religion, it was necessary that the spiritual authority be above the temporal one in the earth's hierarchy: "Did he [Paul] not explain that the power given over angels extended also to temporalities in order to make it understood that lesser things also are subordinated to those whom greater ones are subject?"¹⁶

The canonists and scholastics assigned the papacy a unique position in this hierarchy. While Roman law emphasized the preeminent authority of the ruler, church tradition had gradually been enlarging the importance of the papacy. By the beginning of the century the twin concepts of the pope as Christ's vicar and of Christ as both a temporal and spiritual king were being developed and accepted in papal circles.¹⁷ Christ had delegated all power, both spiritual and temporal, to Peter; and Peter had established the papacy:

Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church... as (Matt. 16: 18)

The pope was thus Christ's representative on earth through Peter; and he, acting in the name of Christ and as the successor of Peter, had full authority on earth. Just as there had been one Peter, there could be only one pope. Unlike other governmental bodies in the world, the papacy depended "not on any human decree, but on divine

law, [its] authority being not of man but of God."¹⁸ Since the pope

¹⁶ Innocent IV's encyclical letter Quia Cuius (1246) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 147.

¹⁷ Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages, p. 85; and Jean Leclercq, L'idée de la royauté du Christ au moyen âge (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1959), p. 59.

¹⁸ Novit (1204) as cited in C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple,

received his authority directly from God, he alone held "true" authority: the papacy, church tradition also dictated that the pope

Only St Peter was invested with the plenitude of power. See then what manner of servant this is, appointed over the household; he is indeed the vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter, the Lord's anointed... set in the midst between God and man... less than God but greater than man, judge of all men and judged by none.

If only the pope held "true" authority, it was logical that all earthly authority should come from him. Thus, by necessity the papacy was to serve as the apex of all the world's hierarchies.²⁰

Only in the pope was there a complete and perfect unity between the physical and spiritual world, between body and soul.²¹ After demonstrating the superiority of the spiritual power in the hierarchy of world authority, the canonist Giles of Rome likewise asserted the superiority of the pope:

The power of the supreme pontiff governs souls. Souls ought rightly to govern bodies or they will be badly ordered as regards the part which does not obey the soul or mind or reason. But temporal things serve our bodies. It follows then that the priestly power which governs souls also rules over bodies and temporal things.²²

Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198-1216) (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1953), p. 65. This same idea was presented equally well in Innocent IV's Quia Cuius Levis (1246) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 147.

¹⁹ Innocent III's sermon at his consecration (1198) as cited in Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. x.

²⁰ Mann stated that Innocent III saw the pope "as the father of the great Christian family, as the apex of the feudal government of Europe, and as the rock of the Christian faith"; op. cit., XI, p. 63.

²¹ Letter from Innocent III to John of England (April 21, 1214) as cited in Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 178.

²² De Ecclesiastica Potestate (1301) as cited in Tierney,

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While canon law and scholasticism were elevating the position of the papacy, church tradition also dictated that the popes were to play no passive role in society.²³ Rather than following a monastic life style of prayer and contemplation, the popes were to work in the world to omit the causes and the cases of sin. This view was thoroughly accepted by most of the lawyers and theologians as well as by the popes themselves.²⁴ As Innocent III stated, "If the contemplative state is safer, the active is more profitable; and if the former is sweeter, the latter is more fruitful. In fertility of offspring the bleary-eyed Leah excelled the comely Rachel."²⁵

If the Church's duty was in the world to serve as a bridge to the future life, the papacy, too, was to play an active role in earthly affairs.

Because the papacy was the one source of "true" authority on earth, it was natural that its duties should be world-wide. Its function was actively to direct the world to its Christian ends; and its jurisdiction theoretically included all peoples, even non-Christians. The great scope of papal duties was amply set forth by Innocent III in his letter convoking the Fourth Lateran Council (April 19, 1213):

... I have decided after the manner of the ancient fathers to convoke a general council, by means of which evils may be uprooted, virtues implanted, mistakes corrected, morals

The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 199.

²³Bainton, op. cit., pp. 10-74.

²⁴Among the most important thirteenth-century thinkers who accepted an active role for the papacy were Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Alanus Anglicus, and Hostiensis. All of these men were in direct communication with the papacy during most of their careers.

²⁵Mann, op. cit., XI, p. 27.

reformed, heresies extirpated, the faith strengthened, disputes adjusted, peace established, liberty protected, Christian princes and people induced to aid the Holy Land and salutary decrees enacted for the higher and lower clergy.

X The pope was to serve as a parental figure and a teacher for Christian humanity:

The Apostolic See, constituted not by man but by God as the mother and teacher of all Christ's faithful, most truly exercises its maternal affection and its educative discipline when it loves its sons with a kindly graciousness and guides its pupils by a rule of even justice. It cannot for any reason either ignore its role as mother or neglect its role as teacher, for from the Lord through St Peter it has been given the power of binding and loosing.

X The pope could judge all Christians:

It remains then that the Roman pontiff can exercise his pontifical judgment at least incidentally over any Christian of any condition whatsoever especially if no one else can or will render to him the justice that is due, and particularly by means of sin.

Those who refused to accept the pope's authority were classified as pagans, infidels, schismatics, or heretics.

The first dominion which the papacy held was naturally over the Church.²⁶ According to Hostiensis, all clerical and episcopal authority was ultimately derived from the pope.³⁰ This

²⁶ Henry Joseph Schroeder, O.P., Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils (St. Louis, Missouri: B. Herder Book Company, 1937), p. 326.

²⁷ Letter from Innocent III to John of England (April 28, 1199) as cited in Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 10.

²⁸ Innocent IV's encyclical letter Excoi Cui Levita (1246) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 148.

²⁹ Augustin Fliche, Christine Thouzelier, et Yvonne Azaiz, Histoire de l'Eglise, vol. X: La Chrétienté romaine (1198-1274) (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1950), p. 31.

³⁰ Gallagher, op. cit., p. 285.

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papal supremacy within the Church was explicitly stated in the fifth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council:

Renewing the ancient privileges of the patriarchal sees, we decree with the approval of the holy and ecumenical council, that after the Roman Church, which by the will of God holds over all others pre-eminence of ordinary power as the mother and mistress of all the faithful, that of Constantinople shall hold first place, that of Alexandria second, that of Antioch third, and that of Jerusalem fourth, the dignity proper to each to be observed; so that after their bishops have received from the Roman pontiff the pallium, which is the distinguishing mark of the plenitude of the pontifical office, and have taken the oath of fidelity and obedience to him, they may also lawfully bestow the pallium on their suffragans, receiving from them the canonical profession of faith for themselves, and for the Roman Church the pledge of obedience. They may have the standard of the cross borne before them everywhere, except in the city of Rome and wherever the supreme pontiff or his legate wearing the insignia of Apostolic dignity is present. In all the provinces subject to their jurisdiction appeals may be taken to them when necessary, saving appeals directed to the Apostolic See, which must be humbly respected.³¹

The canons of this council also set up Rome as both the supreme lawgiver within the Church and the universal court of appeals for disputed cases concerning the clergy and doctrine.³² These rules governing the Church were further defined by the two councils held at Lyons in 1245 and 1274.³³ The canons of these general councils dealt with all areas of clerical life and further implied that the papacy

³¹Schroeder, op. cit., p. 246.

³²John H. Fisher states that the purpose of the Fourth Lateran Council was "to improve morals and spiritual life by prescribing more exactly both the qualifications and duties of parish priests"; The Medieval Literature of Western Europe (London: University of London Press, 1966), p. 181. See Schroeder, op. cit., for an exact text of the canons of the three great councils of the thirteenth century. See specifically canons 5, 26, 30, and 46 for the council of 1215.

³³See specifically canon 4 for the council of 1245 and canons 2, 18, 21, and 24 for the council of 1274. These canons dealt directly with the relationship between the papacy and the clergy.

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was the primary source of authority within the Church, since it was the pope who convoked the councils in the beginning and whose consent was required for the passage of any canon. Moreover, while the popes had the power to make the laws, they also claimed the right to dispense with them when they felt the need arose.³⁴ The pope was, as Aquinas maintained, the final authority in all matters of faith.³⁵

Because of his domination over the Church as a whole, the supreme pontiff held the theoretical ownership of all churches.³⁶ Since it was the papacy's duty to ensure that all these churches were filled with the proper personnel, papal confirmation of all major prelates and abbots was required. In 1265 Clement IV also stated that "the free disposal of ecclesiastical charges, whether before or after the death of their holders, is an Apostolic prerogative."³⁷ The papal collation of benefices had been begun by Innocent III and was put on a permanent basis by Gregory IX.³⁸ Likewise, if a prelate proved unworthy of his charge, the papacy claimed the right to depose him.³⁹ At the same time the papacy also claimed the right to tax all

³⁴ Letter from Innocent III to Archbishop Hubert (February 1200) as cited in Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 19.

³⁵ Aquinas, op. cit., Second Part of Part Two, Q 11, Art 2.

³⁶ Letter from Innocent III to John of England (May 26, 1207), as cited in Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 88.

³⁷ Henri Daniel-Rops, Cathedral and Crusade (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), vol. I, p. 295; and Geoffrey Barraclough, Papal Provisions (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1963), pp. 4-5.

³⁸ Barraclough, Papal Provisions, p. 168.

³⁹ Fliche, et al., op. cit., p. 154.

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churches. While the popes collected certain sums from the clergy for confirmation and other such services involving regular church business, they also claimed the right to gather additional money in cases of emergency, such as for crusades and other holy wars.⁴⁰ This power to draw monetary support from the whole of the Church was considered vital to the maintenance of the Holy See because of its many activities in the world and because of its vast and complex structural organization which required large numbers of personnel.

Besides its power over the Church the papacy also claimed broad powers over the laity. While the papacy asserted its right to judge any Christian directly,⁴¹ most of its authority was to be exercised through the clergy and the secular rulers.⁴² There were three main premises upon which the relationship between church and state were to be based:

- 1) The church and the state constituted two distinct, separate powers; and both received their power directly from God.
- 2) These two powers were to cooperate with each other for the welfare of Christian society.
- 3) The spiritual authority was ultimately the higher authority in some sense or another.⁴³

⁴⁰ While historically inaccurate, the Donation of Constantine. Robert Grosseteste, Epistolae, ed. by Henry Richards Luard (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1961), p. 341.

⁴¹ Innocent IV's encyclical letter Exco Cui Levin (1246) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 148.

⁴² Mann, op. cit., XVIII, pp. 346-347.

⁴³ Watt, op. cit., pp. 182-183. The fact that canon lawyers and popes had varying interpretations of the term plenitudo potestatis during the century is amply demonstrated by McCready, op. cit., pp. 664-

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Although the first two principles seemed to point to a certain independence of the state with its own raison d'être, it was the third idea of sacerdotal superiority which actually determined the content of the first two principles.⁴⁴ Since Peter was believed to have been given both the spiritual and temporal swords, such superiority seemed perfectly logical to the papists. In his work On Princely Government Aquinas stated that "kings must be subject to priests" and thereby implied that the pope as the head of the priesthood was superior in power to secular rulers.⁴⁵ Moreover, it was generally accepted as fact in the thirteenth century that the Emperor Constantine had given the whole of Western Europe to the papacy when he transferred the Empire to the East.⁴⁶ What all of these ideas meant was that theoretically at

674. McCreedy says the term plenitudo potestatis was first used to denote the power of papal legates over churchmen.

⁴⁴ Watt, op. cit., p. 183. Also see Brian Tierney, "The Continuity of Papal Political Theory in the Thirteenth Century. Some Methodical Considerations," Medieval Studies, XXVII (1965), p. 234.

⁴⁵ A. P. D'Entreves, ed., Aquinas: Selected Political Writings, trans. by J. G. Dawson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948), p. 77. The canonist Hostiensis stated, "just as the moon receives its light from the sun and not the sun from the moon, so too the royal power receives authority from the priestly..."; Summa Domini Henrici Cardinalis Hostiensis (1250-1253) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 156.

⁴⁶ While historically inaccurate, the Donation of Constantine was generally accepted as fact in the thirteenth century, although the popes seldom used it to support their rights to interfere in secular matters. There were two main exceptions in this case: In 1236 Gregory IX used the Donation in a weak defense of the papacy's territorial claims in Italy. The document was used again in 1246 by Innocent IV, who, however, stated that it was merely Constantine's recognition of the pope's inherent regal authority. Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, pp. 142-149; and Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles, ed., Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi (6 vols.; Paris: Henricus Plon, 1852-1861), vol I, pp. 49-50; vol. IV, pp. 914-923; and vol. VI, pp. 396-399.

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least the papacy had supremacy in the secular sphere.⁴⁷ In fact, according to an extreme statement by Boniface VIII, the secular power was brought into being and received its direction from the sacerdotal power.⁴⁸

The attitude of the papacy towards the secular princes was often one of paternal affection. It had the right to settle quarrels between its children and to punish those guilty of transgressions.⁴⁹ Thus, it was to serve as an international court of appeals for all Christian rulers in exceptional cases when the civil courts failed in their duties.⁵⁰ This attitude was clearly expressed by Innocent III in a letter to Philip II of France:

Since your Majesty well knows that with us there ought to be no respect of persons, we believe that you will not take

⁴⁷In actuality the exact position of the prince in relation to the papacy fluctuated throughout the century. Some popes, such as Honorius III, seemed quite satisfied to stay out of secular affairs as much as possible. The fact that others, such as Innocent III, generally felt compelled to justify their intervention in the secular governments also indicated a certain hesitancy about fully assuming such a role. However, all the popes insisted upon their supremacy in "spiritual" matters with the word "spiritual" being an abstract term which could be interpreted broadly or narrowly according to the whims of individual popes. Pacaut states that "spiritual" at first applied only to sacred rights, privileges, and goods but later came to include all things used by the Church and finally to all things pertaining to the mission of the Church (human salvation); op. cit., p. 99.

⁴⁸Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government, p. 440.

⁴⁹Leclercq, op. cit., p. 56.

⁵⁰In his commentary on the decretals Innocent IV claimed that the pope could interfere in secular matters out of his plenitude of power and listed the cases when such intervention should be used; Commentaria Super Libros Quingue Decretalium (1250) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, pp. 154-155. Also see Tierney, "The Continuity of Papal Political Theory in the Thirteenth Century," pp. 231-234; and Pacaut, op. cit., p. 115.

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it ill if we now discharge the duty of our pastoral office in your own case: for, if negligent, we shall incur the displeasure of the Divine Majesty; and if an occurrence involving even kings and princes were tacitly ignored because we regarded their wishes more than their salvation, our ministry might also incur the censure of men. The word of God in our mouth must not be bound, but free, that we may freely warn the unruly and fulfill, whenever expedient, the command of the Apostolic which we regard as addressed the more directly to us as we hold a higher position in the Church, indeed the highest position of all: for others are called to a share of responsibility, we alone have been given the plenitude of power.

In their correspondence with the various rulers the popes continually referred to them with the word "son" while designating themselves with the imperial "we".⁵²

Secular rulers accordingly had as one of their primary functions the protection and enforcement of church laws for the Holy See. Hostiensis even went so far at one point to insist that "the only proper function of the civil power (and the only justification for its existence) was to use the material sword of physical coercion in order to carry out tasks delegated by the church which were too sordid or brutal for the clergy themselves to perform."⁵³ While such a view was rather extreme, church canons did lay down certain obligatory functions, such as the punishment of heretics and excommunicates, which the state was to perform for ecclesiastics.⁵⁴

⁵¹ May 1203; Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 56.

⁵² For examples see the papal letters to John and Frederick II in Cheney and Semple, op. cit. and Historia Diplomatica.

⁵³ Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 139. Gallagher maintains that Hostiensis generally held a more moderate view and supported a clear division of the two powers; op. cit., p. 285.

⁵⁴ Canons 3 and 67 (Council of 1215); Schroeder, op. cit., pp. 144 and 289-290.

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In its wars against those who threatened the Church's existence, such as Frederick II and the Albigensian heretics, the papacy called upon the lay rulers for military aid. In a letter of Innocent III to Philip II the pope stressed the need for joint action between the two powers against enemies of the faith:

It is expedient, therefore, that both the spiritual authority and the secular power, mindful of the reason for their establishment, should concur together for the defense of the Church, and should aid each other, so that those whom ecclesiastical discipline cannot restrain from evil, the secular arm will curb, and those who trusting in their own savageness do not fear the material sword, spiritual punishment will pursue.⁵⁵

Also, the secular powers were made responsible for the capital punishment of heretics, since churchmen were forbidden to shed blood.⁵⁶ Likewise, all the military operations of the crusades to regain the Holy Land were entrusted to the lay princes, while the popes were to maintain the ultimate supervision of the projects.⁵⁷ When rulers, such as John of England, failed to protect the Church and even went so far as to persecute ecclesiastics, the papacy claimed the right of deposition on the grounds that they were not fulfilling their Christian duties as kings.⁵⁸

The role of defender of the Church and leader of the crusades was particularly assigned to the Holy Roman Emperor. As

⁵⁵ Albert Clement Shannon, The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century (Villanova, Pennsylvania: Augustinian Press, 1949), p. 14.

⁵⁶ Maurice Bévenot, S.J., "The Inquisition and its Antecedents, IV," Heythrop Journal, VIII (April 1967), p. 167.

⁵⁷ Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government, p. 307.

⁵⁸ Roger of Wendover, Flowers of History, trans. by J. A. Giles (London: Henry C. Bohn, 1848), pp. 259-260.

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Innocent IV stated, "the emperor is the protector of the pope and takes an oath to him and holds the empire from him...."⁵⁹ More than any other ruler the emperor complemented the papal ideal of a united Christendom and was often regarded by the canonists as the secular arm of the papacy.⁶⁰ Only the emperor was to be crowned by the papacy.⁶¹ Because of the importance of the emperor the various popes from Innocent III to Boniface VIII insisted upon the right to determine the suitability of candidates before their coronation, although they admitted the right of the German Electors to make the initial selection.⁶² The popes also claimed the right to depose those emperors, such as Otto IV and Frederick II, who not only failed to protect the Church but even threatened its independence.⁶³ In deposing Frederick, Innocent IV claimed to be performing the will of God, since the emperor had failed in his mission to promote the welfare of Christian society:

We therefore... show and declare... that the aforesaid

⁵⁹ Commentaria Super Libros Quinque Decretalium (1250) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 153.

⁶⁰ Pacaut, op. cit., p. 106.

⁶¹ The papacy based this right to crown the emperor on the Donation of Constantine and the subsequent coronation of Charlemagne in 800 whereby the pope conferred the temporal sword on the Western emperor; letter of Gregory IX to Frederick II (October 1236) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, pp. 143-144.

⁶² Venerabilem (1202) as cited in Ibid., pp. 133-134; and Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 49-50 and 70-76.

⁶³ In actuality Frederick II was deposed at the First Council of Lyons on charges of perjury, sacrilege, and heresy; Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, pp. 140-141; and Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 319-327.

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prince--who has rendered himself so unworthy of all the honour and dignity of the Empire, and the kingdom and who, because of his wickedness, has been rejected by God from acting as king and Emperor--is bound by his sins and cast out and deprived of all honour and dignity by God, to which we add our sentence of deprivation also.⁶⁴

While the secular rulers were supposed to protect the churches within their realms, they were nevertheless denied the right to tax or otherwise interfere with clerical business.⁶⁵ The Church was to remain absolutely independent of lay control. Church lands, particularly the Papal States, were to stay strictly outside of any secular jurisdiction; and their respective boundaries were to be guaranteed by the lay princes. A law prohibiting the lay taxation of churches was firmly laid down by the Fourth Lateran Council⁶⁶ and was even more strongly stated in 1296 in the bull Clericis laicos, which threatened the use of ecclesiastical weapons for those who disobeyed:

We... have... decreed the sentence of excommunication to be incurred by the very act, against any ecclesiastics who shall, without apostolic authority, pay to laymen, as levies or talliages or any other part of their own or their churches' revenues or goods, under the name of loan, subvention, subsidy, gift, or any other designation whatsoever. The same sentence is to be incurred by emperors, kings... princes... podestas, etc., who impose or receive such payments, or take or help to take possession of the belongings of churches or ecclesiastics which are deposited in sacred buildings, or receive them when taken possession of....⁶⁷

Monarchs were also denied the right to punish members of the clergy

⁶⁴ Frederick II's sentence of deposition (June 1245) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 144.

⁶⁵ Canons 45 and 46 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215); Schroeder, op. cit., pp. 275-276.

⁶⁶ Canon 46; Schroeder, op. cit., p. 276. 77.

⁶⁷ Mann, op. cit., XVIII, p. 238. Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, pp. 133-134; and Pecaut, op. cit., p. 101.

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even for secular offenses. In a letter to the Danish king Innocent III upbraided the royalty for imprisoning a traitorous bishop:

... he ought not to have judged the servant of another, nor have treated a bishop with as little consideration as a worthless slave, but he ought to have deferred to the Roman Church, left judgment to the Apostolic See, and kept his hands guiltless.... Whatever were the crimes of the bishop, it may well be asked what evil has the Apostolic See committed, and what wrong has been wrought by the Universal Church that their rights should be injured in him?⁶⁸

Monarchs, as the vassals of Christ and therefore of the pope, were considered a vital link in the papal conceptions of unity and hierarchy:

The King of kings and Lord of lords, Jesus Christ, a priest forever after the order of Melchisedech, has so established in the Church His kingdom and His priesthood that the one is a kingdom of priests and the other a royal priesthood, as is testified by Moses in the law and by Peter in his Epistle; and over all He has set one whom He has appointed as His Vicar on earth, so that, as every knee is bowed to Jesus, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things over the earth, so all men should obey His Vicar and strive that there may be one fold and one shepherd. All secular kings for the sake of God so venerate this Vicar, that unless they seek to serve him devoutly they doubt if they are reigning properly.⁷⁰

Through the kings the popes hoped to be able to control all the laity. Thus, while asserting that the pope held the ultimate authority in all cases, Innocent III admonished royal vassals to take their legal cases first to their immediate overlords, the kings, rather than directly to the papacy.⁷¹ Those groups which rebelled against royal

⁶⁸ Ibid., XII, pp. 191-192.

⁶⁹ Leclercq, op. cit., p. 63.

⁷⁰ Letter from Innocent III to John of England (April 21, 1214) as cited in Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 177.

⁷¹ Venerabilem (1202) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, pp. 133-134; and Pacey, op. cit., p. 101.

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The king was obedient to the Holy See, his vassals were
 "draw the respect and honour due to him".⁷² However, the

instructed to regulate their "loyal attachment to the
 so as never to offend the Heavenly King".⁷³

Canon law also admitted that lay princes had some
 "all their own".⁷⁴ In the decretal Novit (1204)

stated that monarchs were supreme in purely feudal
 Boniface VIII was asserting papal supremacy over the

no man, therefore, imagine that we intend to
 or disturb the king's jurisdiction and power.... For
 to intend to judge concerning a fief, judgment on which
 to him.⁷⁵

which various kings had asked their territories in the
 Innocent made two important qualifications to this
 papal fiefs.

In the first place he mentioned that the papacy could not
 because it did not have the time to judge all cases
 London but over the whole world as well.

He implied that the papacy did have certain rights in the
 "Certainly believe that the pope, who is vicar of
 Secondly, Innocent added to the last sentence the phrase

and to judge] concerning sin, a judgment which
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 belongs to us, and which we can and should exercise
 200, as cited in Wierzy, The Kings of France and

".⁷⁶ Since almost any criminal act or breach of the
 Canon 42 (Council of 1215); Schroeder, op. cit., p. 134.

Letter from Innocent III to the Archbishop of Rouen (May
 cited in Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 40.
 Letter from Innocent III to the English magnates
 1207) as cited in Ibid., p. 97.

Wierzy, "The Continuity of Papal Political Theory in the
 century," p. 234; and Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., p. 27.
 Cheney and Semple, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

In his comment on Novit in the Decretales Innocent IV

peace could be interpreted as involving sin, Innocent's argument opened up vast possibilities for papal intervention in the secular sphere. Also, while warning prelates to stay out of civil cases,⁷⁷ he admitted no similar limitation on his own power.⁷⁸ Moreover, by the end of his pontificate Innocent had accepted the role of feudal overlord over Sicily, England, Aragon, Portugal, and Bulgaria.⁷⁹

This idea that the papacy could assume overt control in the secular state was accepted by all the thirteenth-century popes. In fact, as late as 1300 Boniface VIII was asserting papal suzerainty over the kingdom of Scotland.⁸⁰ However, none of the popes claimed any natural feudal overlordship but based their claims on written documents in which various kings had ceded their territories to the Holy See as papal fiefs.⁸¹

The supremacy of the papacy was not just to extend over Western Christendom but over the whole world as well:

... we do certainly believe that the pope, who is vicar of

nevertheless showed that it would be almost impossible to determine when such a case existed; Commentaria Super Libros Quinque Decretalium (1250) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 153.

⁷⁷ Canon 42 (Council of 1215); Schroeder, op. cit., p. 274.

⁷⁸ Letter to the English prelates (Summer 1215) as cited in Cheney and Sample, op. cit., p. 205.

⁷⁹ Karl Bihlmeyer, Church History, revised by Herman Tuechle and trans. by Victor E. Mills and Francis Muller (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1963), vol. II, p. 259.

⁸⁰ The Chronicle of Lanercost, trans. by Sir Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p. 171; and L. F. Salzman, Edward I (London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1968), p. 153.

⁸¹ Pœaut, op. cit., pp. 95-97.

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Jesus Christ, has power not only over Christians but also over all infidels, for Christ has power over all.... But all men, faithful and infidels, are Christ's sheep by creation even though they are not of the fold of the church and thus... it is clear that the pope has jurisdiction and power over all de iure though not de facto.

The papacy was to serve as the main ambassadorial organ between Europe and the rest of the world. As heads of the "true" faith, the popes were to bring all Christians within the unity of the Roman Church and to convert or eradicate all non-believers. In its relations with Christian groups outside the West the papacy strove for their recognition of the primacy of the Roman pontiff.⁸³

Throughout the century the various popes sent messengers to the Greeks and Nestorian Mongols in the hope of uniting all Christian groups under the Roman Church; and even such Christian peoples as the Ethiopians were contacted several times during the century.⁸⁴

The papacy was also in charge of the crusades and of missionary activities which worked for the conversion, eradication, or suppression of non-Christian groups. Although the actual work was always delegated to others, the popes acted as the central coordinating body for various enterprises. Also, while missionary activity was an old function of the papacy, it was not until the thirteenth century that the popes expanded their role to expeditions outside Western

⁸² Innocent IV's Commentaria Super Libros Quinque Decretalium (1250) as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 155.

⁸³ It should be noted that Innocent IV nevertheless argued that even infidel peoples could set up legitimate governments, although the theory apparently attracted little attention; Ibid., pp. 152 and 155-156.

⁸⁴ Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government, p. 307.

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Gregory IX, who sent various missions to the Arab world, belief in such missionary activity: "We believe that in the Redeemer it is just as good to bring infidels to confess as to crush their falsehood by force of arms."⁸⁶ The papacy truly saw itself as the great spiritual head of Christendom; and, indeed, did not all things ultimately belong to the spiritual realm? Who, after all, could separate the body from the soul in the present life; and in the last analysis was the body to be below and subservient to the spirit? The medieval papacy answered such questions in the affirmative; and in their Christ-given task, the ultimate salvation of the world, the popes felt justified, indeed compelled, to intervene in all spheres where the human soul might be endangered or neglected. Papal policy thus rested upon the theory that the papacy encompassed the whole of human life. However, the papacy to achieve its goals--was not this goal in many ways the establishment of God's kingdom on earth?--depended upon the stability of papal assumptions and aspirations by the medieval European society.

what the papacy and princes were to contend over their own respective rights.

PART II: THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

throughout the thirteenth century imperial thought was in a state of evolution because of the introduction of canon law

ann, op. cit., XII, p. 131.
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While the Papal theories of a single Christian society under Roman papal leadership called for the full cooperation of the secular princes of Europe whose power was to be subordinate to that of Rome. Nevertheless, there were many questions involved in this papal attitude towards the secular state: did the secular princes view the papacy as their superior in all areas of thought and action? what did they regard as the proper relationship between papacy and monarch? what did they consider the proper function of the papacy in regard to the state? These questions were generally not answered in concrete political tracts but in the day to day relations between the secular princes and the papacy. When political tracts did appear, they usually occurred at moments when the papacy and princes were locked in conflict over their own respective rights. imperialists who often saw the popes, not as defending their independence, but as PART I: THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE¹ the Empire. Therefore, Throughout the thirteenth century imperial thought was in a process of evolution because of the introduction of Roman law

¹ Sicily, Venice, and the Papal States have been included in this section, although they properly constituted separate political units.

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and because of the general overall advancement of Western society in the social, political, and economic spheres. These new ideas concerning the rights and functions of the Empire were incorporated by Dante in his De Monarchia early in the following century. Nevertheless, even before 1200 the Empire had a tradition in European society quite equal to that of the papacy so that on a theoretical level at least the two powers were more or less at the same stage of development. While the West had never quite forgotten the glories of the old Roman Empire, emperors such as Charlemagne, the three Otto's, Frederick I, and Henry VI had already established the fundamental principles of imperial power just as Gregory VII and his successors had established the bases of papal government.²

If both the Empire and the papacy had a tradition concerning their own rights, they also had a tradition of conflict with each other. Indeed, the formulation and elaboration of many of their theories concerning their respective rights had come as a result of the struggle in which the papacy had attempted to free the Church from secular interference and the Empire had hoped to subordinate the Church to its own necessities. Papal theories of sovereignty and supremacy had never been totally accepted by the imperialists who often saw the popes, not as defending their own independence, but as offending against the rights of the Empire. Therefore, although theorists generally maintained that the two powers were supposed to work in harmony, history had repeatedly shown

² Geoffrey Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany (New York: Capricorn Books, 1963), pp. 3-246.

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that the two were incompatible.³ The main conflict between the Empire and the papacy centered around the inability of either side to draw a clear distinction between the religious and secular spheres-- the inability to separate body from soul. If the papacy claimed rights in the secular sphere, the medieval emperors also claimed rights in the religious sphere. The idea that imperial power came directly from God dated back to the old Roman Empire and was a favorite theme of medieval imperialists, especially after the eleventh century. To further complicate the matter the imperial coronation of Charlemagne by the pope in 800 had put the Empire into a clearly Christian context.⁴ The emperor's duties were thereby changed and expanded to include the task of spreading and defending Christendom. Charlemagne's successor, Louis the Pious, truly saw the Empire as "scarcely indistinguishable from the Church".⁵ This religious significance of the Empire was again brought to the fore in 962 when Otto I attempted to revive imperial power. Rather than seeing themselves as the servants of the Church, Otto and his successors considered themselves the leaders of the Church and worked hard to make Rome the center of their empire and to reform the papacy which had fallen into the hands of the warring Roman nobility.⁶ While a certain

³ Albert Hays, Christianity and Politics: A History of the Principles and Struggles of Church and State (New York: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1902), p. 225.

⁴ Henry A. Myers, "The Concept of Kingship in the 'Book of Emperors' ('Kaiserchronik')," Traditio, XXVII (1971), p. 225.

⁵ Roland H. Bainton, The Medieval Church (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1962), p. 27.

⁶ Robert Folz, The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century, trans. by Shiela Ann Ogilvie (Great Britain: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1969), p. 26.

⁷ Thomas Curtis Van Cleave, The Emperor Frederick II of

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degree of religious leadership was an accepted imperial function, the fact that large areas of land in Germany were directly controlled by ecclesiastics made this policy of imperial control over the Church imperative if the emperors wished to consolidate their imperial power. Unfortunately for the emperors, the reformed papacy showed no desire to be subordinate to a secular government.⁷ However, the resulting Investiture Struggle brought no clear victory for either side. Frederick I, the strongest emperor following this controversy, refused to admit papal control over the clergy in temporal affairs, continued to press imperial rights over Rome and Italy, and "claimed the status of the Christ (the anointed) of the Lord".⁸ The marriage of Frederick's son Henry to Constance, the heiress of the Kingdom of Sicily, further threatened papal independence, since it meant that papally claimed territories were to be surrounded on all sides by a single powerful state.⁹ At the same time the revival of Roman law during the twelfth century enlarged the concept of empire beyond its religious role in Christendom;¹⁰ and the idea of the empire as an institution derived directly from God for the common welfare of humanity became a

¹⁵ "In the papacy now claimed guardianship and suzerainty." Hohenstaufen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 1.

⁷ Albert Hyma, Christianity and Politics: A History of the Principles and Struggles of Church and State (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1938), pp. 24-25.

⁸ Folz, op. cit., pp. 101-102; and Van Cleave, op. cit., p. 2.

⁹ Van Cleave, op. cit., pp. 5 and 35.

¹⁰ William E. Brynteson, "Roman Law and Legislation in the Middle Ages," Speculum, XLI (July 1966), p. 422.

U. P. Wiley, "Papal Armies in the Thirteenth Century," English Historical Review, LXII (1957), p. 15.

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¹¹ Folz, s

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dominant element in imperialist thought.¹¹ This idea of the empire as both a secular and a religious institution was being furthered developed by Henry VI at the time of his unexpected death in 1197. Moreover, throughout his brief reign Henry had made it clear that he intended to make Sicily play a vital role in future imperial expansion despite strong protests from the papacy.¹² A minor clash between papist and imperialist factions occurred in the first years of Innocent III's pontificate. Upon assuming the papal tiara, Innocent found the independence of papally claimed territories threatened from the south by imperialist forces under Markward of Anweiler, a former follower of Henry VI and an ally of Philip of Swabia.¹³ Although Constance, Henry VI's widow, had made Sicily a papal fief and had given Innocent the guardianship of her son Frederick to prevent a takeover by the hated Germans, Markward refused to recognize the validity of Constance's actions and continued to push imperial claims.¹⁴ The pope was soon forced into calling on the cities of Northern Italy, particularly those of Lombardy and Tuscany, for military aid against Markward's invasion into the Papal States and Sicily, over which the papacy now claimed guardianship and suzerainty.¹⁵

¹¹ Folz, op. cit., pp. 103-108.

¹² Van Cleve, op. cit., p. 20.

¹³ Elizabeth Kennan, "Innocent III and the First Political Crusade: A Comment on the Limitations of Papal power," Traditio, XXVII (1971), p. 233.

¹⁴ Van Cleve, op. cit., p. 37.

¹⁵ D. P. Waley, "Papal Armies in the Thirteenth Century," English Historical Review, LXXII (1957), p. 15.

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17 Kennan

18 Ibid.,

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These cities, while nominally imperial, had long been the allies of the papacy against the encroachments of aggressive emperors; and their aid was often counted upon by the various popes. Nevertheless, their aid never materialized in 1199; and the pope was finally forced to rely upon the military services of the French mercenary Walter of Brienne, after his call for a crusade against Markward had gone unheeded. The failure of the Italian cities to help in the struggle amply demonstrated the fact-- a fact which was to be shown repeatedly throughout the thirteenth century-- that these cities felt no great love for the papacy as an institution but only became papal allies when they felt that their own interests were threatened.¹⁶ At the same time Markward, who offered to make peace with the Church in regard to any spiritual offenses, flatly told the papacy that it had no business meddling in his own personal political affairs.¹⁷ Thus, within the first two years of his pontificate Innocent had met two distinct imperial affronts upon papal supremacy: the indifference of the northern cities and the open belligerence of Markward of Anweiler. Moreover, few had responded to Innocent's denunciation of Markward as an enemy of Christ and the Church.¹⁸ This lack of response indicated no corresponding lack of religious enthusiasm but a failure on the part of the Italians to identify the political interests of the papacy with the spiritual needs of their religion.¹⁹ This failure in turn

¹⁶ Kennan, *op. cit.*, p. 238; and Van Cleave, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

¹⁷ Kennan, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹⁹ See Chapter IV for the religious life of the Italians.

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implied that many Italians did not totally accept the role of the papacy as the ultimate source of all authority in Christian society.

Another more blatant example of Italian disrespect for papal claims occurred only a few years later during the Fourth Crusade when the Venetians persuaded the French crusaders to aid them in their recapture of Zara despite a papal order not to attack any Christian territory²⁰ and the papal threat of excommunication if they should do so.²¹ Robert of Clari, one of the principle chroniclers of the crusade, described the insistence of the Venetian doge on attacking Zara:

Then the doge spoke again to the barons and said: 'Lords, know you well that I will not in any degree give over being avenged on them [the people of Zara], no, not even for the apostolic see.'²²

Unwilling to see the whole venture abandoned, Innocent nevertheless soon granted absolution to the crusaders.²³ However, rather than proceeding to the Holy Land as the papacy wished, the Venetians, working in conjunction with some of the allies of Philip of Swabia, contrived to have the crusaders attack Constantinople.²⁴ The final

²⁰ Achille Luchaire, Innocent III: La question d'Orient (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1907), pp. 101-102. The diversion of the Fourth Crusade to lands held by Greek Christians is briefly discussed by Donald E. Queller, "Innocent III and the Crusader-Venetian Treaty of 1201," Medievalia et Humanistica, XV (1963), pp. 31-34. Queller strongly believes that the attacks on Zara and Constantinople were completely contrary to the express orders of the pope.

²¹ Robert of Clari, The Conquest of Constantinople, trans. by Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), p. 43.

²² Ibid., p. 44.

²³ Geoffrey Villehardouin, The Conquest of Constantinople, trans. by M. R. B. Shaw (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 53.

²⁴ Robert of Clari, op. cit., p. 59.

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the crusaders over the Greeks was ended by "a scene of pillage"²⁵ in which, according to Villehardouin, both the Venetians were so greedy for booty that they were totally by fear of excommunication by the Pope."²⁶ Although the Pope expressed shock and horror at the whole affair,²⁷ he was forced to acquiesce in the fait accompli and to hope that the Pope would bring the Greeks back to the Roman Church.²⁸ In the end the Venetians fraudulently obtained their absolution from the Pope, continually opposed many of Rome's ideas regarding the Greeks, and openly ignored papal excommunications.²⁹ Throughout the whole venture the Venetians demonstrated a willingness to sacrifice any of their own interests for the papacy and even expressed no fear of papal sentences. Nevertheless, it was the disputed election between Philip and Otto of Brunswick³⁰ which brought the first major

²⁵ Villehardouin, op. cit., p. 91.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 94.

²⁷ Letter of Innocent III to the papal legate Peter in the name as cited in James A. Brundage, The Crusades: A Survey (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Marquette University Press, pp. 208-209).

²⁸ Letter of Innocent III to the clergy and crusaders in the name as cited in Edward Peters, ed., Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198-1227: Sources in Translation (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), p. 22.

²⁹ Luchaire, Innocent III: La Question d'Orient, p. 219.

³⁰ Shortly before his death Henry VI had persuaded the electors to elect his infant son Frederick as King of the Romans; this earlier election was generally overlooked by both sides because of Frederick's extreme youth.

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clash between the papacy and the Empire in the thirteenth century. Fearing the traditional Hohenstaufen ambitions which had threatened the papacy during the previous century under Frederick I and Henry VI and realizing the danger of Philip's support of Markward in Sicily,³¹ Innocent threw his support behind Otto.³² Nevertheless, Philip, the brother of Henry VI, was the more popular candidate; and many imperial subjects, particularly in Germany, continued to view him as the true emperor. Writing some twenty years later, the moderate Caesarius of Heisterbach still referred to Philip as the rightful emperor despite the fact that he had never been recognized by the papacy and had even been excommunicated.³³ Another chronicler, Albert of Stade, partially settled the confusion by referring to both Philip and Otto as kings--an impossibility according to both imperial and papist theories.³⁴

While the imperialists generally accepted the right of the pope to crown the emperor, they rejected Innocent III's assertion that the pope could confirm or deny the choice of the German Electors.³⁵ The references of both Caesarius and Albert to Philip as emperor clearly indicated that Germans did not generally accept any papal

³¹ Van Cleve, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

³² Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany, pp. 206-207.

³³ Caesarius of Heisterbach, The Dialogue on Miracles, trans. by Von C. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland with an introduction by G. G. Coulton (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1929), vol. II, pp. 70-71.

³⁴ Albert von Stade, Chronik (Leipzig: Verlag der Onkschen Buchhandlung), p. 56.

³⁵ Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles, ed., Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi (6 vols.; Paris: Henri Plon, 1852-1861), vol. I, pp. 49-50.

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37. Bayley,

38. Ibid.,

39. Ibid.,

action as the prime factor in the selection of an emperor. The Declaration of Spire, made by Philip's supporters in 1199, firmly proclaimed that only the imperial princes had the right to elect an emperor and admitted no limitations to the power of a properly elected emperor even in the absence of a coronation by the papacy; the pope's duty was simply to crown the properly elected emperor, not to decide who should or should not be emperor.³⁶ At the same time even the supporters of Otto refused the right of the papacy to judge a disputed election.³⁷ The rights of the German Electors were further stated in the Halle Manifesto of 1202 whereby Philip's supporters demanded the immediate coronation of Philip and said the disputed election could only be decided by a spontaneous agreement among the Electors.³⁸ Two German civil lawyers, Eike von Repgau and Johann Zemeke, likewise refuted the right of the papacy to interfere in imperial elections, although Eike did maintain that imperial power was only conferred by the papal coronation.³⁹ Others did not so much question the legal right of the papacy to interfere as the justice of such action. While admitting the legitimacy of the Donation of Constantine, one of the bases for the pope's intervention, the imperialist poet Walther von der Vogelweide claimed that Constantine's

³⁶Charles C. Bayley, The Formation of the German College of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949), p. 120; and Edouard Jordan, L'Allemagne et l'Italie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1939), p. 183.

³⁷Bayley, op. cit., p. 121.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 127-128.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 130-131.

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action hindered rather than promoted the welfare of Christian society:

Kunc Constantin du gap so vil,
 als ich ez iu bescheiden wil,
 dem stuol ze Rome, sper kriuz unde krone.
 Zehent der engel lute schre
 'ouwe, ouwe, zem dritten wel
 e stuont diu kristenheit mit zuhten schone:
 der ist ein gift nu gevallen
 daz wirt der werlt her nach vil leit.'
 alle fursten lebent nu mit eren,
 wan der hochete ist geswachet:
 daz hat der pfaffen wal gemacht.
 daz si dir, sueger got, gekleit.
 die pfaffen wellent leied reht⁴⁰ verkeren.
 der engel hat uns war geseit.

By interfering in the imperial elections, the pope was, according to

Vogelweide, actually betraying Christendom:

Ze Rome horte ich liegen
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 do sich begunden zweien
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 daz was ein not vor aller mot:
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 die pfaffen striten sere:
 doch wart der leien sie dernider,
 und griffen zero der stole wider:
 sie bienen die sie wolten,
 und niht den sie solten.
 do storte man diu goteshus.
 ich horte verre in einer klus
 vil nichel ungebaere:

⁴⁰ Walther von der Vogelweide, trans. by Walther Bulst
 (Berlin: Der Temple), p. 61. Translation [by Walther von der
 Vogelweide, 'I Saw the World', trans. by Ian G. Colvin (London:
 Edward Arnold and Company, 1938), p. 64.]: "King Constantine in
 folly gave the Cross, the Crown, the Sacred Stave that pierced our
 Lord, all to the Holy See. The angel mourned his folly so: 'Ah
 woe, ah woe, ah threefold woe! For Christendom is now in jeopardy.
 I see a subtil poison fall; their honey will be turned to gall; on
 man a heavy burden will be laid.' The prince loses all proper awe;
 the highest prince is of all power deprived by this election which
 the priests contrived. Let accusation before God be made; the
 clerics are perverting the civil law. It is no falsehood what the
 angel said!"

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⁴¹ Bulst, Jones, Walther von (1932), p. 96. is "I find that arose the men between themselves distress above all number of laymen in they excommunicated have. Thus men bet. feet weiling; there add 'Ales, the Pop

⁴² Caesar

⁴³ Van Cle

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us, who did not explicitly deny all papal rights in the
 e, warned against the Church holding both swords and
 e proper function of the clergy, both higher and lower,
 to the spiritual needs of their flocks.⁴²

he unexpected murder of Philip in 1208 brought an end to
 r which had been devastating Germany; and in October of the
 ar the pope crowned Otto IV as emperor at Rome after Otto
 to uphold the independence of papally claimed territories in
 fortunately, Otto shared the ambitions, if not the popularity,
 staufens and soon began to assert imperial claims in Sicily
 l States, thus jeopardizing papal independence.⁴⁴ At the
 to further asserted his independence from Rome by refusing
 s quarrel with Philip II of France to papal arbitration.⁴⁵

¹Bulst, op. cit., p. 20. Translation [by George T.
 er von der Voelweide (New York: Twaine Publishers Inc.,
 .): "In Rome I heard the lying, two kings being betrayed.
 ose the greatest struggle that ever was or ever will be,
 themselves priests and laymen took sides. That was a
 ve all distress. The priests fought violently, yet the
 ymen increased, so the priests took up their stoles.
 nicated whomever they wished instead of those they should
 man betrayed God's house. I heard far away in a cell such
 g; there a hermit was crying, he lamented his sorrows to
 the Pope is too young. Lord, help thy Christendom."

²Caesarius of Hiesterbach, op. cit., I, p. 111.

³Van Cleve, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

⁴Roger of Wendover, Flowers of History, trans. by J. A.
 n: Henry G. Bohn, 1848), vol. II, pp. 253-254.

⁵Jordan, op. cit., p. 190.

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Unable to control his own creature, Innocent excommunicated him, declared him deposed, and shifted his support to the young son of Henry VI, Frederick II.⁴⁶ The imperial party viewed this manoeuvre as a complete act of treachery on the part of the pope. In a series of poems written between 1213 and 1216 Walther von der Vogelweide continually lampooned the pope for his treachery, greed, and corruption:

Ahi wie kristenliche nu der babst lachet,
swenne er sinen Walhen seit: 'ich hanz also gemachet!'
Daz er da seit, des solte er niemer had gedaht.
Er giht, 'ich han zwen Alleman under einer krone braht,
daz seiz riche sulen stoeren unde wasten.
Ic da under fuller wie die kasten:
ich han si an miner stoc gement, ir quot ist allez min:
ir tuitschez silber vert in miner welschen schrin.
Ir pfaffen, ezzet huener und trinket win,
unde lat die tuitschen leien mægern unde vasten.'

Sagt an, her Stoc, hat iuch der babst her gesendet,
Daz ir in richet und uns Tiutschen ermet unde pfendet?
swenn im diu wolle mæze kumt ze Lateran,
so tuot er einen argen list, ale er e hat getan:
er seit uns danns wie daz riche ste verwarren,
unz in erfullent aber alle pfarren.
ich waen des silbers wenie kumet ze helfe in gotes lant:
grozen hort zerteilet selten pfaffen hant.
her Stoc, ir sit schaden her gesant,
daz ir uz tiutschen liuten suochet toerinne unde narren.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 179 and 188-189; Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany, p. 212; and Ernest Kantorowicz, Frederick the Second, 1194-1250, trans. by E. O. Lorimer (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1931), pp. 47-49.

⁴⁷ Bulst, op. cit., p. 80. Translation [by Jones, op. cit., pp. 104-105.]: "Aha, how Christianly the pope laughs when he says to his Italian cronies: 'I have made it so!' (What he says he shouldn't even have thought.) He boasts, 'I have put two Germans under one crown so that they will destroy and devastate the Empire. Meanwhile, we can fill our chests: I have goaded them with my stick, their wealth is all mine: Their German silver is flowing into my Roman safe. You priests, eat chicken and drink wine; let the German laity hunger and fast. / Tell me, Sir Stick, did the pope send you here to make himself rich by robbing us? When the full amount reaches the

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Her babet, ich mac wol genesen:
 wan ich wil iu geharsan wesen.
 wir horten iuch der kristenheit gebeiten
 was wir dem keiser solten plegen,
 do in im gebet den gotes segen,
 daz wir in herren hiezen und vor im knisten.
 ouch sult ir niht vergezzen,
 ir sprached 'swer dich segens, der si
 gesegnet: swer dir fluoche, der si verfluochet
 mit fluoche volmezzen.'
 durch got bedenket iuch da bi
 ob ir den pfaffen ere iht geruochet.

Got git ze kunege swen er wil:
 der umbe wundert mich niht vil:
 uns leien wundert umbe der pfaffen lere.
 sie lerten uns bi kurzen tagen:
 daz wellents uns nu widersagen.
 nu tuonz durch got und durch ir selber ere,
 und sagen uns bi er triuwen,
 volreken uns dir einen wol von grunde,
 die alten ode die niuwen.
 uns dunket einz si gelogen.
 zwo zungen stant unebne in einem munde.⁴⁸

Lateran, he will play a dirty trick, as he did before: he will tell
 the Empire to remain in confusion until our parishes fill the chest
 again. I doubt the silver will be of help in God's land, for
 priests' hands seldom share treasures. Sir Stick, you have been sent
 here to ruin and make fools of the German people." This poem hinges
 upon the word Stoc which can be translated either as "stick" or as
 "chest" and is obviously a pun. It was written in 1213 when Innocent
 was collecting money for another crusade.

⁴⁸Bulst, op. cit., pp. 24 and 28. Translation [by Jones,
op. cit., pp. 108-109.]: "Sir Pope, I can surely win salvation,
 except I wish to obey you. On the day you gave Otto God's blessing,
 we heard you command all Christendom how to behave towards the
 emperor, to call him 'lord', to kneel before him. You shouldn't
 forget what you said: 'If anyone blesses you, let him be blessed;
 if anyone curses you, let him be cursed with a full measure of
 curses.' For the sake of God, think this matter over, if you value
 at all the honor of the priesthood. / God gives us whomever he
 wishes as our king, and this does not surprise me. We laymen are
 amazed, however, at what you clerics teach. Yesterday you taught
 us this, today you contradict it. For the sake of God and your own
 honor, tell us what story to believe. Explain just one story from
 the beginning, the old one or the new one. It appears to us that
 one of them is false; two tongues do not fit evenly in one mouth."

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At the same time an anonymous work entitled the Carmen de Ottone called for the overthrow of Frederick and said that the pope was more Apostaticus (apostate) than Apostolicus (apostolic).⁴⁹ Caesarius also later insinuated that Innocent had acted wrongly in the affair:

NOVICE. --At the time of the division of the Roman Empire, the lord pope Innocent was condemned by many who said he was the author of the schism, first by taking hotly the part of Otto, and afterwards by opposing him.

MONK. --That is why when the same Innocent of blessed memory was one day preaching at Rome to edify the people, John Capot, who was an adherent of Otto, interrupted him, crying out: "Thy words are the words of God, but thy deeds are the deeds of the devil."⁵⁰

Abruptly stopping the discussion at this point, Caesarius seemed to suggest that Innocent, who was heavily praised in other parts of his work, was at fault on this issue. Nevertheless, the German Electors soon deserted the unpopular Otto and at a council at Nurenburg adhered to the pope's choice of Frederick II, although they again emphasized the sole right of the German princes to elect the emperor.⁵¹ Meanwhile, Otto refused to accept the validity of the papal deposition and on his deathbed in 1218 insisted upon being buried in the imperial vestments.⁵²

The first years of Frederick II's reign were remarkably peaceful for the papacy. Despite a few early minor squabbles with

⁴⁹Horace Kinder Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company, Ltd., 1931), vol. XI, p. 214.

⁵⁰Caesarius of Heisterbach, op. cit., I, p. 115.

⁵¹Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 195-197; and Jordan, L'Allemagne et l'Italie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, pp. 193-194.

⁵²Van Cleve, op. cit., p. 112.

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⁵³ Hist
Van Cleave, op. c

⁵⁴ Hist

⁵⁵ Ibid
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Innocent over his treatment of certain Sicilian bishops⁵³ Frederick acted extremely conciliatory towards the pope. In the Golden Bull of Eger (July 12, 1213) he acknowledged the great benefits he had received from the pope, his 'dearest lord and most reverend father, protector, and benefactor', and promised to rectify all abuses perpetrated by his ancestors. The March of Ancona and the Duchy of Spoleto were to be returned to the Roman Church, while the Kingdom of Sicily was to be defended and retained as a fief for the papacy. Church rights were also to be restored in Germany, although this was to be done 'with the council and consent of the princes of the Empire'.⁵⁴ Taken altogether, this bull largely recognized papal rights within the Empire and the spiritual function of the emperor to defend these rights. Two years later Frederick took the cross and thus acknowledged the papal claim that one of the more important duties of a Christian prince was to liberate the Holy Land.⁵⁵ Frederick also promised never to unite Sicily to the Empire, since such an action would jeopardize papal independence.⁵⁶

Despite all these promises Frederick gradually began to reassert his imperial and royal rights after the death of Innocent. While the complaisant Honorius III generally appeared willing to accept Frederick's promises to go on a crusade and to abandon Sicily,

⁵³ Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 140-142 and 170-171; and Van Cleve, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

⁵⁴ Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 268-271.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 394-395. Van Cleve said Frederick was actually usurping papal leadership over the crusade by this act; op. cit., p. 97.

⁵⁶ Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 469-470.

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the emperor was busy amassing support in Germany and Sicily. Although trying to regain regalian rights over the Sicilian Church,⁵⁷ he nevertheless evinced great care at this time in not pushing his regalian rights so far that he would offend the papacy.⁵⁸ When the pope complained that he was interfering in episcopal elections, intercepting papal letters, and disregarding clerical immunities,⁵⁹ Frederick either totally ignored the protests or denied knowledge of such abuses.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, in Germany the emperor made numerous concessions to the high prelates and princes so as to win their support for the election of his son Henry as King of the Romans despite papal opposition.⁶¹ Nevertheless, despite these minor indications that Frederick was trying to dominate the churches in his territories for the benefit of the Empire, the main thrust of his policy seemed to be one of harmony and cooperation with the papacy. Frequently referring to the pope as his 'father', Frederick based his delays for going on a crusade on the grounds that he was needed at home to protect the churches.⁶² His reluctance to give up

⁵⁷ James M. Powell, "Frederick II and the Church: A Revisionist View," Catholic Historical Review, XLVIII (January 1963), p. 493.

⁵⁸ James M. Powell, "Frederick II and the Church in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1220-1224," Church History, XXX (March 1961), p. 33.

⁵⁹ Historia Diplomatica, II, pp. 200-201, 384-387, 588-599, and 633-635.

⁶⁰ Ibid., II, pp. 283-284, 286-287, 409-413, and 675-677.

⁶¹ Georges Blondel, Etude sur la politique de l'Empereur Frédéric II en Allemagne (Paris : Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1892), p. 215; and Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 103.

⁶² Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 636-638.

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Sicily was motivated, he claimed, by his sincere desires to protect Sicily as a papal fief and to facilitate preparations for a crusade.⁶³ Even when the pope openly sided with the Lombard League against the emperor's attempt to bring it back under imperial control, Frederick finally submitted to the pope's arbitration, although only after an initial outburst of rage in which he blamed the Roman curia for overt unfriendliness.⁶⁴

The peaceful days of seeming cooperation between church and state ended under Honorius' successor, Gregory IX, who proved less tractable and soon had Frederick excommunicated for his failure to keep his crusading vows and for his wrongs against the Sicilian Church.⁶⁵ The emperor immediately declared the excommunication unjust and accused the papacy of wanting to subjugate all secular princes through the use of its spiritual weapons.⁶⁶ In a long letter to the crusaders Frederick presented his case against the pope. Claiming that the Roman Empire had been 'destined by divine provision for the defense of the Christian faith' and that the emperor had been given the secular sword 'by God for the defense of

⁶³ Ibid., I, pp. 741-744.

⁶⁴ Kantorowicz, op. cit., pp. 155 and 159. Van Cleve states that this incident marked a major turning point in Frederick's attitude towards the papacy which he henceforth came to regard as a competing temporal power; op. cit., p. 187.

⁶⁵ Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 32-34. Van Cleve, Powell, Barraclough, and Kantorowicz all agree that Gregory excommunicated Frederick primarily for his aggressive policy in Northern Italy and that the crusade was only a side issue. While this opinion is largely justified, it neglects the overall importance of the crusades to papal policy in general.

⁶⁶ Roger of Wendover, op. cit., p. 505.

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the faith and of ecclesiastical liberty', Frederick said that the papacy 'to which the Lord concedes power over earth' had wronged him as a child by ignoring his legal election by the German princes in 1196 and was continuing to wrong him through an unjust excommunication. He further claimed that it was his duty as a Christian prince to protest against the pope's 'manifest and grave injury' which was jeopardizing the crusade, the Empire, and the peace of Christendom. Several times throughout the letter he referred to his own 'pure and sincere soul' which had been the cause of his elevation to the Empire through the intervention of the Holy Spirit and which would ultimately protect him from injury.⁶⁷ Although this letter accepted the papacy's view that the Empire had a special relationship with the Church, it denied a complete dependence of the emperor on the papacy and acknowledged the right of the emperor to protect himself against unfair papal actions. Moreover, it asserted that the emperor received spiritual grace directly from God with the pope holding no intermediary position. In another letter to Henry III of England Frederick recalled the recent papal actions against King John and the Count of Toulouse, both of whom had been deprived of their temporal power, and said that the Roman Church which was supposed to be their mother was the 'center and origin of all evils, behaving not as a mother but as a stepmother'. He ended this letter by an attack upon all prelates who, he claimed, were trying to take over the world through the use of their ecclesiastical weapons.⁶⁸ At about the same

⁶⁷Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 36-38.

⁶⁸Ibid., III, pp. 48-50.

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time Frederick also issued an encyclical ordering the papal interdict not to be honored in his kingdom and the temporal goods confiscated from all churchmen who wished to obey the pope.⁶⁹ Later, in a letter ordering the crusaders to prepare themselves, he accused the Roman Pontiff of disturbing the internal tranquility of the Empire and said he hoped that Gregory would not behave 'indecently' towards him to the detriment of the crusade.⁷⁰ In the following May he set out for the Holy Land as an excommunicate and against the express orders of the pope.⁷¹ In all of these letters and actions Frederick seemed to be asserting a certain independence of the secular power in regard to the papacy even in the spiritual realm. Also, while he acknowledged the parental quality of the papacy, he insisted upon the right of the lay prince to govern his territories without papal intervention. Frederick's claims for a religious significance for the emperor were more fully brought out in a letter to the commune of Civita Nova where he asserted that he had received his power directly from God and that he was held responsible to God for conserving the peace of his subjects, a peace which the Church was disturbing.⁷² According to Frederick, rather than the Empire aiding the papacy, the Church was supposed to support the emperor in his projects. Accusing the pope of excommunicating him without reason, of misusing church funds to invade his lands, and of preventing a crusade, Frederick stated,

⁶⁹ Ibid., III, pp. 50-51.

⁷⁰ Ibid., III, pp. 57-60.

⁷¹ Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 230; and Van Cleve, op. cit., p. 207.

⁷² Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 66-68.

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'the highest pontiff provokes us unjustly and unworthily, when he ought by his paternal compassion to provide for our labors.'⁷³

The ensuing war between pope and emperor again brought out the bitter anti-papal attacks of such imperialists as Walther von der Vogelweide, who hailed Frederick's crusade as a great triumph for Christianity and accused the papacy of diverting crusade funds for its own interests.⁷⁴ A certain Sicilian count named Thomas expressed amazement at the pope's invasion of Sicily, especially since Frederick was on a crusade and since Christ had told Peter to put away the temporal sword.⁷⁵ Even Hermann of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, who was very respectful towards the papacy, strongly defended the actions of Frederick and denied any bad intentions on the part of the emperor who had delivered Jerusalem from the Moslems.⁷⁶ Indeed, despite the papal disapproval of Frederick's crusade many in Europe and the Holy Land saw his action as a victory for Christendom and questioned the justice of the emperor's excommunication.⁷⁷ Only the Lombard League, which feared imperial designs on its independence,⁷⁸ came out in open, although

⁷³Ibid., III, p. 73.

⁷⁴Bulst, op. cit., p. 80; and George Madison Priest, A Brief History of German Literature (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), p. 53.

⁷⁵Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 110-112.

⁷⁶Ibid., III, pp. 90-93 and 99-102.

⁷⁷Roger of Wendover, op. cit., p. 521; and Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 182.

⁷⁸Barracough, The Origins of Modern Germany, p. 230.

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limited support of Gregory,⁷⁹ while many of the German princes tried to stay out of the controversy altogether on the grounds that Frederick's dispute with the papacy involved the emperor's activities in Sicily, which was technically not a part of the Empire.⁸⁰ However, the fact that Germany generally sympathized with the emperor was shown by the fact that many of the German prelates and princes took an active role in Frederick's forbidden crusade⁸¹ and later aided him in his reconquest of Sicily from papal mercenaries,⁸² while the German Hermann of Salza worked hard to restore peace between Gregory and the emperor.⁸³ Gregory's call for a new imperial election was also met with no response from the princes who nevertheless did promise to vouch for the emperor's good intentions.⁸⁴ Indeed, Hermann's contention that Frederick was guilty of no major wrong-doing was undoubtedly shared by most of the Germans who continued to associate with the emperor despite his excommunication.

Peace was finally restored in July 1230 by the Treaty of Caparano, in which the emperor made many concessions in regard to the Sicilian Church to escape from the ban of excommunication.⁸⁵ Admitting

⁷⁹ Kantorowicz, op. cit., pp. 198 and 210; and Van Cleve, op. cit., p. 210.

⁸⁰ Jordan, L'Allemagne et l'Italie, p. 226.

⁸¹ Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 207-214.

⁸² Van Cleve, op. cit., p. 228.

⁸³ Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 90-93 and 99-102.

⁸⁴ Van Cleve, op. cit., pp. 205 and 231.

⁸⁵ Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 209.

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his inadequacies in regard to his fulfillment of crusade vows and his defense of church liberties, Frederick promised to obey the mandates of the Church, to return confiscated goods, to receive back into his grace those who had fought for the Church, to abolish all laws enacted against them, to never again invade the Patrimony of St. Peter, to restore all exiled prelates, to levy no taxes on churches or clergy, to bring no clergyman into civil courts except on feudal matters, and to allow free ecclesiastical elections.⁸⁶ Here again, Frederick followed a policy of appeasement to the Church in order to gain the papacy as an ally. Later, Frederick was to assert that the Empire and the papacy were united by an 'identity of souls': 'indeed, we firmly believe and publicly assert that we two, father and son, are one.'⁸⁷

Despite all these words and promises Frederick continued to follow his old policy of building up the state with little regard for the claims of the church. In the Constitutions of Melfi the emperor made laws concerning heresy, blasphemy, marriage, donations to churches, and the inheritance rights of the sons of clergymen,⁸⁸ all of which items properly belonged to the realm of the Church, at least according to Gregory.⁸⁹ Moreover, while insisting upon the right of a Christian prince to maintain the Church, Frederick

⁸⁶ Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 207-220.

⁸⁷ Ibid., IV, pp. 408-411.

⁸⁸ Ibid., IV, pp. 5-7, 134, 175, and 225-229.

⁸⁹ Ibid., III, p. 290; and Powell, "Frederick II and the Church: A Revisionist View," p. 495.

paraphrased the old Biblical quotation of "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" and claimed that kings and princes had a duty independent of any relationship with the papacy.⁹⁰ The purely secular character of the Empire was more clearly stated in one of Frederick's letters to the Romans. Making no reference to either the Church or the papacy, he lamented the present decline of Rome and asked why the city no longer accomplished great things:

...you perhaps will respond that it was the kings and caesars who did these great things. Behold! you have a king and caesar who for the exaltation of the Roman Empire has exposed his person, opened his treasury, not spared his labor. You have a king who has excited your sleep with continual interruptions....

At the same time the emperor continued his attempt to subjugate the cities of Northern Italy to imperial control, although such subjugation in the end threatened the independence of papal territories and thus of the papacy itself.⁹² Of course, Frederick usually insisted in his letters to the pope that he was pushing his imperial claims in Italy 'particularly for the honor of the church.'⁹³

Although the next few years were relatively calm despite all these minor infractions,⁹⁴ Frederick's success in bringing

⁹⁰ Ibid., IV, pp. 847-852.

⁹¹ Ibid., IV, pp. 901-903. A similar letter was sent to the Romans in January 1238; Ibid., pp. 161-163.

⁹² Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany, pp. 230-231.

⁹³ Historia Diplomatica, IV, pp. 442-444 and 872-880.

⁹⁴ The period of peace between 1230 and 1236 can largely be attributed to the internal problems of both pope and emperor. While the Romans were causing Gregory difficulties, Henry VII was rebelling against his father in Germany.

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Northern Italy under imperial domination brought about his renewed excommunication despite the emperor's efforts to keep peace with the papacy.⁹⁵ While Frederick quickly stated his willingness to submit to the Church in ecclesiastical matters, he flatly denied the papacy's right to determine imperial control over Northern Italy.⁹⁶ Using the old analogy of sun and moon, Frederick accused the pope of trying to usurp secular jurisdiction:

But, O marvel of unheard of arrogance! The Sun would fain steal from the Moon her colour and rob her of her light! The priest would bait Augustus, and with his apostolic greatness would obscure the radiance of our majesty whom God has set upon the pinnacle of Empire.

Frederick denied that the papacy had any right whatsoever to interfere in secular affairs, even if the prince were at fault: "It is no concern of his [the pope's] to inflict any punishment on us for temporal injuries even if the cases were proved according to law."⁹⁸ As Gregory refused to budge on the Lombard issue, the emperor responded by hurling more insults upon the person of the pope, 'that author of schism and friend of error', whom he accused of protecting heretics, since by papal admission Milan, the center of the Lombard

⁹⁵ The overt reason for the excommunication was Frederick's handling of the Sicilian Church; Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 286-287. However, there can be little reason in denying that the Lombard question was the real issue, especially since most papal letters dealt with Lombardy. See Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 473; and Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany, p. 231.

⁹⁶ Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany, p. 231.

⁹⁷ Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 502.

⁹⁸ Brian Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 145.

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League, served as a home for several heretical sects,⁹⁹ Likening the pope to a vicious Pharisee and a rapacious wolf, Frederick stated that the Church's chief pastor desired gold instead of poverty, was bound to his stomach, and carelessly spilled Christian blood for his own gain.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the emperor informed the Sicilian prelates that they received their rights and power from him and that, if they obeyed the unjust papal interdict and therefore neglected to perform their clerical duties, he would remove them from office.¹⁰¹ This assertion completely negated the concepts of ecclesiastical independence and of papal supremacy over the Church. At the same time the emperor announced to his Sicilian and Roman allies his intention to recover all imperial lands including the Patrimony of St. Peter and to restore Rome to its ancient imperial glory.¹⁰² Nevertheless, in his letters to those outside the Empire Frederick as yet made no direct attack upon the papacy as an institution but called for a general council to rid the Church of its heretical leadership.¹⁰³ Such an action was in direct contradiction to papal theories which did not permit an emperor to declare a pope heretical or to suggest the summoning of a church council. Later, when Gregory himself called for a council to discuss the matter as well as other church business, Frederick took active measures to prevent the

⁹⁹ Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 295-307.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., V, pp. 308-312.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., V, pp. 437-439 and 443-446.

¹⁰² Ibid., V, pp. 760-763.

¹⁰³ Kantorowicz, op. cit., pp. 496-497 and 503.

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attendance of the prelates on the grounds that the pope called the council not for peace but to further discord and that only the college of cardinals could call such a council when both the pope and the emperor were directly involved.¹⁰⁴ Herein Frederick denied that the papacy could serve as an impartial judge in all matters and that the pope could legally do anything that would jeopardize public peace.

The death of Gregory in 1241 was followed by a long papal interregnum¹⁰⁵ during which time Frederick did little to harass the church government and seemed eager for the election of a new pope who could release him from the ban of excommunication. Nevertheless, the election of Innocent IV in 1243 brought about renewed hostilities, since Frederick refused to admit the jurisdiction of the papacy in his dispute with Lombardy,¹⁰⁶ and the new pontiff soon fled from Italy where the imperial faction dominated.¹⁰⁷ Innocent then proceeded to set up papal headquarters in Lyons and to call for a new council to discuss the imperial question as well as other church problems.¹⁰⁸ Frederick, of course, protested against these papal actions but to no avail.¹⁰⁹

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¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 542; and Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 1027-1029, 1037-1041, 1075-1077, and 1089-1090.

¹⁰⁵Celestine IV was elected pope in 1241 but died within a month, leaving the papacy vacant for the next one and a half years.

¹⁰⁶Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 204-221.

¹⁰⁷Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 514.

¹⁰⁸Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 247-248.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 204-221.

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of Lyons (1245) under Innocent's leadership, Frederick himself wrote to the kings of Europe and asked for their aid against the obvious oppressions of the papacy which was using its spiritual sword for temporal gain and which had no power to depose an emperor who derived his power from the German princes, not from the pope.¹¹⁰ Asserting a special divinity in the imperial office, he viciously attacked the papal church for neglecting its own spiritual functions while usurping imperial rights:

...those who are considered clerics, grown fat on the alms of princes, now oppress princes' sons; and the sons of our subjects who are ordained as apostolic fathers, forgetting their fathers' position, do not deign to show any reverence for emperor or king. What is implied in our maltreatment is made plain by the presumption of Pope Innocent IV for, having summoned a council--a general council he calls it--he has dared to pronounce a sentence of deposition on us who were neither summoned nor proved guilty of any deceit or wickedness, which sentence he could not exact without grievous prejudice to all kings. You and all kings of particular regions have everything to fear from the effrontery of such a prince of priests when he sets out to depose us who have been divinely honored by the imperial diadem and solemnly elected by the princes with the approval of the whole church.... In truth we are not the first nor shall we be the last that this abuse of priestly power harasses and strives to cast down from the heights.¹¹¹

Frederick later stated that it was his duty as a Christian prince to destroy the existing papal institution which had so strayed from its original emphasis upon poverty and simplicity.¹¹² Writing to the

¹¹⁰ Ibid., VI, pp. 275-277 and 331-337; and R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, A History of Medieval Political Theory, vol. V: The Political Theory of the Thirteenth Century (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1928), pp. 87 and 118.

¹¹¹ Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 145; and Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 390-393.

¹¹² Karl Bihlmeyer, Church History, revised by Herman Tuechle and trans. by Victor E. Mills and Francis Muller (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1963), vol. II, p. 267; and Historia

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European princes in 1249, Frederick stated,

Assist us against the superfluous prelates that we may finally affirm the Church, our mother, in giving her leaders more worthy to direct her, and that we can, as it is our duty, reform and better her for the glory of God.¹¹³

Priests, he declared, were to follow the simplicity and poverty of Christ, not to partake in the greed and self-indulgence of the world.¹¹⁴ In order to regain her former apostolic position, Frederick insisted, the Church would first have to rid herself of all property and worldly dignities.¹¹⁵ By thus making a clear distinction between the existing Roman Church and the church originally established by Christ for the union of the faithful,¹¹⁶ the emperor threw into question the whole nature of the existing ecclesiastical structure.¹¹⁷

From his voluminous correspondence Frederick made it clear that his conception of papal power differed markedly from the ideas held by the popes and canon lawyers. Even during his periods of seeming cooperation with the papacy he always maintained a certain equality between church and state: both received their power directly from God and both had specific God-given functions to perform.¹¹⁸ In

Diplomatica, VI, pp. 392-393 and 707.

¹¹³ Historia Diplomatica, VI, p. 707.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., V, p. 311; and Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 615.

¹¹⁵ Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 392-393; and Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 616.

¹¹⁶ Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 305 and 350 and VI, p. 510.

¹¹⁷ T. S. R. Boase, Boniface VIII (London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1933), p. 133.

¹¹⁸ Historia Diplomatica, IV, pp. 408-411.

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his many disputes with the Church he always blamed the papacy which he accused of trying to intrude itself into purely secular affairs.¹¹⁹ His call for the lay princes of Europe to aid in the reform of the Church was not motivated, or at least he so claimed, by any desire to interfere with ecclesiastical matters but to get the Church out of secular affairs.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, Frederick's view of equality between church and state relegated the papacy to a position of almost total impotence in the realm of political power: policies enacted for the governance of the Christian peoples were to be made by the state and only supported by the Church;¹²¹ prelates acting as aids to the secular power were to be chosen by the state;¹²² secular laws were not to be questioned by the Church and could only be repudiated by God;¹²³ all things concerning justice and the physical welfare of the Christian peoples were to be handled by the state;¹²⁴ lay princes were to be held directly responsible to God, not to the pope.¹²⁵ Frederick's final call to rid the Church of all its wealth undoubtedly marked his own realization that the state, as he envisioned it, could not co-exist with a church which rivalled the Empire in wealth and political power.

While Frederick was hurling his insults upon the papacy, war was raging in Italy and Germany. The first response of the German

¹¹⁹ Ibid., III, pp. 48-50 and VI, pp. 275-277.

¹²⁰ Ibid. ¹²¹ Ibid., IV, p. 910.

¹²² Ibid., VI, pp. 359-361.

¹²³ Ibid., III, pp. 36-38.

¹²⁴ Ibid., VI, pp. 769-771.

¹²⁵ Ibid., IV, p. 910 and VI, pp. 644-646.

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princes to the renewed fighting between pope and emperor was to request the pope to make peace with Frederick,¹²⁶ although Gregory had already ordered those supporting Frederick or promoting reconciliation to be excommunicated.¹²⁷ In a series of letters written in April and May of 1240 almost all of the major and many of the lesser princes pleaded with the pope to make peace.¹²⁸ While the landgrave of Thuringia and the Count Palatine of Saxony promised to adhere to the Church in case Frederick refused to make peace,¹²⁹ the Duke of Saxony openly stated the willingness of the emperor to be reconciled with the Church and advised the pope to reconsider his position, 'since the Christian religion cannot prevail without the kingdom and the sacerdotal.'¹³⁰ Albert of Behan, the papal legate in Germany, reported that the imperial party was so strong that not only were the imperialists claiming to be working for the welfare of Church and Empire by ignoring Frederick's excommunication but that those who obeyed the papal sentences were actually being persecuted.¹³¹ In the spring of 1241 Duke Otto of Bavaria flatly warned the pope that unless he took immediate action the greater part of the German princes would soon invade Italy to aid Frederick.¹³² Considering the vastness of the papal claims demanding obedience and the gravity of the papal charges levelled against Frederick--heresy and sacrilege--¹³³ the

¹²⁶ Ibid., V, pp. 398-400 and 644-646.

¹²⁷ Ibid., V, pp. 525-527. ¹²⁸ Ibid., V, pp. 985-991.

¹²⁹ Ibid., V, pp. 986-987. ¹³⁰ Ibid., V, p. 990.

¹³¹ Ibid., V, pp. 1031-1035. ¹³² Ibid., V, p. 1111.

¹³³ Ibid., V, pp. 327-340.

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unwillingness of the German princes to support the pope not only threw into doubt the actual extent of real papal power but also demonstrated a definite skepticism on the part of many Germans concerning the justice of the papal cause. Although many of the ecclesiastical princes eventually deserted Frederick, the majority of the secular princes as well as most of the German towns remained loyal to the emperor despite the excessive papal favors and monies given to the anti-Hohenstaufen party.¹³⁴ Henry Raspe, who was elected King of the Romans in 1246 by the archepiscopal electors,¹³⁵ had at first refused to abandon Frederick and only changed after receiving many papal bribes and threats.¹³⁶ Unable ever to obtain much following except among the prelates, this new emperor-elect was mockingly called 'the priests' king' by many of the German people.¹³⁷ Shortly after Henry's death in 1247 the pope called for a new election, but the citizens of Cologne refused to allow an assembly comprised primarily of prelates into their city to elect a new anti-king so that the election of William of Holland took place in the small village of Worringen.¹³⁸ Meanwhile, many of the lay princes told the pope that he had no rights in the matter, since only the Electors could choose a new emperor.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Bayley, op. cit., pp. 17 and 32. ¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

¹³⁶ "Sifridi Presbyteri de Balnhusin Historia Universalis et Compendium Historiarum," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 704; and Jordan, L'Allemagne et l'Italie, p. 285.

¹³⁷ Albert von Stade, op. cit., p. 101.

¹³⁸ Bayley, op. cit., p. 22.

¹³⁹ Albert von Stade, op. cit., pp. 93 and 101.

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The war in Italy was often characterized less as a battle between church and state than as a battle between city-state and empire. This was particularly true in Lombardy, the foremost papal ally. Indeed, the alliance between the papacy and the Lombard League seemed motivated less by a real Lombard love for the papacy than by a fear and dislike for the Hohenstaufens. Even after Frederick's excommunication in 1239 the Lombards had been at odds with the Empire and had steadily ignored papal efforts to bring peace between the two factions.¹⁴⁰ Not only had they delayed in honoring the pope's request to send representatives to Rome,¹⁴¹ but even when Frederick appeared willing to accept the papacy's peace proposals--proposals favorable to the Lombards--, they had refused to submit to the papacy.¹⁴² Once the war between pope and emperor had begun, the Lombards again showed their limited enthusiasm for the papacy by refusing to send the promised financial aid to Rome.¹⁴³ The papacy, who headed the Lombard League, further showed their lack of interest for Rome by refusing to drive the numerous heretics from the city. Another papal ally, Venice, only agreed to come to the aid of the papacy after the pope had promised lucrative commercial

¹⁴⁰W. F. Butler, The Lombard Communes (London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1906), pp. 255-260.

¹⁴¹Historia Diplomatica, IV, pp. 490-494.

¹⁴²Butler, op. cit., p. 255. It should be noted that Butler also withdrew his support from the pope's peace proposal when the Lombards showed their unwillingness to submit to any kind of papal control; Historia Diplomatica, IV, pp. 441-442.

¹⁴³Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 1012-1013.

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s in all imperial lands conquered by the Venetians.¹⁴⁴ Also, supposedly Guelf cities, especially in the Patrimony, deserted soon after hostilities began.¹⁴⁵

There were also many Italians who showed strong imperial sympathies. The March of Ancona, claimed by the papacy as a part of the Patrimony of St. Peter, came out in open support of Frederick when the war began.¹⁴⁶ Padua, the city where Frederick was when he received news of his excommunication, continued to support the emperor honorably despite the papal sentence;¹⁴⁷ and a council of that city took pains to note Frederick's great respect for the Church and religion.¹⁴⁸ In 1240 many of the Romans made to greet the approaching emperor and were only called back to their homes on party when the aging Gregory IX marched solemnly through the city with the relics of SS. Peter and Paul.¹⁴⁹ The actions of the Paduans and the Romans showed no underlying religious animosity but a tendency to view the papacy's political manoeuvres as outside the realm of the Church's spiritual duties. Of course, other cities, such as Pisa, which appeared to support the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., V, pp. 390-394.

¹⁴⁵ "Platynae Historici: Liber de vita Christi ac Pontificum," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, III, Part 1, p.

¹⁴⁶ Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 1021-1022.

¹⁴⁷ Rolandinus Patavini, "Cronica in factis et circa factis," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VIII, Part

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁴⁹ Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 776-779.

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cause of the many trading privileges offered by Frederick
 se of their rivalry with neighboring Guelf cities.¹⁵⁰
 his presence of local rivalries both between and within cities
 ended the dispute over the respective rights of church and state
 the Guelf and Ghibelline factions.¹⁵¹ At the same time there
 tirelessly many imperialists, such as the imperial chancellor
 alla Vigna, who sincerely seemed to believe that a strong empire
 tial to the Church and that the papacy was weakening the faith
 position to Frederick.¹⁵² Whatever their motivations were,
 ialists were powerful enough in 1245 to have been one of the
 tors in the pope's decision to flee from Italy in secret.¹⁵³
 d on all sides by imperial sympathizers, Innocent had little
 t to flee Rome if he wanted to maintain a papal policy free
 rial coercion.

The sudden death of Frederick in late 1250 brought no
 e papacy's imperial troubles. While Germany was too torn by
 to challenge papal authority, it was also incapable of
 e papacy any aid in Italy.¹⁵⁴ William of Holland was kept
 onsolidating his own power and fighting internal rebels that

¹⁵⁰ Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, "Chronica," Rerum
 m Scriptores, VIII, Part 2, p. 204.

¹⁵¹ Butler, op. cit., pp. 288-300.

¹⁵² J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, Vie et correspondance de
 la Vigne (Paris: Henri Plon, 1865), pp. 30, 158, 310-314,
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¹⁵³ Kantorowicz, op. cit., p. 514.

¹⁵⁴ Friedrich Heer, The Holy Roman Empire, trans. by Janet
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he never had time to be crowned officially by the pope.¹⁵⁵ Following his death in 1256 one section of the German Electors chose Richard of Cornwall as King of the Romans, while the Pisans along with another segment of the Electors elected Alphonso of Castile.¹⁵⁶ Although both candidates sought papal approval, neither had any strong support in Germany;¹⁵⁷ and the Rhineland League, which had been formed by the Rhineland cities in 1254 to establish peace, refused to support any candidate in case of a disputed election by the Electors.¹⁵⁸ Thus, while the two candidates, both outsiders, sought papal confirmation, the majority of Germans refused to recognize the validity of any imperial election unless made by the German Electors regardless of any papal action. This chaotic situation was finally ended by the unanimous election of Rudolf of Hapsburg in 1273.¹⁵⁹ Although papal confirmation to the election was soon given by Gregory X in the hope that Rudolf would go to the Holy Land, the new emperor was kept so busy putting down rebellion in Germany that he not only failed to go on a crusade but even failed to get to Rome for his coronation.¹⁶⁰ In

¹⁵⁵ Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany, pp. 244-245.

¹⁵⁶ Johannes Longus de Ipra, "Chronica Monasterii Santi Bertini," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 848; and Bayley, op. cit., p. 72.

¹⁵⁷ "Balduini Ninovensius Chronicon," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 544; "Platynae Historici," p. 242; and "Gotifredi Viterbiensis Opera," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXII, pp. 366-367.

¹⁵⁸ Jordan, L'Allemagne et l'Italie, p. 296; and Bayley, op. cit., p. 182.

¹⁵⁹ "Balduini Ninovensius Chronicon," p. 545.

¹⁶⁰ "Platynae Historici," pp. 248 and 257. Pope Hadrian V

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the meantime King Ottocar of Bohemia, who also aspired to the imperial throne, sent vast sums of money to the pope to have himself chosen as emperor; but this piece of bribery was ignored by both the pope and the majority of Germans.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, the incident showed that imperial candidates were not totally disdainful of papal support. The death of 'the glorious king of the Romans Rudolf'¹⁶² was followed by the election of Adolf of Nassau in 1291.¹⁶³ Adolf, however, soon began devastating the territories of rival princes so that the Electors declared him deposed without any reference to the papacy and elected Albert of Austria, a son of Rudolf, in his stead.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Albert soon ran into difficulties with the pope because of his alliance with Philip IV of France, who was then at war with Boniface VIII.¹⁶⁵ However, in exchange for the promise of a proper imperial coronation by the pope, Albert swore an oath of fealty and obedience to the papacy in 1303.¹⁶⁶ This submission by Albert demonstrated the fact that imperial candidates still felt the need for papal approval, although close ties between empire and

also requested Rudolf to come to Italy to offset the growing power of Charles of Anjou, but Rudolf was too busy fighting rebels in Bohemia; "Platynae Historici," p. 247.

¹⁶¹"Sifridi Presbyteri de Balnhusin Historia," p. 714; and Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., p. 118.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 711.

¹⁶³"Platynae Historici," p. 256.

¹⁶⁴"Sifridi Presbyteri de Balnhusin Historia," p. 701.

¹⁶⁵Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany, p. 306.

¹⁶⁶Heer, op. cit., p. 99.

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papacy had largely been broken.

The death of Frederick had meanwhile not brought the end of imperial ambitions in Italy and Sicily. Ezzelino da Romano, an ally of Frederick, held sway in the March of Treviso until his defeat and subsequent death in 1259. Exercizing a cruel tyranny over Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Feltro, Treviso, Tridentum, and Brescia, Ezzelino caused the murder of a number of churchmen and 'conferred the prelatures and church prebends... on whomever he wished, as if he were the highest pontiff.'¹⁶⁷ After capturing a papal legate sent to stir up rebellion against him, Ezzelino mockingly asked how Christians signed with the cross could attack other Christians, extort their goods so that they lived in poverty, and then be absolved by the Apostolic See.¹⁶⁸ Unlike Frederick, Ezzelino made little pretense of caring for religion and reportedly even refused the sacraments on his deathbed.¹⁶⁹ While Ezzelino showed no regard for either the Church or papal power, his enemies appeared to have been motivated more out of personal animosity towards this tyrant than out of any deep love for the papacy.¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile, even after his defeat the city of Brescia adhered to his party and refused to return the captured legate without

¹⁶⁷"Chronicon Marchiae Trapisinae et Lombardia, 1207-1270," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VIII, Part 3, p. 41.

¹⁶⁸Rolandinus Patavini, op. cit., p. 167.

¹⁶⁹"Chronicon Marchiae Trapisinae et Lombardia," p. 39.

¹⁷⁰See "Cronaca di Antonio Godi," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VIII, Part 2, pp. 12-19; Rolandinus Patavini, op. cit., pp. 94-167; and "Chronicon Marchiae Trapisinae et Lombardia," pp. 29-42. None of these chronicles pay any attention to the papacy or the greater war between the papacy and the Hohenstaufens.

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any regard for papal mandates ordering his release.¹⁷¹

Frederick's heirs likewise refused to give up their control of Sicily after the emperor's death. After various attempts to make peace with the papacy Manfred, whom one Pisan chronicler called 'the most excellent lord King of Sicily',¹⁷² was finally excommunicated in 1255, since he was largely unwilling to admit the pope's jurisdiction over Sicily.¹⁷³ This excommunication apparently meant little to Manfred's allies, since by the early 1260's he was popular not only in Sicily but in the Papal States, Rome, Cremona, and Pisa as well.¹⁷⁴ His final defeat in 1266 by the papally sponsored Charles of Anjou did not end Italian attachment to the Hohenstaufens; and the cities of Rome, Pisa, Siena, Pavia, and Verona sent letters to Frederick's grandson Conradin to come to Italy to regain his paternal kingdom.¹⁷⁵ Conradin was greeted joyfully in many of the Italian cities including Rome,¹⁷⁶ while his eventual execution was seen by many as an act of violence committed against an innocent child.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, the papal victory

¹⁷¹"Chronicon Marchiae Trapisinae et Lombardia," p. 42.

¹⁷²"Chronicon aliud breve Pisanum incerti auctoris ab anno MCI usque ad annum MCCLXVII," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VI, Part 2, p. 111.

¹⁷³Iohannes Longus de Ipra, op. cit., pp. 848-849; and Jordan, L'Allemagne et l'Italie, p. 323.

¹⁷⁴"Platynae Historici," p. 238.

¹⁷⁵"Chronicon Marchiae Trapisinae et Lombardia," p. 57.

¹⁷⁶"Platynae Historici," p. 243; and "Chronicon aliud breve Pisanum," pp. 114-115.

¹⁷⁷"Chronicon Rhythmicum Austriacum," Monumenta Germaniae

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over the remaining Hohenstaufens was relatively shallow in that it had been achieved by force rather than by any strong Italian attachment to the papal cause.

The installation of Charles of Anjou as King of Sicily also meant no victory for the concept of papal supremacy, since Charles proved to be no less ambitious than his Hohenstaufen predecessors and evinced no scruples about interfering in church affairs to further his own advancement.¹⁷⁸ Despite his original promises to stay out of imperial territories and the Papal States,¹⁷⁹ he soon assumed the senatorship of Rome¹⁸⁰ and later became the Imperial Vicar of Tuscany.¹⁸¹ When later requested by the papacy to give up these positions, he grudgingly resigned as Roman senator but totally refused to abandon his vicariate over Tuscany.¹⁸² At the same time he worked behind the scenes to have pro-French popes elected by the cardinals.¹⁸³ During the 1290's Charles II, the heir of Charles of Anjou, interfered actively in papal politics to obtain privileges from Celestine V and vigorously protested the right of the simple pope

Historica, Scriptores, XXV, pp. 237-238.

¹⁷⁸ Hans Kuhner, Encyclopedia of the Papacy (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), pp. 96-97.

¹⁷⁹ Jordan, L'Allemagne et l'Italie, p. 370.

¹⁸⁰ Iohannes Longus de Ipra, op. cit., p. 582.

¹⁸¹ Steven Runciman, The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Late Thirteenth Century (Cambridge: University Press, 1958), p. 119.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ "Platynae Historici," pp. 248 and 257.

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to resign, although this resignation was accepted by the majority of cardinals and by the next pope Boniface VIII.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the rising power of the Angevins had been largely undermined by the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, when the people on the island of Sicily had rebelled and massacred all the Frenchmen on their island.¹⁸⁵ Although these Sicilian rebels quickly sent envoys to the pope and stated their willingness to live under direct papal control, they refused to obey the papal order to return under French dominion and finally shifted their allegiance to Peter of Aragon, a grandson of Manfred.¹⁸⁶ The following papal excommunication and deposition of Peter had no real effect on the plans of either Peter or the Sicilians, whose main concern was to rid themselves of the hated French.¹⁸⁷ Unable to achieve any military victory over the Aragonese or the Sicilian rebels, the papacy was finally forced to recognize the claims of Aragon over the island in 1302.¹⁸⁸

While neither Aragon nor the House of Anjou paid much attention to the wishes of the papacy, the city-states of northern and central Italy usually continued to pursue their own individual policies regardless of any papal approval or disapproval just as they

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 257.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 252; and Iohannes Longus de Ipra, op. cit., pp. 861-862.

¹⁸⁶ Salimbene de Adam, "Cronica," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXXII, p. 509.

¹⁸⁷ Iohannes Longus de Ipra, op. cit., pp. 861-862.

¹⁸⁸ Runciman, op. cit., p. 274.

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had done during the first part of the century.¹⁸⁹ Wars between the various cities continued unabated with little attention paid to papal pleas for peace. Papal sentences of excommunication and interdict were generally ignored until the cities were ready to make peace with each other. Pisa remained under a papal interdict for seventeen years and apparently suffered little because of it.¹⁹⁰ The people of Florence were excommunicated for ejecting their Ghibellines; but they continued to refuse the re-entry of the Ghibellines.¹⁹¹ After repeated papal warnings to stop their fighting, Genoa and Pisa were finally put under anathema but to no avail.¹⁹² At the same time dislike of the papally sponsored French was so strong in certain parts of Italy that several cities beginning with Perugia were put under an interdict, because they refused to go along with the papacy's policies.¹⁹³ Even Milan, the strongest papal ally in the war against Frederick, soon fell out with the papacy when the pope tried to persuade Milan to make peace with her neighbors and to rid the city of its many heretics.¹⁹⁴ Meanwhile, rivalries between various Italian cities, particularly the animosity between the Pisans and the Genoese, continued to thwart any papal attempts to aid the Holy Land. Writing from Acre around 1292, Ludolph of Suchem reported that the disputes

¹⁸⁹Butler, op. cit., p. 322.

¹⁹⁰"Chronicon aliud breve Pisanum," pp. 108-109.

¹⁹¹"Platynae Historici," p. 246.

¹⁹²Ibid., pp. 245 and 247.

¹⁹³Runciman, op. cit., p. 122.

¹⁹⁴Butler, op. cit., p. 334.

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among various Italian groups overshadowed any war against the Moslems:

Those Lombards who dwelt at Acre took sides in this same quarrel [between the Guelfs and Ghibellines of Italy], especially the Pisans and Genoese, both of whom had an extremely strong party in Acre. These men made treaties and truces with the Saracens, to the end that they might the better fight against one another in the city....¹⁹⁵

At the same time papal control over Rome itself was so tenuous that the popes resided elsewhere most of the time.¹⁹⁶

This chaotic political situation in Italy was lamented by many of the Italian chroniclers;¹⁹⁷ and it was in this setting that new ideas concerning the relationship of church and state emerged. While the Empire itself was largely destroyed, the idea of a world state under secular leadership was yet being elaborated by such men as Thomas Aquinas and Dante Alighieri.¹⁹⁸ Although Aquinas insisted upon the ultimate supremacy of the papacy,¹⁹⁹ he also saw the need for

¹⁹⁵ Ludolf of Suchem on the fall of Acre as cited in Brundage, op. cit., p. 268.

¹⁹⁶ Henri Daniel-Rops, Cathedral and Crusade, trans. by John Warrington (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), vol. II, p. 350.

¹⁹⁷ Salimbene was probably the most vocal in his denunciation of the Italian political scene. However, he wrongly blamed all of Italy's troubles on the divisions caused by Frederick II; Salimbene, op. cit., p. 591.

¹⁹⁸ Roger Bacon also believed that the world would eventually come under the domination of a single secular state; The Opus Majus, trans. by Robert Ballie Burke (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962), vol. II, p. 662.

¹⁹⁹ In his Commentum in IV Libros Sententiarum (1253-1255) Aquinas presented according to Tierney a quite ambiguous statement concerning the respective rights of the spiritual and temporal powers: "The spiritual and the secular powers are both derived from the divine power; and therefore the secular power is under the spiritual only in so far as it has been subjected to it by God; namely, in those things that pertain to civil good, the secular power is to be obeyed rather

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For since the end of government of the world is that which is essentially good, which is the greatest good; the government of the world must be the best kind of government. Now the best government is government by one. The reason for this is that government is nothing but the directing of things governed to the end; which consists in some good.... Therefore the intention of a ruler over a multitude is unity, or peace. Now the proper cause of unity is one. For it is clear that several cannot be the cause of unity or concord, except so far as they are united. Therefore a multitude is better governed by one than by several. From this it follows that the government of the world, being the best form of government must be one.²⁰⁰

These same ideas were expressed by Dante, who stated that "a singular temporal world-government is necessary for the world's well-being."²⁰¹

While both Dante and Aquinas admitted that the ultimate end of human life and of the state was religious-- Frederick II had never openly denied this--, they also asserted that the state had its own very human goals and functions. Aquinas stated that man had "a natural inclination" to live in society and that human laws, insofar as they corresponded with natural reason (natural law) and justice, were natural to man.²⁰² These same arguments were picked up by

than the spiritual.... Unless, perhaps, the secular power is joined to the spiritual, as in the pope, who holds the apex of both authorities, the spiritual and the secular." This statement can best be understood as a reference to the papacy's overall power rather than to its position in Italy as Tierney maintains. Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 171. Also see T. T. Eschmann, O.P., "St. Thomas Aquinas on the Two Powers," Medieval Studies, XX (1958), pp. 177-205.

²⁰⁰ Thomas Aquinas, The Summa Theologica, trans. by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burnes Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., 1941), Part One, Q 103, Art 3.

²⁰¹ Dante Alighieri, On World-Government, trans. by Herbert W. Schneider (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1949), p. 8.

²⁰² Aquinas, op. cit., First Part of Part Two, Q 95, Art 2.

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Dante in De monarchia. Like Aquinas, he believed that the state was based upon human reason and that this reason, while not complete in itself for eternal salvation, was to be developed for the betterment of mankind:

... Man has two essential parts, body and soul, considered from the point of view of one part, the body, he is corruptible; from the other, the soul incorruptible.... Accordingly, if man is a kind of mean between the corruptible and the incorruptible, like every mean, he partakes of the nature of the extremes. And since every nature is arranged to seek its proper and final goal, it follows that man exists for a double purpose....

Twofold, therefore, are the ends which unerring Providence has ordained for man: the bliss of this life, which consists in the functioning of his own powers, and which is typified by the earthly Paradise; and the bliss of eternal life, which consists in the enjoyment of that divine vision to which he cannot obtain by his own powers, except they be aided by the divine light,²⁰³ and this state is made intelligible by the celestial Paradise.

The state thus had a natural human origin and function outside of all other considerations.²⁰⁴ These ideas suggested a very modern concept of the state as an end in itself.²⁰⁵ Moreover, they broke up the harmony between body and soul which existed in the papal theory so that church and state became two separate entities with distinct spheres of action.²⁰⁶

At the same time neither Aquinas nor Dante denied the religious significance of the Empire but emphasized that the relationship between God and the Empire was direct without the papacy as an intermediary. While Aquinas insinuated that the state

²⁰³ Dante, On World-Government, p. 78.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 69.

²⁰⁵ Walter Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1955), p. 455.

²⁰⁶ Myers, op. cit., p. 229.

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derived its power from God in that human reason, the basis of the state, was God's gift to man, Dante explicitly stated that the Empire received its authority directly from God:

The Roman Empire was helped to its fulfillment by divine intervention and aid; and therefore, it was willed by God and consequently existed and still exists by right.²⁰⁷

... God is the immediate source of imperial authority.²⁰⁸

Again in the Paradiso Dante had Justinian speak of a special relationship between God and the Empire.²⁰⁹ Dante also rejected the Donation of Constantine as invalid, since an emperor had no right to divide or give away his empire.²¹⁰ He further denied the right of any one man to hold both the spiritual and temporal swords, since the two powers were of different natures.²¹¹ What Dante seemed to want from the papacy was a vague, narrowly-defined spiritual leadership within the Church. At one point he even went so far as to state that the papacy had little more to do in the secular world than to give the state its blessings:

... I maintain, temporal power receives from the spiritual power neither its being, nor its power or authority, nor even its functioning, strictly speaking, but what it receives is the light of grace, which God in heaven and the pope's blessing on earth cause to shine on it in order that it may work more effectively.²¹²

²⁰⁷ Dante, On World-Government, p. 30. ²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 73.

²⁰⁹ Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, Vol. III: Paradiso, trans. by John D. Sinclair (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), canto vi, p. 94.

²¹⁰ Dante, On World-Government, p. 68.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 71.

²¹² Ibid., p. 60.

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The duty of the clergy, both higher and lower, was to tend to the spiritual needs of their flocks:

Now the form of the Church is nothing else than the life of Christ, in word and in deed. For his life was the idea and pattern of the Church militant, especially of its shepherds and most especially of its chief shepherd, whose duty it is to feed the sheep and lambs.²¹³

This new idea of the state was perhaps the most important contribution of the imperialists to thirteenth-century thought. Influenced by the revival of Roman law and Aristotelian ideas of the state, the idea of the secular state with its own raison d'être and functions forecast the end of the papal ideal of a theocratic state under papal leadership. Thus, while the papacy was proving itself incapable of controlling either a united or a fragmented empire, the new theory of the secular state not only denied the whole concept of papal supremacy but even dismissed the necessity of cooperation by insisting upon a complete separation of the two powers with each working independently in its own sphere.

PART II: THE MONARCHIES (FRANCE AND ENGLAND)

While the monarchies had not yet developed the elaborate theories which characterized the Empire and papacy, kingship was nevertheless a recognized political reality in European politics by 1200 and was being further enhanced by the study of Roman law.²¹⁴

²¹³ Ibid., p. 76.

²¹⁴ See Ewart Lewis, Medieval Political Ideas (2 vols.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), vol. I, pp. 147-284; and Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 4-51. The great works of such civil lawyers as Beaumanoir and Bracton have been ignored here, because they were not involved with royal-papal rights. However, their importance in

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During the twelfth century the kings had been asserting and enlarging their rights as feudal overlords within their own and surrounding territories; and this trend continued throughout the thirteenth century. At the same time the kings were working to make themselves politically independent of the clergy by gradually replacing churchmen as royal counsellors and assistants.²¹⁵ Also, like the emperors, the monarchs claimed a quasi-divinity in their person and office. German kingship had long been surrounded with a certain religious aura; and the thirteenth-century kings directly encouraged these ideas.²¹⁶ The kings purportedly had certain healing powers; and their prayers were supposedly answered before those of common people.²¹⁷ The attitude of the monarchs to the papacy was to be closely bound to these ideas concerning the expansion of royal rights and the religious character of kingship.

The Capetian kings of France were the most successful in advancing their own rights and yet avoiding too many direct confrontations with the papacy.²¹⁸ Indeed, even in their most aggressive acts they always claimed to be acting as the defenders of

defining the role of monarchies should not be overlooked.

²¹⁵ Alexander Clarence Flick, The Decline of the Medieval Church (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trubner, and Company Ltd., 1930), vol. I, p. 8; and Robert Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France, trans. by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), p. 175.

²¹⁶ Maurice Jallut, Philippe Auguste: fondateur de l'unité française (Paris: Au Fil d'ariane, 1963), p. 41; and Myers, op. cit., p. 205.

²¹⁷ Myers, op. cit., p. 225.

²¹⁸ Fawtier, op. cit., p. 74.

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Church.²¹⁹ Philip II, who often encouraged the religious aspects of his office by blessing his army, leading a flagellant movement, and other such acts²²⁰ and who emphasized the heroic past of the French monarchy by frequently recalling the glorious deeds of the canonized Frankish king Charlemagne,²²¹ was by far the most astute in pushing his own power to the limit and became involved in several quarrels with the papacy, although he always withdrew before these skirmishes turned into open warfare. The Ingeborg affair demonstrated Philip's unwillingness to obey blindly papal directives or to push his own demands too far. When the pope placed France under an interdict in 1197 for the king's illegal divorce from the Danish Ingeborg and for his subsequent remarriage to Agnes of Merane, Philip first responded by punishing all prelates who obeyed the papal edict,²²² since he maintained that his divorce, formally granted by the French episcopate under the leadership of his uncle, the archbishop of Reims, was perfectly valid.²²³

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 215; and Jallut, op. cit., p. 41.

²²⁰ Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), pp. 18, 71, and 134; Guillaume le Breton, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), pp. 229-273; and Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (London: Secker and Warburg, 1957), p. 82.

²²¹ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni: A New Look," French Historical Studies, VII (Fall 1971), p. 165. It should be noted that the French reverence for Charlemagne made little reference to his coronation by the pope but emphasized his role as a French king; Folz, op. cit., p. 134.

²²² Guillaume de Nangis, Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 (Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie., 1843), p. 112.

²²³ Achille Luchaire, Innocent III: Les royautés vassales du Saint-siège (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1908), p. 253.

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Nevertheless, after a meeting of the French barons and prelates in March 1200 the king agreed to have the matter settled by a council presided over by a papal legate, if the pope would first release France from the interdict. Although the interdict was soon raised, the Council of Soissons (1201) settled nothing, since the king, probably fearing that the council would not decide in his favor, astonished all the assembled prelates by galloping off on a horse with Ingeborg, whom he afterwards locked up in a castle.²²⁴ In a very polite letter to the pope Philip defended his action by complaining against the partiality of the legates for Ingeborg and stated that he had only ceded momentarily to prevent further wrangling at the council. He then proceeded to ask the pope to provide another council which would permanently settle the matter and to legitimize his children by Agnes in the meantime.²²⁵ Although the early death of Agnes in the following summer and the pope's legitimization of her children by Philip partially solved the problem,²²⁶ Philip continued to press for a divorce and even attempted to marry the daughter of the Landgrave of Thuringia in 1210.²²⁷ Moreover, while he did take Ingeborg back publicly, he refused to live with her and denied the ability of the Pope to make him do so. Since he was acting completely within the bounds of canon law, Innocent could do nothing but rely on gentle

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 255; and Rigord, op. cit., p. 149.

²²⁵ Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1943), vol. II, pp. 232-243.

²²⁶ Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

²²⁷ Luchaire, Innocent III: Les royautés vassales de Saint-siège, pp. 253-259.

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persuasions.²²⁸ The moral exhortations of the pope for Philip to treat his wife fairly apparently meant little to the king, thus to a certain degree negating the spiritual rectitude of the papacy.

Philip also firmly resisted papal domination in his international policies. At the same time as the Ingeborg affair he was supporting Philip of Swabia despite papal protests and even told the pope that it was strictly a temporal matter and therefore outside of papal jurisdiction.²²⁹ Expressing amazement at the papal support given to Otto, a known enemy of France, the king stated that the papal action was not only detrimental to his own kingdom which had always served the Church so reverently and obediently, but to all Christian monarchs, since Philip of Swabia was the only properly elected King of the Romans.²³⁰ When Innocent attempted to act as arbiter in the dispute between France and England, Philip again denied the pope's right to interfere in a purely feudal matter, although he soon afterwards did accept the pope's mediation.²³¹ Moreover, Philip refused the papal demands to send military aid for the war against the heretics of Southern France on the grounds that he needed all his military in his war against England.²³² This

²²⁸ Jallut, op. cit., pp. 101-102. ²²⁹ Ibid., p. 94.

²³⁰ Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France, pp. 143-145 and 245-246.

²³¹ When earlier threatened with an interdict by Celestine III for collecting an army to use against rebellious vassals (including the king of England), Philip had responded that the Roman Church had no right to go against a king when he was acting for the honor of his crown; Jallut, op. cit., p. 55.

²³² Jallut, op. cit., p. 131.

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refusal clearly conflicted with his own self-proclaimed role as defender of the faith and demonstrated his belief that the defense of his own royalty was the most important duty of a king. Later, when the Albigensian Crusade showed signs of being successful, Philip claimed that he, not the pope, had the right to dispose of the lands expropriated from the heretics and their supporters.²³³ Following King John's submission to the papacy Philip also denied the right of the papacy to make England a papal fief, since, as he declared, an illegitimate king could not give away his kingdom.²³⁴ In a sharp letter to the pope Philip stated, 'The Kingdom of England has never been nor will ever be the Patrimony of Peter or of your Roman Church.'²³⁵ Furthermore, Philip denied that, even if he had been a legitimate king, John would have had the right to give away his kingdom:

No king or prince can give his kingdom away without the consent of his barons, who are held to defend the kingdom. And if the pope decrees this error to be accepted, he will be giving a pernicious example to all kings.²³⁶

Nevertheless, Philip declined to give his son Louis VIII active support in his invasion of England after the pope threatened to excommunicate those who took part in such a venture.²³⁷ However, since Innocent had

²³³ Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (Paris: Librairie Emile Bouillon, 1894), p. 25.

²³⁴ Roger of Wendover, op. cit., pp. 361-362.

²³⁵ "Annales Londonienses," Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II (London: Longman and Co., 1882), p. 18.

²³⁶ Ibid. It seems rather doubtful that Philip would have granted his own barons so much importance.

²³⁷ Luchaire, Innocent III: Les royautés vassales de Saint-siège, pp. 271-273; Petit-Dutaillis, Louis VIII, p. 181; and Elie Berger, Histoire de Blanche de Castile Reine de France (Paris: Thorin

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been the first to suggest the invasion to the French, Philip's supporters regarded the pope's subsequent withdrawal of the scheme as an act of treachery.²³⁸ The royalist Guillaume le Breton even suggested that the death of Innocent was a result of the pope's double-dealings with Philip in the matter.²³⁹

Aside from his independent foreign policy Philip also tried quite successfully to dominate the churches of his realm. Although the king actually did defend these churches from nobles and townsmen who wished to limit ecclesiastical power,²⁴⁰ he insisted upon maintaining royal rights over these churches in return for their defense. He, rather than the papacy, defined the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction within his realm.²⁴¹ He, rather than the papacy, determined the laws regulating crusaders and the collection of crusade funds.²⁴² In 1215 it was the king who led the clergy in a denunciation of the unscrupulous actions of the papal legate Robert de Corcon, who was sent by Innocent to recruit more crusaders for the Holy Land.²⁴³ In all of these actions Philip claimed to be

et Fils, 1895), p. 25.

²³⁸ Jallut, op. cit., pp. 261-262.

²³⁹ Guillaume le Breton, op. cit., pp. 307-309.

²⁴⁰ Rigord, op. cit., pp. 16-17; and Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France, pp. 148, 162-163, 200-203, and 455-456.

²⁴¹ Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France, pp. 487-491.

²⁴² Ibid., pp. 239-241; and Rigord, op. cit., pp. 85-90.

²⁴³ Guillaume le Breton, op. cit., pp. 303-304.

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protecting the purity of his religion; and his two famous biographers, Rigord and Guillaume le Breton, always posed Philip, that 'most Christian king', as a defender of the Church and its ministers, while they often denounced the abuses perpetrated by the popes.²⁴⁴

While Philip never ignored the religious significance of the monarch, his grandson Louis IX almost fully played the role of the priest-king.²⁴⁵ Besides daily celebrating the canonical hours as a member of the regular clergy,²⁴⁶ Louis posed as the defender of churchmen, widows, orphans, and all the oppressed.²⁴⁷ To further the state of religion in his realm he enacted laws against heresy, usury, blasphemy, and excesses in food and clothing.²⁴⁸ Despite papal prohibitions he founded several new religious orders and showered special favors on the new mendicant orders.²⁴⁹ The contrast between

²⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 229, 294, and 306-309; and Rigord, op. cit., pp. 2, 5-6, 50-55, 71-72, and 82. It should be noted that Rigord's ardor for the French king seemed to cool considerably during the later part of his chronicle, especially after the disturbances caused by the Ingeborg affair.

²⁴⁵ Margaret Wade Labarge, Saint Louis (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1968), p. 18; and Louis Carolus-Barré, "Les enquêtes pour la canonisation de Saint Louis--de Grégoire X à Boniface VIII--et la bulle Gloria Laus, de Août 1297," Revue d'histoire de l'église de France, LVII (Janvier-Juin 1971), p. 19.

²⁴⁶ Lester K. Little, "Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars," Church History, XXXIII (June 1964), p. 128.

²⁴⁷ Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, Les Miracles de Saint Louis, ed. by Percival B. Fay (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931), pp. 1-3; and Etienne de Bourbon, Anecdotes Historiques (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1877), p. 407.

²⁴⁸ Duc de Lévis Mirepoix, Saint Louis roi de France (Paris: Editions Albion Michel, 1970), p. 78.

²⁴⁹ Little, op. cit., pp. 143-144.

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the king's court and the worldly Roman court was brought out by Sire Jean de Joinville, who reported that, when leaving the royal company for Rome, a papal legate stated, "But my heart is deeply grieved that I shall be obliged to quit your godly company and go to the Court of Rome, among the faithless folk who frequent it."²⁵⁰ The considered spiritual superiority of Louis over the pope was further demonstrated by the fact that during the early 1260's the rebellious English barons ignored papal arbitration and asked Louis to settle their dispute with Henry III.²⁵¹ Louis further asserted his spiritual leadership by taking part in two crusades, both undertaken with only limited papal approval.²⁵² Moreover, the Pastoureaux and probably many other Frenchmen directly blamed Louis' disasters in Egypt on the pope.²⁵³

While Louis was to a certain extent usurping the spiritual prestige of the papacy, he was also busy maintaining royal rights over the French Church, often in contradiction to papal claims. In his Gravamina Ecclesiae Gallicanae (1247) Louis set himself up as the champion of the French Church against papal abuses²⁵⁴ and complained against the papal curia's innovations which were ruining the French Church and violating the traditional rights of

²⁵⁰ Jean de Joinville, The Life of St. Louis, trans. by René Hague (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. 181.

²⁵¹ "Annales Londoniensis," p. 58.

²⁵² Elie Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV (Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1893), p. 321.

²⁵³ Ibid., p. 343; and Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 444-445.

²⁵⁴ A. L. Smith, Church and State in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 145.

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the French monarchy.²⁵⁵ Claiming that all Christianity was being scandalized and disturbed by recently initiated papal practices, such as the collation of non-vacant and royal benefices, the use of excommunication against those who failed to contribute to Roman coffers, and the installation of non-resident Roman benefice holders, Louis stated that the temporal wealth of the French Church belonged to the king whose ancestors had originally endowed the churches and who was held responsible by God for defending these churches. After recalling the fact that earlier popes seeking refuge in France because of troubles in Italy had always been honorably treated by the French monarchs, Louis then denied that these earlier popes had ever abused their privileges as Innocent IV and his court were doing during their stay at Lyons.²⁵⁶ Indeed, throughout his reign Louis insisted that he rather than the papacy was the leader of the French Church. The king was particularly jealous of maintaining royal jurisdiction against ecclesiastical encroachments and throughout most of the 1230's defied both papal pleas and threats to do justice to the bishop of Beauvais whose goods he had confiscated for not paying sums demanded by the king.²⁵⁷ When churchmen demanded that he force excommunicates to seek absolution within a year or have their property confiscated (a duty of the state), Louis refused despite papal urgings unless he were

²⁵⁵ Geoffrey Barraclough, Papal Provisions (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1935), pp. 11-12.

²⁵⁶ Mattheiu Parisiensis, Chronica Majora (London: Longmans and Company, 1876), vol. VI, pp. 99-112.

²⁵⁷ Odette Pontal, "Le différend entre Louis IX et les évêques de Beauvais et ses incidences sur les conciles (1232-1248)," Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartres, CXXIII (Janvier-Juin 1965), pp. 5-34.

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first allowed to review the justice of the cases. The clergy naturally declined such a compromise, since it would have severely weakened their own jurisdiction.²⁵⁸ Louis further asserted his rights over the French episcopate by his refusal to bestow the regalia on Geoffrey de Grandpré, the bishop-elect of Châlons, despite the requests of both Gregory IX and Innocent IV.²⁵⁹ Even on his deathbed he maintained his royal rights over the French Church and instructed his heir, 'Give the benefices of Holy Church to persons of a good and pure life; and do this with the council of good and honest men.'²⁶⁰ Such instructions clearly violated the papal claims to rights over vacant benefices.²⁶¹

Louis' insistence on the independence of the French Church and monarchy from papal supervision was also amply demonstrated by his activities during the papacy's war against Frederick II. Despite the fact that both Gregory and Innocent attempted to elicit French aid against the emperor,²⁶² Louis preferred to remain as neutral as possible and twice attempted to restore peace between the

²⁵⁸ Joinville, op. cit., pp. 38-39; M. Guizot, Saint Louis and Calvin (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1868), p. 107; and Gerald J. Campbell, S.J., "The Attitude of the Monarchy Toward the Use of Ecclesiastical Censures in the Reign of Saint Louis," Speculum, XXXV (October 1960), pp. 548-549.

²⁵⁹ Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV, pp. 41-42.

²⁶⁰ Mirepoix, op. cit., p. 261.

²⁶¹ Daniel-Rops, op. cit., I, p. 295; and Barraclough, Papal Provisions, pp. 4-5.

²⁶² Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 457-461 and VI, pp. 270, 425-428, and 544-547; and Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV, p. 321.

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two parties.²⁶³ In a letter to Frederick in 1241 Louis demanded that the emperor release the French prelates who had been captured by imperial forces on their way to a papal council. However, the king went on to assure Frederick that the prelates meant no harm to the emperor but were only obeying papal orders to come and that the French monarchy had always supported the honor of the Empire.²⁶⁴ While his representatives protested against the deposition of the emperor at the Council of Lyons on the grounds that popes could not depose secular rulers,²⁶⁵ Louis showed that he had little faith in the pope's denunciation of Frederick as a heretic and a schismatic, since he remained in correspondence with the emperor whom he continued to address as his 'most excellent and dear friend'.²⁶⁶ Moreover, the king gave Frederick solemn promises that his crusaders would not attack either the emperor or his son Conrad.²⁶⁷ While on his crusade both Louis and his mother Blanche of Castile refused to allow the pope to take money from France on the grounds that it would be used to wage war against Christians.²⁶⁸ Despite his obvious support of imperial rights Louis nevertheless refused totally to abandon the

²⁶³ Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 463-464; Matthew Paris, English History, trans. by J. A. Giles (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), vol. II, pp. 112 and 268; and Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV, p. 154.

²⁶⁴ Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 18-20.

²⁶⁵ Matthew Paris, op. cit., II, p. 70; and Mirepoix, op. cit., p. 84; and Kuhner, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

²⁶⁶ Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 500-502.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Matthew Paris, op. cit., II, p. 388; and Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV, p. 371.

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papacy. Although he denied the pope the right to reside in French territory possibly out of fear that it would jeopardize his own royal authority,²⁶⁹ he was prepared in 1247 to send his army to Lyons to protect the pope in case of a military attack by Frederick.²⁷⁰ Indeed, throughout the war between papacy and emperor Louis appeared as a strong defender of the rights of secular rulers against papal encroachments while yet refusing to negate all papal power. If he always maintained a certain degree of respect for the papal office, he refused to follow papal directives blindly, thus establishing the principle that kings could form their own judgments about the extent of papal power and act accordingly.

While the French kings were often resisting papal claims of supremacy but still avoiding much open conflict, the English king John did not display such skillful strategy in his attempts to rule with as little papal interference as possible.²⁷¹ Although John never showed much inclination to follow papal directives without reservations,²⁷² it was the pope's efforts to place Stephen Langton

²⁶⁹ Francis Seymour Stevenson, Robert Grosseteste (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1899), p. 245.

²⁷⁰ Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 544-547; and Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV, p. 262.

²⁷¹ William Hamilton Bryson maintains that John wanted to establish a theocratic monarchy whereby the king would rule by the grace of God alone; "Papal Releases from Royal Oaths," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXII (January 1971), p. 23.

²⁷² For earlier complaints against the English king see Innocent III's letter to John (February 20, 1203) as cited in C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple, Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1953), p. 50; and Sidney Painter, The Reign of King John (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1949), pp. 154-155 and 158-159.

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in the see of Canterbury that started open hostilities between king and pope.²⁷³ Ignoring an earlier secret election by the Canterbury monks of Reginald, one of their own members, the king had cajoled the monks into electing the royal favorite, John de Grey.²⁷⁴ The irregularities of both elections along with the insistence of certain bishops that their rights in the election had been ignored brought numerous appeals to Rome. After dismissing the episcopal claims as groundless, the pope then proceeded to quash both elections as uncanonical. However, rather than ordering the monks to return home to make another selection, Innocent had the monks present elect a man of his own choice, Stephen Langton.²⁷⁵ Claiming that elections taking place at Rome did not require royal approval, the pope then proceeded to consecrate Langton, although he did first send a letter seeking the king's good wishes.²⁷⁶ John was furious. Accusing the papacy of placing a man unknown to him and a friend of his chief enemy, Philip Augustus, in the important archbishopric of Canterbury and of interfering with his traditional regalian rights to take part in the selection of his own prelates,²⁷⁷ John refused to admit Langton and threatened to stop all intercourse with Rome so that "his territories might not be emptied of their wealth."²⁷⁸ The king then proceeded to

²⁷³ "Annales Londoniensis," p. 8.

²⁷⁴ Alan Lloyd, The Maligned Monarch: A Life of King John of England (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1972), pp. 169-170.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 171. ²⁷⁶ Painter, op. cit., p. 169.

²⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 170; and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 172-173.

²⁷⁸ Roger of Wendover, op. cit., p. 241.

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eject the monks of Canterbury on the charge of lese majesty for supporting the pope and to levy a tax of one-thirteenth on all clerical moveables.²⁷⁹ Despite this initial display of outrage John soon cooled enough to begin negotiations with the pope. However, although he eventually agreed to admit Langton, he refused to accept the case as a precedent which would jeopardize future royal rights.²⁸⁰ After numerous attempts to obtain John's unconditional submission Innocent finally fulfilled his threat to put England under an interdict.²⁸¹ The king responded by outlawing and confiscating the goods of all those ecclesiastics who observed the interdict on the grounds that they were failing to perform their prescribed social function (the administration of the sacraments) and therefore had lost their rights to the goods and protection of the realm.²⁸² Although John was far from being a popular king, many in England openly criticized the pope for punishing the whole country for royal misdeeds.²⁸³ One anonymous poet, while praising the pope in general, denounced the interdict as injurious to a large number of innocent people:

Justitae speculum, flos cleri, cereus orbis,
Sol hominum, salve, Petri sucessor et heres!
Pace tua loquer et paucis: offendis in uno

²⁷⁹"Annales Londonienses," pp. 8 and 13; and Lloyd, op. cit., p. 172.

²⁸⁰Painter, op. cit., pp. 173-174; and Lloyd, op. cit., p. 176.

²⁸¹Luchaire, Innocent III: Les royautes vassales de Saint-siège, pp. 200 and 204-205; and Painter, op. cit., p. 172.

²⁸²Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 135; Painter, op. cit., p. 175; and Lloyd, op. cit., p. 178.

²⁸³Lloyd, op. cit., p. 177.

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 Ultio digna reum feriat, nec plebs laceretur.
 Hoc docet, ordo jubet, ratio deocet, exigit usus.²⁸⁴

While many were critical of the pope's interdict, John was also very successful in defying the interdict and his final excommunication, since they offered him the magnificent opportunity of filling royal coffers with confiscated church wealth.²⁸⁵ It was not until a large number of outraged English barons appeared on the verge of revolt (because of royal political and financial policies, not because of John's ecclesiastical policy!) and the French king was actively making plans to invade England that John felt it practical to make peace with the pope.²⁸⁶ His enfeofment of England to Rome in fee (1000 pounds sterling per year) and his subsequent crusade vows were moreover political moves designed to gain papal protection against a

²⁸⁴ Edmond Farel, Les Arts Poétiques du XIIe et XIIIe Siècles (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1924), pp. 24-26. Translation: "Mirror of justice, flower of the clergy, candle of the world, sun of men, successor and heir of Peter, Salve! With a few words I must tell you that you have done one thing wrong: the land of England lies in tears and weeping. O Papa, does the guiltless flock deserve this? The sin lies with the king. Therefore, reconsider: a just revenge strikes the guilty party; the common people should not be torn to pieces. This is only proper according to order, reason, and experience."

²⁸⁵ William E. Lunt, Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1939), p. 57; Painter, op. cit., p. 176; and Lloyd, op. cit., p. 181.

²⁸⁶ Painter, op. cit., pp. 188-189. After declaring John deposed, Innocent had himself finally offered the English crown to Philip II or his son, but this action was most probably a political move designed to force John to surrender to the papacy's demands.

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Innocent's defense of John against his enemies after May 1213 deeply angered the barons who had actually supported John's refusal to accept Langton as a means of defending their own rights of patronage in the English Church.²⁸⁸ Soon after John's submission many of the nobles deserted the king, no longer the staunch defender of lay patronage, and joined forces with the French king. Despite papal pleas and threats against a French invasion of England, they continued their aid to Louis VIII and asserted that the pope had no right to interfere in English affairs and that a deposed king could not give away his kingdom.²⁸⁹ Again, when the pope condemned Magna Carta, the barons protested vigorously and rebelled. Their subsequent excommunication by the pope likewise produced no effect; and it was not until 1217 that they finally decided to submit to their new king.²⁹⁰

After the death of John in 1216 the English crown was held by the relatively weak Henry III for over fifty-six years.²⁹¹ Owing

²⁸⁷ Petit-Dutaillis, Louis VIII, p. 56; and Painter, op. cit., pp. 192-193.

²⁸⁸ Painter, op. cit., pp. 274-275.

²⁸⁹ Petit-Dutaillis, Louis VIII, p. 73; Lunt, op. cit., p. 156; and Luchaire, Innocent III: Les royautés vassales de Saint-siège, p. 209. In 1204 the nobles of Aragon and Catalonia had also formed a league to force their king to renounce his infeudation to the Holy See; Lunt, op. cit., pp. 138 and 156.

²⁹⁰ Roger of Wendover, op. cit., pp. 330-343.

²⁹¹ Henry III is here considered weak because of his inability to attract wide support among most classes of Englishmen. For his administrative and jurisdictional successes see W. R. Jones, "Relations of the Two Jurisdictions: Conflict and Cooperation in England during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, VII (1970), pp. 79-209.

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his position largely to the manoeuvres of the papal legate and a few royalist barons who took over the government after his father's death and living under an almost constant threat of another baronial rebellion,²⁹² Henry was strongly influenced by the papacy throughout much of his reign.²⁹³ Nevertheless, he, too, tried occasionally to assert his royal power against the papacy. Soon after rejecting the right of the pope to send legates into his realm without royal permission, he refused to send more money for the papacy's war against Frederick II.²⁹⁴ Indeed, throughout this war the king remained in close communication with the emperor; and, if he failed to give the emperor active support, he also refused to offer the papacy any military aid.²⁹⁵ After pledging aid to the emperor against any imperial enemies except the Church,²⁹⁶ Henry's representatives at the Council of Lyons joined with those of Louis IX to persuade the pope to make peace with the emperor and to protest

²⁹²"Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle," in *The Church Historians of England*, trans. by Joseph Stevenson (London: Seelys, 1858), vol. V, Part 1, p. 351; F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 3-4; and T. F. Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III, 1216-1377*, Vol. III of *The Political History of England*, ed. by William Hunt and Reginald L. Poole (8 vols.; London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1920), p. 2.

²⁹³Oliver H. Richardson, *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1897), p. 14.

²⁹⁴"Annales Londoniensis," p. 44.

²⁹⁵*Historia Diplomatica*, V, pp. 840-846, 920-923, 1037-1041, 1123-1125, and 1165-1167, and VI, pp. 52, 259-260, 290, and 644-646.

²⁹⁶*Ibid.*, VI, p. 52.

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against the papal deposition of a secular ruler.²⁹⁷ Also, Henry attempted to stop payment of the tribute money on the grounds that John had never had the right to give away his kingdom.²⁹⁸ While these attempts were generally supported by the barons, they largely met with failure, since Henry was too dependent on Rome to make vigorous protests.²⁹⁹ In 1237 the king reportedly sent secret nuncios to Rome to request the pope to send a papal legate to reform the kingdom and to augment royal power indirectly by bringing the episcopate under closer royal scrutiny.³⁰⁰ Also, Henry softened his original objection to papal taxation when he found that such taxation could be used to his own advantage.³⁰¹ This use of the papacy to promote royal interests was followed in other matter as well; and the king never appealed to Rome when it would detract from his own power.³⁰² After ignoring numerous papal efforts to restore peace between France and England, Henry finally accepted papal arbitration to arrange a treaty when it would benefit his Sicilian plans.³⁰³

²⁹⁷ Ibid., VI, p. 290; and Matthew Paris, op. cit., II, p. 70.

²⁹⁸ Lunt, op. cit., p. 156.

²⁹⁹ Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272 (London: Humphrey Milford, 1934), p. 14.

³⁰⁰ "Annales Londonienses," p. 34.

³⁰¹ Lunt, op. cit., p. 309. Several occasions in which popes granted financial aids to Henry are mentioned in Gibbs and Lang, op. cit., p. 132.

³⁰² J. H. Denton, "Royal Supremacy in Ancient Desmesne Churches," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXII (October 1971), p. 302.

³⁰³ Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p. 120.

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Whenever possible he used church benefices to reward royal servants.³⁰⁴
 Also, Henry gained from the papacy the immunity of royal officials from excommunication when in the service of the crown.³⁰⁵

Meanwhile, the English barons showed an almost continual dislike of the strong alliance between their king and the papacy. As early as 1223 the barons protested when the pope ordered that they immediately surrender their royal towns and castles to the king's officers upon threat of ecclesiastical censures.³⁰⁶ In 1230 they flatly refused the papacy's demands for money to fight Frederick, although both the king and the prelates agreed to contribute.³⁰⁷ Soon after this refusal many English knights under Robert Twenge formed a secret society to eject the many Roman benefice holders who had inundated the country since the beginning of Henry's reign.³⁰⁸ The nobles were also highly suspicious of the papal legate sent to England at the king's request³⁰⁹ and resented the papal usurpation of church

³⁰⁴ Frank Pegues, "The Clericus in the Legal Administration of Thirteenth-Century England," English Historical Review, LXXI (1956), p. 351. Gibbs and Lang state that Henry's control over episcopal elections was much less than historians have generally believed; Gibbs and Lang, op. cit., p. 92.

³⁰⁵ Jones, "Relations of the Two Jurisdictions," pp. 146-147. These same papal immunities were gained by Louis IX; Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV, pp. 62-65; and Campbell, "The Attitude of the Monarchy Toward the Use of Ecclesiastical Censures," p. 553.

³⁰⁶ Roger of Wendover, op. cit., p. 446.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 528-530.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 544-545 and 551-552.

³⁰⁹ Matthew Paris, op. cit., I, pp. 54-55; "Annales Londonienses," p. 34; and Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp. 74-75.

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benefices, often usurped to the disadvantage of the barons and prelates.³¹⁰ Indeed, baronial discontent over papal provisions continued throughout most of Henry's reign.³¹¹ Even more resentment was stirred up when the papacy attempted to force England to support its war against Frederick during the 1240's;³¹² and in 1245 the country's ports were guarded by the barons to prevent the entrance of more papal letters demanding money.³¹³ The barons also sent a strong statement of grievances to the Council of Lyons and complained against both the papacy's monetary demands and the royal-papal alliance.³¹⁴ Rather than aiding England, this alliance, the barons claimed, was impoverishing their country and trampling on their rights.³¹⁵ When the Barons' War finally broke out during the latter part of Henry's reign, the king immediately turned to the papacy for aid and had the Provisions of Oxford declared void on the grounds that they restricted the king in his God-given right to rule his kingdom.³¹⁶ The nobles considered this an act of treachery on the part of the pope, ignored the papal letters, and turned to Louis IX of France to settle their dispute with the king.³¹⁷ Indeed, although the barons had at first

³¹⁰ Matthew Paris, op. cit., I, p. 230.

³¹¹ Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p. 141.

³¹² Matthew Paris, op. cit., I, pp. 501-503.

³¹³ Ibid., II, p. 53.

³¹⁴ Ibid., II, p. 73; and Lunt, op. cit., p. 148.

³¹⁵ Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV, p. 132.

³¹⁶ Bryson, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

³¹⁷ "Annales Londonienses," p. 58.

actively sought papal approval for their government and had even requested a papal legate--both of which measures were coldly rejected by the papacy--³¹⁸ they ended by almost creating a separate Anglican church because of their hostility towards the papacy's continued support of Henry.³¹⁹ All aliens, clerical and lay, were expelled; papal legates were forbidden to enter the kingdom; and all those who disobeyed the Provisions of Oxford were excommunicated by the English prelates.³²⁰ While all of these measures were a direct affront to papal influence in England, the use of ecclesiastical weapons against those who violated the Provisions of Oxford, decrees which had been expressly annulled by the pope, clearly established the independence of the English church from Roman control.

While the first part of the thirteenth century witnessed no admission of the concept of papal supremacy by the secular powers, the last quarter of the century saw two forceful kings ascend the thrones of France and England. Both Philip IV and Edward I were dedicated to building up their royal power; and neither was willing to tolerate undue interference from the papacy. At the same time both monarchies were in a position of relative strength. While Louis IX had left the French monarchy with not only tremendous moral prestige but also with strong royal control over the administrative

³¹⁸ Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp. 125 and 135.

³¹⁹ F. M. Powicke, King Henry III and the Lord Edward (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), vol. II, p. 49.

³²⁰ "Annales Londoniensis," pp. 59-61.

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and jurisdictional offices,³²¹ the defeat of the rebel barons and the subsequent resettlement of the country by the papal legate and royal officials had left the English monarchy probably stronger than it had been at any time earlier in the century.³²²

Edward I, the so-called English Justinian,³²³ at first seemed quite complaisant. Although he regarded the tribute money as derogatory to royal power, denied the right of John to make England a papal fief, and suggested that other means of collecting the same sum be used,³²⁴ he accepted the pope's refusal with little bickering and continued to pay the tribute.³²⁵ Also, he made ostentitious and probably sincere plans to go on another crusade, although he never went to the Holy Land after his coronation since it would have jeopardized his kingdom and his royalty.³²⁶ Nevertheless, Edward soon began to assert his power in contradiction to the claimed rights of the Church. In 1279 he passed the statute of mortmain, De religiosis, whereby he forbade future land grants to ecclesiastical corporations without

³²¹ Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV, p. 28; and Campbell, "The Attitude of the Monarchy Toward the Use of Ecclesiastical Censures," p. 553.

³²² Powicke, Henry III and the Lord Edward, II, p. 49.

³²³ Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p. 227.

³²⁴ Edward claimed that the tribute money could only be paid with baronial consent and that a king was bound by his coronation oath to keep his kingdom intact; Lunt, op. cit., pp. 158-159; and C. H. Lawrence, ed., The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages (London: Burns and Oates, 1965), p. 133.

³²⁵ Lunt, op. cit., p. 157.

³²⁶ The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, ed. by Thomas Wright (London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), p. 194; and Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p. 229.

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prior royal consent.³²⁷ In 1282 he placed an embargo on the exportation of the crusade tenth from England partially in protest of the pope's Sicilian policy.³²⁸ Again in the next year he forcibly seized the tenth deposited in English churches to finance his own war against Wales,³²⁹ after the clergy had refused to grant more than a thirtieth to aid the king.³³⁰ Although this money was eventually returned with expressions of penance, it was becoming increasingly evident that the king considered that he had a definite right to monies collected by the English churches. At the same time Edward was working to extend royal jurisdiction and in 1285 issued the royal writ of Circumspecte agatis, which closely defined the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.³³¹ While this writ, generally considered as a statute by the end of Edward's reign, was careful to respect the existing boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it also prevented the spread of such jurisdiction.³³² Pope Nicholas IV's protests

³²⁷ The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, p. 174; Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp. 325 and 372; "Annales Londonienses," p. 89; and Thomas Walsingham, Chronica Monasterii S. Albani, ed. by Henry Thomas Riley (London: Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), p. 14. After telling of the statute, Pierre de Langtoft added, "Nevertheless the king has great devotion."

³²⁸ The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301, trans. by Antonia Gransden (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1964), pp. 77-78.

³²⁹ Ibid.; and Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p. 506.

³³⁰ Tout, The History of England, p. 164.

³³¹ T. F. Tout, Edward the First (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1920), p. 158; Jones, "Relations of the Two Jurisdictions," p. 95; and "Annales Londonienses," p. 95.

³³² Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp. 482-483.

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against these acts and against the trial of churchmen in civil courts were largely ignored.³³³ By 1290 the king also quietly began to ignore the payment of the tribute money.³³⁴ Although Edward generally sought papal approval for the taxation of his clergy, in 1294 he went directly to the clergy with his demand for money and threatened to outlaw all members of the lower clergy who refused to pay.³³⁵ Faced with war against France as well as a rebellion in Scotland, the king stated that it was the clergy's duty as his subjects to contribute to the welfare of the kingdom.³³⁶

Meanwhile in France Philip IV, who was bringing the French feudal system further on its path towards direct dependence on the king,³³⁷ was asserting his own power against the rights of the papacy. Surrounding himself with well-trained civil lawyers,³³⁸ Philip quickly began to expel the clergy from an active participation in the legal administration.³³⁹ Because of the king's efforts to increase royal

³³³ Ibid., pp. 265-266; and Mann, op. cit., XVII, p. 215.

³³⁴ Lawrence, op. cit., p. 133.

³³⁵ Michael Prestwich, War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 186.

³³⁶ Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, pp. 659-672.

³³⁷ Roland H. Bainton, The Medieval Church (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1962), p. 63; L. Elliott Binns, D.D., The History of the Decline and Fall of the Medieval Papacy (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1934), pp. 64-65; and Fawtier, op. cit., p. 36.

³³⁸ Frank J. Pegues, The Lawyers of the Last Capetians (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 11.

³³⁹ Flick, op. cit., p. 12; and John F. Benton, "Philip the Fair and the Jours of Troyes," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, VI (1968), pp. 329-336.

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jurisdiction, the papacy was twice forced into complaining against the trial of churchmen in French civil courts.³⁴⁰ Another minor incident occurred in 1289 over the jurisdiction of Lyons. Despite Nicholas' protests that all jurisdiction in Lyons belonged to the Church, the French court insisted that the area's temporal jurisdiction belonged to the king who merely conferred it on the archbishop and that the papacy held temporal jurisdiction only in that region covered by the Donation of Constantine.³⁴¹ Likewise, Philip did not hesitate to hamper the activities of the Inquisitors in Southern France to win the Midi's support for his policy in Gascony.³⁴² Moreover, the king evinced little scruples in taxing his clergy to finance his foreign wars.³⁴³ Nevertheless, when the papacy complained against such taxation, Philip preferred to ignore the protests as much as possible and gave idle promises to reform.³⁴⁴ The king indeed usually did try to make a pretense of working with the papacy. In the clerical grants of 1288 and 1294 the king first acted with the papacy to obtain financial aid from the churches, although in 1295 he abandoned this method by going straight to the French clergy, thereby circumventing any negotiations

³⁴⁰ Mann, op. cit., XVII, pp. 174-175. For an earlier incident regarding the civil arrest of French bishops and the response of the papacy see Richard Kay, "An Episcopal Petition from the Province of Rouen, 1281," Church History, XXXIV (September 1965), p. 297.

³⁴¹ Georges Digard, Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304 (2 vols.; Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1936), vol. I, p. 85.

³⁴² Ibid., II, p. 64.

³⁴³ Flick, op. cit., p. 20.

³⁴⁴ Jo Ann McNamara, "Simon de Beaulieu and 'Clericis Laicos'," Traditio, XXV (1969), p. 156.

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A major crisis arose late in the thirteenth century when the more forceful Boniface VIII issued Clericis laicos which forbade lay taxation of the clergy without papal consent under pain of excommunication.³⁴⁶ Both Edward and Philip reacted violently and stated that kings did have the right to tax their clergy without prior papal consent in times of national emergency.³⁴⁷ In England Edward declared that the clergy had a responsibility to support the kingdom where they resided and then proceeded to withdraw royal protection from those clergy who refused to pay.³⁴⁸ Philip responded to the papal action by reminding the pope that the king had a right to make whatever laws he deemed necessary for the preservation of his kingdom and that the clergy had a duty to pay for the kingdom's defense in return for their own defense by the king. Furthermore, he asserted that ecclesiastical privileges were conceded by the pope but only with the permission of the king.³⁴⁹ At the same time the French

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ McNamara blames the whole dispute in France on the bad relationship between Boniface and the French legate Simon de Beaulieu, who had been a long-time enemy of the pope and therefore tried to undermine Boniface's authority in France; Ibid., pp. 155-170.

³⁴⁷ The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, pp. 276-278. Tout noted that the battles over Clericis laicos were between king and archbishop in England and between king and pope in France; The History of England, p. 201.

³⁴⁸ H. S. Deighton, "Clerical Taxation by Consent, 1279-1301," English Historical Review, LXVIII (April 1953), p. 181; and Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., p. 63.

³⁴⁹ Dupuy, Histoire du Differend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel Roy de France (Tuscon: Audax Press, 1963), pp. 22-23.

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publicists under the leadership of Pierre Flotte began attacking Boniface as a usurper and made resistance to Clericis laicos into a "reaffirmation of French independence from papal domination."³⁵⁰

The Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem also appeared during this period to refute further the supremacy of the Church over secular authorities.³⁵¹ Stating that "temporals ought to serve spirituals in the proper way",³⁵² the anonymous author nevertheless denied that Peter ever held authority in the secular sphere:

KNIGHT.-- I have heard holy and devout men distinguish two periods in Christ, one of humility and the other of authority: of humility up to His passion, of authority after His resurrection, when He said, 'All power is given to me in heaven and on earth' (Matthew 28). Now Peter was constituted vicar of Christ for the state of humility, not for the sake of glory and majesty. For he was not made vicar of Christ for those things that Christ does now in glory, but to imitate those things that Christ did when He was humble on earth, because those are necessary to us. Therefore He committed to His vicar that power which He exercised as mortal man, not that which He received when glorified.... Therefore you hear clearly that Christ was constituted neither judge nor divider in temporals; therefore in that state of ministry which He accepted, He neither had temporal kingship nor strove after it. Rather, when they ate the multiplied bread, He fled; and in the commission made to Peter He gave him not the keys of the kingdom of earth but the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And it is certain that the priests³⁵³ of the Hebrews were subject to kings and deposed by kings....

Moreover, the author insisted that ecclesiastical jurisdiction was only to come into play when civil justice failed:

³⁵⁰ McNamara, op. cit., p. 168.

³⁵¹ Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 379-380; and Thomas J. Renna, "Kingship in the Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem," Speculum, XLVIII (October 1973), p. 678.

³⁵² Disputatio inter Clericum et Militem, as cited in Lewis, op. cit., II, p. 571.

³⁵³ Ibid., p. 569.

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KNIGHT.-- ...the prince by his own right has cognizance of the just and the unjust; and let everyone heed his decision, that it may be maintained, and obey him as it is commanded (Deuteronomy 17). If, however, anyone, swelling with pride, does not obey his command, and if the prince whose was the office of judging does not have the power to resist or coerce him, then your jurisdiction begins....³⁵⁴

Philip also did more than rely on verbal assaults on the pope. By keeping up friendly communications with the Colonna cardinals who were in open rebellion against Boniface as an illegitimate pontiff, the king showed his willingness to go even further in his defiance of the papacy.³⁵⁵ Also in August 1296 the French court forbade the export of all gold and silver from the country, thus severely jeopardizing the papacy's financial security.³⁵⁶ Faced with the Colonna rebellion, problems in Sicily, and the opposition of both the French and English kings, the pope was finally forced to concede that kings did have the right to determine when a state of emergency existed and to tax the clergy accordingly.³⁵⁷

Boniface's submission did not, however, end royal recalcitrance. When the pope offered to mediate in the dispute between France and England, Philip only consented on the grounds that Boniface would do so as a private person and not as pope.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁴Ibid., p. 570.

³⁵⁵Digard, op. cit., I, p. 287.

³⁵⁶Ibid., I, p. 272.

³⁵⁷Etsi de Statu as cited in Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, p. 178.

³⁵⁸Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., pp. 73-74. For the year 1293 Walsingham stated that the French and English kings had referred their dispute to the pope 'whose duty it is to establish peace between kings and kingdoms'; op. cit., p. 44.

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By doing so, he denied the right of the papacy to act as an international arbiter. In fact, before submitting to Boniface's arbitration, Philip told the pope that the king had no temporal superior in his kingdom, that he was subject to the pope in spirituals only, and that a papal truce carried no weight unless approved by the king, since the papacy had no jurisdiction in temporal affairs.³⁵⁹ Later, when the pope tried to interfere in the dispute between England and Scotland and claimed Scotland as a papal fief, Edward politely but firmly replied that God Himself knew that Scotland had always been subservient to the English crown and that the pope had no right to interfere in internal English affairs.³⁶⁰ At the same time a less discreet English chronicler stated that the pope knew from the beginning that he had no rights over Scotland but had intervened after receiving many bribes from the Scots, a wise people, who knew the 'venality of Rome'.³⁶¹ Even the English Parliament sent Boniface letters claiming the king's sovereignty over Scotland and asking the pope to review the case more carefully.³⁶² Although both the English king and nobles maintained a great degree of politeness to the pope, they made it quite clear that they did not believe the papacy had any rights in the matter. Later, in 1301

³⁵⁹ Dupuy, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

³⁶⁰ The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346, trans. by Sir Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p. 171; Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., pp. 87-95; and "Annales Londonienses," pp. 104-124.

³⁶¹ Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

³⁶² Ibid., pp. 96-97; and "Annales Londonienses," pp. 122-125.

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Edward reaped most of the benefits from a papal tax on the clergy and "claimed the exclusive control of the taxation of the temporalities of the clergy" despite the fact that the pope had only allotted half of that year's clerical tax to the king.³⁶³

Despite these minor clashes it was the arrest and trial by French civil authorities of Bernard Saisset, the bishop of Pamiers, which finally brought matters to a head early in the fourteenth century.³⁶⁴ Although Philip did appeal to the pope to have the traitorous bishop condemned and degraded from the priestly dignity, he refused to release the bishop or to accept the pope's excuse that Saisset could not be degraded without a trial in Rome.³⁶⁵ Boniface again ordered the release of Saisset, summoned a council of French prelates to discuss the state of the church in France when the king refused, and then suspended all papal privileges of clerical taxation granted to Philip.³⁶⁶ At the same time (December 5, 1301) the pope launched the bull Ausculta fili, in which he reminded the king that it was the Church's duty to guide Christian kings in all matters of conscience and scolded Philip for his many aggressions against the independence of the French Church.³⁶⁷ Although the problem actually centered around the respective rights of pope and king over the French Church, Philip quickly launched his attack against the person of the

³⁶³Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p. 500.

³⁶⁴Digard, op. cit., II, p. 59.

³⁶⁵Pegues, The Lawyers of the Last Capetians, p. 38.

³⁶⁶Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

³⁶⁷Digard, op. cit., pp. 89-93.

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pope rather than the institution of the papacy.³⁶⁸ Moreover, after forbidding any person within his realm to receive papal letters under pain of death and confiscation,³⁶⁹ the king acknowledged complete obedience to the Holy See (although not to Boniface) and declared all his actions motivated by a desire to protect France from foreign enemies.³⁷⁰ At an initial assembly of all the estates at Notre Dame on April 10, 1302, Philip stated that he alone held temporal sovereignty in France and accused the pope of claiming all temporal power in France primarily to rid the country of its wealth.³⁷¹ His minister Nogaret even went so far as to state that he and the king were motivated strictly by their great concern for the Christian faith which would be greatly compromised if the Church were to usurp all temporal authority.³⁷² Although Philip kept up a pretense of trying to make peace with Boniface, his ministers kept up a steady stream of invectives against the pope and called for a second meeting of all the estates for June 1303. It was at this assembly that the pope was defiled as a usurper and heretic;³⁷³ and a general council

³⁶⁸Boase, op. cit., p. 334. All of Philip's accusations against Boniface were made through his ministers; Joseph R. Strayer, Medieval Statecraft and the Perspectives of History (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), p. 203.

³⁶⁹Digard, op. cit., II, p. 96.

³⁷⁰Mann, op. cit., XVIII, p. 355.

³⁷¹Digard, op. cit., II, pp. 99-100.

³⁷²Fawtier, op. cit., p. 42.

³⁷³Not one of the twenty-nine charges levelled against Boniface at this Paris assembly of June 1303 was concerned with the respective rights of pope and king; but all were attacks upon the pope's personal life. See Dupuy, op. cit., pp. 100-109.

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was called to elect a new pope.³⁷⁴ The right to summon a general council was, of course, a papal not a royal prerogative.³⁷⁵ Nogaret, however, maintained that the Church had no leader, since a heretic could not be pope.³⁷⁶ Since the pope meanwhile showed no willingness to submit and made plans to excommunicate Philip by name, the French court determined on a course of physical coercion to secure their victory. In the end French agents accompanied by the Colonnas invaded the papal chambers at Anagni and captured the pope. Although popular outrage among local residents forced his release within a couple of days, Boniface died shortly afterwards, probably as a result of the experience; and Philip pushed the posthumous trial of the pope as a heretic.

Meanwhile, the dispute between Philip and Boniface had brought out pamphlets by the French legists who with their excellent knowledge of Roman law were approaching a theory of absolutism to define the role of the king within his realm.³⁷⁷ Peter of Blois claimed that the pope should publicly apologize for invading the king's temporal jurisdiction and then went on to state that popes should be poor anyway as their saintly predecessors had been.³⁷⁸ The Quaestio

³⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 56-59; Fawtier, op. cit., pp. 94-95; Brian Tierney, Foundations of the Consiliar Theory (Cambridge: University Press, 1955), pp. 8-9; and Richard Chenevix Trench, Lectures on Medieval Church History (London: Macmillan and Company, 1879), p. 285.

³⁷⁵ Fawtier, op. cit., pp. 38 and 224.

³⁷⁶ Tierney, Foundations of the Consiliar Theory, pp. 8-9.

³⁷⁷ Lewis, op. cit., II, pp. 449-452; and Fawtier, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

³⁷⁸ Dupuy, op. cit., pp. 44-47.

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in utramque partem by an anonymous author said that both powers derived their separate and distinct rights from God and that the papacy had no universal temporal authority. Moreover, this tract denied that the Donation of Constantine was valid, since an emperor could not legally alienate a large part of his empire.³⁷⁹

Perhaps one of the most radical of the legist tracts was presented by Pierre Dubois, whose Rationes inconvincibiles (December 1301) was later paraphrased in the second part of his Recovery of the Holy Land (1308), where he proposed that all future crusade ventures be placed under the French king.³⁸⁰ Referring to the French king as "the Church's most Christian foundation",³⁸¹ Dubois proposed that the papacy become a French possession, since the Romans had so misused the office for their own gain:

... when, in return for a guaranteed annual pension, the government, possessions, and distractions of the pope's temporalities have been entrusted in perpetuity to the lord king of the French, to be governed by his brothers and sons as he shall see fit to provide; when the poisonous plots of the Romans and Lombards have ceased--then it is highly probable that the lord pope will be able to enjoy a long and healthful sojourn in his native land, the kingdom of the French, with liesure to devote his sole attention to the governance of souls.... This would be of inestimable and lasting benefit to all the friends, neighbors, and kindred of the lord pope, and especially to the whole kingdom of France, since the ultramontane clergy would not have the income of fat benefices belonging to the cismontane churches--as they have had in the past--for building castles for themselves and their kin by defrauding the churches even at the expense of divine offices....

Since the Roman pope has misused his power and has done

³⁷⁹ Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., p. 421.

³⁸⁰ Pierre Dubois, The Recovery of the Holy Land, trans. by Walther I. Brandt (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 170.

³⁸¹ Ibid., p. 206.

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so because he is a Roman, it is fitting and proper, and in harmony with the intent of the decree of the holy fathers, that the Romans, saving and in every way increasing the papal dignity, should, though unwilling, permit this great honor to be enjoyed indefinitely by individuals who would not be eager to snatch at the chief dignity of a most Christian prince; who would not exceed the limits which the holy fathers established; who would permit any Caesar to reign in all his kingdom, and to administer and enjoy his possessions....³⁸²

After thus repeating Frederick II's proposals to rid the papacy of its temporal possessions and to restrict it to purely spiritual duties,³⁸³ Dubois made it clear that he viewed the existing papacy as little more than another greedy Italian political institution which had lost sight of its founders' original purpose of religious leadership. Accordingly, the state was to have charge of all the Church's temporal possessions and had the right to tax the churches, since these churches received their power from the secular power.³⁸⁴ Although Dubois' work attracted very little attention at the time,³⁸⁵ it represented an extremely nationalistic solution to the problem of church-state relations: rather than calling for the Church simply to get out of secular affairs, Dubois wanted to make the papacy a favored dependent of the Capetian monarchy.³⁸⁶ Under such an arrangement the French king rather than the papacy would have become the ultimate source of ecclesiastical authority in Western Europe. When

³⁸²Ibid., pp. 167-169.

³⁸³Ibid., p. 179. Dubois was clearly aware of the writings of Frederick II;

³⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 183-185.

³⁸⁵Ibid., p. 5.

³⁸⁶Cohn, op. cit., p. 57.

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taken with the whole of the Recovery of the Holy Land and Dubois' other works, this tract was more reminiscent of the old prophecies concerning a future French king who would become world emperor before laying down his crown at Golgotha³⁸⁷ than of the tracts written by such men as Aquinas.

One of the best known and more moderate defenders of Philip IV's position was the Dominican Jean of Paris, whose Tractatus de Potestate Regia et Papali was completed around November 1302. This work, like Dubois' Rationes inconvincibiles and Dante's De monarchia, called for the papacy to abandon everything but its spiritual duties,³⁸⁸ although Jean did admit that the Church could exercise secular power, when this power was ceded by a secular state.³⁸⁹ However, he believed such cases would be rare and were generally unhealthy for the Church as a whole, because they might detract from its spiritual duties.³⁹⁰ As for the Donation of Constantine, he expressed grave doubts as to its validity.³⁹¹ Nevertheless, the main thrust of Jean's argument was directed towards showing that the church and state were two separate entities. By defining kingship as the "rule over a community perfectly

³⁸⁷ Lewis, op. cit., II, p. 352.

³⁸⁸ Walter Ullmann, "A Medieval Document on Papal Theories of Government," English Historical Review, LXI (1946), p. 193; Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300, pp. 193-198; and Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 426-427.

³⁸⁹ John of Paris, On Royal and Papal Power, trans. by Arthur P. Monahan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), pp. 4, 42, 45, 79, and 103.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 39.

³⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 77-78 and 111-118.

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ordered to the common good by one person"³⁹² and the priesthood as "the spiritual power given by Christ to ministers of the Church for dispensing the sacraments to the faithful",³⁹³ Jean clearly demonstrated that church and state had two separate functions in society: the state was ordained to serve the human needs of mankind on earth, while the church was to direct men to the supernatural life.³⁹⁴ If man's only goal were to lead a virtuous life, a human king would be sufficient and there would be no need for the church.³⁹⁵ The Church was called into being to direct men to another goal, eternal salvation;³⁹⁶ the state which had existed first in time³⁹⁷ was unable to fulfill this task.³⁹⁸ The state was concerned with ethics; the church with the mystical, or supernatural. Since the two powers had different ends,³⁹⁹ Jean reasoned that they should also have different modes of operation. While it was necessary for the church to be under a single authority, representing the common unity of all souls, there could be a multiplicity of states to fulfill human needs which varied because of climate, geography, custom, language, and the like.⁴⁰⁰ As for the argument that Christendom should have one ultimate authority, Jean answered that it already had such a leader in Christ Himself.⁴⁰¹ Also, while it was perfectly legitimate for the state to use physical coercion to maintain its end of social peace and moral order,⁴⁰² the

³⁹²Ibid., p. 7. ³⁹³Ibid., p. 11. ³⁹⁴Ibid., p. 8.

³⁹⁵Ibid., p. 10. ³⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 10, 84-85, and 90-91.

³⁹⁷Ibid., p. 16. ³⁹⁸Ibid., p. 10. ³⁹⁹Ibid., p. 37.

⁴⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 13-14. ⁴⁰¹Ibid., p. 91.

⁴⁰²Ibid., p. 8.

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same force was incompatible with the spiritual ends of the church which was to use its ecclesiastical weapons only to persuade, not to force, since spiritual grace required individual consent.⁴⁰³ Moreover, according to Jean, Christ "conferred spiritual power on Peter, and gave corporeal power to Caesar."⁴⁰⁴ After admitting that "priestly power is of greater dignity than secular power",⁴⁰⁵ Jean denied that the superiority of priests in spiritual affairs carried over into the secular sphere:

However, if the priest is greater than the prince in dignity and absolutely, it is not necessary for him to be superior in all things; for the latter secular power does not relate to the higher spiritual power in such a way that it arises or derives from it.... [Secular] power is greater than spiritual power in some things, namely, temporal things; and it is not subject to the spiritual power with reference to them in any way, because secular power does not arise from spiritual power. The two arise directly from a single supreme power: the divine power.... Hence, the priest is superior principally in spiritual matters; and conversely, the prince is superior in temporal matters, although the priest is superior absolutely insofar as the spiritual is superior to the temporal.⁴⁰⁶

Jean strongly repeated this theme that secular power came directly from God:

For the prince has knowledge of the faith from the pope and the Church, but he still has a power distinct and proper to him, which⁴⁰⁷ he does not receive from the pope but immediately from God.

After such a strong defense of the divine origin of monarchy and the separation of church and state Jean nevertheless did understand the necessity of cooperation between the two powers⁴⁰⁸ and did concede

⁴⁰³ Ibid., pp. 14, 29, 45, 63, 66, and 69.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 37. ⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 19. ⁴⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 73. ⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 68.

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that the church could request, but not demand, the use of the temporal sword to promote the spiritual welfare of the community.⁴⁰⁹ Moreover, the pope could use its ecclesiastical weapons, but not physical force, against demonic secular rulers, just as a secular ruler could withdraw financial support from a derelict pope.⁴¹⁰ However, the secular prince, acting as a concerned Christian, could use the material sword to rid the church of a bad pope upon the request of the cardinals.⁴¹¹

Besides being a general tract written to define the limits of royal and ecclesiastical power, Jean's work was also intended as a specific defense of Philip IV's recent actions concerning the Church. While maintaining that the Donation of Constantine, whether valid or not, had never included France, which had never been a part of the Roman Empire,⁴¹² Jean said the papacy's canonization of Louis IX was a tacit recognition of the integrity of the French monarchy.⁴¹³ Jean also maintained that clerical immunity from trial in civil courts was not a right but a privilege granted by secular princes to the Church.⁴¹⁴ If abused, such a privilege could be withdrawn. Moreover, Jean insisted that prelates holding temporal power were more closely bound to their king than to the pope:

Accordingly, a bishop who accepts feudal obligations, especially when this is done with the knowledge and the permission of the supreme pontiff, is bound more closely in obedience to his temporal lord than to the supreme pontiff.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁹Ibid., p. 45. ⁴¹⁰Ibid., pp. 66-67.

⁴¹¹Ibid., pp. 68 and 105.

⁴¹²Ibid., pp. 77-78, 112, and 115.

⁴¹³Ibid., pp. 115-116. ⁴¹⁴Ibid., p. 68. ⁴¹⁵Ibid., p. 103.

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Likewise, royal and noble patronage of ecclesiastical benefices was rather weakly upheld by the arguments that such patronage was customary and that Plato had warned against violating reasonable customs.⁴¹⁶ Philip's closure of France to all contact with Rome without royal permission was defended on the royal right to defend the kingdom against spiritual abuse and on the grounds that the king had not acted in an absolute sense but had granted exceptions.⁴¹⁷ As far as the king's right to work against a bad pope, Jean made this right into almost a duty of the prince who was thereby defending his own state and promoting the Church's welfare.⁴¹⁸

The outrage at Anagni along with the publication of such tracts as the De Potestate Regia et Papali marked the culmination of a long series of royal protests against the concept of papal supremacy. At no time during the thirteenth century had monarchs accepted the more extreme papal doctrines regarding the papacy's rights to intervene in secular affairs; and by the end of the century they were willing to accept even fewer papal pretensions. The rise of the monarchies also signalled the collapse of the papal ideal of a united Europe. Such a state of affairs had existed since the beginning of the period, although many throughout the century continued to pay lip-service to the ideal of unity. At the same time the monarchs, unlike the emperors, had less need of the pope and tended to build up national churches which were largely immune to papal leadership except perhaps in matters of doctrine. Even the spiritual prestige of the papacy was diminished by

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., p. 106. ⁴¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 104-105.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 120-122.

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such a king as Louis IX, who exemplified the royal theory that the duty of a Christian king was to lead his people to salvation. There was no attempt on the part of the kings to destroy the papal institution as Frederick II had attempted; but the pope himself was largely relegated to a position of figurehead rather than one of actual power in a system which stressed the moral character of the secular ruler to watch over the common welfare of his subjects. The pope was to have only vague spiritual powers, or, as Jean of Paris maintained, persuasive powers.

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CHAPTER III

CHURCHMEN AND THE PAPACY

While the secular princes played a vital role in the papal programs, the success of the papacy's plans for a united Christendom also depended heavily on the full cooperation of the prelates and clergy and their total commitment to papal ideals. Their undivided loyalty to the Church as a whole rather than to local or national interests was indeed as necessary as the cooperation of the secular rulers. However, the loyalty of the clerical classes depended ultimately on three important questions: how did the clergy view the papacy as an institution? did they accept the papal reform schemes? was the papacy capable of meeting their own needs? A positive answer to all of these questions was necessary for the achievement of papal goals, since such goals could not be attained under an indifferent or hostile clerical class.

There were two main conceptions held by churchmen about the papacy during the thirteenth century: one conception pictured Rome as the caput mundi;¹ the other saw Rome as the center of greed

¹Albert Hyma, Christianity and Politics: A History of the Principle Struggles of Church and State (New York: J. B. Lippencott Company, 1938), p. 26.

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and corruption.² The frequent use of the term caput mundi to denote the papacy's position in the world demonstrated the clergy's acceptance of papal leadership at least within the Church. This acceptance was phrased most eloquently by the English scholar-bishop Robert Grosseteste, who, in speaking of the unity and hierarchy of the Church, compared the papacy to the sun:

As in the visible world the conspicuous sun by its preeminent light, purges the darkness of the world, and in a singular manner lights up the world, and by its own most ordered movement (as the learned men of the world hold) orders and regulates the other natural bodily movements; so in the universe of the Church, the supreme pontiff takes the place of the sun, by the excellent light of his teaching and good works purging the world from the darkness of error, and by a singular prerogative illuminating it unto the knowledge of truth, and by his disposition ordering, regulating and governing all the movements of actions in the universal Church. Therefore just as (so the seekers after the prudence and intelligence of this world hold) the state, beauty and order of the world are due, next after the world's Creator and the angelic spirits that minister at the Creator's command, to the visible sun and to the hinges of the world; even so (as they hold who know the things that are above), after the world's Creator and Redeemer and the heavenly court of the blessed spirits of angels and saints, the state, the beauty and order of the universal Church are due to the sun and hinges, that is, to the supreme pontiff and his assistants the cardinals. And so the Holy Roman Church is due from all sons of the Church the most devout obedience, the most honored reverence, the most fervent love, the most subject fear....³

This view that Rome was the center of the world was countered and

²Robert Brentano, Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 5 and 10-19.

³Letter to Cardinal Gil de Torres (1236) as cited in William Abel Pantin, "Grosseteste's Relations with the Papacy and Crown," in Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop, ed. by Daniel A. Callus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 184-185. For a further exposition of Grosseteste's high regard for the papacy see Brian Tierney, "Grosseteste and the Theory of Papal Sovereignty," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, VI (1955), p. 2.

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often accompanied by the view that Rome was somewhat less than the living ideal of purity and holiness. Even before 1200 Rome had been used as a symbol of greed by clerical satirists;⁴ and this theme of Roman corruption continued to be one of the favorite topics of the thirteenth century.⁵ The English clerical poet Walter Mapes even said that Rome stood for Radix Omnium Malorum Avaritia.⁶ Nearly one-third of the poems in the Carmina Burana were concerned with attacks upon ecclesiastical authorities, particularly the papacy.⁷ Simony, rather than merit, was the key to receiving papal gifts:

cum non datur, Simon striget;
sed si datur, Simon ridet

The whole church was run by greed with the pope being the prince of Babylon:

Vide, Deus ultionum,
vide, videns omnia
quod spelunca vispillonum
facta est Ecclesia,
quod in templum Salomonis
venit princeps Babylonis
et ascensum sibi thronum

⁴ John A. Yunck, The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Medieval Venality Satire (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), p. 93.

⁵ Helen Jane Waddell, The Wandering Scholars (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955), p. 180.

⁶ Achille Luchaire, Innocent III: Les Royautés vassales du Saint-siège (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1908), p. 148.

⁷ Waddell, op. cit., p. 229.

⁸ Carmina Burana: Die moralisch-satireschen Dichtungen (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1930), p. 14. Translation: "When nothing is given, Simon hisses; but, if something is given, Simon kisses."

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The German rector Hugo von Trimberg even stated, "If Saint Paul and Saint Peter were now living at Rome, they would be sold, if anyone would bid a fair price for them."¹⁰ Rutebeuf likewise complained,

Roume, qui deust estre de notre foi la fonde,
Symonie, avarice et touz maux y abonde.
Cil sunt plus conchie qui doivent estre monde
Et par mauvais essample honissent tout le monde.¹¹

The twelfth-century satire, "The Gospel According to Mark Silver", which attacked the greed and corruption of the Roman court, likewise remained popular during the period and was even expanded to include the cardinals.¹²

These dual concepts of the papacy as both the leader of the Church and the symbol of corruption greatly influenced the attitude of churchmen towards the papal reform schemes and towards overall papal policies. At the same time local needs and interests often determined which concept would prevail at a given time. If

⁹ Ibid., p. 56. Translation: "See, avenging God, see, you who sees all things, how the Church is made a den of vipers, how the prince of Babylon comes into the temple of Solomon and places himself in the middle on the highest throne."

¹⁰ Joseph Gostwick and Robert Harrison, Outlines of German Literature (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1873), pp. 56-57.

¹¹ Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf, publiées par Edmond Faral et Julia Bastin (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1959), vol. I, p. 395. Translation: "Rome, which should be the foundation of our faith, abounds in simony, avarice, and all evils. The Romans are more hard-shelled than those who belong to the world and by bad examples dishonor all the world."

¹² Germina Burana, p. 86; and C. H. Lawrence, The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages (London: Burns and Oates, 1965), p. 127.

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clergymen often did look to Rome to solve their problems, they could be equally critical of Rome if papal policies offended their own sense of right and wrong and/or went against their own interests. This point was to be demonstrated repeatedly throughout the century.

While churchmen generally showed enthusiasm towards the three great general councils, especially the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the popes had to threaten the prelates with ecclesiastical censures to get them to attend in the first place.¹³ When Gregory IX called for a general council in 1240 to discuss the state of the church and to determine what should be done with the rebellious emperor Frederick II, the lower clergy of both France and England wrote to their ecclesiastical superiors and requested that the prelates not attend the council. After recounting the numerous hardships (strange languages, indigestible foods, storms, drowning, seasickness, dysentery, and all other types of adversity) involved in going to and staying in Rome, the clergy accused the pope of calling the council only to get their money and recommended that the prelates attend the council only if Gregory could prove dire necessity.¹⁴ If the churchmen were a little less than eager to attend the councils, those who chronicled the events of these great

¹³Letter of Convocation (April 19, 1213) as cited in C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple, Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III Concerning England (1198-1216) (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1953), p. 147; Henry Joseph Schroeder, O.P., Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils (St. Louis, Missouri: B. Herder Book Company, 1937), pp. 236-237, 299, and 324; Elie Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV (Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1893), pp. 122-123; and Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Breholles, ed., Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi (6 vols.; Paris: Henricus Plon, 1852-1860), vol. VI, pp. 247-248.

¹⁴Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 1077-1085.

church meetings were generally much more enthusiastic about the number of people attending the councils than with the reform measures passed.¹⁵ Indeed, those recording the events of the Fourth Lateran Council, probably the greatest of the medieval reform councils, focused most of their attention on the political issues brought up at the council.¹⁶ Writing towards the end of the century, Salimbene even called this council useless, since he claimed it accomplished nothing in the realm of real reform.¹⁷ Likewise, those reporting on the First Council of Lyons were primarily interested in the deposition of Frederick II and in recording clerical attacks upon the papacy's financial policies.¹⁸ Chroniclers also showed only a

¹⁵ For examples see Thomas Walsingham, Chronica Monasterii S. Albani (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1863), p. 12; Guillaume de Nangis, Chronique Latin de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 (Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie., 1843), pp. 150-151 and 244-245; Guillaume le Breton, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," in Oeuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), p. 306; Salimbene de Adam, "Cronica," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, vol. XXXII, p. 22; "Chronicon Marchiae Trapisinae et Lombardiae, 1207-1270," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. VIII, Part 3, p. 6; Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, "Chronica," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. VII, Part 2, p. 61; and "Platynae Historici: Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. III, Part 1, p. 228.

¹⁶ Stephen Kuttner and Antonio Garcia y Garcia, "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council," Traditio, XX (1964), pp. 163-164; Albert von Stade, Die Chronik des Albert von Stade (Leipzig: Verlag der Onkschen Buchhandlung), p. 61; "Richeri Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, vol. XXV, pp. 300-301; Iohannes Longus de Ipra, "Chronica Monasterii Santi Bertini," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, vol. XXV, p. 831; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 150-151; and Guillaume le Breton, op. cit., p. 306. One of the few major exceptions is found in Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, op. cit., pp. 61-72.

¹⁷ G. G. Coulton, From St. Francis to Dante (New York: Russell and Russell, 1907), p. 275.

¹⁸ Matthew Paris, English History, trans. by J. A. Giles

very limited enthusiasm for the Second Council of Lyons which they generally mentioned in only two or three sentences.¹⁹ Moreover, during both the councils held at Lyons the lesser prelates begged permission to go home early because of the overwhelming expenses of their stay.²⁰ This whole general response of the clergy and prelates to the reform councils was definitely rather unimpressive in view of the high hopes of the papacy. At the same time the failure of most chroniclers to take note of the new reform measures passed at these councils indicated either that they had little or no interest in reform or that they viewed the new measures as largely irrelevant to their local problems.²¹

While the papacy's enthusiasm for reform was not shared by all members of the clergy, some of its reform measures were met with open hostility and were regarded as detrimental to the Church. Innocent III's attempt to get rid of clerical marriages created a certain amount of anger among the lower clergy, one of whom accused

(London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), vol. II, pp. 68-73; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 198-199; Salimbene, op. cit., p. 177; "Chronicon Marchiae Trivisinae et Lombardiae, 1207-1270," p. 17; Albert von Stade, op. cit., p. 99; and Iohannes Longus de Ipra, op. cit., p. 843.

¹⁹"Annales Londonienses," in Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II (London: Longman and Company, 1882), p. 83; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 244-245; Salimbene, op. cit., p. 489; and Iohannes Longus de Ipra, op. cit., p. 858.

²⁰Schroeder, op. cit., p. 325. Berger stated that the clergy frequently fell into debt while staying at Lyons during the pontificate of Innocent IV; Saint Louis et Innocent IV, p. 110.

²¹F. M. Powicke stated that the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council did not often pertain to local situations and were hence "not widely known in England"; The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 450.

the pope of maliciously setting aside the natural law of God:

Non est Innocentius, immo nocens vere,
qui quod Deus docuit, studet abolere;
jussit enim Dominus foeminas habere,
sed hoc noster pontifex jussit prohibere.²²

Another clergyman argued that the prohibition against clerical marriages merely increased the practice of concubinage:

Habebimus clerici duas concubinas:
monachi, canonici, totidem vel trines;
decani, praelati, quator vel quinas;²³
sic tandem leges implebimus divinas.

This attack on clerical celibacy as unnatural and leading to other evils was later repeated in the Roman de la Rose and by the Franciscan Arnold of Villanova.²⁴ Also, the French Church attempted to retain clerical privileges for married clergy despite royal and papal efforts to remove such privileges.²⁵

While the papal ban on clerical marriages affected

²²Thomas Wright, ed., The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1841), p. 172. Translation: "He is not Innocent, but truly injurious, who works to abolish what God teaches; the Lord ordered us to have wives, but our pope has ordered it prohibited."

²³Ibid., p. 179. Translation: "We clerics have two concubines; the monks and canons two or three; the deans and prelates four or five; thus do we implement the divine laws."

²⁴Pierre Dubois, The Recovery of the Holy Land, trans. by Walther I. Brandt (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 56 (Introduction).

²⁵Gerard J. Campbell, S.J., "Clerical Immunities in France during the Reign of Philip III," Speculum, XXXIX (July 1964), p. 410. The clerical attack on celibacy was nothing new to the thirteenth century. During the early twelfth century the married archdeacon Henry of Huntingdon had ended up opposing the whole Gregorian reform scheme because of his opposition to clerical celibacy; Nancy Partner, "Henry of Huntingdon: Clerical Celibacy and the Writing of History," Church History, XLII (December 1973), p. 467.

primarily the lower clergy, the papal collation of benefices angered all ranks of churchmen, particularly during the first half of the century.²⁶ This practice of papal provisions was particularly onerous, since large percentages of local talent often failed to find benefices.²⁷ Such a situation was particularly true in England where under fifty percent of the native clergy held benefices.²⁸ Soon after John's enfeoffment of England to the papacy the reform archbishop Stephen Langton protested loudly against the papal legate's free dispersal of the country's benefices, a practice in direct violation of the pope's own canons concerning the proper election of prelates.²⁹ In 1231 various segments of the English clergy became so enraged that they formed a secret society to eject foreign benefice holders from the country and circulated letters protesting against the excessive number of Romans in English churches:

How the Roman pontiffs and their legates have behaved themselves towards us and other ecclesiastics of England, we are sure is no secret to you, and how they have conferred the

²⁶A. L. Smith, Church and State in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), p. 138; Robert Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation, trans. by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adams (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), p. 213; and Geoffrey Barraclough, Papal Provisions (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1935), pp. 10-11.

²⁷W. Nigel Yates, "Bishop Peter de Aquablanca (1240-1268): A Reconsideration," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXII (October 1971), p. 312.

²⁸John R. H. Moorman, Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946), pp. 4-5.

²⁹F. M. Powicke, Stephen Langton (London: Merlin Press Ltd., 1965), pp. 104-105.

benefices of the kingdom on their followers, at their pleasure, to the great prejudice and injury of yourselves and all others of the kingdom; and that they have fulminated sentences of excommunication against you and your fellow bishops and other ecclesiastics, to whom the collation of benefices properly belongs, to the intent that you shall confer no benefices on a native until five Romans... shall have been provided for in each of your churches throughout England, each of them with a revenue of a hundred pounds, besides other burdens which they have imposed, both on the laity and nobles of the kingdom, in the matter of advowsons and charities bequeathed by them and their ancestors for the maintenance of the poor, as well as on clerks and other religious persons, concerning their property and benefices....³⁰

This plight of the English Church was also decried in exaggerated terms by the acid-tongued Matthew Paris:

Illiterate persons of the lowest rank, armed with the bulls of the Roman Church, ... daily presumed... to plunder the [churches'] revenues.... And if any of the injured or robbed parties resorted to the remedy of appeal, or to the appeal of privilege, they immediately suspended and excommunicated them by means of some other prelates, on authority of a warrant from the pope.... [Agents] and farmers of the Romans, now scraped together all that was useful and valuable, and transmitted it to foreign countries to their lords, who are living daintily on the patrimony of Christ.³¹

Nevertheless, in 1237 Robert Grosseteste, unlike the majority of churchmen, accepted the practice of papal provisions as entirely within the rights of the papacy; but he strongly warned against their abuse:

I know and I truly know, that the lord Pope and the Holy Roman Church have this power, that they can freely dispose of all ecclesiastical benefices. I know also that whoever abuses this power, builds for hell-fire; I know also that whoever does not use it for the promotion of faith and charity is abusing this power.³²

³⁰ Roger of Wendover, Flowers of History, trans. by J. A. Giles (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), p. 544.

³¹ Matthew Paris, op. cit., I, pp. 50-51.

³² Letter to the legate Otto (1238) as cited in Pantin, op. cit., p. 188; and Robert Grosseteste, Epistolae, ed. by Henry

A few years later at the First Council of Lyons both the English and French attacked the system of papal provisions as being injurious to native clerks and in violation of the rights of local patrons.³³

When Innocent IV attempted to insert his nephew Frederick Lavagne into an English living despite his lack of proper qualifications, Grosseteste responded that he could not do so because it violated the integrity of the Church:

It is not possible, therefore that the Apostolic See, to which has been handed down by Christ Himself power for edification and not for destruction, can issue a precept so hateful and so injurious to the human race as this; for to do so would constitute a falling off, a corruption and abuse of its most holy and plenary power. No one who is subject and faithful to the said See in immaculate and sincere obedience, and is cut off from the body of Christ and the said holy See by schism, can obey commands and precepts such as this, even if it emanated from the highest order of angels, but he must of necessity, and with his whole strength, contradict and rebel against them.... To sum up, the holiness of the apostolic See can only tend to edification and not to destruction; for the plenitude of its power consists in being able to do all things for edification. These provisions, however, as they are called, are not for edification, but for manifest destruction. They are not, therefore, within the power of the apostolic See: they owe their inspiration to 'flesh and blood' which 'shall not inherit the kingdom of God,'³⁴ and not to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who is in heaven.

Here Grosseteste made disobedience to the Holy See into an act of fidelity for the Christian faith; the papacy could not legitimately use its power to destroy. Indeed, Grosseteste seemed to believe that

Richards Luard (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1961), pp. 144-145. Also see Tierney, "Grosseteste and the Theory of Papal Sovereignty," p. 9.

³³ Lawrence, op. cit., p. 149; "Annales Londoniensis," p. 44; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 198-199; and Matthew Paris, op. cit., II, p. 73.

³⁴ Francis Seymour Stevenson, Robert Grosseteste (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1899), pp. 310-311. For the full letter see Grosseteste, op. cit., pp. 432-437.

the papacy was itself guilty of abusing and destroying the effectiveness of one of its own reform measures. Many other clergymen shared Grosseteste's views and continued to see the whole system of papal provisions as an abuse of papal power,³⁵ although opposition generally decreased towards the end of the century.³⁶

Papal legates were also quite unpopular with the clergy, since they tended to usurp local power from the bishops and also to drain local coffers.³⁷ Walter of Guisborough mockingly told how successful legates were in England, since they always managed to leave with full pockets.³⁸ While Matthew Paris often characterized legates as symbols of Roman greed,³⁹ the outbreak of riots soon after the arrival of these papal agents into an area also testified to their unpopularity.⁴⁰ When the legate Ottobono came to England

³⁵ Barraclough, Papal Provisions, pp. 146-147.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 156. It should be noted that in France it was not the clergy but the monarchy and nobility which led the fight against papal provisions on the grounds that such papal practices violated their own rights of patronage. The greater independence of the English prelates allowed them to take a more active role in the struggle, although here, too, the nobles and kings protested against papal disregard for their rights of patronage. Indeed, the whole struggle between King John and Innocent III over the archbishopric of Canterbury was to a great extent involved with the king's rights of patronage.

³⁷ C. R. Cheney, "Cardinal John of Ferentino, papal legate in England in 1206," English Historical Review, LXXVI (1961), p. 655.

³⁸ The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, ed. by Harry Rothwell (London: Camden Society, 1957), p. 258. Also see The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, ed. by Thomas Wright (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1868), p. 132.

³⁹ Matthew Paris, op. cit., I, p. 61.

⁴⁰ "Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle," in The Church Historians of England, trans. by Joseph Stevenson (London: Seelys,

to settle differences after the Barons' War, Robert of Gloucester complained that the legate had come "with the pope's power to do the king's will".⁴¹ Legates were equally unpopular in France. Rigord referred to the two papal legates sent to settle Philip II's divorce from Ingeborg as 'mute dogs incapable of barking'.⁴² In 1215 the French clergy protested loudly to both king and pope against the unscrupulous practices of the legate sent to France to enlist more crusaders for the Holy Land.⁴³ During the minority of Louis IX Blanche of Castile was greatly aided by a papal legate who helped her retain royal power against the feudal lords. Contemporaries often suggested an illicit relationship between the two:

Alas we die; slaughtered, despoiled and drowned,
To such a fate by the legate's harlot bound.⁴⁴

The excessive use of legates in the Holy Roman Empire during the papal wars against the Hohenstaufens likewise brought about complaints from the local clergy who found their authority severely cut.⁴⁵ Otto, the papal legate in Germany from 1228 to 1231, had almost no success in stirring up a rebellion against Henry VII but

1858), vol. V, Part 1, p. 357; The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, p. 177; and "Annales Londonienses," pp. 35 and 76.

⁴¹"Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle," p. 376.

⁴²Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," in Oeuvres de Rigord et Guillaume le Breton (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), p. 125.

⁴³Guillaume le Breton, op. cit., pp. 303-304.

⁴⁴The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301, trans. by Antonia Gransden (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1964), pp. 5-6.

⁴⁵Brentano, op. cit., p. 87.

did manage to excite the resentment of the German bishops by his harsh projects for ecclesiastical reform and by his favoritism towards the Dominicans.⁴⁶ Armed with Henry's rule that only the prelates could convoke church councils, almost none of the prelates showed up for the provincial council called by Otto at Cologne in late 1230 so the council had to be dismissed.⁴⁷ Later, the legate Albert of Behan, who was sent to Germany to enlist aid for the papal crusade against Frederick, was so unpopular that the dean and chapter of Passau publicly preached a crusade against Albert instead--a crusade which many actually joined.⁴⁸

The intrusion of papal justice into local areas and the increased number of appeals to Rome also brought mixed reactions on the part of churchmen. Clerical disputes over property rights, elections, jurisdiction, and a host of other subjects occurred frequently in the thirteenth century; and the weaker parties often appealed to Rome for justice.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, although the clergy often appeared

⁴⁶ Historia Diplomatica, pp. ccxix-ccxx.

⁴⁷ Ibid., III, pp. 438-439. The Duke of Saxony and other nobles said the council had only been called to extort more money from the German Church and to give away rich prebends to foreigners; Ibid., III, pp. 339-340.

⁴⁸ Ibid., V, pp. 1023-1027; and Palmer A. Throop, Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda (Amsterdam: N. V. Swets and Zeitlinger, 1940), p. 53.

⁴⁹ Colin Morris, "From Synod to Consistory: The Bishops' Courts in England, 1150-1250," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXII (April 1971), p. 115; Dubois, op. cit., pp. 93-94; John C. Moore, "Papal Justice in France Around the Time of Pope Innocent III," Church History, XLI (September 1972), pp. 295-296; Jean-François Lemarignier, Jean Gaudemet, et Mgr. Guillaume Mollat, Histoire des Institutions françaises au Moyen Age, vol. III: Institutions Ecclésiastiques (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), pp. 191-192; and Augustin

both willing and eager to utilize the papal court to settle their problems,⁵⁰ they also often complained that the Roman court was using these many appeals primarily to extort more money from the clergy.

In 1255 the chronicler Burchard wrote,

There remains scarcely any bishopric or ecclesiastical dignity, or even a parochial church, which is not made the subject of litigation and its cause carried to Rome; but not with empty hands. Rejoice, Rome, our mother, because cataracts of treasures are opened in the land so that brooks and piles of money flow to you in great abundance.⁵¹

Many of the litigants indeed became severely disillusioned with Rome either because of the loss of suits or because of the high costs involved. Instead of a high court of justice Rome was often conceived of as the fountain of corruption where cases were judged according to the pecuniary assets of the plaintiffs rather than according to the merits of the case.⁵² Many openly complained that the only way to win a case in Rome was by bribes:

Cum ad papem veneris, habe pro constanti,
Non est locus pauperi, soli favet danti;
Vel si manus praestitum non est aliquanti,
Respondet hic tibi sic, Non est michi tanti.
Papa, si rem tangamus, nomen habet a re,
Quicquid habent alii, solus vult papere;

Fliche, Christine Thouzellier, et Yvonne Azais, Histoire de l'Eglise, vol. X: La Chrétienté romaine (1198-1274) (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1950), p. 148.

⁵⁰Brian Tierney, "The Continuity of Papal Political Theory in the Thirteenth Century, Some Methodological Considerations," Medieval Studies, XXVII (1965), p. 245; and Ewart Lewis, Medieval Political Ideas (2 vols.; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), vol. II, p. 520.

⁵¹William E. Lunt, Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, 1939), p. 181.

⁵²Brentano stated that all Europeans saw the Roman court as filled with intrigues and poison; Brentano, op. cit., pp. 10-25.

Vel si verbum Gallicum vis apocopare,-- 53
 Paez, Paez, dit li mot, si vis impetrare.

The whole papal court was seen as an extension of the old corrupt

Roman senate:

Roma mundi caput est, sed nil capit mundum,
 quod pendet a capite, totum est immundum;
 trahit enim vitium primum in secundum,
 et de fundo redolet, quod est iuxta fundum.
 Roma capit singulos et res singulorum,
 Romanorum curia non est nisi forum.
 Ibi sunt venalia iura senatorum,
 et solvit contraria copia nummorum.
 In hoc consistorio si quis causam reget,
 suam vel alterius, hoc imprimis legat:
 nisi det Pecuniam, Roma totum negat;
 quis plus dat pecuniae, melius allegat.
 Romani capitulum habent in decretio,
 ut petentes audiant manibus repletis.
 Dabis, aut non dabitur, petunt, quando petis,
 qua mensura semines, et eadem metis.⁵⁴

At the same time papal justice was usually quite slow and was often

⁵³ Thomas Wright, ed., The Political Songs of England
 (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1839), pp. 16-17. Translation:
 "When you come to the Pope, take it as a rule, that there is no place
 for the poor, he favors only the giver; or if there is not a bribe of
 some value or another forthcoming, he answers you, 'I am not able.' /
 The Pope, if we come to the truth of the matter, has his name from the
 fact that, whatever others have, he will suck the pap; or if you like
 to apocopate a French word, 'pay, pay,' saith the word, if you wish to
 obtain anything." Similar poems can be found in the Carmina Burana,
 pp. 4, 10, 15, 43, and 54.

⁵⁴ Carmina Burana, pp. 76-77. Translation: "Rome is the
 head of the world, but it seizes nothing clean, whatever hangs from
 the head is completely dirty; it truly drags the first fault into a
 second one, and what is near the bottom smells of the bottom. Rome
 seizes everything; the court of the Romans is nothing but a market.
 In that place are the venal laws of the senators, and it releases
 according to the abundance of money. In this consistory, if anyone
 wishes to direct a cause, either his own or another's, the first rule
 is: unless he gives money, Rome negates everything; whoever gives the
 most money gains the best commission. Romans have a little head in
 this resolve as they can hear only requests with full hands. You give
 or nothing is given; they request as much as you request; by what
 measure you sow, the same shall you reap."

hampered by faulty information.⁵⁵ Writing in the late thirteenth century, Prior Richard Claxton reported, "Cases in the court of Rome are like things immortal and only with difficulty come to any effective end."⁵⁶

While many clerks were doubtlessly alienated by the slowness, the high costs, the impersonality, and the sheer immensity of the papal curia, the intrusion of papal justice into the local level often caused resentment among the major prelates who found their jurisdictional rights over local churches and monasteries being usurped by the papacy. Bishops who were devoted to the eradication of local abuses often saw their efforts thwarted by special papal privileges granted to various individuals or monastic institutions.⁵⁷ While exempt monasteries completely escaped from their authority,⁵⁸ the bishops also complained that appeal cases to Rome denied them of their own judicial rights and prevented any true reforms because of the long delays created by such appeals.⁵⁹ The Italian bishops particularly suffered from their proximity to Rome

⁵⁵C. R. Cheney, "England and the Roman Curia under Innocent III," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XVIII (October 1967), pp. 182-183; and Moore, "Papal Justice in France," p. 300.

⁵⁶Moore, "Papal Justice in France," pp. 300-301.

⁵⁷J. H. Denton, "Royal Supremacy in Ancient Desmesne Churches," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXII (October 1971), p. 299; Morris, op. cit., p. 115; and Lemarignier et al., op. cit., p. 195.

⁵⁸Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 193; and Lemarignier et al., op. cit., pp. 237-238 and 264.

⁵⁹Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 284-288; and Moore, "Papal Justice in France," p. 305.

which allowed easy appeals to the papal court.⁶⁰ An excellent example of the delays and confusion caused by appeals to Rome for even a minor ecclesiastical diocese was presented by a small monastery in Anjou. Upon his election in 1227 the abbot Gaufridus attempted to correct some monastic abuses by deposing some monks from high office. The deposed monks, however, appealed to Rome where the case dragged on for over ten years to the detriment of the abbot's reform plans. In the meantime the local bishop was trying to assert jurisdictional rights over the monastery thus provoking the abbot to appeal to Rome. This case also lasted ten years. Finally, after twenty-two years of almost continual litigation, the abbot was forced to resign by the pope. Nothing in the way of true reform had been accomplished; and the hostility between the monks and the bishop had been intensified rather than soothed by the appeals to Rome.⁶¹

The local clergy were also becoming increasingly irritated over the intrusion of friars into their dioceses and frequently appealed to Rome for aid.⁶² Although the popes did occasionally try to rectify obvious abuses, they realized the importance of the friars both as papal agents and as religious leaders in urban communities and could not therefore totally desert the mendicants.⁶³ Churchmen, however,

⁶⁰ Brentano, op. cit., p. 88.

⁶¹ "Historia Sancti Florentii Salmurensis," in Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou (Paris: Mme Ve Jules Renouard, 1869), pp. 318-320.

⁶² Geoffrey Barraclough, The Medieval Papacy (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968), p. 134; and Fawtier, op. cit., p. 213.

⁶³ Edouard Jordan, "Le Premier Siècle Franciscain: Les Grandes Crises de l'Order," in Saint François d'Assise: son oeuvre--son

usually only saw the infringements upon their rights and the loss of their resources.⁶⁴ From 1252 to 1257 frequent rioting broke out at the University of Paris in protest against the placement of mendicants in university chairs.⁶⁵ At first the scholars appealed to the papacy for support; but, when the pope sided with the friars, they attacked him, too.⁶⁶ The attack was made even stronger in 1255 when the University denounced the "pontifical innovation" of the mendicant orders and claimed that such an innovation could not be made without the consent of a general council.⁶⁷ Guillaume de Saint-Amour, who, as a canon of Beauvais, in 1244 had attacked papal privileges given the mendicants,⁶⁸ even went so far as to declare the mendicant way of life as contrary to morality and religion.⁶⁹ In his poem "La Bataille des Vices contres les Vertues" Rutebeuf denounced Pope Alexander IV by name for his support of the mendicants who, as Rutebeuf maintained, were destroying

influence, 1226-1926 (Paris: Editions E. Droz, 1927), p. 104.

⁶⁴ Henry Bett, Joachim of Flora (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1931), p. 68; and "Richeri Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae," pp. 306-308.

⁶⁵ Bett, op. cit., p. 73; and Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., p. 209.

⁶⁶ Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf, p. 70; and Bett, op. cit., pp. 77-79.

⁶⁷ Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf, pp. 73-74.

⁶⁸ Lemerignier et al., op. cit., p. 313.

⁶⁹ De periculis novissimorum temporum (1255) as cited in Etienne Gilson, The Philosophy of St. Bonaventure, trans. by Dom Illtyd Trethowan (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1939), p. 13; Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 53, 300, and 455; and "Platynae Historici," p. 240.

the faith.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, Guillaume's supporters accused the papacy of having Guillaume's book burned not because it contained any heresy but because it attacked the cherished mendicants.⁷¹ Later, when the two Franciscan popes Martin IV and Nicholas IV bestowed a great number of privileges on the friars, a large number of the clergy were indignant at the papal actions and sent protests to Rome with the University of Paris again supporting the seculars against the mendicants.⁷² One chronicler of London indeed seemed to rejoice at Nicholas' death, since he believed that this pope had gravely wronged older religious orders to favor such friars as John Pecham, who had been uncanonically made archbishop of Canterbury by the papacy.⁷³ Nevertheless, the older clerical bodies did not always associate the intrusion of friars into local dioceses with some sinister papal plot to undermine local authority;⁷⁴ and many of the clergy continued to appeal to the pope to stop mendicant infringements.

The mendicants, particularly the Spiritual Franciscans,

⁷⁰Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf, pp. 299-312.

⁷¹Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 216-217.

⁷²The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346, trans. by Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), pp. 25-26; Richard Kay, "An Episcopal Petition from the Province of Rouen, 1281," Church History, XXXIV (September 1965), p. 294; Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., p. 28; Jordan, "Le Premier Siècle Franciscain," p. 126; and Lemerignier et al., op. cit., p. 217.

⁷³"Annales Londoniensis," p. 100.

⁷⁴For example, Jean de Meun, who bitterly attacked the mendicants in his section of the Roman de la Rose, made no reference to their relationship with the papacy. Salimbene also mentioned a church council at Ravenna in 1261 where the lower clergy rebelled against the privileges of the mendicants but made no mention of the papacy; Salimbene, op. cit., p. 403.

were also not always happy with papal policies. While Salimbene openly blamed the death of two popes on their attempts to limit mendicant privileges,⁷⁵ the Spiritual Franciscans often viewed such privileges as contrary to the wishes of their founder.⁷⁶ Although up until the 1290's those who wished to follow the Iestamentum of St. Francis in a strict manner generally vented their outrage towards the growing laxity in the order on the Conventuals and requested the papacy for aid,⁷⁷ the lines of future antagonism between the papacy and the Spirituals had been clearly drawn by the 1240's when the Franciscan ideals of poverty and simplicity became mixed with Joachimite expectations of a coming new age.⁷⁸ During the late twelfth century Joachim of Fiore, who claimed to be able to predict the future by a careful reading of the Old and New Testaments,⁷⁹ had written three

⁷⁵ Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 419, 618-619, and 629. The two popes were Innocent IV and Honorius IV.

⁷⁶ Jordan, "Le Premier Siècle Franciscain," p. 93.

⁷⁷ Jacques Paul, "Les Franciscans et la pauvreté aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France, LII (1966), p. 34; and Jordan, "Le Premier Siècle Franciscain," p. 100.

⁷⁸ Salimbene noted that some Franciscans viewed Joachim's ideas as dangerous to the order; Salimbene, op. cit., p. 237. For the significance of Joachim's ideas to the Franciscans see Marjorie Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 175; and Paul Fournier, Étude sur Joachim de Flore et ses Doctrines (Frankfort: Minerva GMBH, 1963), p. 40.

⁷⁹ Decima L. Douie, The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli (Manchester: University Press, 1932), p. 24; and Fournier, op. cit., p. 11. Contemporaries believed Joachim had the gift of prophecy; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 81-82; Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 19, 242, and 247; and "Alberti Milioli notarii Regini Liber de temporibus et aestatibus et cronica imperatorum," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXXI, p. 452.

major works (Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti, Expositio in Apocalypsim, and Psalterium) in which he divided the history of the world into three ages: 1) the Age of the Father as represented by the Old Testament, 2) the Age of the Son as represented by the New Testament, and 3) the Age of the Spirit to be represented by new orders of religious men who would first endure a great period of tribulation.⁸⁰ Although Joachim never intentionally attacked the papacy which had indeed fostered many of his writings,⁸¹ his ideas concerning a coming new age presided over by a "purified" pope and represented by new spiritual orders gave an anti-establishment bent to his writings.⁸² After falling into disrepute for a short while following the condemnation of his attack on Peter Lombard by the Fourth Lateran Council,⁸³ interest in Joachim's works revived during the 1240's when the war between the papacy and the Empire was reaching its height⁸⁴ and when the antagonism between the Spirituals

⁸⁰Salimbene, op. cit., p. 466; Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy, pp. 126-142 and 303-306; and Bett, op. cit., pp. 44-47. Contemporaries of Joachim were primarily concerned with his predictions concerning the end of the world in two generations; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

⁸¹Fournier, op. cit., p. 26; and Bett, op. cit., p. 17.

⁸²Morton W. Bloomfield, "Joachim of Flora: A Critical Study of His Canon, Teachings, Sources, Biography and Influence," Traditio, XIII (1957), pp. 249 and 267; and Douie, op. cit., pp. 25-26. Joachim gave no clear time period for the coming new age; Bett, op. cit., p. 28; Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy, pp. 395-396; and Salimbene, op. cit., p. 239.

⁸³Salimbene, op. cit., p. 239; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 150-151; and Bett, op. cit., pp. 62 and 102.

⁸⁴The Joachite expectations concerning Frederick II are fully mentioned in Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy, pp. 126-170.

and the Conventuals was being clearly delineated.⁸⁵ The Super Hieremiam, or Expositio in Hieremiam,⁸⁶ which appeared around 1242 and was supposedly an original work by Joachim, heralded the two new mendicant orders as the forerunners of the third age⁸⁷ and prophesied the new age to arrive in the year 1260.⁸⁸ Although this work criticized both the Empire and the papacy,⁸⁹ it was particularly hard on the papacy and bitterly denounced the Donation of Constantine for involving the Church in secular affairs.⁹⁰ Furthermore, this work was extremely critical of the crusades and said the popes should mourn over their own Jerusalem, the Universal Church, and stop exhausting Christendom with hopeless wars against the Saracens.⁹¹ Picturing Rome as Babylon, the classic symbol of greed, this pseudo-Joachite work also foretold that the new mendicant orders would ultimately be the leaders in the reformation and punishment of the existing Church: 'These two orders are to be born simply and humbly in the Church, but by process of time they will courageously chastize and reprove the fornication of Babylon.'⁹² This idea of the Franciscans holding a

⁸⁵ Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 231-236; and Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 297.

⁸⁶ Fournier, op. cit., p. 48. According to Salimbene, the Commentary on Jeremiah was the most widely read Joachite work; Salimbene, op. cit., p. 237.

⁸⁷ Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 101, 266, 415, 441, and 540.

⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 293 and 466. ⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 439.

⁹⁰ Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 252; Jordan, "Le Premier Siècle Franciscain," p. 111; and Douie, op. cit., p. 27.

⁹¹ Throop, op. cit., p. 174.

⁹² Super Hieremiam as cited in Salimbene, op. cit., p. 640.

prominent place in the world during a transitional period in history was again presented in a life of St. Francis by three of his early followers in 1246:

[Francis once said,] "The fellowship and life of the Friars Minor is a feeble flock which the son of God in these last days has requested of his heavenly Father, saying: 'Father, I wish that you would create and give to me in these last days a new and humble people, differing in humility and in poverty from all those who have gone before, and content to have me alone.'..."⁹³

Although this work repeated Francis' warning against accepting papal privileges which might offend local bishops,⁹⁴ it nevertheless failed to make any direct attack on the papacy but levelled most of its complaints against those in the order who wished to follow a more lax interpretation of the Rule. A full mingling of Joachimite ideas and the aspirations of the Spiritual Franciscans was not produced until around 1254, when a certain Gerard of Borgo San Donnino wrote An Introduction to the Eternal Gospel, which stated that Joachim's works constituted the eternal gospel, that St. Francis was the new lawgiver sent by God, and that the Spiritual Franciscans were the new order foretold by Joachim.⁹⁵ Gerard was thus the first to portray Francis as a second Christ, a common element in later

⁹³Scripta Leonis, Rufini, et Angeli Sociorum S. Francisci (The Writings of Leo, Rufino and Angelo Companions of St. Francis), ed. and trans. by Rosalind B. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 203.

⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 113-115 and 289.

⁹⁵Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 416; and Gordon Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages (2 vols.; New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1967), vol. I, pp. 69-72; and Bett, op. cit., pp. 105-111.

Spiritualist thought.⁹⁶ Although this work was quickly proclaimed heretical and its author imprisoned,⁹⁷ many of its ideas, especially the exaggerated significance of St. Francis, were to be espoused throughout the remainder of the century. Even the conventual Bonaventure, who maintained that a certain amount of degeneracy was natural as the order numerically increased and lost contact with its original founder,⁹⁸ referred to Francis as "another Angel, ascending from the sunrising and bearing the seal of the Living God", "the messenger of God", and the "beloved of Christ",⁹⁹ sent "to repair the material Church".¹⁰⁰ Towards the end of his Life of St. Francis Bonaventure even stated that Francis had been "wholly transformed into the likeness of Christ crucified, not by martyrdom of body, but by enkindling of heart".¹⁰¹ Although Bonaventure was quick to show the saint's great respect for papal authority,¹⁰² he also represented Francis, "a little poor man, of mean stature and humble aspect," as propping up the Lateran Basilica with his back.¹⁰³ Likewise, the worldly Salimbene, who sincerely believed that the Franciscan Order had been prophesied in the Commentary on Jeremiah, could not help

⁹⁶Karl Bihlmeyer, Church History, revised by Herman Tuechle and trans. by Victor E. Mills and Francis Muller (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1963), vol. II, p. 304; and Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, p. 176.

⁹⁷Bett, op. cit., p. 111.

⁹⁸Gilson, op. cit., p. 62.

⁹⁹Bonaventure, Life of St. Francis (London: Everyman's Library, 1963), pp. 303-304.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 311. ¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 322.

¹⁰²Ibid., pp. 320-321. ¹⁰³Ibid.

comparing Francis to Christ and frequently referred to Francis' twelve early disciples.¹⁰⁴ This identity of Francis with Christ had serious consequences for the papacy; and in 1274 several Italian Spirituals were imprisoned for their opposition to a new papal definition of Franciscan poverty. Arguing that Francis' Testamentum was as sacred as the New Testament, these Spirituals denied the ability of the pope to modify the Franciscan Order in any way.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the anti-papal tendencies of the Joachite ideas and of the Spirituals' discontent with the growing laxity in the order did not become critical until Boniface VIII ordered the Spirituals of Italy, who had been allowed to form a separate order by Celestine V, to return to their regular Franciscan order.¹⁰⁶ Many of the zealots under the leadership of Ubertino da Casale then became furious at the pope and denied his authority on the grounds that the previous pope Celestine had not had the right to resign.¹⁰⁷ One of these Spirituals, Jacopone de Todi, openly joined Boniface's enemies, the Colonna cardinals, and accused the pope of unprecedented avarice:

O Papa Bonifatio

¹⁰⁴ Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 75, 195, and 289-290.

¹⁰⁵ Georges Digard, Philippe le Bel et le Saint-siège de 1285 à 1304 (2 vols.; Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1936), pp. 144-145; and Carter Partee, O.F.M., "Peter John Olivi: Historical and Doctrinal Study," Franciscan Studies, XX (September-December 1960), p. 217.

¹⁰⁶ Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, p. 170.

¹⁰⁷ Jordan, "Le Premier Siècle Franciscain," p. 131. Many stories circulated concerning Boniface's trickery to get Celestine V to resign. See Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., p. 62; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 284-285; "Platynae Historici," pp. 258-259; and Iohannes Longus de Ipra, op. cit., p. 866.

Molto hai giocato al mondo
 Penas che jocondo
 Non te porrai partire.

Pare che la vergogna
 Deriato agi gittata:
 L'alma et el corpo hai posto
 Ad allevare tua casata.

O pessima avaritia
 Sete induplicata,
 Bevere tanta pecunia¹⁰⁸
 Non essere satiate!

Meanwhile, another Franciscan, Peter John Olivi, from Languedoc became the rallying point for the Spirituals' disaffection with the papacy.¹⁰⁹ While insisting upon complete obedience to the Holy See,¹¹⁰ Olivi in his Expositio in Apocalypsim heavily attacked the abuses surrounding the ecclesiastical hierarchy¹¹¹ and denied the ability of the pope to dispense a friar from his vow of poverty.¹¹² Rather than completely denying the validity of the institutionalized church, Olivi drew a distinction between the sinful carnal church under a corrupt papacy and the spiritual church which would eventually be led by a purified

¹⁰⁸ Henry Dwight Sedgwick, Italy in the Thirteenth Century (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912), vol. II, pp. 317-318. Translation: "O Pope Boniface, you've had a merry day, but when you go away, it won't be with a jolly face. It seems that you have shameless been, yes flung all shame aside, and all your soul applied to elevate your kith and kin. O avarice still worse than pride, o thirst most multifold, to drink a monstrous mass of gold and still be quite unsatisfied." A similar denunciation of Boniface was made by Ubertino da Casale; Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, p. 127.

¹⁰⁹ Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, pp. 101-102. Olivi opposed the radicals who denied Boniface's legitimacy.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 119.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 129; and Douie, op. cit., p. 91.

¹¹² Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, p. 113; and Douie, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

Roman shepherd.¹¹³ Again likening Francis to a second Christ, Olivi denied the ability of the pope to dispense or absolve friars from the Testamentum of St. Francis.¹¹⁴ With so much hostility being directed against the Holy See Boniface finally felt forced to make inquiries into the orthodoxy of the Spirituals;¹¹⁵ and some were persecuted as heretics during the early fourteenth century.¹¹⁶

While the papacy's reform measures were meeting far from total success, its efforts to gain financial aid, primarily in the form of crusade tithes, from the churchmen continually encountered negative responses throughout the century. Since many of the clergy were already suffering from a relative decline in their monetary prosperity,¹¹⁷ papal encroachments in the financial realm were often viewed as a further drain on already limited resources.¹¹⁸ When Innocent III desired to place an income tax on the clergy for a proposed crusade early in his pontificate, the clergy of France and

¹¹³Paul, "Les Franciscans et la pauvreté," p. 35; Fournier, op. cit., pp. 42-43; and David Burr, "The Apocalyptic Element in Olivi's Critique of Aristotle," Church History, XL (March 1971), p. 24.

¹¹⁴Marc Bloch, La France sous les derniers Capétiens, 1223-1328 (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1958), p. 112; Bett, op. cit., pp. 138-139; and Douie, op. cit., p. 114.

¹¹⁵Bull of October 22, 1296; Douie, op. cit., p. 257.

¹¹⁶Paul, "Les Franciscans et la pauvreté," p. 35; and Bett, op. cit., p. 140. For a fuller view of Spiritual thought see The Mirror of Perfection (London: Everyman's Library, 1963).

¹¹⁷Charles Renardy, "Recherches sur la restitution ou la cession de dîmes aux églises dans le diocèse de Liège du XI^e au début du XIV^e siècle," Moyen Age, LXXVI (1970), p. 235; and Lemarignier et al., op. cit., pp. 221 and 227.

¹¹⁸Roger of Wendover, op. cit., pp. 462-465.

England only consented after he had promised that such a tax would not serve as a precedent for future taxation.¹¹⁹ Later, when he attempted to have a tenth of all cathedral revenues put at the disposal of the papacy, he met with total resistance from those attending the Fourth Lateran Council and had to withdraw the plan.¹²⁰ A few years later Honorius III proposed a similar plan and again had to abandon it after an initial reaction of outrage on the part of the French and English clergy who protested to the papal legates that they were already paying too much for the Roman curia.¹²¹ The clergy argued repeatedly that the papal ownership of churches applied to the protection of these churches and not to their fruits.¹²² One of the main complaints of the clergy against paying crusade taxes was that the money was often not used for the Holy Land.¹²³ Early in the century a Cluniac monk named Guyot de Provins wrote a satire on the Church called Le Bible, in which he accused the papacy of avarice and asked why the crusades were primarily

¹¹⁹ Horace Kinder Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1931), vol. XI, pp. 236-237.

¹²⁰ Ibid., XII, pp. 295-296; and Throop, op. cit., p. 73. Innocent's own willingness to abandon the matter suggests that he, too, might have shared the views of his contemporaries that monetary concerns were somehow alien to the true purpose of a religious institution. At any rate, had this proposal been accepted, it might have provided a permanent income for the papacy and decreased the monetary requests coming from Rome.

¹²¹ Roger of Wendover, op. cit., pp. 462-465.

¹²² Convocation of the English clergy (January 18, 1256); Lunt, op. cit., pp. 270-271.

¹²³ Maureen Purcell, "Changing Views of the Crusade in the Thirteenth Century," The Journal of Religious History, VII (June 1972), pp. 3-19; and Throop, op. cit., p. 24.

direct against the Greeks.¹²⁴ Likewise, according to Roger of Wendover, many churchmen felt that the crusade against the Albigensian heretics was not perfectly moral;¹²⁵ and in 1226 the French clergy protested loudly against paying subsidies for another venture in Southern France, since these subsidies would reduce the French Church to a state of servitude while doing nothing to promote religion, king, or kingdom.¹²⁶ Monies collected for the papal wars against Frederick II and the remaining Hohenstaufens also enraged many of the clergy who did not consider a war against a Christian prince to be a crusade.¹²⁷ In their complaints against the papal subsidy of 1240 the English clergy gave the following objections: 1) the subsidy was to finance a war against a Christian prince married to their king's sister; 2) it would render them liable to capture if they wished to travel through imperial lands; 3) it would pauperize England where many were already on a crusade to the Holy Land; 4) it was disadvantageous to local church patrons; 5) it was contrary to the liberty of the English Church; 6) it would become customary; 7) it ought to be a general

¹²⁴Throop, op. cit., p. 30.

¹²⁵Roger of Wendover, op. cit., p. 226; and Edward Peters, ed., Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198-1229; Sources in Translation (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1971), pp. xvi and 29.

¹²⁶Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (Paris: Librairie Emile Bouillon, 1894), pp. 293-294; and Fliche et al., op. cit., p. 305.

¹²⁷R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West, vol. V: The Political Theory of the Thirteenth Century (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1928), p. 225; Throop, op. cit., p. 27; Lawrence, op. cit., p. 145; Matthew Paris, op. cit., I, pp. 261-265; and Roger of Wendover, op. cit., pp. 528-530.

contribution by all countries; 8) it should be handled by the coming general council; 9) it would end the hospitality of churches by taking all their money; 10) ecclesiastical goods could not be contributed to warfare without a general council; 11) the pope had no right to tax them, since he had the care, not the ownership, of churches; 12) the Roman Church had its own patrimony to pay for its needs; and 13) Frederick II had not yet been convicted of heresy.¹²⁸ The papal attempt to place new claimants on the throne of Sicily was likewise resented by the clergy of both France and England, since they were the ones held responsible for financing the ventures.¹²⁹ When a papal legate called for a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for another crusade at a council at Paris in 1263, the French bishops refused the demand and stated their independence from the papacy, although they eventually gave the sum as a gift out of their own generosity.¹³⁰ By the time Gregory X attempted to raise more crusade funds at the Second Council of Lyons, the clergy were fully suspicious of such papal crusade proposals which they had to finance and only consented (with no enthusiasm) to contribute financial aid to the new crusade project after lodging numerous complaints that such taxation would ruin their churches and after the papacy had promised to return money not used for a crusade.¹³¹ Later, Salimbene, who openly decried

¹²⁸ Lunt, op. cit., pp. 200-202.

¹²⁹ Mann, op. cit., XV, p. 229.

¹³⁰ Lemerignier et al., op. cit., p. 320.

¹³¹ Fliche et al., op. cit., pp. 495-500; and Throop, op. cit., pp. 227 and 239.

the political ambitions of the popes,¹³² cynically noted that in the Italian civil wars Martin IV spent "1,400,000 golden florins, which sum was from the tithes of all the churches which Pope Gregory IX had gathered for the succour of the Holy Land, and which was thus diverted from its true purpose".¹³³ If Salimbene differed from many churchmen in that he fully accepted the papacy's right to receive unlimited financial aid from local churches, he nevertheless felt that it was necessary for the papacy to spend such money in worthy pursuits.

While churchmen often found that the monetary demands of the papacy conflicted with the financial interests of their own local churches, the intrusion of the papacy into national political affairs also often put churchmen in the uncomfortable position of having to choose between loyalty to the Church as represented by the papacy and loyalty to the needs and interests of their own churches and countries. Because of the widespread effort on the part of nobles and townsmen in both France and the Holy Roman Empire to usurp church rights the clergy of these two countries were often dependent upon the kings and emperors for protection.¹³⁴ As long as the papacy was on good terms with these secular rulers, the relationships were smooth or at least fairly stable. However, when the papacy became locked in a dispute with these same rulers, churchmen often found themselves in the middle. At the

¹³²Salimbene, op. cit., p. 302; and Coulton, From St. Francis to Dante, pp. 237-238.

¹³³Salimbene, op. cit., p. 438; and Coulton, From St. Francis to Dante, p. 272. A similar note is found in "Alberti Milioli notarii Regini Liber de temporibus et aestatibus et cronica imperatorum," p. 549.

¹³⁴Fliche et al., op. cit., p. 477.

same time a strong alliance between the papacy and the secular rulers was also resented by the clergy if they believed such an alliance to be harmful to the interests of local churches. Moreover, the thirteenth century marked the beginning of national churches whereby the prelates began to identify themselves with a certain nationality group.¹³⁵

The wars between the Empire and the papacy during the first half of the century involved many of the imperial prelates in a conflict of interests. Since several of the German prelates were also great landed princes with electoral rights in the imperial elections,¹³⁶ they owed as much loyalty to the state as they did to the church.¹³⁷ Meanwhile, by the beginning of the thirteenth century Italy had become so divided into small, often insignificant bishoprics and archbishoprics that few of the prelates had the power or money to do more than watch over their own interests and could therefore give the papacy little aid.¹³⁸ At the same time the usurpation of church property and rights by townsmen in both Italy and Germany created a need among the bishops to have their rights

¹³⁵ Alexander Clarence Flick, The Decline of the Medieval Church (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company, Ltd., 1930), vol. I, pp. 14-15; and Lemarignier et al, op. cit., pp. 145 and 321.

¹³⁶ Charles C. Bayley, The Formation of the German College of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. 182. The German Electors included the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier.

¹³⁷ The fact that Frederick II also filled many vacant bishoprics with his own appointees also undoubtedly increased the loyalty of prelates to the state; Historia Diplomatica, II, pp. 522-523 and IV, pp. 828-832 and 905-913.

¹³⁸ Brentano, op. cit., pp. 63-78.

and property protected by a strong civil power.¹³⁹ On the other hand the prelates derived their position of power from the ecclesiastical structure where the papacy was the accepted head.

The divided loyalty of the German prelates was demonstrated first in the thirteenth century in the disputed election between Otto IV and Philip of Swabia: while several of the prelates supported the papal candidate Otto, others under the leadership of Ludolf, the archbishop of Magdeburg, supported the excommunicated Philip.¹⁴⁰ At the Diet of Bamberg (September 8, 1201) thirteen leading bishops and archbishops along with several abbots and lay princes stated their fidelity to Philip and then issued a manifesto in which they denounced the unprecedented interference of the pope in an election which properly belonged to the German princes.¹⁴¹ At the same time Adolf, the archbishop of Cologne, who at first led the Guelf faction, likewise denied the right of the pope to interfere in the disputed imperial election¹⁴² and eventually switched his allegiance to Philip¹⁴³--an act for which he was finally deposed by the pope.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹For a few examples of cases involving Frederick II's protection of the clergy against nobles and townsmen see Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 253-255, 402-405, 449-451, 603-605, 854-855; II, pp. 18-19, 239-240, 319-322, 430, 795; III, pp. 316, 327-332, and 365. Also see James M. Powell, "Frederick II and the Church in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1220-1224," Church History, XXX (March 1961), pp. 32-33; and Fliche et al., op. cit., p. 294.

¹⁴⁰Cheney and Semple, op. cit., p. 5; and Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., pp. 213-215.

¹⁴¹Fliche et al., op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁴²Bayley, op. cit., p. 121.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 129. ¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 154.

Meanwhile, Conrad, the archbishop of Mainz, ignored the papal partiality towards Otto and worked to arrange a truce between Philip and Innocent.¹⁴⁵ A few years later the papal deposition of Otto did not detract from the prelates' loyalty to the emperor,¹⁴⁶ although they did gradually adhere to Frederick II after the princes, not the pope, had declared Otto deposed at the Diet of Nuremberg.¹⁴⁷

While Frederick II catered to the interests of the ecclesiastical princes by guaranteeing church freedom¹⁴⁸ and by granting churchmen numerous privileges,¹⁴⁹ the prelates responded after some hesitation by electing Frederick's son Henry as King of the Romans against the wishes of the pope.¹⁵⁰ Later, when Gregory IX excommunicated Frederick in 1227, the ecclesiastical princes of Germany remained completely silent and ignored the papal sentence,¹⁵¹ while the Italian archbishops of Reggio and Bari acted as imperial

¹⁴⁵Edouard Jordan, L'Allemagne et l'Italie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1939), p. 154; Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., p. 204; and "Gotifredi Viterbiensis opera," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXII, p. 346.

¹⁴⁶Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., p. 229; Petit-Dutaillis, op. cit., p. 31; and Thomas Curtis Van Cleave, The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 75.

¹⁴⁷Jordan, L'Allemagne et l'Italie, pp. 193-194.

¹⁴⁸Golden Bull of Eger (July 12, 1213); Bayley, op. cit., p. 133; and Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 268-273.

¹⁴⁹Privilegium in favorem principum ecclesiastorum (April 26, 1220); Bayley, op. cit., p. 134; Historia Diplomatica, I, pp. 765-768; and Van Cleave, op. cit., p. 116.

¹⁵⁰Georges Blondel, Etude sur la politique de l'Empereur Frédéric II en Allemagne (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1892), p. 211; and Van Cleave, op. cit., p. 116.

¹⁵¹Fliche et al., op. cit., p. 229.

messengers to make peace with the pope.¹⁵² Likewise the Sicilian bishops whose rights the pope was claiming to defend supported the emperor when the papal army invaded the kingdom.¹⁵³ At the same time Frederick ordered that all those prelates who plotted against him by obeying the pope be removed from the protection of the state.¹⁵⁴ Following the restoration of peace Frederick gave new privileges, especially to the German prelates, to win their support for imperial projects.¹⁵⁵ In 1237 when the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Salzburg joined with the lay electoral princes to elect Frederick's second son Conrad as King of the Romans, they claimed to be acting as the successors of the old Roman senators and made no reference to their position as prelates or to any rights of the papacy in the matter.¹⁵⁶ Soon after Frederick's second excommunication in 1239 the majority of both the German and Italian prelates again declared in favor of the emperor and tried to persuade the pope to make peace.¹⁵⁷ The conflict of interests for the German prelates was amply demonstrated by their

¹⁵² Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 43 and 84. Later, the archbishop of Magdeburg served as one of Frederick's prime nuncios to make peace with the pope; Historia Diplomatica, III, p. 72.

¹⁵³ Purcell, op. cit., p. 33.

¹⁵⁴ Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 50-51 and 66-68.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., III, pp. 207-220.

¹⁵⁶ Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., p. 278.

¹⁵⁷ Blondel, op. cit., p. 194; Ernst Kantorowicz, Frederick the Second, 1194-1250, trans. by E. O. Lorimer (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1931), p. 538; Historia Diplomatica, III, pp. 295-307; Albert von Stade, op. cit., pp. 88-89; and "Chronici Rhythmici Coloniensis Fragmenta," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 372.

letter to the pope in September 1239. After proclaiming themselves caught between their two roles as prelates and imperial princes and stating that the two powers of church and state could not be divided without being detrimental to both, the prelates asked for peace to stop 'the scandals of the world' and offered themselves as peacemakers 'with reverence for mother church and honor for the holy empire'.¹⁵⁸ In the following year the imperial ecclesiastical princes led by the archbishop of Salzburg flatly refused to obey the papal order to elect a new emperor and denied that the Roman Church had any legal rights in the matter.¹⁵⁹ Meanwhile, pressure was being applied by both pope and emperor to gain the support of the prelates: while Frederick again ordered all prelates who obeyed the pope removed from imperial protection,¹⁶⁰ the pope had all those prelates who obeyed the emperor excommunicated.¹⁶¹ Although several of the major German prelates beginning with Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz gradually switched their allegiance to the pope either because of personal favors given by the pope or because of the fear of Hohenstaufen ambitions,¹⁶² many of the German bishops remained loyal to the emperor until his final deposition in 1245.¹⁶³ Although most of the prelates did desert Frederick after

¹⁵⁸ Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 398-400.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., V, pp. 985-991 and 1023-1027.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., V, pp. 435-437 and 1089-1090; and Salimbene, op. cit., p. 176.

¹⁶¹ Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 1031-1035 and 1088.

¹⁶² Ibid., VI, pp. 57-58; Bailey, op. cit., pp. 14-17; and Blondel, op. cit., p. 212.

¹⁶³ Bailey, op. cit., p. 18.

he had been declared heretical, even then a few remained loyal;¹⁶⁴ and in 1246 Innocent IV had five prelates punished for serving as peace envoys for the emperor.¹⁶⁵ Even many of the mendicants who had originally served as papal agents began supporting Frederick;¹⁶⁶ and in 1248 a certain friar named Arnold presented the emperor a tract for the reform of the Church by the civil power.¹⁶⁷

The death of Frederick likewise brought about no complete submission to papal political ideas. While Christian, the new archbishop of Mainz, was deposed by a papal legate for his pacificism and refusal to get involved in the papacy's war against the remaining Hohenstaufens,¹⁶⁸ many of the archbishops began to desert the papally sponsored William of Holland once the new emperor-elect attempted to assert more control over ecclesiastics.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the absence of a strong imperial power after Frederick's death generally left the prelates of both Italy and Germany too involved in defending their own rights against nobles and townsmen to pay much attention to papal

¹⁶⁴Historia Diplomatica, V, pp. 398-400.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., V, pp. 449-451 and 574-575.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., V, pp. 1146-1148 and VI, pp. 479-480.

¹⁶⁷Bayley, op. cit., p. 34; Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy, p. 311; and Morton W. Bloomfield and Marjorie E. Reeves, "The Penetration of Joachimism into Northern Europe," Speculum, XXIX (October 1954), pp. 791-792.

¹⁶⁸"Christiani Archiepiscopi Liber de calamitate ecclesiae Moguntinae," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 248; and "Sifridi Presbyteri de Balnhusin Historia Universalis et Compendium Historiarum," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 705.

¹⁶⁹Bayley, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

politics.¹⁷⁰

The situation of the ecclesiastical princes in France was also being threatened by townsmen and nobles¹⁷¹ so that the prelates were often dependent upon their king for protection.¹⁷² In return for that needed protection the French kings expected ecclesiastical support for royal policies.¹⁷³ When Innocent III ordered France put under an interdict because of Philip II's illegal divorce from Ingeborg,¹⁷⁴ several of the French bishops refused to publish the sentence.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand those prelates who obeyed the papal order were punished

¹⁷⁰The chronicles of both Italy and Germany show almost no interaction between the papacy and the prelates on political matters after 1250 but concentrate on local problems.

¹⁷¹The less than high esteem given prelates in France is reflected in Dubois, op. cit., pp. 90-91 and 102-103.

¹⁷²Robert Fawtier, The Capetian Kings of France: Monarchy and Nation (987-1328), trans. by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adams (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), pp. 68, 157, and 211-212; and Lemarignier et al., op. cit., pp. 160-161. For attacks by nobles and townsmen upon French prelates see Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., p. 313; Rigord, op. cit., pp. 16-17 and 50; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., p. 14; Berger, Saint Louis et Innocent IV, pp. 45-46, 245, and 376-378; Historia Diplomatica, VI, pp. 467-469; Lemarignier et al., op. cit., pp. 156, 210, and 275-279; and Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1943), vol. II, pp. 162-163 and 455-456.

¹⁷³Fawtier, op. cit., pp. 70-77; Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France, pp. 209-210 and 408-418; Lemarignier et al., op. cit., pp. 152, 181, 245, and 249-254; and Petit-Dutaillis, Louis VIII, pp. 408-418.

¹⁷⁴The original interdict was put on France by Celestine III and only repeated by Innocent III; Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., p. 109.

¹⁷⁵Luchaire, Innocent III: Les royautés vassales du Saint-siège, pp. 252-253; Lemarignier et al., op. cit., p. 149; and Richard Chenevix Trench, Lectures on Medieval Church History (London: Macmillan and Company, 1879), p. 354.

by the king who ejected their canons and clergy.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps fearing more royal wrath, the French prelates in 1203 came out in open support of Philip II's war against England despite papal protests that the conflict interfered with plans for another crusade. Writing to the pope on August 22, 1203, the prelates stated,

We are obliged to succour Philip, our seigneur, in the war against King John, notwithstanding the wishes of the pope or his legate. We exhort him to continue that war without being intimidated by vain words; we intend on our part to give him all the aid he needs and to make neither a truce nor an accord without the orders of the king, our sire.¹⁷⁸

Later, when Philip was making plans to invade England, he again received the full support of the clergy who stated that papal interference in the matter was unwarranted and derogatory to the honor of the French crown.¹⁷⁹

The reign of Louis IX brought about another set of problems for the clergy. While the king was busy defending the French Church against papal abuses,¹⁸⁰ several of the prelates were complaining against the excessive favoritism shown the king by the pope, since many of the privileges granted to the king limited the jurisdiction of

¹⁷⁶Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 111-112.

¹⁷⁷Philip's strict control over the French prelates is cited in Luchaire, Innocent III: Les royautés vassales du Saint-siège, pp. 262-266.

¹⁷⁸Maurice Jallut, Philippe Auguste: fondateur de l'unité Française (Paris: Au Fil d'Ariane, 1963), p. 115.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 261-262. Luchaire stated that clerical support for Philip's English wars was extracted by threats; Les royautés vassales du Saint-siège, p. 275.

¹⁸⁰Mattheiu Parisiensis, Chronica Majora, ed. by Henry Richards Luard (London: Longman and Company, 1856), vol. VI, pp. 99-102; and Lemarignier et al., op. cit., p. 155.

local churchmen.¹⁸¹ In 1268 the clergy also complained against the crusade taxes imposed by the king with the consent of the pope.¹⁸² The greatest dispute between the clergy and Louis occurred, however, during the 1250's when the University of Paris was rebelling against the mendicant orders. Here, Rutebeuf attacked the king for obeying the papal command to exile Guillaume de Saint-Amour and accused him of violating his regalian rights by his obedience to the pope.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, Louis was generally very popular among the French clergy who unanimously supported his canonization after his death.¹⁸⁴

The full-scale resumption of the English-French dispute under Philip IV put the French clergy again in the uncomfortable position of having to choose between loyalty to the pope and loyalty to their king. When Boniface VIII issued Clericis laicos, which forbade the lay taxation of churches without papal consent, part of the French clergy politely asked the pope to let them make a "donation" to their king,¹⁸⁵ while others attacked the pope for trying to undermine royal

¹⁸¹Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 192-194; Campbell, "The Attitude of the Monarchy Toward the Use of Ecclesiastical Censures," pp. 539-540 and 553-554; and Lemarignier et al., op. cit., p. 323.

¹⁸²Throop, op. cit., p. 74; and Lemarignier et al., op. cit., pp. 155-157.

¹⁸³Edward Billings Ham, Rutebeuf and Louis IX (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), p. 17; and Lester K. Little, "Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars," Church History, XXXIII (June 1964), p. 125.

¹⁸⁴Louis Carolus-Barré, "Les enquêtes pour la canonisation de Saint Louis--de Grégoire X à Boniface VIII--et la bulle Gloria Laus, du août 1297," Revue d'histoire de l'église de France, LVII (Janvier-Juin 1971), pp. 21-23.

¹⁸⁵Carlyle and Carlyle, op. cit., p. 278.

authority and stated that it was their duty to aid the crown in time of need.¹⁸⁶ Later, in the great dispute between Boniface and Philip early in the next century the French clergy again ended by siding with the king, although the issue, the imprisonment of a bishop by the secular power, was largely contrary to their own interests.¹⁸⁷ Only the archbishop of Narbonne took a firm stand against the king by insisting that the pope alone was capable of judging a prelate.¹⁸⁸ When the pope called for an assembly of French prelates to discuss the state of religion in their country,¹⁸⁹ the bishops requested a delay because of their need to help the king in his war against England¹⁹⁰ and because of royal threats to confiscate their goods if they left the kingdom.¹⁹¹ Ignoring papal threats that they return to the obedience of the Holy See,¹⁹² the French prelates accepted the validity of a forged papal bull claiming temporal supremacy for the pope and denied that the king had any temporal superior in his kingdom.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, despite

¹⁸⁶Jo Ane McNamara, "Simon de Beaulieu and 'Clericis Laicos'," Iraditio, XXV (1969), pp. 163-164.

¹⁸⁷Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

¹⁸⁸Digard, op. cit., II, p. 74.

¹⁸⁹December 5, 1301; Pierre Dupuy, Histoire du Differend d'entre Pape Boniface VIII et Philippes le Bel Roy de France (Tuscon: Audax Press, 1963), pp. 53-54.

¹⁹⁰Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., p. 321.

¹⁹¹Frank Pegues, The Lawyers of the Last Capetians (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 39; Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., pp. 63 and 84-85; and Dupuy, op. cit., p. 17.

¹⁹²Dupuy, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

¹⁹³Ibid., pp. 66-71.

Philip's order to seize the goods of all ecclesiastics who left the kingdom,¹⁹³ four archbishops, thirty-five bishops, and six abbots did attend the papal council in Rome.¹⁹⁵ However, several other prelates did not attend, although probably as much out of fear as out of loyalty to the crown.¹⁹⁶ Among the important prelates who did not attend were the archbishops of Sens and Narbonne, the bishops of Soissons, Beauvais, and Meaux, and the abbot of Saint Denis.¹⁹⁷ Finally, after a brief period of deliberation following a royal council of all the estates at Paris in June 1303,¹⁹⁸ the majority of French prelates gave their support to the king's call for a general church council to settle the dispute between Boniface and Philip.¹⁹⁹ Although certain members of the clergy, especially those at the University of Paris, strongly adhered to the king and his denunciation of Boniface,²⁰⁰ other prelates were apparently wavering in their loyalty to the king, since Philip thrice had to issue his order to seize the goods of those clergy leaving the kingdom.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 83-84.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 86. There were seventy-seven French bishops and archbishops in the thirteenth century; Lemarignier et al., op. cit., p. 160.

¹⁹⁶L. Elliott Binns, D.D., The History of the Decline and Fall of the Medieval Papacy (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1934), p. 67; Dubois, op. cit., p. 23; Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., p. 98; and Bloch, op. cit., p. 52.

¹⁹⁷Dupuy, op. cit., pp. 87-89.

¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. 100. ¹⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 112-113.

²⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 117-118 and 164-165.

²⁰¹Ibid., pp. 83-84, 99-100, and 131-133.

For the French clergy these quarrels between pope and king involved much more than a struggle for political control over the French Church. While many French churchmen doubtlessly felt trapped between conflicting loyalties, other clerics took advantage of the conflicts between Philip and Boniface to air their grievances against the whole papal government. Angry at Boniface for his earlier favoritism towards the mendicants while serving as a legate in France, the University of Paris had around 1297 produced a scholarly tract declaring that Celestine V had had no right to resign and that Boniface VIII was therefore an illegitimate pope.²⁰² Although Philip never openly endorsed this document, it definitely presented a weapon for the king in his quarrel with the pope over Clericis laicos. Later, when the pope summoned a church council because of the civil arrest of Bernard Saisset, several French prelates ignored the issue at hand and took the opportunity to denounce papal provisions and the excessive financial drains on the French Church by the Roman curia.²⁰³ Likewise, the Dominican Jean of Paris, whose Tractatus de Potestate Regia et Papali defended royal power in the temporal sphere, came out in support of the relative independence of local churches from papal control. While stating that bishops holding temporal authority owed their primary allegiance to the king,²⁰⁴ Jean then denied that prelates

²⁰² Digard, op. cit., I, pp. 313-314.

²⁰³ Dupuy, op. cit., pp. 66-71.

²⁰⁴ John of Paris, On Royal and Papal Power, trans. by Arthur P. Monahan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 103.

received their spiritual power only from the pope²⁰⁵ and that the Roman curia had any exclusive rights over the temporal goods of the French Church.²⁰⁶ Arguing that Christ had given spiritual authority to all His disciples and only leadership to Peter,²⁰⁷ Jean declared that the election of prelates should be a local concern to promote participation by all Christ's followers²⁰⁸ and thus negated the whole theory behind papal provisions. Excessive papal taxation was, according to Jean, an abuse since it robbed communities of their rightful endowments which had been instituted to aid the poor and perform other charitable acts.²⁰⁹ Like Grosseteste before him, Jean insisted that the pope simply could not act in a destructive manner by taking goods which did not belong to him:

For it should be assumed that the will of so great a father is not contrary to rights, and that he will not take what belongs to anyone from him²¹⁰ without reasonable cause. For he cannot by rights act otherwise.

Moreover, Jean maintained that the pope could be deposed for wrongfully usurping church goods.²¹¹ Towards the end of his work Jean went on to state that the pope differed from other prelates only in the matter of wider jurisdiction²¹² and that the Church as a whole was greater than the pope alone.²¹³ These latter arguments marked the culmination of over a hundred years of clerical protests against the papal claim to complete domination over all the churches. While Jean defended the

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 43-44. ²⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 22-27.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., pp. 43-44. ²⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 126-127.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 22. ²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 27. ²¹¹ Ibid., p. 26.

²¹² Ibid., p. 134. ²¹³ Ibid., pp. 111 and 133.

independence of royal power on the one hand, on the other hand he asserted the independence of local churches from exclusive papal control. The dispute over the civil arrest of a French bishop had thus turned into a protest against papal abuses by the French clergy who seemed to support their king partially as a means of showing their disapproval of certain papal practices believed to be abusive.

The situation was somewhat different in England where churchmen repeatedly looked to the papacy for protection of their rights against the extension of royal power and managed to maintain a certain degree of independence from the crown.²¹⁴ However, when the papacy failed to provide the desired protection or infringed upon what they considered their rights, the English clergy quickly protested and accused the pope of treachery. The first such incident occurred early in the century when John in defiance of the papal support of Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury expelled the clergymen who sided with the pope.²¹⁵ The "Song of the Bishops" lamented the exile of these prelates and ended with a plea for papal aid:

I Roman, liber parvula,
Nec remeare differas

²¹⁴F. M. Powicke, King Henry III and the Lord Edward (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), vol. I, pp. 273-274; and Smith, Church and State, p. 133. This discussion will largely ignore the royal clerks who remained loyal to the crown; see Frank Pegues, "The Clericus in the Legal Administration of Thirteenth-Century England," English Historical Review, LXXI (1956), p. 556.

²¹⁵"Annales Londonienses," pp. 7-8; Luchaire, Les royautés vassales du Saint-siège, pp. 200-203. Only a small number of prelates actually deserted the king until after his excommunication; Sidney Painter, The Reign of King John (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1949), pp. 172-175 and 182-183.

Saluta quosque sedule,
 Et papae salve differas
 Dic quid de tribus sentiam.
 Ipse promat sententiam,
 Utrum suo iudicio
 Sint liberi a vitio
 Et michi detur venia.²¹⁶

Nevertheless, after John's submission to Rome the clergy became extremely disillusioned with the pope, especially when he nullified the Magna Carta which among other things guaranteed the freedom of the English Church.²¹⁷ As early as 1213 the English bishops had been complaining that the papal legate Nicholas of Tusculum was more favorable to the king than to the clergy who had suffered severe financial losses because of the disturbances of the past five years.²¹⁸ Even Langton, whose elevation to the archbishopric of Canterbury had begun all the problems, protested against the legate's favoritism towards the king and finally found himself suspended from office by papal command.²¹⁹ Another English clergyman complained that the whole infeudation of England to the Holy See was 'an ignominious thing' and created an intolerable yoke of servitude on the English

²¹⁶ Wright, ed., The Political Songs of England, p. 13.

Translation: "Go to Rome, little book, nor delay thy return; salute them all diligently; and carry a salutation to the pope: Tell what I think of the three: Let him give judgment, whether in his opinion they be free from vice; and let pardon be granted to me."

²¹⁷ Petit-Dutaillis, Louis VIII, p. 60.

²¹⁸ Roger of Wendover, op. cit., p. 290; Luchaire, Les royautés vassales du Saint-siège, p. 232; and Painter, op. cit., p. 199.

²¹⁹ Roger of Wendover, op. cit., pp. 342-343; and "Annales Londoniensis," p. 17.

Church and people.²²⁰ Likewise, when the pope excommunicated the rebellious nobles, the prelates declined to defy the pope openly but refused to honor the pope's sentence on the grounds that it was based upon faulty information and was therefore invalid.²²¹ In protest against the various papal activities one less sympathetic popular clerical poem accused the papacy of changing with the wind in order to advance its own financial interests:

Roma, turpitudinis jacens in profundis,
 Virtutes praeposterat opibus immundis,
 Vacillantis animi fluctuans sub undis,
 Diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.
 Vultus blandos asperat, quibus nunc arrisit;
 Sinu fovet placido quos prius elisit;
 Dum monetam recipit, tractat, et revisit;
 Quod petiit, spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit.²²²

Throughout the greater part of Henry III's reign the clergy also attacked the pope for his unqualified support of the king. To protect himself against the English bishops Henry was forced to keep his own lawyers ever present at Rome--an action which not only failed to win episcopal sympathy but increased irritation against Rome.²²³

²²⁰ Luchaire, Innocent III: Les royautés vassales du Saint-siège, p. 148.

²²¹ Petit-Dutaillis, Louis VIII, pp. 104-105; and T. F. Tout, The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III, 1216-1377, vol. III of The Political History of England, ed. by William Hunt and Reginald L. Poole (8 vols.; London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1920), pp. 2-3.

²²² Wright, ed., The Political Songs of England, p. 31. Translation: "Rome, lying in the depth of turpitude, ranks virtues beneath filthy lucre; fluctuating under the waves of a vacillating mind, she overthrows, builds, and changes square things for round. She despises the bland countenances at which but now she smiled; she cherishes in her placid breast those whom before she rolled down; while she receives money, she treats and revises; what she sought she despises, and seeks again what lately she let go."

²²³ Matthew Paris, op. cit., I, p. 165; and "Annales

The English clergy particularly resented the papal scheme to have Henry's son made king of Sicily, since it was the clergy who were supposed to finance the project.²²⁴ On January 18, 1256, representatives of the whole clerical body of England met in a convocation to protest against papal abuses, especially the taxation for the Sicilian project.²²⁵ Thus, while the pope was having a crusade preached against Manfred in England, Matthew Paris was crying out against Roman avarice:

How sterile thy anxiety! how blind thy ambition! oh, court of Rome, which holy as thou art, art too often deceived by the counsel of the wicked. Why dost thou not check thy violence with the curb of discretion? why art thou not taught by the past and amended by so many calamities?²²⁶

In 1256 one clergyman accused the pope of joining in an unholy alliance with the king to rob the English clergy:

Li rois ne l'apostoile ne pensent autrement,
 Mes coment au clers tolent lur or e lur argent.
 Co est tute la summe,
 Ke la pape de Rume
 Al rei trop consent,
 pur aider sa curune
 la dime de clers li dune
 De co en fet sun talent.
 Jo ne quid pas ke li roi face sagement,
 Ke il vit de roberie ke il de la clergie prent.
 Ja ne fra bone prise,
 pur rober sainte eglise;
 Il la say verament.

Londoniensis," p. 34.

²²⁴ Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, pp. 18-20.

²²⁵ Powicke, The Thirteenth Century, p. 503.

²²⁶ Matthew Paris, op. cit., III, p. 124. Note that Matthew Paris accepted Rome's role as a leader in society.

Ke vot aver semblance,
 regard le rois ²²⁷ de France
 E sun achievement.

Although their consent was required before any taxes could be collected, the clergy were seldom able to resist the combined pressure of pope and king.²²⁸ They accused the pope of submitting to bribery for annulling the Provisions of Oxford and of favoring the king in general against the best interests of the country.²²⁹ During the Barons' War English churchmen almost unanimously supported the nobles against the king and pope by harassing royal officials, expelling royal appointees, and giving the rebels financial aid.²³⁰ Indeed, the barons and prelates saw themselves as the true defenders of the English Church against foreign interests as represented by the pope and king.²³¹ Later, the punishment by the papal legate of many of the country's leading bishops for their participation in the Barons' War was heartily resented by many of the English clergy.²³²

²²⁷Wright, ed., The Political Songs of England, pp. 43-44. Translation [by Wright]: "The king and the pope think of nothing else, but how they may take from the clergy their gold and their silver. This is the whole affair, that the pope of Rome yields too much to the king, to help his crown, the tenth of the clergy's goods he gives him, and with that he does his will. I do not think that the king acts wisely, that he lives off robbery he commits upon the clergy. He will never be a gainer, by robbing the church; he knows it truly. He seeks an example, let him regard the king of France and his achievement."

²²⁸Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272 (London: Humphrey Milford, 1934), p. 133.

²²⁹"Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle," p. 357.

²³⁰Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, pp. 30-33; and "Annales Londoniensis," pp. 58-66.

²³¹"Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle," p. 361.

²³²"Annales Londoniensis," p. 72.

The disintegration of relations between the papacy and the English Church along with the closer relationship between the crown and the prelates under Edward I was fully brought to light by the difficulties caused by Boniface VIII's Clericis laicos.²³³ When Edward began pressuring the clergy to pay their taxes despite the papal ban, many, particularly in the northern areas, quickly submitted; and only Robert Winchelsey, the archbishop of Canterbury, and a few of his followers stated their unwillingness to defy the pope.²³⁴ This situation contrasted sharply with the uproar created by Langton's appointment early in the century when several of the leading prelates eventually rallied to the papal cause. When Boniface finally relented and accepted the right of kings to tax their clergy in times of emergency, several of those who had supported the papal cause were furious and denounced the pope for changing his mind at their expense.²³⁵

Despite the fact that the English clergy showed an increasing dislike of papal political intervention, there was no drastic change of attitude on the part of churchmen towards the papacy during the thirteenth century. The dual concepts of the papacy as both the center

²³³ The growing distance between the English Church and the papacy is also vividly shown by the chronicles. The great amount of space devoted to the papacy in chronicles of the first half of the century is in sharp contrast to those of the latter part of the century. The later chronicles appear much less informed about occurrences in Rome and devote appreciably less space to papal affairs. This was, of course, partially caused by the greater independence of Edward from Rome.

²³⁴ H. S. Deighton, "Clerical Taxation by Consent, 1279-1301," English Historical Review, LXVIII (April 1953), pp. 172-183; and Thomas Walsingham, op. cit., p. 63.

²³⁵ Chronicle of Lanercost, p. 121.

of the world and the center of corruption continued to dominate clerical thought, although certain nationalist sentiments which detracted from the idea of papal supremacy were apparent throughout the period. Moreover, while there was little dispute over major church dogmas outside the University of Paris and most gave at least lip-service to the idea of a united Christendom with a church hierarchy under papal leadership,²³⁶ churchmen, including those who embraced the papal reform schemes, were primarily concerned with their own interests and with the preservation of their own authority. The greatest proof of the papacy's inability to win the undivided support of the large masses of the clergy was offered by the almost total failure of the great papal reform schemes as envisioned by Innocent III and his successors. Indeed, many of the reform bishops, such as Langton and Grosseteste, ended up accusing the papacy itself of hampering rather than fostering the eradication of abuses.²³⁷ As early as the First Council of Lyons many churchmen were beginning to believe that it was the papacy which was in the greatest need of reform.²³⁸ It was clear throughout the century that the clergy tended to view the papacy and the needs of the Church differently than did the popes and canon lawyers; and this difference in viewpoint led them to only a partial support of papal projects.

²³⁶ Even the bitter anti-papist Matthew Paris stated his reverence for the papal institution and expressed the idea that the pope could not be judged by any man: "... whether he acted well, it is for the Lord, the judge of all judgments, and who has the care of all, to decide; it is not for me to judge the pope's acts." Of course, Matthew Paris did judge and condemn papal activities throughout the whole of his chronicle. Matthew Paris, op. cit., III, p. 90.

²³⁷ Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 284-288.

²³⁸ Barraclough, The Medieval Papacy, pp. 63-183.

CHAPTER IV

LAY RELIGIOUS ENTHUSIASM AND THE PAPACY

While the papacy was busy trying to exert its authority over the monarchical and church organizations, it was also having to contend with various lay religious movements which were particularly prevalent in the more advanced urban areas, especially those of Southern France and Northern Italy. Religious enthusiasm, here defined as the desire to make an outward expression of inner faith, was indeed a common occurrence among the laity of the thirteenth century and was expressed in a variety of forms ranging from heresy to the writing of the Divine Comedy. If the papacy were to fulfill its claim to be the spiritual leader of all Christendom, it was essential for the popes to provide some sort of direction and control over these lay movements or at least to make sure that the laity did not become antagonistic and pose a threat to the accepted precepts of the Christian faith as understood by the papacy. Papal prestige and power was thus intimately connected with the attitude of the laity towards Rome and with the effectiveness of papal methods used to curb, channel, and stimulate existing religious enthusiasm among the laity.

Of all the organized lay religious movements of the thirteenth century the heresies, so classified because of their

supposed doctrinal differences with the Church,¹ posed the greatest challenge to papal authority; and of all the heretics the Cathars, or Albigensians,² appeared the most dangerous. Probably begun as a protest against ecclesiastical wealth on the local level,³ the Cathars had been declared heretical well before 1200 because of their belief (perhaps partially derived from certain Eastern sects)⁴ in a total dualism between the spiritual and material worlds with each world presided over by a different god.⁵ Although this dualism between the good soul and the bad body was contrary to advanced Christian theology, it was a common medieval theme and was seldom condemned

¹Actually, heresy in the thirteenth century could mean "schism, resistance within the Church to papal administration, political opposition to the hierarchy from secular powers, advocacy of religious toleration, socery, or intellectual arrogance"; Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans, Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 3.

²For two recent bibliographies on the Cathars see George H. Shriver, "A Summary of 'Images of Catharism and the Historian's Task'," Church History, XL (March 1971), pp. 48-49; and Daniel Walther, "A Survey of Recent Research on the Albigensian Cathari," Church History, XXXIV (June 1965), pp. 146-177.

³Shriver, op. cit., p. 49; and Andre Vauchez, "La pauvreté volontaire au Moyen Age," Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations, XXV (Novembre-Décembre 1970), p. 1572.

⁴The various arguments for and against a Bogomil influence on the Cathars are discussed in R. I. Moore, "The Origins of Medieval Heresy," History, LV (February 1970), pp. 21-36. Moore maintains, however, that such arguments are largely irrelevant and attributes the rise of popular heresies primarily to the reform program of Gregory VII, who appealed directly to the people against abuses in the church hierarchy, thus setting "a precedent for direct popular action". The question of Bogomil influence is definitely irrelevant to this study. As will be shown, many Cathar practices appear as exaggerations of accepted Catholic practices rather than as an alien standard of values.

⁵Etienne de Bourbon, Anecdotes Historiques (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1877), pp. 299-311.

as heretical.⁶ What made the Cathars appear so dangerous was their desire to put their beliefs into actual practice. Believing that everything connected with the physical world was evil, the Perfects of the faith practiced an extreme asceticism very similar to that practiced by certain Catholic monastic groups.⁷ However, unlike the monastic ascetics, the Perfects went about the countryside and urban areas in humble garb and preached to the people.⁸ Referring to the Roman Church as the famous prostitute spoken of in the Apocalypse⁹ and denouncing almost all of the principle ingredients of the existing society: marriage,¹⁰ oaths, capital punishment, the Church's organization, the priesthood, and the sacraments, all of which they contended represented the physical world,¹¹ they gained widespread popularity in Southern France and Northern Italy, where the church hierarchy was generally considered too wealthy and

⁶Robert W. Ackerman, "The Debate of the Body and the Soul and Parochial Christianity," Speculum, XXXVII (October 1962), pp. 542-543.

⁷René Nelli, La vie quotidienne des Cathars du Languedoc aux XIIIe siècle (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1969), p. 174.

⁸Guillaume de Nangis, Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300 (Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie., 1843), pp. 127-128.

⁹Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, Histoire Albigeoise, trans. par Pascal Guébin et Henri Maisonneuve (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1951), p. 8.

¹⁰Actually, marriage was tolerated by the Cathars for the less advanced members of the sect but was never considered a sacrament, since it involved a concession to the physical world; René Nelli, Jean Duvernoy, Fernand Niel, et Deodat Roche, Les Cathars (Paris: Editions de Delphes, 1965), p. 443.

¹¹Maurice Bévenot, S.J., "The Inquisition and its Antecedents, II," Heythrop Journal, VII (October 1966), pp. 391-392.

remote from the people¹² and where the secular leaders were trying to wrest political and economic power from the prelates.¹³ By 1200 the Cathars had attracted enough sympathy, if not actual membership, from all levels of society to have instituted their own church and hierarchy in Southern France.¹⁴

Although the Cathars were probably the most notorious of the heretical groups because of their doctrines of extreme dualism and their connections with the rebellious Southern French nobility, they were not the only heretics to originate in this region. Another group which had been declared heretical by the thirteenth century was the Waldensians, who clearly represented the reformist variety of heresy and the desire for a more active participation in the church by laymen.¹⁵ These heretics had a much more definite relationship with the papacy than the Cathars. During the 1160's Peter Waldo, a

¹²Salimbene de Adam, "Cronica," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXXII, pp. 115-129.

¹³Shriver, op. cit., pp. 33-34; Wakefield and Evans, op. cit., p. 27; and Etienne de Bourbon, op. cit., pp. 213-214. Etienne de Bourbon stated that it was the Cathars' attack upon the established church and their personal asceticism rather than their doctrines which attracted so much sympathy. This idea seems rather accurate in that many of the nobles who supported the Cathars often requested on their deathbed to be received into one of the military orders, particularly the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and continued to give legacies to the Church to save their souls; Nelli, op. cit., pp. 24, 66, 99, and 102.

¹⁴Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (Paris: Librairie Emile Bouillon, 1894), p. 23; Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, op. cit., p. 20; and Wakefield and Evans, op. cit., p. 167.

¹⁵Jeffrey Burton Russell, A History of Medieval Christianity: Prophecy and Order (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968), p. 147; and Vauchez, op. cit., pp. 1572-1573.

merchant of Lyons, had given away his wealth to the poor and had formed a group of pious laymen interested in living an apostolic life modelled on the simplicity and poverty of Christ and his apostles and in learning and spreading Christian doctrines to combat heresy.¹⁶ Although Waldo's ideas were well received by the lay population of Lyons, his refusal to obey local ecclesiastical authorities who prohibited lay preaching soon got him into trouble; and in 1177 he was banished from the city by the archbishop.¹⁷ Waldo then appealed to Rome where he made a profession of faith and was cleared of any charges of heresy by the Lateran Council of 1179. Despite this papal approval a new archbishop of Lyons in 1182 again excommunicated and banished the Waldensians for refusing to obey canonical rules against lay preaching.¹⁸ Two years later the Council of Verona which anathematized all heretical groups also condemned the Waldensians for being contumacious and schismatic.¹⁹ Since the Waldensians, who claimed to owe obedience to God, not to man, preferred to ignore these sentences against them, their condemnation only served to separate them further from the Roman Church, which they henceforth began to regard as an evil deviation from the simple church established by Christ.

¹⁶ Moore, op. cit., p. 22; Bernard Marthaler, O.F.M., "Forerunners of the Franciscans: The Waldensians," Franciscan Studies, XVII (1958), p. 134; and Gordon Leff, "The Apostolic Ideal in Later Medieval Ecclesiology," Journal of Theological Studies, XVIII (April 1967), p. 75.

¹⁷ Marthaler, op. cit., p. 135.

¹⁸ Christine Thouzellier, Catharisme et Vald isme en Languedoc (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), p. 38.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 45 and 47-48; Marthaler, op. cit., p. 141; and Marc Bloch, La France sous les derniers Cap tiens, 1223-1328 (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1958), p. 103.

Although neither the Cathars nor the Waldensians made many direct attacks upon the papacy but upon the whole of the existing church structure, the papacy, as head of that church structure and of the Christian faith, was nevertheless involved. When Innocent III became pope in 1198, the problem of heresy had become so acute in Southern France that it was necessary to find some kind of compromise or solution which would bring the heretics back into the Church and stop their rapid spread.²⁰ Since to succumb to the heretics' demand to rid the Church of all its wealth would have produced a veritable revolution, the new pope first sought to win back the heretics by sending educated Cistercians into the Midi to point out the doctrinal fallacies of the various heresies and by attempting to remedy some of the more obvious abuses in local churches.²¹ Both measures ended in total failure.²² While it was impossible for those wholly committed to heretical, particularly Catharist, beliefs to compromise,²³ the heretics' sympathizers found the clergy sent by the pope too pompous and high-handed.²⁴ The

²⁰ Guillaume de Tudèle, La Chanson de la croisade Albigeoise, trans. par Eugène Martin-Chabot (Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1960), p.9.

²¹ Iohannes Longus de Ipra, "Chronica Monasterii Santi Bertini," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 824; Augustin Fliche, Christine Thouzellier, et Yvonne Azais, Histoire de l'Eglise, vol. XI: La Chrétienté romaine (1198-1274) (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1950), p. 179; and Maurice Bévenot, S.J., "The Inquisition and its Antecedents, IV," Heythrop Journal, VIII (April 1967), p. 162.

²² Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

²³ Nelli, op. cit., p. 52.

²⁴ Etienne de Bourbon, op. cit., pp. 213-214.

Cistercians likewise found themselves unprepared for such a mission and, after receiving numerous insults, requested the pope to return to their monasteries.²⁵ Meanwhile, the local clergy were largely antagonistic to the papal reform measures and generally refused to cooperate.²⁶ The only successes in these early years of Innocent's pontificate were accomplished by the Spanish priest Dominic, who imitated the humble clothing of the Cathar Perfects and went about preaching and debating with the heretics in the urban areas.²⁷ Nevertheless, Dominic's success was minimal in comparison to the vastness of the problem.

Faced with these glaring failures, the open hostility shown his envoys, and finally the murder of one of his legates, Peter of Castelnau,²⁸ Innocent felt forced to resort to physical coercion.²⁹ However, once called by the pope, the Albigensian Crusade quickly slipped out of papal control. Indeed, those recording the events in the Midi gave only a very secondary importance to the papacy's role; and one of the major chroniclers of the crusade, Guillaume de Tudèle, even omitted to mention the name of the pope, while he heavily praised the merits of the crusade leader, Simon de Montfort.³⁰

²⁵ Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, op. cit., p. 11.

²⁶ Achille Luchaire, Innocent III: La croisade des Albigeois (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1911), pp. 23-24.

²⁷ Nelli, op. cit., p. 104; and Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

²⁸ Guillaume de Tudèle, op. cit., p. 16.

²⁹ Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, op. cit., pp. 25-32; and Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 129-130.

³⁰ Guillaume de Tudèle, op. cit., p. 16.

At the same time the issues often became so clouded with what seemed to be purely political matters that it was almost impossible for the pope residing in Rome to receive accurate and trustworthy information. While both the crusaders and the Southern French nobility protested their loyalty to the pope, both sides were quick to accuse the pope of being poorly informed if he acted contrary to their respective wishes. Those of the Midi denied that heresy was widespread in their area, and accused the crusaders of wanting to steal their land, and appealed to the pope against the excesses of de Montfort and his followers.³¹ When at the pleas of the supporters of the Count of Toulouse³² the pope attempted to have the excommunicated count brought back into the Church,³³ the crusaders made only a half-hearted attempt to comply and accused the Southern French of trying to trick the pope into believing that Count Raymond and his allies were not heretics.³⁴ Later, when the pope ordered a halt to the venture in the interests of a crusade to the Holy Land,³⁵ the crusaders were fully displeased, largely ignored the papal directive,

³¹Peire Cardenal, Poésies Complètes du Troubadour Peire Cardenal (1180-1278) (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1957), pp. 78-83; and Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, op. cit., p. xix.

³²La Chanson de la croisade Albigeoise, trans. par Eugène Martin-Chabot, vol. II: La Poème de l'auteur anonyme (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1957), p. 38.

³³Luchoire, La croisade des Albigeois, pp. 153-154; and Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, op. cit., pp. 60, 151, and 169.

³⁴Luchoire, La croisade des Albigeois, pp. 168-176; and Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, op. cit., pp. 69, 154, and 156-160.

³⁵Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, "Cronica," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VII, Part 2, p. 51; and Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, op. cit., p. xix.

and again suggested that the pope had been led astray by the lies of the Southern nobility.³⁶ Since they believed the pope did not comprehend the whole of the situation, they reasoned that it was perfectly legitimate for them to disobey. The supposedly final settlement of the issue at the Fourth Lateran Council was likewise popular with neither side.³⁷ While the crusader faction continued to see the pope as largely ignorant of the true facts,³⁸ the anonymous poet who defended the Southern French nobility depicted the pope as a rather pathetic creature literally forced against his wishes to deprive the young Count of Toulouse of his lands:

L'Apostolis regarda l'enfant e sas faisos,
 E conosa lo linatge e saub las falhizos
 De Glieza e de clerica, que son contrarios:
 De pietat e d'ira n' a-l cor tant doloisos
 Qu'en soapira e-n plora de sos olhs ambedos.
 Mas lai no val als comtes dreitz ni fes ni razos.
 Mas pero l'Apostolis, qu'es savis e guiscos,
 Denant tota la cort e vezen dele baros,
 Monstra, per escriptura e per leials sermos,
 Que'l comte de Tholosa no repren ocaizos
 Qu'el deia perdre terra ni que mals crezens fos,
 Ans l'a pres per catholic en faitz e en respos.
 Mas, per la covinensa c'avian entr'els dos
 E, paor de clerica de qu'el es temoros,
 Li retenc pueih sa terra e-n devenc poderos,
 E volc que la tenques en comanda -n Simos,
 Car en outra maniera no l'en era faitz-l dos.³⁹

³⁶ Luchaire, La croisade des Albigeois, pp. 232-233.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 248-255.

³⁸ Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, op. cit., pp. 211-212.

³⁹ Chanson de la croisade Albigeoise, II, p. 42.

Translation: "The pope considers the young man and his countenance; he has been informed of his lineage and has not ignored the faults committed by the men of the Church who are hostile to him: with pity and indignation he has a heart so sadly oppressed that he suffers and the tears fall from his two eyes. But to the counts in that circumstance, neither right, nor faith, nor reason is to any

Despite all its destructiveness the Albigensian Crusade, which lasted intermittently until 1227, failed to wipe out the Cathars.⁴⁰ Many of the heretics had fled to their co-religionists in Italy during the war and began to drift back to the Midi after the war's end.⁴¹ Faced with this failure but unwilling to allow the Cathars to regain their old position of prominence in Southern French society, the papacy instituted the Inquisition which was eventually put under the charge of the new Dominican order.⁴² The Inquisition was likewise heartily disliked in Southern France and failed to wipe out the Cathars whose actual number did not decline until the fourteenth century.⁴³ Regarding themselves as the only true church, many of the

avail. Meanwhile, the pope, who is filled with wisdom and experience, shows before all the assembly and in the presence of the barons by a written act and by a loyal discourse that on the elder Count of Toulouse no accusation such that he should lose his land nor that he has been heretical, that to the contrary he has considered him a good Catholic in action and in thought. But finally in virtue of the accord concluded between these two and by the fears of the clergy who have intimidated him, he confiscates his land and gives it to Simon."

⁴⁰Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., p. 135.

⁴¹Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles, ed., Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi (Paris: Henricus Plon, 1852-1861), vol. II, pp. 421-423; and Fliche et al., op. cit., p. 299.

⁴²Hans Kuehner, Encyclopedia of the Papacy (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), p. 88; Henri Daniel-Rops, Cathedral and Crusade, trans. by John Warrington (2 vols.; New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), vol. II, p. 310; and M. -H. Vicaire, "Saint Dominique et les inquisiteurs," Annales du Midi, LXXIX (April 1967), pp. 173-175.

⁴³Wakefield and Evans, op. cit., p. 13; and Austin P. Evans, "Hunting Subversion in the Middle Ages," Speculum, XXXIII (January 1958), p. 13. One of the effects of persecution seems to have been in pushing Catharism down into the lower levels of society so that by the late thirteenth century it was composed exclusively of artisans and peasants; Gordon Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1967), vol. I, p. 29.

Cathars willingly accepted persecution as proof of their sanctity.⁴⁴

At the same time they made no attempt to diminish their attacks upon the Church and papacy. Writing in 1241-1244, the Dominican Inquisitor Monete of Cremona stated that the persecution actually encouraged their attacks upon the Roman Church and its head, the pope:

For they interpret "the beast" and "the woman" as reference to the Roman Church. The beast, we read, was scarlet; likewise we find in verse 4 that the woman was clothed "with scarlet and purple, and girt with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand." These words are applicable to the lord pope, who is the head of the Roman Church. The woman "drunk with the blood of the saints" (verse 6) is referred to in the same connection. This symbol they attach to the Roman Church because it⁴⁵ orders their death, for they believe that they are saints.

Likewise, the crusade and the Inquisition had little effect on the Waldensians. Although Innocent III managed in 1207 to bring a certain number of these laymen back into the Church,⁴⁶ the majority of Waldensians had pushed their reformist ideas to such an extreme that they no longer desired to be brought back into a church whose clergy they considered too worldly, corrupt, and

⁴⁴Wakefield and Evans, op. cit., p. 43.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 328. Monete's point cannot be proven, however, because of the scarcity of actual Cathar texts for the periods both before and after the persecution. Nevertheless, it seems probable that the papacy was attacked incidentally because of its position in the church hierarchy during the twelfth century and directly because of its actions during the thirteenth century.

⁴⁶Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, I, pp. 40-41; and Herbert Grundmann, Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters, as cited in Jeffrey Burton Russell, ed., Religious Dissent in the Middle Ages (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1971), p. 143. It should be noted that the Poor Catholics were never welcomed by the episcopate and were absorbed whenever possible into other orders. In 1247 the remnants of this group were banned by Innocent IV for unauthorized preaching; Wakefield and Evans, op. cit., p. 221.

exclusive to fulfill their needs. At about the same time the Waldensians, by then spread into Northern Italy, split into two rival factions: the more radical Lombards who insisted that all good persons were priests and the Ultramontanes who established their own clergy under lay supervision.⁴⁷ Stressing the apostolic life of simplicity and poverty, both groups rejected the Roman hierarchy which they believed had gone astray when Pope Sylvester I had accepted the Donation of Constantine:

Also, [the Waldensians say] that the Church of Christ subsisted in the bishops and other prelates down to the time of the Blessed Sylvester, and ⁴⁸in him it fell away until they themselves restored it.

Thus, completely ignoring the fact that it was the papacy which had initiated many of the recent reform programs within the Church, the Waldensians believed the papacy to be the chief cause of the Church's decline. In a tract written between 1249 and 1261 the Inquisitor Etienne de Bourbon cited other reasons for Waldensian discontent with the papacy:

Also, they say that all good men are priests and that any good man has as much power to absolve sins as we believe the pope to possess....

Also, they say that evil men, who live in sin, cannot bind and loose, bestow indulgences or remissions on sinners, or ordain, or do anything such that God approves or that is done to the end that it may please God, but only do that which is pleasing in the sight of men. They deride papal indulgences and absolutions and the keys of the Church, calling the dedication and consecration of churches and altars a feast of stones....

Also, they assert that the Roman Church is the harlot of Babylon of whom one reads in the Apocalypse.

⁴⁷ Georges de Lagarde, La Naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge (Wien: Editions Béatrice, 1934), vol. I, p. 120.

⁴⁸ Tract by the Dominican Inquisitor Rainer Sacconi as cited in Wakefield and Evans, op. cit., p. 346.

... The reason for their falling into these abominations, I think, were⁴⁹ arrogance, hatred of the clergy, and decay of the faith....

Thus by the mid-thirteenth century the Waldensians had rejected not only the papacy itself but the whole papal concept of the church with its hierarchy and clergy forming an exclusive class separate from the laity. Even the Ultramontanes who did accept the existence of a clerical class believed that the clergy should be responsive to and controlled by the laity. Rather than seeing authority as coming down from on high, that is, from the papacy, the Waldensians stressed individual responsibility, thus implying that the Church should have a democratic structure where all Christians would be represented. Furthermore, the church envisioned by the Waldensians was to be poor and simple with its ministers imitating the life of Christ and removed from secular concerns. Persecution had totally failed to convince the Waldensians that the Roman Church was truly Christ's church. Indeed, believing themselves to be the true church, they denied the legal and moral right of the pope to have them punished:

The foolish followers and impious teachers of this sect [of Waldo] hold and teach that they are not subject to our lord pope, the Roman pontiff, or to other prelates of the Roman Church, for they declare that the Roman Church persecutes and censures them unjustly and unduly. Also, they declare positively that they cannot be excommunicated by the said Roman pontiff and prelates, to none of whom obedience be given should he enjoin or command members of this sect to desert or abjure it....⁵⁰

By taking part in the earth's wealth and power, the papacy had,

⁴⁹ Wakefield and Evans, op. cit., pp. 347-350.

⁵⁰ Account given by Bernard Guy as cited in Ibid., p. 388.

according to the Waldensians, forfeited its spiritual powers.⁵¹

While the Albigensian Crusade and the Inquisition failed to exterminate heresy, they were quite successful in provoking the hostility of the native population of Southern France.⁵² This hostility was particularly evident in the political poems of the troubadours, whose poems of courtly love and sensuous delights generally put them beyond suspicion of being Cathar.⁵³ While usually insisting upon their fidelity to the Catholic faith, they heavily denounced the corruption, greed, and ambition of the prelates, the French, and the Inquisitors. Thus, after stating the orthodoxy of his own beliefs:

E cre Rom'e sant Peire a cuy fon comandatz
jutge de penedensa, de sen e de foldatz.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 396.

⁵² Guillaume de Tudèle stated that even the Catholic peasants joined in the murdering of the crusaders; Guillaume de Tudèle, op. cit., p. 170. Likewise, the murder of several Dominican Inquisitors at Avignon in 1242 was accomplished by the lower nobility who only sympathized with the Cathars and were not themselves heretics; Nelli et al., op. cit., p. 304. There was also a large amount of hostility directed against the Inquisitors in Germany and Italy. However, I have found no account of this hostility in any way being connected with the papacy. Indeed, many appealed to Rome against the excesses of the Inquisitors. For examples see Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 501 and 507; and Historia Diplomatica, IV, pp. 649-651.

⁵³ The Inquisitors nevertheless considered courtly love "a factor of moral dissolution by which heresy is propagated"; Henri Gougaud, Poèmes politiques des Troubadours (Paris: Bâlibaste, 1969), p. 15. Also see Palmer A. Throop, Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda (Amsterdam: N. V. Swets and Zeitlinger, 1940), p. 30; and Jeffrey B. Russell, "Courtly Love as Religious Dissent," Catholic Historical Review, LI (April 1963), pp. 31-32.

⁵⁴ Gougaud, op. cit., p. 77. Translation: "I believe in Rome and St. Peter, who was ordained to judge our duties, our judgments, and our sins."

one troubadour, Peire Cardenal, accused the clergy and monks of only believing in greed⁵⁵ and in another poem stated that the prelates of the Roman Church were full of pride and arrogance:

Il son plen de folor e d'orguelh e d'ufang⁵⁶
Aquest mestre pastor de la gleisa romana.

Picking up one of the old complaints of the clergy against the Roman curia, Cardenal accused the pope, cardinals, and legates of forgiving the rich and condemning the poor:

L'apostoli -lh legat e-lh cardenal
S'acordon tug et en fag establir
Que qui no-s pot de trassir esdir,⁵⁷
S'aver non a, fassa-lh hom lo sendal;

Finally, writing towards the end of his life (c. 1278), the same poet said that the leaders of the Church were damning themselves by their lack of charity and their abuse of the power of excommunication:

Aus tu, que gleiza govèrnas
E cobeitas e chauparnas
L'autrui dreg? del tot t'enfèrnas
Si caritatz no-t defen.

E si a tort escuménjas,
De tu meteís cre que-t vènjás
Que non tainh las gens destrénjas⁵⁸
Mas tan can razos consen.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Peire Cardenal, op. cit., p. 186. Translation: "They are full of folly and pride, those chief pastors of the Roman Church."

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 298. Translation: "The Apostle of Rome, the legates, and the cardinals accord everything for themselves; and they have established the fact that whoever cannot exonerate himself from treason, if he does not have any money, one imposes on him the mark of the hot iron."

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 340. Translation: "Do you hear, you who govern the Church and who tread on the rights of other? You damn yourselves completely if charity does not defend you. And if you excommunicate unjustly, I believe that you punish yourselves, because it is not

Almost all of the troubadours writing in the 1220's also criticized the papacy for ignoring the Holy Land by its Albigensian Crusade.⁵⁹ While troubadours such as Tomier and Palazi said that all those joining the "false crusade" were guilty of heresy themselves,⁶⁰ another troubadour Huon de Saint-Quentin said the papacy had betrayed the whole crusading ideal by its war against European heretics.⁶¹ In a poem written around 1226 Cardenal likewise stated his disapproval of the papacy's crusade policies and claimed that Syria could have been already recovered from the Saracens had not the papacy wasted so many resources against the noble Count of Toulouse.⁶²

Perhaps the most virulent attack upon Rome by a troubadour was the long Provençal lay written by Guilhem Figueira in the 1220's. Unlike Cardenal, who seemed to blame Rome more for its connections with the local prelates and the French than for any inherent dislike of the papacy, Figueira attacked Rome as the birthplace of all corruption and decadence in the world:

D'un sirventes far en est son que m'agenssa
 no-m vuolh plus tarzar ni far longa bimensas,
 e sai ses doptar qu'ieu n'aurei malvolenssa,
 car fauc sirventes
 dels fals, mal apres,
 de Roma, que es caps de la dechasenssa,
 on dechai totz bes.

No-m meravilh ges, Roma, si la gens erra,

fitting that you restrain men without good reason." In other poems Cardenal accused the clergy of fostering war for their own financial and political gain but made no direct reference to the papacy and concentrated his attack on the local clergy; *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 64, and 146.

⁵⁹Throop, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35. ⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 44. ⁶²Peire Cardenal, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

que-l segle avetz mes en trelh et en gerra,
 e pretz e merces mor per vos e sosterra,
 Roma enganairitz,
 qu'etz de totz mals⁶³ guitz
 e cima e razitz,...

After accusing Rome of leading all persons, including the French nobility, astray through its desire for gain,⁶⁴ Figueira asked by what right Rome led good Christians into martyrdom and had them killed:

Roma, als Sarrazins faitz vos pauc de dampnatge,
 mas Grecs e Latis metetz e carnalatge.
 Ing el foc d'abis, Roma, faitz vostre estatge
 en perdicion.
 Ja Dieus part no-m don,
 Roma, del perdon ni del pelegrinatge
 que fetz d'Avinhon.

Roma, ses razon ayetz mainta gen morta,
 e jes no-m sab bon, car tenetz via torta,
 qu'a salvacion, Roma, serratz la porta.
 Per qu'a mal govern
 d'estiu e d'invern
 qui sec vostr'estern, car diables l'en porta
 ing el fuoc d'enfern.

Roma, be-is decern lo mals c'om vos deu dire,
 quar faitz per esquern dels crestians martire,
 mas en-cal quadern trobatz c'om deja aucire.
 Roma-ls crestians?
 Dieus, qu'es verais pans
 e cotidians, me dop⁶⁵ so qu'en desir
 vezer dels Romans.

⁶³Gougaud, op. cit., p. 132. Translation: "I will make a poem to suit myself, I will no longer maintain silence; and I will make malice blossom because I will make a poem about the liars established at Rome, the city and fountain of decadence where all goodness is murdered. I no longer wonder, Rome, about those errors where you throw men: from trouble into violence, honor and pity are murdered by your breed, Rome of dishonor, chair of evil...."

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 34 and 36. Translation: "Rome, you do little harm to the Saracens, but you massacre Greeks and Latins. In hell-fire and ruin you have your seat, Rome. May God give me no share in the indulgences of the pilgrimage to Avignon. Rome, without any reason you have killed many men; and I find it displeasing that you follow a

By so many evil deeds Rome had forfeited, according to Figueira, all its rights and could not be saved by either God or the saints.⁶⁶

Predicting that Count Raymond VII of Toulouse would soon be victorious over the French invaders⁶⁷ and that the 'loyal emperor' (Frederick II) would soon bring the papacy low,⁶⁸ the troubadour echoed Frederick II's complaint that the Church was trying to usurp all earthly power:

Tant voletz aver del mon la senhoria
que ren non temetz
Dieu ni sos develz,...⁶⁹

Figueira further predicted that, if Rome's power were not destroyed, the whole world would die from its poison:

Si'n breu non perdatz poder, a mala trapa
es lo mons cazutz
e mortz e vencutz.
E-l pretz confondutz, Roma, la vostra papa
fai aitals vertutz.⁷⁰

In his last stanzas the poet accused the papacy of causing the horrible bloodbath made by the French crusaders at Béziers and said Rome was locked in friendship with the devil.⁷¹ The whole of Figueira's poem

tortorous path, because, Rome, you close the door to salvation. You are a bad guide in summer and winter for that one who follows your steps because the devil leads him into hell. Rome, the evil which you do is easy to discern: by folly you throw Christians into martyrdom. In what book does it say that you should kill good Christians, Rome? God, who art the true and daily bread, do as I wish and punish the evil Romans."

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 136. ⁶⁷Ibid. ⁶⁸Ibid., p. 138.

⁶⁹Ibid. Translation: "You want so much the world's power that you no longer fear God, our sovereign."

⁷⁰Ibid. Translation: "If you do not soon lose your power, the world will fall into a bad trap. It will be dead and vanquished. And merit will be destroyed: Rome, here are the miracles which your pope performs."

⁷¹Ibid., p. 142.

was so hostile that the Inquisitors ordered those reciting it to be imprisoned,⁷² while Figueira himself was forced to seek refuge at the court of Frederick II in Sicily.⁷³

While the papacy had only a very minimal success with the Cathars and Waldensians except in provoking the hostility of the native population of Southern France, it scored a major victory for the Church with the lay religious organization initiated by Francis of Assisi. Closely akin to the early Waldensians, Francis put great emphasis upon the personal pursuit of a more spiritual life and upon the renunciation of worldly goods.⁷⁴ However, unlike Waldo, Francis spent little time denouncing the many wrongs committed by churchmen but always insisted upon showing complete respect for the Church's doctrines and clergy.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, probably recognizing that some of Francis' characteristics, such as his strong individualism and his scorn of wealth, could easily lead to heresy⁷⁶ and also perhaps wishing to protect Francis from the

⁷²Throop, op. cit., p. 30. ⁷³Ibid., p. 50.

⁷⁴Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli Sociorum S. Francisci (The Writings of Leo, Ruffino and Angelo Companions of St. Francis), ed. and trans. by Rosalind B. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 91.

⁷⁵Etienne de Bourbon stated that in a sermon delivered to the cardinals at Rome Francis made a strong attack against the worldliness of all prelates; Etienne de Bourbon, op. cit., p. 407. This assertion should probably be ignored, since such an event was not mentioned in the writings of Francis' early followers who made it clear that Francis held great respect for the prelates and wished to teach them by the sanctity of his own life, not by denouncing their shortcomings; Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli Sociorum S. Francisci, p. 289.

⁷⁶Edouard Jordan, "Le Premier Siècle Franciscain: Les Grandes Crises de l'Order," in Saint François d'Assise: son oeuvre--son influence, 1226-1926 (Paris: Editions E. Droz, 1927), p. 92.

jealousy of local prelates,⁷⁷ Innocent III took the precaution of placing three important restrictions on the young order when he gave it approval on a trial basis in 1210: 1) Francis was to promise full obedience to the pope; 2) all members of the group were to take at least minor orders in the Church; and 3) they were to preach only penance and moral exhortations to the people.⁷⁸ While the papacy was binding the early Franciscans to Rome and incorporating them into the church structure, the great popularity of Francis, especially in the early years of his order, made him an important asset to the Church and to the papacy whose contact and influence with the laity was thereby greatly enhanced.⁷⁹ At the same time, of course, the mere fact that Francis and his early followers had sought papal approval in the first place⁸⁰ demonstrated that disillusionment with the papacy had not permeated all levels of lay society and that some at least still regarded the papacy as the source of spiritual authority within the Church. Indeed, it was not until the end of the century that certain elements (the Spirituals) within the Franciscan Order, by then fully a part of the church structure, became an embarrassing source of direct attacks against the papacy.⁸¹ At the same time the Franciscans managed

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 103; and Bonaventure, Life of St. Francis (London: Everyman's Library, 1963), p. 320.

⁷⁸ Omer Englebert, Saint Francis of Assisi, trans. by Edward Hutton (London: Burnes Oates, 1950), p. 97; and Bonaventure, op. cit., pp. 320-321.

⁷⁹ Bonaventure stated that Francis renewed the Church; Bonaventure, op. cit., p. 316.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 319.

⁸¹ See Chapter III.

to obtain a great degree of popularity in areas formerly given over to heresy, such as Southern France, where several lay groups lived under the rule of St. Francis.⁸² Thus, for a time at least the papacy provided through the Franciscans an outlet for the lay impulse to lead a more apostolic life.

The apocalyptic ideas which eventually so greatly influenced the Spiritual Franciscans were indeed not restricted to the clerical classes. While the papacy was trying to cope with lay reform groups, it was also having to contend with various lay apocalyptic organizations which made sporadic appearances throughout the century. Unlike the reform groups which called for changes to be made through human effort, the apocalyptic groups expected drastic changes to occur suddenly through divine intervention. While millenarians predicted changes in all levels of society, the most sweeping changes were to occur in the ecclesiastical structure.

One of the first of such apocalyptic groups was the Amalricians. Around 1205 Amalric of Bena, a leading professor of logic and the other liberal arts at the University of Paris, picked up some of "the pantheistic ideas of John Scotus Eriugena, taught an identity of God with the universe, and explained the membership of the faithful in the Body of Christ in a pantheistic sense".⁸³ After coming under attack from local authorities, Amalric appealed to the pope who likewise

⁸²Salimbene, op. cit., p. 235; and Carter Partee, "Peter John Olivi: Historical and Doctrinal Study," Franciscan Studies, XX (September-December 1960), p. 229.

⁸³Karl Bihlmeyer, Church History, revised by Herman Tuechle and trans. by Victor E. Mills and Francis Muller (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press, 1963), vol. II, p. 306.

rejected his teachings. Finally compelled to recant publicly at the University, he died shortly afterwards from weariness and indignation.⁸⁴ The Amalricians, who called themselves his followers, appeared soon after his death and quickly spread into the major commercial centers from Flanders to Lyons.⁸⁵ While several members of the lower clergy were involved,⁸⁶ the group also contained a large number of laymen and women.⁸⁷ Teaching that the sacraments of the New Testament were void under the third age of the Holy Spirit and that whatever was done in the spirit of charity was not a sin,⁸⁸ the Amalricians also showed a great hostility towards the papacy which they predicted would be overthrown and replaced by the spiritual leadership of the French king within five years.⁸⁹ Caesarius of Heisterbach described the beliefs of one of the group's lay members:

... William [the goldsmith] also prophesied within five years these four plagues would occur: first, one upon the people, who will be destroyed by famine; the second will be the sword, by which the nobles will kill each other; in the third, the earth will open and swallow up the townspeople; and in the fourth, fire will come down upon the prelates of the Church, who are members of Antichrist. For, he said, the pope was Antichrist, Rome was

⁸⁴Guillaume le Breton, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," in Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), pp. 230-231.

⁸⁵Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (London: Secker and Warburg, 1957), pp. 158-160; and "Contra Amaurians" as cited in Russell, ed., Religious Dissent in the Middle Ages, pp. 83-84.

⁸⁶There were also many clergymen involved with the Cathars; Nelli, op. cit., p. 171.

⁸⁷Guillaume le Breton, op. cit., pp. 231-233.

⁸⁸Ibid.; and Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., p. 136.

⁸⁹Cohn, op. cit., pp. 158-160; and "Contra Amaurians," pp. 83-84.

Babylon; the pope himself reigns upon Mount Olivet, that is, in the grossness of power.⁹⁰

After having been condemned by both the archbishop of Soissons and the bishop of Paris, the Amalricians were then burned at the stake by the order of Philip II,⁹¹ although a few members of the sect continued to exist until the early years of the reign of Louis VIII.⁹²

The year 1260, the year of the great Joachite expectations, gave birth to two new lay apocalyptic groups, both in Italy: the Order of the Sack begun by Raymond Attanulfi and the Apostolic Brethren begun by Gerard Segarelli. Both Attanulfi and Segarelli had at one time attempted to gain membership in the Franciscan Order but had been rejected because of illiteracy.⁹³ Nevertheless, they formed groups very similar to that of the Franciscans; the brethren of the two new lay orders went about Northern Italy preaching, hearing confessions, and begging for a living.⁹⁴ Despite their popularity among the laity--especially among the simple rustics, according to Salimbene, who resented their encroachment upon what he considered Franciscan territory⁹⁵--Gregory X annulled the two lay orders on the grounds that

⁹⁰Wakefield and Evans, op. cit., p. 260.

⁹¹Guillaume le Breton, op. cit., pp. 231-233.

⁹²Cohn, op. cit., pp. 158-160; and "Contra Amaurians," pp. 83-84.

⁹³Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 255-256.

⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 255-257.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 258. Similar opinions as to the simplicity of Segarelli's followers were made by Bernard Guy and in the history of Dolcino; Anonimo Sincrono, "Historia Fratris Dolcini Heresiarche," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, IX, Part 5, p. 4; and Bernardo Gui, "De secta illorum qui se dicunt esse de ordine Apostolorum," Rerum Italicarum

too many mendicants would overly burden the public.⁹⁶ While the Brethren of the Sack quietly complied with the papal directive,⁹⁷ the so-called Apostles made no effort to disband.⁹⁸ Claiming to live as the original apostles according to the Scriptures and to be in a state of salvation,⁹⁹ the Apostolic Brethren continued to go about through Lombardy and to preach to the people.¹⁰⁰ Gerard Segarelli was quite popular by himself, reportedly performed many miracles,¹⁰¹ and even had himself entertained at the episcopal palace at Parma, although the bishop, a nephew of Innocent IV named Opigo, openly ridiculed Segarelli as a fool.¹⁰² Indeed, up until the year 1285 Segarelli and his followers seemed to be tolerated as harmless, if somewhat annoying rustics.¹⁰³ In that year, however, Honorius IV condemned the Apostles by name, accused them of 'heretical depravity', and ordered that they be abolished for 'seducing the simple with their false image of sanctity'.¹⁰⁴ In the following year Opigo expelled

Scriptores, IX, Part 5, p. 17. In their bulls condemning the Apostles both Honorius IV and Nicholas IV also stated that the Apostles appealed primarily to the simple; Bernardo Gui, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

⁹⁶ Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 255 and 268.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 268. ⁹⁸ Ibid. ⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 563.

¹⁰⁰ Marjorie Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 242.

¹⁰¹ "Acta Sancti Officii Bononie," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, IX, Part 5, p. 57.

¹⁰² Salimbene, op. cit., p. 265.

¹⁰³ Henry Bett, Joachim of Flora (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1931), p. 148.

¹⁰⁴ Bernardo Gui, op. cit., p. 18.

Gerard and the Apostles from Parma for being 'vile ribalds' and deceiving the people.¹⁰⁵ The papal condemnation of the Apostles was repeated in 1290 by Nicholas IV.¹⁰⁶ When Segarelli returned to Parma in 1294, he was immediately arrested and thrown into prison by the Inquisition.¹⁰⁷ Finally, following a recantation of his errors, Segarelli was burned at the stake in Parma on July 18, 1300.¹⁰⁸

The burning of Segarelli followed by the take over of the order by Dolcino of Novara brought a new phase to the teachings of the Apostolic Brethren. Although there had been definite undertones of anti-establishment ideas from the order's inception, these became the dominant element under Dolcino's leadership. In August of 1300 Dolcino wrote the first of three epistles in which he told the mission of the Apostles and the future of the Church. Claiming that his congregation was a spiritual order 'chosen and sent by God, especially for the salvation of souls' and that he himself was particularly chosen by God to reveal the present and future through his perfect knowledge of the prophecies and writings of the Old and New Testaments, Dolcino denied that the Brethren owed obedience to any outside authority and called for the extermination of their adversaries which included both secular and ecclesiastical rulers. Dolcino then proceeded to divide the world's history into four ages, or status: During the first status, the age of the Old Testament, the patriarchs, prophets, and other good men lived in a state of justice and practiced matrimony for the propagation of

¹⁰⁵ Salimbene, op. cit., p. 620.

¹⁰⁶ Bernardo Gui, op. cit., p. 19.

¹⁰⁷ Bett, op. cit., p. 150.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

the human race. The second status began with the advent of Christ and his disciples who came to correct the errors into which the first age had fallen. This age was marked by the performance of miracles and by the practice of poverty, chastity, and humility. With the decline of the second age came the status initiated by St. Sylvester and the emperor Constantine. During this age poverty and humility were abandoned, since it was judged better to own possessions and govern in order to maintain the people in the faith. Stricter rules concerning the ownership of property were later enacted first by St. Benedict and then by SS . Dominic and Francis. The fourth status was begun by Segarelli and his followers who were instituted to restore the primitive apostolic life by a complete renunciation of all goods and property. Dolcino then predicted that a new emperor, Frederick of Sicily, would 'exterminate' the pope, cardinals, prelates, clergy, monks, friars, and sisters because they had declined so gravely from their original state of perfection. After the extermination of Boniface VIII and the cardinals a new angelic pope would be sent by God. Reviling Boniface for causing so much war among Christians, Dolcino said the new pope would liberate men to live in peace under the grace of the Holy Spirit as had done the apostles in the primitive church. This last age was to last until the coming of Antichrist and the end of the world.¹⁰⁹ A second and similar epistle was written by Dolcino in December 1303 and foretold of four last popes, two good and two bad. The first of these popes was Celestine V, who was the first good pope since St. Sylvester and whose abdication was foretold in Isaiah 21: 1. The next pope,

¹⁰⁹ Bernardo Gui, op. cit., pp. 19-22.

Boniface VIII, who was severely criticized for supporting Charles II of Sicily against Frederick, likewise had his downfall foretold in Isaiah 21: 7. Boniface was to be followed by an unnamed bad pope who would be destroyed by Frederick, the ascending lion described in Jeremiah 49:19. The last angelic pope was foretold in Isaiah and was to be elected by God to lead the spirituals under the grace of the Holy Spirit.¹¹⁰

Although the Apostolic Brethren probably numbered no more than 1400 followers, if that many,¹¹¹ the writings of Dolcino were important because of their display of extreme anti-papal sentiment. While Dolcino showed anger at most of the authority figures in Italian society,¹¹² he concentrated most of his hostility on the papacy whose actual power he greatly over-estimated. The reign of peace under the guidance of the Holy Spirit could only come about when the angelic pope would sit upon the papal throne;¹¹³ in other words, what Dolcino seemed to feel was that the world would be good once the papacy was pure and that the present evils in the world were largely caused by a corrupt papacy. Moreover, after paying a respectful tribute to the reforms initiated by St. Francis and St. Dominic,¹¹⁴ Dolcino made it clear that

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 22-23. The last few years of Dolcino's life were spent as a renegade in the mountains until his capture and burning as a heretic in 1308; Anonimo Sincrono, op. cit., pp. 9-12.

¹¹¹ Anonimo Sincrono, op. cit., p. 4.

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 8-9. This work puts much more emphasis on the anti-authoritarian overtones of Dolcino's teachings than does Bernard Guy.

¹¹³ Bernardo Gui, op. cit., pp. 19-21.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 20.

such reforms were no longer fruitful and that new changes for the better could only be achieved by violence, such as the extermination of existing secular and ecclesiastical leaders, and by the direct intervention of God, who would send an angelic pope to convert the world to Christ and to allow men to live in peace. Such a solution to the world's problems demonstrated not only deep frustration but also total disbelief in the ability of existing institutions, such as the papacy, to bring about any meaningful reforms in themselves or in others. According to Dolcino, Celestine V, the only good pope since Sylvester, had had no choice but to resign, since the whole papal structure was at that time too corrupt to house such a holy man.¹¹⁵ Unlike the attacks made upon Boniface by Philip IV and many of the Spiritual Franciscans, Dolcino did not restrict his attack to this one pope but regarded Boniface's so-called wrongdoings as proof of the complete corruption of the Holy See. Such an institution could demand no obedience; its excommunications and other decrees were worthless.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, Dolcino never seemed to doubt the validity of the papal institution as an institution; however, his conception of what that institution should be and do differed radically from what he perceived to be the actions and character of the existing papacy. Dolcino wanted a simple, spiritual church and papacy; the papal institution he saw was huge, complex, and worldly.

Beyond such groups as the Apostolic Brethren which often ended in heresy there were numerous sporadic religious movements

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

¹¹⁶ Anonimo Sincrono, op. cit., pp. 7-9.

throughout the century which espoused only short-term goals, lacked any solid organization, and only momentarily captured the popular imagination. These movements were particularly prevalent in areas, such as the Empire, where the unstable political situation and almost continuous warfare probably helped to stimulate sudden outbursts of religious conversions among the laity.

Penitential movements were one of the dominant forms of religious expression in Italy. The Great Hallelujah of 1233, which Salimbene described as 'a time of quiet and peace',¹¹⁷ was apparently initiated by the preaching of a few Dominican friars in different parts of northern and central Italy, where the cities put aside their fierce rivalries at least temporarily in a great display of Christian brotherhood. A certain Friar Benedict, 'a simple and illiterate man of both innocent goodness and honest life,' came to preach in Parma and later in Pisa and was greeted by the people as 'another John the Baptist who preceded the Lord'.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, in the March of Treviso another friar named John caused great excitement among the people by preaching the peace of Christ and His apostles and even succeeded in getting himself elected as the count and duke of Vicenza.¹¹⁹ John's success was, however, very short-lived. One chronicler succinctly described the preacher's great popularity and sudden decline:

Brother John from the Order of Preachers was held in so much reverence by the men of the March and even of Lombardy that at

¹¹⁷Salimbene, op. cit., p. 70. ¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 71.

¹¹⁹"Cronaca di Antonio Godi," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VIII, Part 2, p. 10.

his coming the people of Padua, Verona, Brescia, and Mantua with their carroccios and a great multitude of other citizens came together in the compagna of Verona. And there on the day of St. Augustine [August 28] he authoritatively promulgated decrees to all the people.... But soon his power expired; within about a month whatever he had ordained was reduced to nothing.¹²⁰

Although the Hallelujah probably ended in more than a little disillusionment,¹²¹ it had momentarily captured and awakened deep religious sensitivities in the people who seemed to have been filled with a feeling of expectation of better things to come. At the same time, rather than attacking church authorities, as had done the heretical groups, the movement had largely ignored the ecclesiastical structure and had focused its hopes on an individual rejuvenation of the human soul.¹²² None of those recording the event mentioned any participation whatsoever by the papacy.

The Italian flagellant movement of 1260 occurred at a time 'when the whole of Italy was being inundated by many base crimes and wickedness,'¹²³ and followed a year of severe famine in the peninsula.¹²⁴ Although the movement was partially caused by

¹²⁰"Chronicon Marchiae Trivisinae et Lombardiae, 1207-1270," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VIII, Part 3, p. 10.

¹²¹Antonio Godi reported that the overthrow of John caused the people to lose faith in the Preacher who 'proceeded not from God but from man'; "Cronaca di Antonio Godi," p. 11. Only Salimbene, then quite young, showed no disillusionment.

¹²²Marvin B. Becker, "Dante and his Literary Contemporaries as Political Men," Speculum, XLI (October 1966), p. 676. The friars leading the Hallelujah acted independently of the episcopate.

¹²³"Chronicon Marchiae Trivisinae et Lombardiae," p. 44.

¹²⁴Salimbene, op. cit., p. 465.

the Joachite expectations of a coming new age,¹²⁵ its primary motivations seemed to be a real desire for peace and brotherhood. Beginning first in Perugia and then spreading to Rome and the rest of Italy, the movement created great excitement among all classes of society.¹²⁶ Salimbene described the tremendous popular enthusiasm created by the flagellants in the area around Mutina:

... [The] flagellants came through the whole world; and all men, as many small as great, as many noble soldiers as commoners, proceeded nude through the streets beating themselves, proceeded by the bishops and clergy. And they made peace and restored what had been wrongfully taken from others and confessed their sins...; and in their mouths sounded 'the voice of God, not of man', and the voice of them as much as the voice of the multitude; and the men walked in salvation. And they composed divine praises to the honor of God and the Blessed Virgin, which they sang as they went about beating themselves. And on the day of the moon on the feast of All Saints [November 2] all the men of Mutina, as many small as great, and all from the county of Mutina, both the podesta and the bishop with the standards of all the societies, came to Reggio; and they beat themselves through the whole city and went to Parma....¹²⁷

Although local secular and ecclesiastical leaders exerted enough control over the movement to keep it from getting totally out of hand,¹²⁸ the real impetus of the movement came from the people; and the papacy again played no active role. Indeed, one chronicler remarked that the movement was 'not instituted by the highest pontiff... or other preachers or persons of authority... but by the simple... showing that the Holy Spirit inspires and inflames with

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 293. The "Chronicon Marchiae Trapisinae et Lombardiae" made no mention of any Joachite influence.

¹²⁶ "Chronicon Marchiae Trapisinae et Lombardiae," p. 44.

¹²⁷ Salimbene, op. cit., p. 465.

¹²⁸ Cohn, op. cit., pp. 126-129.

the fire of his love whomever he wishes.'¹²⁹

There were numerous other strictly local outbursts of religious piety throughout the century in Italy; and, like the two larger movements, they demonstrated no connection with the papacy. In 1208 all ranks of Paduan society formed into a brotherhood of peace and love and went about reading the Psalms and other Biblical works. This period of 'great peace' was broken up in the next year when Vicenza invaded Padua.¹³⁰ Slightly over two decades later in 1230 another peace movement occurred in Padua under the direction of Antonio, who was hailed as 'the hope, confidence, tutor, refuge, and patron' of the people of that city.¹³¹ In 1239 an eclipse of the sun caused the people of Lucca to parade through the streets behind their podesta and clergy and momentarily to make peace among themselves.¹³² The capture of Padua from Eccelino during the 1250's also produced a great display of popular religious piety with the conquest of Padua being attributed directly to the grace of God rather than human merit.¹³³ In 1279 the cities of Cremona, Parma, and Reggio enthusiastically erected statues of a winemaker named Albert whose body supposedly worked many miracles after his death. This popular canonization was definitely contrary to canon law, but neither the

¹²⁹"Chronicon Marchiae Trivisinae et Lombardiae," p. 45.

¹³⁰Rolandinus Patavini, "Cronica in factis et circa facta Marchie Trivixane," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, VIII, Part 1, p. 23.

¹³¹Ibid., pp. 40 and 43-44.

¹³²Salimbene, op. cit., p. 164.

¹³³"Chronicon Marchiae Trivisinae et Lombardiae," p. 32.

local bishop nor the people sought any official approval from Rome.¹³⁴ While these were only a few of many such incidents, they demonstrated clearly that the pope played no active role in stimulating or controlling expressions of popular religious enthusiasm in Italy. None of these movements showed any anti-papal sentiments; the papacy was simply not involved at all. Only in 1230 when a great flood inundated many parts of Rome was there any show of pro-papal sentiment. Frightened by the natural calamity, the Romans called back and enthusiastically greeted the pope whom they had previously ejected for political reasons.¹³⁵ Even here, however, the papacy was only indirectly involved, since it neither caused nor controlled the events taking place.

While Italian outbreaks of religious piety were generally characterized by a strong desire for peace, such outbreaks in Germany often ended in violence. Attacks upon Jews, the crucifiers of Christ, occurred sporadically throughout the century.¹³⁶ Prelates were also frequently attacked; but such attacks were generally political in nature, representing the desire of the cities to undercut the power of the bishops.¹³⁷ Only the Stedinger peasant movement which pillaged the

¹³⁴ Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, op. cit., p. 165.

¹³⁵ Salimbene, op. cit., p. 502.

¹³⁶ "Richeri Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, pp. 322-323; "Balduini Ninovensis Chronicon," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 546; and "Sifridi Presbyteri de Balhusin Historia Universalis et Compendium Historiarum," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, pp. 702 and 715-716.

¹³⁷ "Richeri Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae," pp. 319 and 341-343; "Aegidii Aureavallensis Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium," Monumenta

churches and convents of Northern Germany from 1230 to 1234 seemed mostly devoid of political motivations.¹³⁸ Nevertheless, while these acts of hostility generally had no direct relationship with the papacy, there were two movements which expressed strong anti-papal feelings. In 1248 during the height of the papal war against the Hohenstaufens a group of preachers appeared in Germany and claimed to have the truth directly from God rather than from the pope or prelates. Denying the right of any man, whether pope or bishop, to keep another from divine service or to put a city under interdict, these new preachers advised the people to desert the depraved pope and place their hopes in Frederick II and his son Conrad. They further claimed that the pope had lost all power to bind and loose because he had failed to lead an apostolic life.¹³⁹ The German flagellant movement of 1260 likewise displayed anti-papal sentiments. Insisting that they could achieve salvation through their own merits, these German flagellants turned against the ecclesiastical authorities and eventually had to be put down by the secular princes working in conjunction with the bishops.¹⁴⁰

Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, pp. 116 and 124; "Balduini Ninovensius Chronicon," p.540; and "Chronici Rhythmici Coloniensis Fragmenta," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 349.

¹³⁸ Fliche et al., op. cit., p. 230.

¹³⁹ Albert von Stade, Die Chronik des Albert von Stade (Leipzig: Verlag der Onkschen Buchhandlung), pp. 106-108; "Chronicon Rhythmicum Austriacum," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXV, p. 363; "Chronici Rhythmici Coloniensis Fragmenta," p. 379; and Cohn, op. cit., p. 105.

¹⁴⁰ Cohn, op. cit., pp. 128-129; and "Sifridi Presbyteri de Balhusin Historia," p. 705.

Persons claiming to be Frederick II appeared in 1262¹⁴¹ and 1284¹⁴² and created a momentary excitement among the populace. The fact that Frederick was often associated in the German mind with the chastisement of the Church¹⁴³ suggested a certain amount of indirect anti-papal sentiment behind this popular enthusiasm.

Spontaneous expressions of popular religious enthusiasm in France were largely centered around the French kings. In 1196 Philip II took over the leadership of a flagellant movement occurring at a time of great floods.¹⁴⁴ Great religious celebrations occurred throughout the kingdom following the king's victory at Bovines.¹⁴⁵ Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, the biographer of St. Louis, cited numerous examples of popular religious devotion in connection with the royal personage.¹⁴⁶ While such pro-king sentiment expressed in religious terms generally had no connection with the papacy, it could, as happened with the

¹⁴¹"Sifridi Presbyteri de Balhusin Historia," p. 706.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 710; Cohn, op. cit., pp. 108-109; Salimbene, op. cit., p. 537; and "Alberti Milioli notarii Regni Liber de temporibus et aestatibus et cronica imperatorum," Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXXI, p. 569.

¹⁴³Marjorie Reeves, "Joachimist Influences on the Idea of a Last World Emperor," Irenicon, XVII (1961), pp. 327 and 337. This association of Frederick II with the chastisement of the Church is demonstrated in several chronicles of the period: Albert von Stade, op. cit., pp. 83-85; "Chronicon Rhythmicum Austriacum," p. 361; "Chronici Rhythmici Coloniensis Fragmenta," p. 375; and "Balduini Ninovensis Chronicon," p. 543.

¹⁴⁴Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), p. 134.

¹⁴⁵"Richeri Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae," p. 294.

¹⁴⁶Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, Les Miracles de Saint Louis, ed. par Percival B. Fay (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931). Also see Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., p. 239.

Amalrician heretics, be turned against the pope. Such an incident of popular support for the king being turned against Rome occurred in the spring of 1251, when the Pastoureaux began spreading throughout France. Led by the eloquent Jacob, "Master of Hungary," and claiming to have received direct revelations from God, the original band of shepherds were soon joined by many of the urban classes.¹⁴⁷ Even the Queen Mother Blanche of Castile gave them support in the hope that they could fulfill their avowed purpose of freeing Louis IX from his Moslem captors in Egypt.¹⁴⁸ Despite its original good intentions, the movement quickly began to show signs of extreme anti-clericalism.¹⁴⁹ While all members of the clergy were denounced, particular antagonism was vented against the mendicants who were called hypocrites and vagabonds and who were held responsible for having preached the king's disastrous crusade¹⁵⁰ and against the Roman curia which was labelled the font of all the corruption.¹⁵¹ After murdering a number of priests and Jews, the group was finally outlawed by the Queen Mother who found their excesses beyond royal control.¹⁵² The movement rapidly deteriorated after the

¹⁴⁷ Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 444-445.

¹⁴⁸ Lagarde, op. cit., I, p. 202.

¹⁴⁹ Guillaume de Nangis, op. cit., pp. 207-208. The Cottareaux who formed together against the enemies of God in 1183 likewise turned against the clergy; Rigord, op. cit., p. 36.

¹⁵⁰ Salimbene, op. cit., pp. 444-445.

¹⁵¹ G. G. Coulton, From St. Francis to Dante (New York: Russell and Russell, 1907), p. 187; and Matthew Paris, English History, trans. by J. A. Giles (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852), vol. II, p. 441.

¹⁵² Cohn, op. cit., pp. 82-87; The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301, trans. by Antonia Gransden (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1964), pp. 17-18; and Robert E. Lerner, "The Uses of

ban; and the remaining Pastoureaux leaders were hung by local officials.¹⁵³ The ease with which popular affection for the king could be used against the papacy was again demonstrated during Philip IV's quarrel with Boniface VIII, when the French people strongly adhered to the king's appeal for a general council.¹⁵⁴ This later support, however, was strictly a political matter and demonstrated the populace's non-acceptance of the papacy's temporal power.

Unlike the French, the English people were often either indifferent or in league with the nobles and prelates against their kings and indirectly against the papacy which usually supported the monarchy.¹⁵⁵ However, such antagonism against the popes was primarily political in character and could not be regarded as expressions of religious sentiment.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, outside of a few attacks on Jews¹⁵⁷ England seemed almost totally devoid of such spontaneous popular

Heterodoxy: The French Monarchy and Unbelief in the Thirteenth Century," French Historical Studies, IV (Fall 1965), pp. 198-201.

¹⁵³"Richeri Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae," pp. 310-311.

¹⁵⁴Pierre Dupuy, Histoire du Differend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel Roy de France (Tuscon: Audax Press, 1963), p. 19.

¹⁵⁵T. F. Tout, The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III, 1216-1377, vol. III of The Political History of England, ed. by William Hunt and Reginald L. Pool (8 vols.; London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1920), p. 1. This does not mean that there were no popular expressions of religious piety shown the king in England, but such expressions never reached the exaggerated proportions they did in France during the thirteenth century.

¹⁵⁶An example of such politically oriented groups was the formation of secret lay societies during the 1230's to rid local churches of Roman benefice holders; Roger of Wendover, Flowers of History, trans. by J. A. Giles (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1849), pp. 551-552.

¹⁵⁷Matthew Paris, op. cit., I, p. 49.

outbursts which occurred in other parts of Europe.¹⁵⁸ However, if England failed to have great popular movements, it did have a strong cult of popular heroes,¹⁵⁹ such as Thomas Becket, Robert Grosseteste, and Simon de Montfort, all of whom were noted for their defense of the integrity of the English Church and nation.¹⁶⁰ The English attitude towards these heroes was closely connected with the English attitude towards the papacy. If the papacy supported the local saint, as in the case of the twelfth-century archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, whose relics were translated by Honorius III in 1220, it was highly praised and its power approved.¹⁶¹ However, if the papacy was not on good terms with these heroes, it was criticized or ignored. Indeed, Robert Grosseteste, who generally supported the papal plenitude of power, was mainly revered because of his attack on papal abuses and was regarded as a defender of the English Church against the evil intentions of the pope and king. Matthew Paris even went so far as to claim that

¹⁵⁸ There were two probable explanations for this general lack of popular movements in England: 1) the strong leadership exerted by the English nobles and prelates and 2) the predominantly rural character of England.

¹⁵⁹ Cults of local saints were typical of the thirteenth century, especially in Italy; Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 40. However, the Italian cult of saints was mainly a local affair and reflected the Italians' primary loyalty to their own city-states rather than to a larger political unit. The English cult of popular saints can best be compared to popular devotion to the crown in France.

¹⁶⁰ All of these heroes were men of action and contrasted greatly with Germany's most popular thirteenth-century saint, Elizabeth of Thuringia, who abandoned the political arena to spend a simple, holy life in prayer and in helping the poor.

¹⁶¹ Robert of Gloucester, The Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Becket, ed. by William Henry Black (London: T. Richards, 1845), pp. 12, 30, 32, 56, 64, and 124.

Innocent IV's death was caused by his opposition to Grosseteste.¹⁶²

Another popular hero was Simon de Montfort, the leader of the barons in the war against Henry III.¹⁶³ Despite the facts that he was posthumously excommunicated by the papal legate Ottobono and that the pope had steadily supported the king against the barons, many in England totally ignored the papal disapproval, continued to see de Montfort as the defender of English freedom, and claimed that miracles were performed by his body.¹⁶⁴

While the heretical groups and the popular movements represented certain facets of the papacy's relationship with the laity, perhaps the best description of the orthodox layman's attitude towards the papacy was presented by Dante in his Divine Comedy.¹⁶⁵ Although written during the first quarter of the next century, this work embodied much of the religious aspiration and disillusionment experienced by the laity at the end of the thirteenth century, if not for the whole preceding period. Its characters were primarily those of Dante's youth; and the story itself was set in the year 1300. While Dante belonged in sentiment with the church reformers and never

¹⁶² Matthew Paris, op. cit., III, p. 100.

¹⁶³ C. H. Knowles, Simon de Montfort, 1265-1265 (London: The Historical Association, General Series, no. 60, 1965), p. 6; and The Chronicle of William de Rishanger of the Barons' War with the Miracles of Simon de Montfort, ed. by James O. Halliwell (London: Camden Society, 1868), pp. 67-110.

¹⁶⁴ "Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle," in The Church Historians of England, trans. by Joseph Stevenson (London: Seelys, 1858), vol. V, Part 1, p. 375; and The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, pp. 30-33.

¹⁶⁵ Kenelm Foster, O.P., "The Canto of the Damned Popes: Inferno xix," Dante Studies, LXXXVII (1969), p. 47.

advocated the complete destruction of the established ecclesiastical institution, he nevertheless echoed the complaints of such heretical groups as the Waldensians and Spiritual Franciscans against church abuses.¹⁶⁶ At the same time, while insisting upon the necessity of the Church and its sacraments,¹⁶⁷ he put great emphasis on the experience and will of the individual: it was Beatrice who was the guiding force behind Dante's salvation.

Undoubtedly blaming the political machinations of Boniface VIII for his forced exile from Florence,¹⁶⁸ Dante made numerous attacks upon the papacy's greed for wealth and power.¹⁶⁹ On his trip through Hell he acknowledged the presence of 'both popes and cardinals' in the circle of the avaricious,¹⁷⁰ while Nicholas III was made to forecast

¹⁶⁶Leff, "The Apostolic Ideal in Later Medieval Ecclesiology," p. 69. Dante differed in one important aspect from most of the heretics: he never rejected secular power. Indeed, much of the Divine Comedy was devoted to his own political views and was therefore more closely akin to the thought of imperial politicians than to that of the average layman. For this reason it has been largely omitted here.

¹⁶⁷Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, vol. II: Purgatorio, trans. by John D. Sinclair (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), canto iii.

¹⁶⁸Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, vol. III: Paradiso, trans. by John D. Sinclair (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), canto xvii; and Robert F. Murphy, "Dante and Politics," History Today, XX (July 1970), p. 483.

¹⁶⁹The wolf, the medieval symbol of covetousness and greed, was often used by Dante most probably as a reference to the papacy. Also, like Dolcino, Dante seemed to view Boniface's activities as symptomatic of a general overall corruption in the whole papal office.

¹⁷⁰Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy, vol. I: Inferno, trans. by John D. Sinclair (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), canto vii.

the presence of Boniface among the greedy simonists.¹⁷¹ In this canto of the damned popes Dante pointed out dramatically the perversion and distortion of the existing papal institutions: Nicholas was thrust upside down in molten rock--a great contrast to the rock on which Christ had founded His church.¹⁷² Even the pagan Virgil was made to show his contempt and scorn for Nicholas, thus denoting that the papal betrayal of Christ was "an offense to human reason and conscience".¹⁷³ Later, in the Paradiso Dante again referred to Rome as 'the place where Christ is bought and sold all day',¹⁷⁴ and to the Church as 'the good plant that was once a vine and is now become a thorn'.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, Dante insisted upon the greatness and sanctity of the office of the Holy See throughout the whole of his work¹⁷⁶ and acknowledged the great burden it inflicted upon its holder.¹⁷⁷ This mixture of great respect for the office of the papacy and of complete disgust with its recent occupants was best put forward in the Paradiso where Dante had Peter, the first pope, speak of the evils which had befallen the holy office:

. . . 'Se io mi trascoloro
non to maravigliar; che, dicend'io,
vedrai transcolorar tutti costoro.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., canto xix.

¹⁷² Foster, op. cit., pp. 54 and 60.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁷⁴ Paradiso, canto xvii.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., canto xxiv.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., canto viii.

¹⁷⁷ Dante had Adrian V say, "A month and little more I proved how the great mantle weighs on him that keeps it from the mire, so that all other burdens seem a feather." Purgatorio, canto xxi.

Quelli ch'usurpa in terra il luogo mio,
 il luogo mio, il luogo mio, che vaca
 nella presenza del Figliuol di Dio,
 fatt' ha del cimiterio mio cloaca
 del sangue e della puzza; onde 'l perverso
 che cadde di qua su, la giu si placa.'

. . .

'Non fu la sposa di Cristo allevata
 del sangue mio, di Lin, di quel di Cleto,
 per essere ad acquisto d'oro usata;
 ma, per acquisto d'esto viver lieto,
 e Sisto e Pio e Calisto e Urbano
 sparser lo sangue dopo molto fleto.
 Non fu nostra intenzion ch'a destra mano
 de' nostri successor parte sedesse,
 parte dall'altra del popol cristiano;
 ne che le chiavi che mi fuor concesse
 divenisser signaculo in vessillo
 che contra battezzati combattesse;
 ne ch' io fossi figura di sigillo
 a privilegi venduti e mendaci,
 ond' io sovente arrosso e disfavillo.
 In vestra di pastor lupi rapaci
 si veggion di qua su per tutti i paschi:
 o difesa di Dio, perche pur giaci?
 Del sangue nostro Caorsini e Guaschi
 s'apparecchian di bere: o buon principig,
 a che vil fine convien che tu caschi!

In this brilliant passage Dante voiced two of the most common complaints

¹⁷⁸ Paradiso, canto xxvii. Translation [by Sinclair]: "If I change colour do not marvel, for while I speak thou shalt see the colour change in all of these. He that usurps on earth my place, my place, my place, which in the sight of the Son of God is empty, had made of my tomb a sewer of blood and filth, so that the apostate who fell from here above takes comfort there below.' ... 'The bride of Christ was not nutured with my blood and that of Linus and of Clitus to be used for the gain of gold; but for the gain of this happy life Sixtus and Pius and Calixtus and Urban shed their blood after many tears. It was not our meaning that on the right hand of our successors should sit one part of Christ's people and the other on the left; nor that the keys which were committed to me should become the device on a standard for warfare on the baptized; nor that I should be the seal for sold and lying favours, for which I often redden and flash with fire. Ravening wolves in shepherds' clothing are seen from here above through all the pastures. O God of our defence, why sleepest Thou still? Cahorsines and Gascons prepare to drink our blood. O fair beginning, to what base end art thou to fall?..." It is difficult to determine from this passage if Dante is referring to Boniface being an illegitimate pope or the overall corruption of the papacy when he says the papal throne is vacant.

against the thirteenth-century papacy: its uncontrolled greed and its subsequent use of warfare against its Christian enemies to maintain its wealth and power. Here, also, Dante emphasized the difference between the lives of the primitive churchmen and the worldly lives of the popes and prelates of his own age.¹⁷⁹ Unless this process, begun by the Donation of Constantine, could be reversed and the Church returned to its original spiritual duties, Dante argued that there could be no peace for Christendom.¹⁸⁰

Another frequent criticism of Dante against the papacy was its mismanagement and abuse of the crusades--another facet of the papacy's overall greed for wealth and power. Unlike various Joachite groups as well as the Waldensians and Cathars, Dante had not lost faith in the crusading ideal itself but instead attacked the popes for their failure to launch another great expedition to the Holy Land and for their diversion of crusades so that they were directed against fellow Christians rather than against infidels.¹⁸¹ Here again, Dante indicated that the papacy was paying too much attention to politics instead of fulfilling its spiritual functions.

While Dante was quite precise in his denunciation of

¹⁷⁹Leff, "The Apostolic Ideal in Later Medieval Ecclesiology," p. 69.

¹⁸⁰Foster, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

¹⁸¹Paradiso, cantos ix, xv, and xxvii; and Inferno, canto xxvii. How well Dante represented popular opinion on this issue is unknowable. Probably both the abuse of crusades and a growing disbelief in their validity contributed to the decline of crusading fervor. The continued failure of so many crusades was probably a major cause of this decline. That Dante himself had mixed feelings towards the Moslems is offered by the fact that he put Saladin, Averroes, and Avicenna among the noble pagans whose only fault was being non-Christian; Inferno, canto iv.

particular papal offenses and in his description of the greatness of the papal office, he nevertheless was rather vague about what he wanted from the popes except in the matter of crusades. By including almost all facets of human existence within the Divine Comedy, he seemed to be accepting the papal view that all elements in the life of this world were related either directly or indirectly to the spiritual realm.¹⁸² What he seemed to reject was the idea that the papacy had control over all the world's activities. If by assigning control over the political sphere to the secular princes,¹⁸³ he was following the call of kings and emperors alike for the papacy to stay out of politics, by attacking ecclesiastical wealth, he seemed to be echoing the call of reformers and heretics for a purer, poorer, and more simple church. Indeed, while heaping great praise upon St. Francis of Assisi,¹⁸⁴ he asserted that it was Francis that kept 'Peter's bark on the right course',¹⁸⁵ thus suggesting that Franciscan ideals were to guide the papacy rather than the papacy to guide the Franciscans. In such a framework the papacy was relegated into doing little more than calling for crusades, providing a good example, and safeguarding the sacraments, a duty of all the Church.

Two factors became increasingly evident about the papacy's relations with the laity during the thirteenth century. On the one hand, the popes created little or no stimulus for religious enthusiasm among the laity; whatever enthusiasm there was generally sprang from

¹⁸² Murphy, op. cit., p. 484.

¹⁸³ Paradiso, cantos xviii, xix, and xx.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., canto xi.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

the people themselves, as exemplified by the Italian movements, or from local leaders, as in the cases of France and England. On the other hand, papal attempts to lead existing enthusiasm into orthodox channels usually ended in failure (with the notable exception of the early Franciscans) and often provoked hostility with its methods being regarded as oppressive. Moreover, the heresies of the period¹⁸⁶ were often rooted in social discontent;¹⁸⁷ that is, they were aimed at changing the social system, a system in which the papacy played a vital role, rather than at posing doctrinal differences, differences which often appeared as a result of changing social concepts as well as new ideas. Indeed, the great amount of criticism directed against the papacy during the period, whether uttered by an orthodox Christian such as Dante or by a heretic, was closely linked to a general dissatisfaction with the whole social structure. From almost all sides came up the cry for a more spiritual church under a truly religious leadership. Rather than a great bureaucracy partaking in the world's wealth and power, laymen exhibited an almost constant desire to see a return to such virtues as simplicity, personal piety, poverty, and brotherhood.¹⁸⁸ Whether this desire sprang from a too rapidly growing social system or from true religious sentiment, it was evident that the papacy too often failed to provide an outlet for these feelings and even indirectly

¹⁸⁶At least the ones discussed here. The intellectual heresies at the University of Paris and elsewhere have been ignored here.

¹⁸⁷Evenot, "The Inquisition and its Antecedents, II," p. 384.

¹⁸⁸The original purpose of the Waldensians was to simplify the Church; Luchaire, La croisade Albigeoise, p. 10.

encouraged a great amount of hostility to be aimed against its office. Undoubtedly, the laity could feel little identity with such a grandiose institution as the popes envisioned but looked for the salvation of the world through some simple, pious soul. Nevertheless, despite this criticism coming from almost all directions few outside of the Cathars and the more radical Waldensians wanted to do away with the papal institution. Indeed, the Jubilee of 1300 saw 'an innumerable multitude of people' from all Europe coming to Rome to view the relics of Peter and Paul.¹⁸⁹ While there were many calls to reform the papacy, there were few demands to destroy it.

¹⁸⁹"Platynae Historici: Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum," Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, III, Part 1, p. 260; and "Sifridi Presbyteri de Balnhusin Historia Universalis et Compendium Historiarum," p. 715.

C O N C L U S I O N

The conclusions of this work tend to agree with Luchaire's assessment that the pontificate of Innocent III did not mark any great period of papal power extending over the whole of European society. Furthermore, it has shown that the thirteenth-century papacy as a whole never exerted the power over Europe which its doctrines of papal supremacy proclaimed so loudly. Indeed, the papal ideal of its plenitude of power discussed in Chapter One can generally be relegated to the realm of papal aspiration rather than historical actuality. The real power of the papacy simply did not exist to such an extent.

The most glaring proof of the papacy's inability to demand obedience was offered in the political arena. On the one hand none of the secular rulers wanted to abolish the papacy. Even in the fiercest disputes between popes and princes there was no widespread cry to destroy the institution. It was not until the final years of his great struggle with the papacy that Frederick II proposed a plan that would radically alter the structure of the existing church by removing it totally from a position of political and economic power. Moreover, his aim was reform, not destruction. Later, Philip the Fair was to launch his attack against the Church strictly on the personal unworthiness of Boniface VIII.

If the secular princes never wanted to destroy the papal institution, they refused on the other hand to accept papal pretensions

in the political realm. King John of England successfully defied a papal excommunication and interdict until a coalition of angry barons threatened rebellion. Later, when the pope changed to support the king, the English barons and prelates rebelled against the royal-papal alliance and denounced the pope for jeopardizing the independence of the English Church. Louis VIII's conquest of England was not stopped by the sentence of excommunication but by the disintegration of English support after the death of John. As for the papal war against the Hohenstaufens, it often appeared less as a war between church and state as one between the Empire and the rising city-states of Northern and Central Italy which had been trying to gain independence since the twelfth century. The majority of soldiers fighting for the "papal cause" were either from these cities or paid mercenaries. Moreover, the so-called papal victory failed to bring about a general recognition of the papacy's secular claims. Also, while imperial power quickly eroded after Frederick II's death, there was no corresponding rise of papal power. Both Germany and Italy again disintegrated into arenas of petty, internal fighting over which the papacy had no control; and imperialists such as Dante blamed the papacy for all the unrest and longed for a period of peace under a strong emperor. The establishment of the papally sponsored Charles of Anjou in Sicily was likewise only achieved by hard military victories. Once established, Charles showed no inclination to reign according to papal directives and even interfered in Roman affairs to advance his own ambitions. Meanwhile, the French kings followed paths irrespective of any papal approval or disapproval. However, it was not until the last years of Boniface VIII's pontificate that the papacy actually pushed hard its claims in France.

Had earlier popes asserted their power, they, too, would have been rebuffed.

While none of the secular rulers showed any tendency to obey blindly the papacy, they often did seek papal approval for various activities to support their cause. However, papal disapproval was always ignored or denounced. The English barons appealed to the pope to support their cause against the king; but, when the papacy quashed Magna Carta and later the Provisions of Oxford, they ignored the papal sentence and accused the popes of treachery and greed. At the same time the thirteenth-century ruler who most sought papal approval was none other than Frederick II, who needed papal approval to support his imperial claims over Italy. However, the Lombards ignored any papal support given to Frederick. Later, when the papacy openly supported the Lombards, the emperor attacked the papacy for interfering in secular affairs. During the long imperial interregnum after Frederick II's death a few Germans denounced the papacy for not taking any decisive action, while the Italian Salimbene partially blamed Gregory X's death on his efforts to promote a new emperor. In light of such facts the papacy seemed more the pawn than the arbiter of European politics. Since the secular powers often did appeal to the papacy for moral support, the popes would probably have been denounced for neglecting their moral responsibilities had they chosen to completely abandon political affairs. As it was, they were periodically denounced for meddling.

While the papacy's ability to exercise power in the secular sphere was often more theoretical than actual, even its theories for such action were under attack. The expansion of imperial and Aristotelian ideas concerning the independent origin and function of

the state by such men as Thomas Aquinas, Jean of Paris, and Dante greatly undercut the concept of the pope alone having direct divine origin and power. Although Aquinas did insist that Christian rulers were under the pope, other theorists of the secular state, notably Jean of Paris, believed that such rulers, as Christians, had certain duties in regard to the Church in addition to their purely secular functions. The real emphasis of thirteenth-century thought was not so much upon the separation of church and state as upon the enlarged religious significance of the secular ruler-- a significance which ultimately detracted from papal power. Indeed, in church-state disputes successful temporal rulers often appealed to their religious duties. Frederick II, who compared his birthplace to a second Bethlehem, said it was his duty as a Christian emperor to reform the papacy. Louis IX defended his rights over the French Church with the assertion that it was his duty as a Christian king to defend the churches within his realm from abuses, even abuses committed by the papacy. Philip IV argued that it was his duty as a Christian monarch to aid in the deposition of an heretical pope.

Papal control within the church structure fared somewhat better; but here, too, there were many problems. Churchmen showed a steady antagonism against papal encroachments in the financial realm; they gave only half-hearted support to papal reform schemes, especially when such schemes threatened their own rights and privileges. Although the clergy frequently did appeal to the papacy to settle legal disputes, they were even more frequently disillusioned with papal justice. Also, while there was a definite growth of national loyalty among the churchmen, the inability of the papacy to defend adequately local

churches against expanding civil powers (townsmen, nobles, and monarchs) forced the prelates to seek attachments to friendly secular authorities so that their loyalty to the Church was more or less divided with their loyalty to the state.

While the papacy exerted much less power during the thirteenth century than its doctrines of supremacy proclaimed, a much more serious problem was the erosion of its spiritual prestige, particularly among the laity. At no time in the century did the papacy provide any dramatic religious inspiration to the public at large. Indeed, such inspiration was usually generated on the local level and never reached the papacy. Likewise, with the exception of the foundation of the Franciscan Order the various popes generally failed to provide orthodox outlets for existing religious enthusiasm. Although outbreaks of religious movements only occasionally ended in heresy, the absence of any papal leadership in these movements increased the already growing distance between Rome and the people.

Papal efforts to curb heretical expressions of religious piety also provoked considerable hostility. Although Europeans generally disapproved of heresy, they also disliked the strong-arm tactics used in the Albigensian Crusade and the Inquisition and even showed a certain sympathy with the more ascetic heretical groups. While many did not equate the Inquisitors with the papacy, the Provençal troubadours did. Accusing the papacy of neglecting its spiritual duties in order to persecute innocent Christians, troubadours such as Figueira called Rome the birthplace of all evil. Meanwhile, the heretics used their persecution as proof of their sanctity-- had not Christ Himself been crucified?-- and to deepen their attacks upon the

Roman hierarchy.

While the heresies discussed in this work were generally rooted in protests against ecclesiastical and to a certain extent secular abuses, they not only denied the legitimacy of the Roman Church but also generally negated the very concepts behind the papal reform schemes which called for human effort working with divine aid through the Church to correct abuses. The Waldensians, whose ideas most closely paralleled those of the papacy, did accept the idea of reform but rejected the idea that the corrupt Roman hierarchy could accomplish the needed changes. The Cathars, who believed that everything connected with the physical world was evil, undermined the whole concept of reform by insisting that a complete renunciation of the world provided the only path to salvation. By the end of the century the apocalyptic heresies, such as the Apostolic Brethren and the Spiritual Franciscans, gained prominence and further negated the concept of papal reform. Often believing the papacy to be the root of all the corruption in the Church, these heretics called for the rejuvenation of the world through direct intervention by God.

The one area where the papacy really did try to promote enthusiasm was with its crusade projects to the Holy Land. Unfortunately, its efforts largely met with failure. The kings and clergy were too involved in their own affairs to want to partake in an overseas venture. Also, while part of the blame for this failure of crusade plans probably rested with the papacy's diversion of crusade funds to fight the Albigensians, Frederick II, and finally Peter of Aragon-- faults which many Europeans, both clerical and lay, loudly denounced--, the failure of actual crusades to the Holy Land probably

generated more than its share of disillusionment with the whole crusading ideal. Also, while the papacy was unable to exert effective control over those crusades which did take place, it was often blamed for their failure, especially after 1250. This criticism of the papacy which had been brought up frequently during the first half of the century had become a major theme by 1300.

Indeed, by 1300 the papacy had lost much of its moral hold over Western Europe. In trying to fulfill their goal of a united Christendom under papal leadership, the popes had been forced into roles as lawyers and administrators in a vast, complex, and seemingly worldly organization. Moreover, Europeans had never accepted the doctrine of papal supremacy in all areas of human life; and, when Rome tried to assert such supremacy, they regarded it as a sign of greed and worldly ambition. What they wanted from the pope-- a vague spiritual leadership in most cases-- appeared lacking in the gigantic bureaucracy which housed the Roman curia.

The papacy in the end was caught in the midst of conflicting ideals-- its own ideals of what it should be and the ideals of princes, priests, and laymen, each having their own expectations and conceptions of papal power. Because these ideals and expectations were out of harmony with each other, the century was filled with disillusionment with the Holy See. The seeming victories of Innocent III, the supposedly strongest of the medieval popes, and of Innocent IV over Frederick II were all relatively hollow in that they failed to make Europe accept the papal ideal of the plenitude of its power. It was impossible for the varying concepts of papal power to live in harmony with each other, especially as long as the popes were actively intent upon achieving

their goals of a united Christendom under papal leadership.

Because the goals of the papacy differed, often radically, from those of other segments of European society, the cry of papal corruption was common throughout the century. Although this dissertation has not attempted to investigate the justice of such charges of papal corruption, it has attempted to show that at least part of these charges stemmed from different views of what the popes should and should not be doing. The idea of a real European unity, the backbone of the papal ideal, was impossible to attain in an atmosphere where the views on what should be done and who should do what contrasted dramatically from one another. At the end of the century Jean of Paris dismissed all but a vague spiritual unity for Christendom and upheld the integrity and independence of the secular state in the social, economic, and political spheres. Dante, who still dreamed of a united world, wanted the world united under a secular prince and definitely not under any pope. Moreover, the ideas of Dante and Jean represented no dramatic change from the past but the culmination of ideas which had been expounded continuously throughout the thirteenth century to refute the concept of papal supremacy.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Thirteenth-century local and national chronicles have provided the most important sources for this dissertation. Although these works deal primarily with local affairs, they give valuable insights into the opinions held about the existing papal institution. Of all the chronicles those of Matthew Paris and Salimbene de Adam have been the most valuable. Both Salimbene and Matthew Paris had a wide range of interests and loved to gossip, especially about subjects upon which they could moralize. A review of these two chronicles is almost essential for any understanding of thirteenth-century ideas and opinions. J. A. Giles has made a very good English translation of most of Matthew Paris' chronicle under the title of English History, although it is still necessary to refer to the Rolls Series' 6-volume Latin edition of Matthew's Chronica Maiora for a complete text and for the documents kept in his chronicle. The Latin text of Salimbene's chronicle can be found in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, vol. XXXII. There is no full English translation of Salimbene's work, but a partial translation and commentary on his chronicle can be found in G. G. Coulton's From St. Francis to Dante (1907).

Many thirteenth-century English chronicles have been translated into English. Among the more important translated chronicles are The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346, Roger of Wendover's Flowers of History, "Robert of

Gloucester's Chronicle" (vol. V of The Church Historians of England), The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, and The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301. With the exception of Roger of Wendover's chronicle none of these works presents more than a limited range of topics; and they are concerned almost exclusively with English affairs. Two other English chronicles of the period are the "Annales Londonienses" (vol. I of The Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II) and Thomas Walsingham's Chronica Monasterii S. Albani. Both of these chronicles are very useful for obtaining a sample of English opinion during the century and generally give accurate information.

With the exception of Jean de Joinville's The Life of St. Louis none of the thirteenth-century French chronicles have been translated into English. However, Joinville's work as well as Les Miracles de Saint Louis by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus is not so much a chronicle as a eulogy of Louis IX, although Joinville does pay some attention to historical detail. Almost all of the major French chronicles of the thirteenth century have this tendency to eulogize the French monarchy. This is particularly true of the chronicles of Rigord and Guillaume le Breton. The only major French chronicle which spans the whole of the period is the Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300. All of these works plus many minor chronicles have been published by the Société de l'histoire de France.

Almost all of the German chronicles used in this dissertation have been found in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores. The one exception has been Die Chronik des Albert von Stade, vol. LXXII of Die Geschichtschreiben der deutschen Vorzeit. None of these German chronicles has much individual merit beyond the study of strictly local

affairs. Moreover, these chronicles generally lack any analytic approach to the problems at hand but simply offer a year by year account of major events. It is only when taken altogether that they offer more than a casual view of German opinion during the century.

The Italian chronicles found in L. A. Muratori's Rerum Italicarum Scriptores generally offer a greater analytic approach and a wider range of interests than their German counterparts, although they, too, are primarily focused upon local affairs. The most important chronicles found in Muratori's collection are the following: "Chronicon Marchiae Trivisinae et Lombardia, 1207-1270" (vol. VIII, Part 3), "Chronica Monasterii Santi Bertini auctore Iohanne de Ipse" (vol. XXV), "Platynae Historici" (vol. III, Part 1), and "Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii Chronica" (vol. VII, Part 2). Of course, Salimbene's work is another major source for the study of thirteenth-century thought and opinion.

Other more specialized chronicles include those on the Fourth Crusade and the Albigensian Crusade. Both of these subjects deal directly with the impact or the non-impact of the papacy on the century's life. The two most important sources for the Fourth Crusade are the chronicles by Geoffrey Villehardouin and Robert of Clari. Both works have been translated into English and are entitled The Conquest of Constantinople. James A. Brundage's The Crusades: A Documentary Survey and Edward Peters' Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198-1229: Sources in Translation provide some important insights into the papacy's relationship to the Fourth Crusade as well as to later crusades to the Holy Land. There are three major chroniclers for the Albigensian Crusade: Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay, Guillaume de Tudèle, and the

anonymous poet supporting the Count of Toulouse. All of these sources are extremely biased and often present conflicting information.

Another major source for this dissertation has been those works written to refute heresy and to edify the people on matters of faith. Since the papacy was intimately involved with both these subjects, such sources almost always provide valuable references to the papal institution. Probably the single most useful primary source in the area of heresy is Heresies of the High Middle Ages: Selected Sources by Walter L. Wakefield and Austin P. Evans. This large volume contains excerpts from almost all the major opponents of heresy. Important works which were written for edification as a means of combatting heresy include Anecdotes historiques by Etienne de Bourbon, Dialogue on Miracles by Caesarius of Heisterbach, and the works of Bernard Guy. Several Franciscan works were also written for edification but have little to do with combatting heresy. The two important Franciscan works used here are Bonaventure's Life of Saint Francis and The Writings of Leo, Rufino and Angelo Companions of St. Francis.

There are numerous thirteenth-century poetic works which offer opinions on the papacy and its activities. One-third of the clerically-written Carmina Burana is concerned with attacks on the church hierarchy, especially the papacy. Thomas Wright has edited two important volumes of early thirteenth-century English poems: The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes and The Political Songs of England. Both works contain several poems dealing with attacks upon the papacy. Henri Gougaud's Poèmes politiques des Troubadours offers not only some good background material for the troubadours' political poetry but also a complete version of Guilhem Figueira's long Provençal

lay against Rome with a modern French translation. A similar but not so useful collection of troubadour poetry is offered by the Chansons satiriques et bachiques du XIIIe siècle, edited by A. Jeanroy and A. Langfors. Many works on individual poets are also available: Poésies complètes du Troubadour Peire Cardenal (1180-1278), Les Poésies de Peire Vidal, Oeuvres complètes de Rutebeuf, and Die Gedichte des Walther von der Vogelweide. There are only scattered references to the papacy throughout these works. The single most important literary work used in this dissertation has been Dante's Divine Comedy. Although several editions and translations of this work are available, I have used the edition translated by John D. Sinclair.

While chronicles have generally been used for sources on church-state relations, two important exceptions have been the Historia Diplomatica Frederici Secundi, edited by J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, and the Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste Roi de France, edited by M. Clovis Brunel. Although both these sources are in Latin, they are well arranged and easy to read. For King John's reign The Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198-1216) is a very useful source, although it contains only papal letters. Pierre Dupuy's Histoire du Differend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel Roy de France also contains an important source of original documents for the dispute between Philip IV and the papacy.

Political treatises dealing with the relationship between prince and pope have also provided important sources for views on the thirteenth-century papacy. A good source book for the political theories of the Middle Ages is presented by Ewart Lewis in his Medieval Political Ideas. Ewart provides not only excerpts from the major

medieval thinkers but also a suitable framework and background for their ideas. Most of the major thirteenth-century treatises on church-state relations have been translated into English. The most important of these treatises are Dante's On World-Government and John of Paris' On Royal and Papal Power. Pierre Dubois' Recovery of the Holy Land, which also contains his Incontrovertible Arguments (Raiones inconvincibiles), can offer little to an historian interested in political theory itself but is a valuable source for those concerned with the growth of French nationalism. Another major source for medieval political theory is the work Aquinas: Selected Political Writings, edited by A. P. d'Entrèves and translated by J. G. Dawson.

Another major source for the thirteenth century are the papal registers which are available for the whole period. This source, however, has not been used in this dissertation.

There are also numerous good secondary sources about the thirteenth-century papacy. Perhaps the most thorough account of the workings of the medieval papacy is offered by Horace Kinder Mann's The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (18 vols.; 1926-1931). This work offers valuable source references but is perhaps a little too uncritical in most areas. There are also numerous books in English studying the reasons behind the decline of the medieval papacy and its replacement by the national state: Lectures on Medieval Church History (1879) by R. C. Trench, Epochs of the Papacy (1883) by A. R. Pennington, Church and State in the Middle Ages (1913) by A. L. Smith, The Decline of the Medieval Church (1933) by A. C. Flick, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Medieval Papacy (1934) by L. Elliott-Binns, A Study of the Church (1935) by Philip Hughes, The Medieval Church (1962) by Roland H.

Bainton, The Medieval Papacy (1968) by Geoffrey Barraclough, and Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (1970) by R. W. Southern.

Another major work in this area is Johannes Haller's Das Papsttum (1953), but this work has unfortunately had no English translation. These general papal histories have been complemented by studies concentrating on individual pontificates, particularly those of Innocent III and Boniface VIII. Innocent III's pontificate has undoubtedly received the greatest attention. Achille Luchaire's six-volume work Innocent III (1906-1908) has remained a major source for this pontificate since its publication. Other works in English on Innocent include Europe and the Church under Innocent III (1927) by Sidney R. Packard, Innocent III (1931) by L. Elliott-Binns, and Innocent III, Church Defender (1951) by C. R. Smith. An attempt to analyze and demonstrate the conflicting views on this pontificate has been made by James M. Powell in Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World? (1963). The most recent work on Innocent is the Italian Studi ser Innocenzo III (1972) by Michele Maccarrone. There have also been a number of articles published on the subject in recent years. Two of the more important of such articles are Brian Tierney's "'Tria Quippe Distinguit...' A Note on Innocent III's Decretal Per Venerabilem" (1962) and Elizabeth Kennan's "Innocent III and the First Political Crusade: A Comment on the Limitations of Papal Power" (1971). Boniface VIII's pontificate has been fully explored by T. S. R. Boase in Boniface VIII (1933). Attempts to analyze the character of this pope have been presented by Charles T. Wood, editor, in Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII (1967). E. R. Chamberlin has also devoted a section to Boniface in his work The Bad Popes (1969), but this book is too unscholarly to be of much use to

anyone other than a backwoods preacher of damnation.

A number of good works have also been published on the theoretical problems of church-state relations. Four major general works in this area are A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West (6 vols.; 1928) by R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, Christianity and Politics: A History of the Principle Struggles of Church and State (1938) by Albert Hyma, Medieval Political Ideas (2 vols.; 1954) by Ewart Lewis, and The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300 (1964) by Brian Tierney. Walter Ullmann's The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages (1955) is another major work in this area but concentrates strictly on the development of papal theory. Ullmann tends to be extremely critical of the papacy; and more recent publications dealing with papal political ideas generally spread a more sympathetic light on these ideas. There are three important articles in this area: "L'autorit  pontificale selon Innocent IV" (1960) by Marcel Paccut, "The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century: The Contribution of the Canonists" (1964) by J. A. Watt, and "Papal Plenitudo Potestatis and the Sources of Temporal Authority in Late Medieval Papal Hierocratic Theory" (1973) by William D. McCready. There have also been many recent studies made of the ideas of many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century political thinkers, particularly Dante and Thomas Aquinas. Some good recent articles on Dante's political ideas include Marvin B. Becker's "Dante and his Literary Contemporaries as Political Men" (1966), Kenneth Foster's "The Canto of the Damned Popes: Inferno xix" (1969) and Robert T. Murphy's "Dante and Politics" (1970). A very good analysis of Aquinas' political ideas along with selections from his major political tracts has been made by

A. P. d'Entrèves in Aquinas: Selected Political Writings (1948). The Doctrine of the Common Good of Civil Society in the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas (1951) by Jaime Velez-Saenz offers an extremely theoretical approach to Aquinas' thought in the specified area. Another work along the same line is Richard A. Crofts' article "The Common Good in the Political Theory of Thomas Aquinas" (1973). T. T. Eschmann's "St. Thomas Aquinas on the Two Powers" (1958) serves as a supplement to the work by D'Entrèves.

National histories and royal biographies also deal either directly or indirectly with the relations between prince and pope, although they generally present their views from a different angle than the church histories. Rather than studying why the papacy declined, they stress why the monarchies rose. One of the major works in this area is Charles Petit-Dutaillis' The Feudal Monarchy in France and England (1936).

Modern French historians have investigated the rise of the monarchy in France very thoroughly. Three important general works in this area are Marc Bloch's La France sous les derniers Capétiens, 1223-1328 (1958), Frank Pegues' The Lawyers of the Last Capetians (1962), and Robert Fawtier's The Capetian Kings of France (1966).

Philippe Auguste: fondateur de l'unité française (1963) by Maurice Jallut is the most recent book published on Philip II and provides a good description of his reign. There are also some recent articles on particular aspects of his reign. One of the best of such articles dealing with royal-papal relations is John C. Moore's "Count Baldwin IX of Flanders, Philip Augustus, and the Papal Power" (1962). An older but excellent work which gives many insights into Philip's

reign is Petit-Dutaillis' Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII (1894).

The reign of Louis IX has produced an exceptional number of biographies and historical studies. However, many of these works tend to be eulogies and lack true historical perspective. Prime examples of such works written for the praise and glory of this narrow-minded monarch are Guizot's St. Louis and Calvin (1868) and Mirepoix's Saint Louis roi de France (1970). Margaret Labarge's Saint Louis (1968) is somewhat better but still fails to give an overall critical approach to the reign. Two other recent publications on Louis IX are Saint Louis ou l'apogée du Moyen Age (1969) by Jacques Levron and Saint Louis ou le printemps de la France (1970) by Guillaïn de Bénouville. Despite the weakness of most general biographies on Louis there have been several critical studies on particular aspects of the reign of this patron saint of bigotry. Elie Berger has written two very good accounts of particular subjects dealing with Louis' reign: Saint Louis et Innocent IV (1893) and Histoire de Blanche de Castile Reine de France (1895). Several recent articles have also had the ability to escape from the shadow of Louis' questionable sainthood and to take a more analytical approach to the policies and events of his reign. Lester K. Little's "Saint Louis' Involvement with the Friars" (1964), Odette Pontal's "Le Différend entre Louis IX et les évêques de Beauvais et ses incidences sur les conciles (1232-1248)" (1965), and Gerard J. Campbell's "The Attitude of the Monarchy Toward the Use of Ecclesiastical Censures in the Reign of Saint Louis" (1969) each presents a critical attitude toward certain aspects of this king's reign. Edward Billing Ham's short book Rutebeuf and Louis IX (1962) likewise is not overawed by Louis'

alleged saintliness and serves as a complement to Little's article. The whole dubious process leading up to Louis' canonization is discussed in Louis Carolus-Barré's "Les enquêtes pour la canonisation de Saint Louis--de Grégoire X à Boniface VIII--et la bulle Gloria Laus, du août 1297" (1971).

The last named article also deals with the relationship between Philip IV and Boniface VIII. Indeed, this dispute between pope and king dominates almost all the literature on the reign of Philip IV. The best history of this dispute and of Philip's reign in general is Georges Digard's Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304 (1936). Some recent research giving additional insight into Philip's controversy with the papacy is presented by Gerard J. Campbell's "Clerical Immunities in France During the Reign of Philip III" (1964), Richard Kay's "Martin IV and the Fugitive Bishop of Bayeux" (1965), Jo Anne McNamara's "Simon de Beaulieu and 'Clericis Laicos'" (1969), and Thomas Renna's "Kingship in the Disputatio Inter Clericum et Militem" (1973). Pierre Dupuy's seventeenth-century Histoire du Differend d'entre le Pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel Roy de France is too nationalistic to have much value other than as a major source of primary material. In Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII (1967) Charles T. Wood has given an outline of the major views regarding this church-state dispute and has attempted to give some insights into the characters of both Boniface and Philip.

There are also a number of good thirteenth-century English historians. Two general histories of the period are T. F. Tout's The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III, 1216-1377 (1920) and F. M. Powicke's The Thirteenth Century

(1953). Another book dealing directly with royal-papal relations for the whole period is William E. Lunt's Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327 (1939). Recent articles covering specific aspects of royal policies relating either directly or indirectly to the papacy include "The Clericus in the Legal Administration of Thirteenth-Century England" (1956) by Frank Pegues, "Relations of the Two Jurisdictions: Conflict and Cooperation in England during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries" (1970) by W. R. Jones, "Royal Supremacy in Ancient Desmesne Churches" (1971) by J. H. Denton, and "The Medieval Tradition of English Political Thought" (1972) by John B. Morrall. All of these articles tend to further dispel the old notion that the thirteenth-century English monarchs were too subservient to the papacy.

The best single history of the reign of King John is Sidney Painter's The Reign of King John (1949). Alan Lloyd's The Maligned Monarch (1972) is the most recent study of John's policies but is primarily a repetition of Painter's work in its better parts. C. R. Cheney has produced two recent articles on royal-papal relations during the period: "Cardinal John of Ferentino, papal legate in England in 1206" (1961) and "England and the Roman Curia Under Innocent III" (1967). Neither article, however, adds significantly to current knowledge about the reign. There have also been a number of recent works published on Magna Carta including Magna Carta: Text and Commentary (1964) by A. E. Dick Howard and Magna Carta (1965) by J. C. Holt.

Henry III's reign has been quite thoroughly examined by Powicke in his work King Henry III and the Lord Edward (1947) as well

as in his The Thirteenth Century (1953). J. J. N. McGurk's article "Henry III of England" (1972) adds little to recent research in the field but reiterates the theme that Henry's reign did witness many administrative innovations in the financial realm, especially under the guidance of his Poitivin relatives. The Barons' War of the 1260's still continues to attract many historians. Oliver H. Richardson's The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III (1897) continues to be a good source for the period. In 1964 the Friends of Lewes Society published a short book The Battle of Lewes, 1264: Its Place in English History, which contains two interpretative articles by Powicke and R. F. Treharne. There have also been a number of recent histories dealing with Simon de Montfort: Simon de Montfort (1962) by Margaret Wade Labarge, Battle Royal (1965) by Trefton Beamish, and Simon de Montfort, Reformer and Rebel (1971) by Elizabeth Luckock and Caroline Grundy.

Histories of Edward I include T. F. Tout's Edward the First (1920) and L. F. Salzman's Edward I (1968). Michael Prestwick's recent book War, Politics and Finance Under Edward I (1972) primarily discusses the financial policies of Edward to pay for his many wars.

There are numerous histories about the Holy Roman Empire. Because of the close ties between the Empire and the papacy almost all of these works deal in some way with church-state relations. Two of the most thorough of these works which provide vital information on the thirteenth century are L'Allemagne et l'Italie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles (1939) by Edouard Jordan and The Origins of Modern Germany (1946) by Geoffrey Barraclough. Frederick Heer's The Holy Roman Empire (1968) offers little about the Empire in the thirteenth century. The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century

(1969) by Robert Folz is an excellent study showing the evolution of the concept of empire but likewise offers little about the thirteenth century. One of the best sources dealing only with Germany in this period is Charles C. Bayley's The Formation of the German College of Electors in the Mid-Thirteenth Century (1949). However, this book is almost entirely devoted to political history with no mention being made about other areas of life. Since most modern historians are too fascinated with the Italian Renaissance to pay much attention to earlier periods in Italian history, there has been nothing written recently in English about thirteenth-century Italy. There are, however, several older works written in this area such as W. F. Butler's The Lombard Communes (1906) and G. G. Coulton's From St. Francis to Dante (1907). H. D. Sedgwick's Italy in the Thirteenth Century (1912) heavily praises the liveliness of thirteenth-century Italian intellectual activity but lacks any real historical analysis. Like Bayley's work, Steven Runciman's The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Late Thirteenth Century (1958) gives an excellent analysis of the political manoeuvrings in Southern Italy and Sicily during the specified period but omits any social or economic factors. Jacques Paul's article "L'eloge des personnes et l'idéal humain au XIIIe siècle d'après la chronique de fra Salimbene" (1967) gives some interesting insights into the value standards of thirteenth-century Italians and along with Coulton's work provides useful information for a social historian.

There have been a great many studies made of the reign of the Emperor Frederick II. While many of these works are in German, one of the better works has been translated into English: Ernst Kantorowicz's

Frederick the Second, 1194-1250 (1957). There have also been a number of studies on different aspects of Frederick's reign, particularly his relationship to the Church. Georges Blondel's Etude sur la politique de l'Empereur Frédéric II en Allemagne (1892) still offers valuable insights into Frederick's relationship with the German Church. James M. Powell has written two recent articles to dispute the idea that Frederick was a persecutor of the Church: "Frederick II and the Church in the Kingdom of Sicily, 1220-1224" (1961) and "Frederick II and the Church: A Revisionist View" (1963). Thomas Curtis Van Cleave has incorporated almost all of the known facts of Frederick's reign into his book The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1972). Like Kantorowicz, he appears convinced that the papacy was attempting to usurp rights which properly belonged to the Empire.

The state of the Church in the thirteenth century and the papacy's relationship to other churchmen have also been topics well explored by historians. One of the best of such works is La chrétienté romaine (1198-1274) (1950) by Augustin Fliche, Christine Thouzellier, and Yvonne Azais. This work is primarily oriented towards explaining the causes behind the failure of the great papal reform schemes. Another useful source in this area is Karl Bihlmeyer's Church History (revised, 1963). Geoffrey Barraclough's Papal Provisions (1935) deals with the development of this papal practice and also the reaction of local clergy. Brian Tierney's Foundations of the Consiliar Theory (1955) shows the reaction of churchmen against increased papal interference in local affairs. Neither of the two last mentioned books totally exhausts their respective fields of study.

Numerous studies have been made about the thirteenth-century

English Church. A basic general work in this area is John R. H. Moorman's Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century (1946). Many of the older works concentrate on episcopal reform efforts during the period. Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272 (1936) by Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang studies the attempts at episcopal reform during the reign of Henry III and generally rejects the thesis that the papacy was a major source of corruption in the English Church during the period. The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages (1965), edited by C. H. Lawrence, contains several articles showing much insight into the relationship between the papacy and the English episcopate. Other studies often concentrate on individual episcopates. Powicke's Stephen Langton (1965) is a valuable study of this bishop's reform ideas and further brings to light the connection between episcopal reform plans and the baronial movement in the thirteenth century. The episcopate of Robert Grosseteste has also attracted considerable attention among historians. Francis Seymour's Robert Grosseteste (1899) is still a major general study of the bishop's life and work. Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop (1955), edited by Daniel A. Callus, explores various facets of the bishop's activities including his relations with king and pope. Tierney's "Grosseteste and the Theory of Papal Sovereignty" (1955) analyzes Grosseteste's views on papal power. There have also been many recent articles dealing directly or indirectly with the English Church's relation to the papacy. H. S. Deighton's "Clerical Taxation by Consent, 1279-1301" (1953) discusses papal pressure applied to the English clergy to raise taxes for the king. C. J. Holdsworth shows clerical disapproval of the papal interdict during the reign of King John in his article "John of Ford and the Interdict" (1963).

"Bishops, Politics, and the Two Laws: The Gravamina of the English Clergy, 1237-1339" (1966) by W. R. Jones shows the gradual clerical acceptance of royal taxation during the specified period. Nancy Partner's article "Henry of Huntingdon: Clerical Celibacy and the Writing of History" (1973) shows clerical discontent over clerical rules concerning clerical celibacy in the twelfth century.

The best single source for the French Church in the thirteenth century is Histoire des Institutions français au Moyen Age, Vol. III: Institutions Ecclésiastiques (1962) by Jean-François Lemarignier, Jean Gaudemet, and Mgr. Guillaume Mollat. Since the publication of this book there have been four articles written further studying the French Church. Adrien Friedmann's "Notre Dame et les Paroisses de Paris au XIIIe siècle" (1964) shows the close cooperation between the bishop of Paris and the king during the reign of Philip II in regard to episcopal reform. "An Episcopal Petition from the Province of Rouen, 1281" (1965) by Richard Kay shows clerical discontent over papal privileges given to mendicants. "Recherches sur la restitution ou la cession de dîmes aux églises de le diocèse de Liège du XIe au début du XIVe siècle" (1971) by Charles Renardy discusses the problem of tithes. John C. Moore's article "Papal Justice in France Around the Time of Pope Innocent III" (1972) shows the gradual expansion of royal courts at the expense of papal justice.

While ecclesiastical and national histories have generally followed conventual forms, some of the most exciting and provocative modern historians have attempted to define the Zeitgeist of the Middle Ages. One of the first of such works was Georges de Lagarde's La Naissance de l'esprit laïque au declin du Moyen Age (1934). This work

was followed in 1940 by J. R. Strayer's article "The Laicization of French and English Society in the Thirteenth Century". Both Lagarde and Strayer were convinced that the later Middle Ages (including the thirteenth century) witnessed a gradual turning away from religious to secular pursuits. However, this thesis has been largely disputed by more recent historians who generally see no such decline in religious feeling. One of the first of such works was Jean Leclercq's L'idée de la royauté du Christ au moyen age (1959), which stresses the growing religious significance of kingship in the medieval mind. Léopold Genicot's Le XIIIe siècle Européen (1968) likewise shows that Europeans were attempting to assert more control over the Church and religion during the period and were thus not losing their religious ideals. The entire thesis of Gordon Leff's article "The Apostolic Ideal in Later Medieval Ecclesiology" (1967) disputes the secular influence of Aristotle on later medieval thought and insists that antagonism against the Church was primarily motivated by the desire to return to a more apostolic life. Another major work attempting to define the spirit of the period is Henri Daniel-Rops' Cathedral and Crusade, first published in French in 1952.

Recent works on heresy have also demonstrated the desire to place heretical movements within the whole framework of European thought. Gordon Leff's two works, "Heresy and the Decline of the Medieval Church" (1961) and Heresy in the Later Middle Ages (1967), both point to a growing alienation between church authorities and key elements in the lay population as a major source of heresy. Jeffrey Burton Russell refuses to admit the validity of Leff's indictment against the Church and in his A History of Medieval Christianity:

Prophecy and Order (1968) points to the unwillingness of heretics to accept the Church's program of gradual reform. Recent works on the Cathars and Waldensians also attempt to define the relationship between heresy and orthodoxy in an historical setting, although Nelli's two works on the Cathars, Les Cathars (1965) and La vie quotidienne des Cathars du Languedoc aux XIIIe siècle (1969) perhaps make the heretics seem too much like an idealistic protest group of the 1960's. Christine Thouzellier's Catharisme et Valdésisme en Languedoc (1966) is an excellent study of heretical thought around 1200 as well as its relationship to political conditions.

Joachim of Flora and the Spiritual Franciscans have also attracted considerable historical interest although possibly not so much in recent years. Two basic works in these areas are Henry Bett's Joachim of Flora (1931) and Decima L. Douie's The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli (1932). Morton W. Bloomfield's two articles, "The Penetration of Joachimism into Northern Europe" (1954) and "Joachim of Flora: A Critical Study of his Canon, Teachings, Sources, Bibliography and Influence" (1957), summarize known data on Joachim but offer little new in historical analysis. Marjorie Reeves' The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism (1969) is a major attempt to analyze Joachim's ideas and to integrate them into thirteenth-century thought. There have also been a number of recent articles dealing with different aspects of Joachimism and the Spiritual Franciscans: "Les Franciscans et la pauvreté aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles" (1966) by Jacques Paul, "Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades" (1968) by E. R. Daniel, and "The Abbot and the Doctors: Scholastic Reactions to the Radical Eschatology of

Joachim of Flora" (1971) by Bernard McGinn. Two other recent articles analyze the Joachite influence on Peter John Olivi's thought: "Peter John Olivi: Historical and Doctrinal Study" (1960) by Carter Partee and "The Apocalyptic Element in Olivi's Critique of Aristotle" (1971) by David Burr. Almost all of the major biographies of St. Francis have also had to cope in one way or another with Joachite influences upon the original order. Some of the more critical studies on the life of St. Francis and the origins of the Franciscan Order include Paul Sabatier's Life of St. Francis of Assisi (1906), O. S. F. C. Cuthbert's Life of St. Francis of Assisi (1927), Luigi Salvatorelli's The Life of St. Francis of Assisi (1928), and Omar Englebert's Saint Francis of Assisi (1950).

There are two good studies on the life on St. Dominic and the early Dominican Order: Pierre Mandonnet's St. Dominic and his Work (1948) and M. H. Vicaire's Saint Dominic and his Times (1964). Vicaire has also published an article "Saint Dominique et les inquisiteurs" (1967) in which he attempts to apologize for the Dominican involvement with the Inquisition.

Older histories, such as Charles T. Gorham's The Medieval Inquisition: A Study in Religious Persecution (1918) and G. G. Coulton's Inquisition and Liberty (1938), tend to look with horror upon the Inquisition. Recent historians have attempted to soften this older condemnation. A. C. Shannon's The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century (1949) maintains that the papacy was actually very little involved with the suppression of heresy. Maurice Bévenot's "The Inquisition and its Antecedents" (1966-1967) insists that the execution of heretics was originally a secular response to heresy and should not

therefore be blamed upon the Church. There have also been a number of recent articles dealing with the day-to-day workings of the Inquisition: "L'Inquisition Toulousaine de 1243 à 1273" (1953) by Yves Dossat, "Hunting Subversion in the Middle Ages" (1958) by Austin P. Evans, "Remarques sur la légation de l'évêque Gautier de Tournai dans le Midi de la France" (1963) by Yves Dossat, and "Friar Ferrier, Inquisitor at Cauner, and Escapes from Prison at Carcassonne" (1972) by Walter L. Wakefield.

Coupled with the revived interest in the Inquisition is the revived interest in the Albigensian Crusade. Some of the major recent works in this area are Zoé Oldenbourg's Le Bûcher de Montségur (1959), Jacques Madaule's The Albigensian Crusade (1961), Marcel Lignières' L'Hérésie Albigeoise et la croisade (1964), Jean-Pierre Cartier's Histoire de la croisade contre les Albigeois (1968), Carmen Ennesch's Les Cathars dans la cité (1969), Dominique Paladilhe's Les grandes heures Cathares (1969), Edouard Privat's Paix de Dieu et guerre sainte en Languedoc (1969), and Michel Roquebert's L'Épopée cathare (1970).

Beginning with Palmer A. Throop's Criticism of the Crusades (1940), most recent historians have dispelled the older idea that interest in the crusades was waning in the thirteenth century. Like Throop, historians such as James A. Brundage (The Crusades: A Documentary Survey, 1962), E. Randolph Daniel ("Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades," 1969) Edward Peters (Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198-1229: Sources in Translation, 1971), and Maureen Purcell ("Changing Views of Crusade in the Thirteenth Century," 1972) insist that Europeans were not so much losing interest in regaining the Holy Land but losing faith in the efficacy of the traditional

crusade leadership.

There are a number of works available for the study of thirteenth-century literature. Three of the sources most useful for this dissertation have been Edmund Faral's Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age (1910), Helen Jane Waddell's The Wandering Scholars, and John A. Yunck's The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Medieval Venality Satire (1963). All of these sources deal with the relationship of social discontent to the satirical and protest literature of the period. Another interesting study in this connection is Margaret Schlauch's English Medieval Literature and its Social Foundations (1956), which explores the development of English literature in Marxist terms.

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