



POPE INNOCENT III
AND HIS WORLD

JOHN MOORE

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Pope Innocent III and his World

Edited by

JOHN C. MOORE

Editorial Committee

Brenda Bolton
John C. Moore
James M. Powell
Constance M. Rousseau

Prepared under the auspices of Hofstra University



 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 1999 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Pope Innocent III and his World

1. Innocent III, Pope—Influence.
2. Popes—Biography.
3. Popes—Temporal power.
4. Popes—Primacy.
5. Christianity and other religions—Islam—History.
6. Europe—Church history—600-1500.
7. Europe—History—476-1492.

I. Moore, John C.

282'.092

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Pope Innocent III and his world/edited by John C. Moore: editorial committee, Brenda Bolton et al.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-84014-646-X (hardcover)

1. Innocent III, Pope, 1160 or 61-1216—Congresses. I. Moore, John C. (John Clare), 1933- . II. Bolton, Brenda. III. Title:

Pope Innocent III and his world.

BX1236.P57 1999

282'.092—dc21

[B]

99-20427

CIP

ISBN 9781840146462 (hbk)

Transferred to Digital Printing in 2010

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Contributors

FRANCES ANDREWS is a Lecturer in Mediaeval History at St Andrews University, Scotland.

JESSALYN BIRD did her undergraduate work at the University of Pennsylvania and is completing her Oxford University DPhil thesis, 'Crusade and Reform in the Circle of James of Vitry'.

BRENDA BOLTON is Senior Lecturer in History at Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London.

JOSEPH CANNING is Senior Lecturer in History at University of Wales, Bangor, and Director of the British Centre for Historical Research in Germany at Göttingen.

ROBERT CHAZIN is Scheuer Professor of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University.

GIULIO CIPOLLONE is a Professor at Gregorian University and Urbanian University, Rome.

PETER D. CLARKE is a research associate of the History Faculty and a senior member of Robinson College at Cambridge University.

DEIRDRE COURTNEY-BATSON is an adjunct Assistant Professor of History at Pace University, New York.

CHRISTOPH EGGER is *Universitätsassistent* at the University of Vienna (Department of History) and the Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung.

ANTONIO GARCÍA Y GARCÍA is a Professor of History of Canon Law at the Pontificia Universidad of Salamanca.

MICHAEL GOODICH is a Professor of History at the University of Haifa.

RICHARD KAY is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Kansas, Lawrence.

CHRISTOPH T. MAIER is a *Wissenschaftlicher Assistent* and *Lehrbeauftragter* in Medieval History at the University of Zurich.

ALBERTO MELLONI teaches the history of Christianity at the University of Rome and is a member of the Istituto per le Scienze Religiose in Bologna.

GILLIAN MURPHY is a doctoral student at University College London and is researching 'Monks and Pastoral Care in the Middle Ages'.

JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN is Professor Emeritus of Medieval History at Fordham University, New York.

BRIAN A. PAVLAC is an Assistant Professor of History at King's College in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

EDWARD PETERS is the Henry Charles Lea Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

JAMES M. POWELL is Emeritus Professor of Medieval History in Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

E. C. RONQUIST is an Associate Professor in the Department of English, Concordia University, Montreal.

CONSTANCE M. ROUSSEAU is an Associate Professor of History at Providence College, Providence, Rhode Island.

HANS-JOACHIM SCHMIDT is a Professor of Medieval History at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.

CLAIRE TAYLOR is doing research towards a PhD at the University of Nottingham, England.

Abbreviations

A thorough explanation of the sources of canon law and the way they are cited can be found in James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (London, New York, 1995), 190-202. Suffice it to say here that citations from Gratian's *Decretum* appear in forms like these three examples from Brundage: D. 24 dict. ante c. 5; C. 23 q. 8 d. p. c. 25; D. 2 de cons. c. 82. Five later compilations of decretals (*Quinque compilationes antiquae*) are cited as 1 Comp., 2 Comp., and so forth. The Decretals of Pope Gregory IX (*Liber extra*) are cited as is shown in this example: X 1.18.7.

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum.</i>
BMCL	<i>Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law.</i>
COD	<i>Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta.</i> Ed. Joseph Alberigo, et al. Bologna, 1972.
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.</i>
<i>Gesta</i>	<i>Gesta Innocentii III.</i>
Maleczek, <i>Papst</i>	Werner Maleczek. <i>Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216. Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III.</i> Vienna, 1984.
MGH	<i>Monumenta germaniae historica.</i>
LL	<i>Leges.</i>
SS	<i>Scriptores.</i>
Const.	<i>Constitutiones.</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia latina.</i> Cited by volume and column number.
Pott.	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum.</i> Ed. A. Pothast. 2 vols. Berlin, 1874-1875. Usually cited by item number.

- Reg. *Die Register Innocenz'III.* Ed. Othmar Hageneder et al. Five volumes to date, each numbered according to the register year: 1, 2, 5, 6, 7. Graz, Rome, Vienna, 1964-1997. Cited by register year and letter number. E.g.: 6:190 (192) – the number in parentheses being the corresponding number in PL when it is different from the number in Reg.
- RHDFE *Revue historique de droit français et étranger.*
- RHGF *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France.*
- RNI *Regestum super negotio Romani imperii.* Ed. F. Kempf. *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*, 12. Rome, 1947.
- RS Rolls Series.
- Tillmann, *Pope* Helene Tillmann. *Pope Innocent III.* Trans. W. Sax. Amsterdam, 1980.
- ZRG *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte.*
 Germ. *Germanistische Abteilung.*
 Kan. *Kanonistische Abteilung.*
 Rom. *Romanistische Abteilung.*

Introduction

In May of 1997, a conference entitled ‘Pope Innocent III and His World’ was held at Hofstra University in anticipation of the eight-hundredth anniversary of Innocent’s election as pope in 1198. This volume is the product of that conference.

Lotario dei Conti di Segni was only thirty-seven years old when he was elected pope, but few men or women in the early history of Europe played a larger role in shaping their society. He set in motion two great crusading armies; he sat in judgment of kings and emperors; he struggled mightily to make individuals and society conform to his Christian ideals; he issued a constant stream of legislation that governed the lives of countless Christians for centuries thereafter. But for all that, one can argue that few of his efforts produced the results he hoped for.

If there is any unifying theme that unites all studies of Innocent III, it is that he considered it his right and responsibility to look after all humanity. Christianity was and is a ‘universal’ religion, claiming to offer salvation to all humankind, and Innocent believed it his duty to nurture the faithful and to defend them from their enemies, within and without. He also looked to the conversion of those enemies, although the danger they presented often seemed to him to call first for forceful restraints. The energetic and resourceful way in which Innocent carried out these responsibilities provoked criticism in his day and has done so ever since.

At the heart of the matter are three questions. The first, perhaps the least difficult, is the factual matter: who the man was – how he was formed, how he actually behaved. Much in this volume addresses this question.

The second question has to do with the proper role of religious authority in the world. The history of religious persecution has convinced most historians that priestly authority should be rigorously excluded from the political arena, that church and state should be sharply separated. But those ideals are not so easily implemented. Do religious leaders – Christian, Jewish, Muslim – forfeit their right to roles of leadership in political, economic and social matters, especially when those matters clearly involve basic human values and moral judgments? Where does legitimate pastoral action end and the illegitimate pursuit of power begin? Where these lines are drawn continues to divide the modern world, so it is not surprising that modern historians cannot agree on whether Innocent went too far or, if so, by how much. This second question is rarely addressed directly in this volume, but it lies behind many of the papers.

The final major question still under debate is the acceptability and the viability of a 'world' government, or more generally the relationship between any 'central' government and regional governments. The medieval Roman emperors could claim authority over the world ruled by their classical and Carolingian predecessors: nearly all of the European peninsula, with adjacent islands, and the entire coast of the Mediterranean. The popes could claim truly universal authority, aspiring to bring all non-Christians into the Christian fold and to subject all Christians to the pastoral authority of the pope. In either case, were these claims the arrogant assertion of authority over peoples who wanted their own independence, or a wholesome effort to create a universal society of peace and harmony, bound together by a single body of law (Roman or canon) and regulated by the benign authority of emperor or pope? Historians, reflecting their nationalist inclinations, long saw both papal and imperial pretensions as mischievous, but having tasted the bitter fruits of nationalism, regionalism and tribalism in the wars of the twentieth century, some may now show a bit more sympathy for efforts to bring warring European princes under a single authority and to create world-wide harmony under international law. Had either the popes or the emperors succeeded in their political ambitions, Europe and perhaps the world might have seen less strife in ensuing centuries. The great world wars of modern times have been basically wars among European powers, transported to other continents. Here too, the papers that follow do not often directly address this question of how the world should be governed, but it provides their context. Innocent III took positions on both of these last two great and controversial questions. He articulated those positions, defended them and vigorously sought to implement them.

The papers in this volume were all presented at the Hofstra conference, but they were not presented in the order nor according to the subject headings found here. The editor hopes that the organization imposed upon them, albeit artificial and somewhat arbitrary, will help readers to form a more coherent picture of 'Pope Innocent III and His World'. The papers do not describe all the events or major issues of his pontificate, but they illuminate his personal formation and his understanding of his world and they show him playing a powerful role in his society.

PART ONE. INNOCENT III AND HIS MILIEU

Edward Peters (who was named for the conference 'Joseph G. Astman Distinguished Conference Scholar') examines the evidence and the scholarship concerning the life of Innocent III before he was elected pope. With rich bibliographic detail, he offers a wide-ranging discussion of the many influences that acted upon the young man so as to produce the pope of history. Some of

those influences, especially the schools and the curia, are discussed further in several of the papers that follow.

The theological interests Lotario developed in the schools were not abandoned when he became pope. Christoph Egger argues that although Innocent has been criticized for lacking theological originality, originality is not a proper standard for judging the pope. He offers evidence that as pope Innocent remained an active and perceptive student of theology in the service of his pastoral responsibilities. Similarly, Richard Kay analyzes two works of Innocent to show that Innocent was primarily a theologian. He also concludes, taking a position on a much disputed question, that Innocent seems not to have been a trained canon lawyer. In reaching these conclusions, Kay also illuminates some of the concerns that occupied the pope and his curia.

The inner life of the curia is further revealed by James M. Powell, who addresses two areas of Innocent's pontificate that have remained obscure: the inner workings of Innocent's government and the authorship of the *Gesta Innocentii tertii*, the biography of Innocent written about 1208 by someone within the curia. Building on the work of Werner Maleczek, Powell finds in the career of Petrus Beneventanus some insights into both of these mysteries. He shows that the service of Petrus in the papal government before 1208 makes him a likely candidate for the authorship of the *Gesta*, the contents of which match up with the areas of Petrus's involvement, and he suggests that the growing responsibility of Petrus, with the corresponding demands on his time, accounts for the shift in the content of the *Gesta* from narrative to the bare quotation of documents.

The Fourth Lateran Council (or Lateran IV) was one of the great achievements of Innocent's pontificate, the instrument by which he and like-minded clergy hoped to organize and reform the world according to their own Christian vision. Alberto Melloni looks closely at *Vineam domini*, the encyclical letter announcing the council. He shows that in this area (as in many others), Innocent and his curia followed past traditions of papal government but at the same time went beyond those traditions so as to cast Lateran IV in a slightly different role from the Lateran councils that preceded it.

The papal curia was a place where the problems of the world were discussed and addressed, but it was not only a center of pastoral and political concern. E. C. Ronquist traces the career of a little-known abbot so as to show that the curial milieu fostered cultural and intellectual interests beyond the pragmatic and that it had its own distinctive character, different from those of the schools and of the imperial court in southern Italy.

PART II. SHEPHERDING THE FLOCK

Among the images used to describe papal authority were those of mother and shepherd. Constance Rousseau shows that Innocent, like many other celibate

males of his day, appreciated the nurturing, instructing and governing aspects of motherhood, and that he used those qualities to describe and implement his responsibilities as pope. She also points out that despite his distaste for the sexual and reproductive aspects of motherhood, he showed some sympathy for mothers and occasionally tried to lighten their burdens.

Brenda Bolton further stresses the nurturing aspects of Innocent's pontificate. She reviews the many gifts he bestowed on churches and clergy as well as the building programs he undertook for the religious welfare of the faithful. She concludes that these material things, large and small, are in fact evidence of Innocent's serious commitment to pastoral and spiritual values.

Bolton mentions how Innocent stressed centralized organization as the way to preserve the moral quality of monastic houses. The same theme is developed by Gillian Murphy, who traces the fortunes of some Irish monks in Ireland and Germany. She shows that Innocent was aware of these monks, encouraged them and sought to guarantee the quality of their spirituality by pressing upon them the Cistercian type of organization, one that placed all member monasteries under the supervision of a 'general chapter' of abbots.

Michael Goodich also finds Innocent pursuing the spiritual improvement of his flock. He shows that through papal canonization, Innocent hoped to use the examples of saints to inspire believers and non-believers. But because the pope was concerned that the faithful might be misled by heretics, he insisted on the cautious evaluation of evidence of sanctity – visions, miracles and a virtuous life – before canonizing anyone.

It is a commonplace that Innocent's two great concerns were the recovery of the Holy Land and the reform of Christendom. Jessalyn Bird looks at the men who carried those concerns to the general public, the men who preached the crusade and called for reform, and she shows that the two messages could work at cross purposes. In the process, she also shows how the Paris schools, where Innocent and many of the preachers were formed, had not yet found a way to come to terms with the new urban and commercial culture that surrounded them. The distinction between usury and price-gouging on the one hand and legitimate money-lending and fair market practices on the other still lay in the future. The preachers offered crusading and voluntary poverty as the role to salvation, but, ironically, they also opened the perilous road that offered spiritual benefits in return for money.

The heritage of Paris is unfortunate in another regard. Robert Chazan suggests that Innocent absorbed at Paris a more intensive anti-Jewish animus than had moved his predecessors and that this bigotry lay behind the unusual and more vigorous measures he took against Jews. In this case, a form of pastoral zeal, aimed at protecting the Christian faith, was severely detrimental to the Jews of Europe. Innocent's role in the history of anti-Semitism is not a proud one.

Grass-roots religious enthusiasm among European Christians presented a problem that was both religious and political. It could easily wander into heretical opinion, and that, according to the common belief of the day, would jeopardize the salvation both of the heretics and of others whom they might infect. A successful heretical movement would also undermine the entire ecclesiastical structure over which the pope presided.

Innocent's efforts to protect the faith against heretics were both punitive and irenic, and they were always influenced by the interests of local powers. The highly destructive Albigensian Crusade against the heretics of southern France is not discussed directly in these papers, but Claire Taylor's paper shows how that papal campaign fit into the political competition among dynastic leaders, high and low. The well-known opposition between King Philip of France and King John of England had a role in the Albigensian Crusade. King John could not afford to oppose openly a papally sanctioned crusade against heretics, but neither could he allow his enemies to assume power in southern France, where he had his own claims. Hence, he pursued a quiet and unobtrusive policy of supporting the count of Toulouse and opposing the crusading forces – thus giving his enemies the chance to paint him as a supporter of heretics. Taylor concludes, however, that Innocent was able to draw out of all this maneuvering a more secure, peaceful and orthodox regime in southern France.

Although Innocent approved and expanded oppressive and coercive measures (that were further expanded by popes who followed him), he is also given credit for seeing the possibilities of peacefully guiding popular religious enthusiasm into orthodox channels. The best-known example is the Franciscan movement, but there were many others. Frances Andrews takes up this subject in order to point out that the more temperate policy that Innocent showed to a number of popular movements was not entirely his work. In this area, as in all the others, the role of the pope's agents cannot always be clearly distinguished from that of the pope himself, but Andrews shows that the papal agents, as well as other prelates, were unquestionably promoting irenic approaches to new religious groups.

PART THREE. DEFINING AND USING PAPAL POWER

Joseph Canning has been persuaded that Innocent III was not merely a political operator, that he did in fact have a genuine pastoral concern for the people over whom he presided. But he is not willing to concede that 'pastoral' is an adequate word for the pope's understanding of his office or for the way he actually exercised his power. Brian Pavlac goes further. He describes Innocent and the papal curia as pursuing an imperial domination of Christendom and of the world and as doing so at the expense of spiritual reform and peaceful relations with secular princes.

The idea that Innocent sacrificed principle for power receives some support from Peter Clarke, whose paper shows that Innocent was willing to punish the innocent in order to coerce proper behavior from the guilty. Clarke argues that Innocent was not always comfortable with this policy, recognizing that his efforts at coercion could work against his pastoral purposes. Unfortunately, Clarke concludes, Innocent's coercive measures found a place in canon law while his misgivings did not.

The enduring consequences of Innocent's pontificate in canon law are also illustrated in the essay of Deirdre Courtney-Batson. She discusses a single letter of Innocent, one that made its way into the official body of canon law to the considerable perplexity of the canon lawyers who followed after. In *Per venerabilem*, Innocent seemed to be claiming an unlimited power while at the same time acknowledging its limits. Canon lawyers of the thirteenth century tried to explain that subtlety, and in doing so showed that they were serious thinkers, not mere ideologues or lackeys of the curia. Courtney-Batson finds in their ruminations the basis for her own interpretation.

Hans-Joachim Schmidt finds in Innocent's definition of his office a model for his secular counterpart Emperor Frederick II and then for other secular rulers of the West. He shows how the well-known papal phrase *plenitudo potestatis*, the fullness of power, was taken over by the imperial chancery to describe the imperial office. At the same time, he argues, the phrase brought with it its counterpart, *pars sollicitudinis*, a phrase that granted to subordinates a 'share in the solicitude', thereby moderating the power of the monarch.

PART FOUR. ENCOUNTERING THE MUSLIM WORLD

The papers in this volume do not deal directly with the crusades initiated by Innocent III, but several show that Innocent's responses to the Muslim world had far reaching ramifications. Joseph O'Callaghan's paper reminds us that the 'Muslim threat' was not merely a remote, overseas danger. The progress of the Almohad Muslims in Spain made necessary the end of inter-Christian warfare there and an all-out effort from the Christian West. That objective drew Innocent deeply into the internal politics of the Iberian peninsula, where he achieved mixed success. Dealing with the same geographical area, Antonio García y García surveys the extensive range of subjects that led to interaction between Innocent and Spain. The reconquest of Muslim-controlled territory in particular produced complicated questions of political jurisdiction as princes and prelates competed with one another for wealth, power and prestige. These papers can remind us that the role of fifteenth-century popes in mediating between Spanish and Portuguese monarchs in the Oceanic Age had its origins many centuries before in the Iberian peninsula.

Jessalyn Bird's paper indicated that the crusades were for Innocent more than a military response to the presence of Islam. Christoph Maier shows further that the pope tried to integrate the crusading effort into a broad theological framework and to make it an integral part of the spirituality of all Christians. The idea of 'total war', a war-effort that involves the entire population in a common effort has often been associated with the twentieth century, but in Maier's article, we see that, for better or for worse, the crusading movement as led by Innocent anticipated that phenomenon.

Innocent's response to the Muslim world, however, was not uniformly hostile. Giulio Cipollone shows that although Innocent was always committed to recovering from the Muslims lands formerly under Christian dominion, he found it useful at times to seek the cooperation of Muslim rulers and people. His support for the Trinitarians, a religious order founded for the ransoming of prisoners, is a case in point. Perhaps one can find in this flexibility some willingness to find a common humanity between Christians and Muslims, but if so, it did not soften Innocent's determination to end the Muslim occupation of the Holy Land.

How do these papers affect history's final judgment of Innocent? Most of the 'big' questions remain open. Some historians will see unprincipled expediency where others see responsible flexibility. Where some see a man reacting reasonably and energetically to the problems he faced, doing as well as can be expected given the assumptions of his time and place, others will see a man vigorous pursuing the expansion of his own power at the great expense of other governments, groups and individuals. Perhaps most of us will see something in the middle, some human mixture of the egotistic and the altruistic. In any case, these papers show how wide and how deep were his contacts with his world.

* * *

A word of thanks is appropriate here. The conference could not have taken place without the professionalism and thoroughness of the directors and staff of the Hofstra Cultural Center, especially that of Athelene Collins-Prince, who served as Conference Coordinator. Brenda Bolton, James M. Powell and Constance M. Rousseau first suggested the idea of a conference at Hofstra, and they then served on the Planning and Editorial Committees. My Hofstra colleague Linton S. Thorn was, as always, a constant source of advice and support. My heartfelt gratitude goes to all of these people, and to all the others who helped make possible the conference and then this volume.

John C. Moore
Bloomington, Indiana

Emeritus Professor of History
Hofstra University

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Part One
Innocent and his Milieu

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Lotario dei Conti di Segni becomes Pope Innocent III: The Man and the Pope

Edward Peters

I

How did a medieval *papa electus* become the kind of pope he became? The theological answer – that his electors and he were moved by the Spirit – is unsatisfactory to the historian and was not intended for him or her in any case. Two of the dangers of posing the question at all have been recently signalled by Edward Synan:

In one direction, the imposing file of eminent popes might seduce us into a prosopography without intelligible pattern; in the opposite direction, the majesty and continuity of the papal office, hypostasized in imagination as ‘the papacy’, might mask the existential diversity of those who held the office . . . ‘the papacy’ might seem to be more real than were the flesh-and-blood popes in whom the abstraction was incarnate.¹

¹Edward A. Synan, ‘The Pope’s Other Sheep’, *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities 1150-1300*, ed. Christopher Ryan, *Papers in Mediaeval Studies* 8 (Toronto, 1989), 389-412, at 390-1 (hereafter: Ryan, *Papacy*). Cf. Thomas F. X. Noble, ‘Moribidity and Vitality in the History of the Early Medieval Papacy’, *Catholic Historical Review* 81 (1995):505-40, an essay of much value for the later history of the papacy as well. The best general studies are I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990) (hereafter: Robinson, *The Papacy*); Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216. Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III.* (Vienna, 1984) and Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050*

One aspect of Synan's second danger is illustrated by the famous observation of Baronius that often seems to inform much of the work of the late Walter Ullmann and others, that there is 'one spirit among all Roman pontiffs'.²

But Synan's dilemma does not have only two sides. There is also the theory of papal self-modelling based on earlier popes, an aspect tantalizingly suggested (but far from being as clearly reliable as we might wish) by the choice of papal names after the late tenth century, one most eloquently expressed by another Innocent, the Innocent XII in Book Ten of Robert Browning's *The Ring and the Book* (a poem which commemorates a papal trial in 1698).

Like to Ahasuerus, that shrewd prince,
 I will begin, – as is these seven years now,
 My daily wont, – and read a History
 (Written by one whose deft right hand was dust
 To the last digit, ages ere my birth)
 Of all my predecessors, Popes of Rome:
 For though mine ancient early dropped the pen,
 Yet others picked it up and wrote it dry,
 Since of the making books there is no end.
 And so I have the papacy complete
 From Peter first to Alexander last;
 Can question each and take instruction so.
 Have I to dare, – I ask how dared this Pope?
 To suffer? Suchanone, how suffered he?
 Being about to judge, as now, I seek
 How judged once, well or ill, some other Pope;
 Study some signal judgement that subsists
 To blaze on, or else blot, the page which seals
 The sum up of what gain or loss to God
 Came of His one more vicar in this world.³

to 1250 (Oxford, 1989).

I am grateful to the Planning Committee for the invitation to contribute to the Hofstra University conference 'Pope Innocent III and His World', and particularly to James Powell, James Muldoon and Richard Kay for extensive bibliographical assistance and long, informative conversations on the problem of the life of Lotharius, as well as to Joseph Dyer for his very useful study of the Lateran *schola cantorum*. The paper is printed largely as delivered, with a few corrections and changes. The essay is dedicated to Leonard E. Boyle, O. P.

²Walter Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1972), 1.

³Robert Browning, *The Ring and the Book*, ed. Richard D. Altick (Harmondsworth-Baltimore, 1971), Book X, p. 477.

Our earlier Innocent, too, read the *Liber Pontificalis* and evidently considerable other Roman and papal history.⁴

Then there are the particular agendas that each pope planned or encountered, as well as the institutional or other material resources which he had at his disposal, some agendas perennial, others (perhaps most) immediate and particular in time and place. Consider the surprising, dismaying and intractable marital problems of Philip Augustus and Ingeborg of Denmark that Innocent encountered at the beginning of his pontificate (the problem itself had begun several years earlier, in 1193) and worked on intermittently until almost the end, or the surprising reversal of positions in papal favor between Philip Augustus and John between 1199 and the end of the pontificate (or those between Otto IV and Philip of Swabia and later Frederick II), or the consequences and opportunities offered by the equally surprising death of Henry VI on 28 September 1197.⁵

There are still other theories about becoming pope in medieval Europe, few of them satisfactory, partly because we do not have enough biographical data on most medieval popes before their papacies – a lack that has sometimes led to some serious errors on the part of historians and others, most spectacularly, perhaps, in the case of the alleged Pope Joan.⁶

Finally, there is (at least from the mid-eleventh century and in some respects far earlier) the question of personal and professional experience, either outside of Rome (as in the cases of Leo IX or Urban II) or in papal service (as in the case of Hadrian IV), what might be termed the apprenticeship – or managerial – model, and we must remember that Lotharius spent nearly a dozen active years in the curia, probably from the age of twenty-six in 1186 or 1187 until his election as

⁴Brenda Bolton, 'Rome as a Setting for God's Grace', in Bolton, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot-Brookfield, 1995), art. I.

⁵On the reversal of positions, see Brenda Bolton, 'Philip Augustus and John: Two Sons in Innocent III's Vineyard?' in Wood, *The Church and Sovereignty*, 113-34, rpt in Bolton, *Innocent III*, art. V. On the death of Henry VI, see Gerhard Baaken, *Ius Imperii ad Regnum. Königreich Sizilien, Imperium Romanum und Römisches Papsttum vom Tode Kaiser Heinrichs VI. bis zu den Verzichtserklärungen Rudolfs von Habsburg* (Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 1993), 27-84. The imperial problem was indeed serious; there had been no disputed imperial election since that of Lothar III in 1125. In 1198 both electors and pope faced a very different world. See also Friedrich Kempf, 'Innocenz III. und der deutsche Thronstreit', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 23 (1985):63-91. On Philip Augustus, see John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1986), and *idem*, 'Persona et Gesta: The Image and Deeds of the Thirteenth-Century Capetians, 1. The Case of Philip Augustus', *Viator* 19 (1988):195-207.

⁶Alain Boureau, *La papesse Jeanne* (Paris, 1988). But some myths prove impervious to historical research: see most recently Donna Wolfolk Cross, *Pope Joan* (New York, 1996), an old argument disguised as a novel.

pope on 8 January 1198.⁷ His awareness of the papacy dated from the pontificate of Alexander III, and his immediate knowledge of its workings from that of Gregory VIII in 1187. This early experience is important; as Pennington observes, Innocent ‘had come to the papal throne with a clear conception of the papal prerogatives he wished to accentuate’.⁸ But how and under what circumstances had he formulated it?

The unique surviving letter of Lotharius as a cardinal – written to Henry VI in 1195 or 1196 – unfortunately offers little evidence on this point, except for its iteration of the dangers of heresy and the need for a crusade being the two grounds on which papal and imperial agreement was essential.⁹ The letter, evidently a response to a communication from Henry, offers little more. Failing greater evidence from the letter, one must seek the development of Lotharius’ ideas on the papacy in other areas.

The question is worth asking, particularly in Innocent’s case, because the problem is especially teasing: the pontificate began busy and remained busy – at its very outset it faced one of the most complex sets of diplomatic and administrative problems of any pontificate. The first few pages of Pennington’s *Pope and Bishops* sum up the early papal activity dramatically: Innocent immediately begins to expound the theories of papal authority that characterize the papacy after him; he reforms the papal household and the curia, reorganizes the government of the city of Rome, reunites the papal states, restructures the Roman chancery, begins a style of papal rhetoric that influences subsequent canonist rhetoric, creates, in Pennington’s felicitous musical metaphor, ‘a melodic line to which canonists [later] responded’, begins to revise the papal liturgy and adopts – and modifies – the title *vicarius Christi*.¹⁰

⁷On Lotharius as cardinal, see Maleczek, *Papst*, 101-4. The work of Alfons Becker and others has enabled historians recently to recognize the importance of the early career of Odo of Cluny/Ostia in the pontificate of Urban II. See Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1964, 1988); Ernst Dieter Hehl, ‘Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?’, *Historische Zeitschrift* 259 (1994):297-336, and Marcus Bull, ‘The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade’, *History* 78 (1993):353-72.

⁸Kenneth Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1984), 78. Pennington further argues (89-90) that Innocent did not use earlier decretals or canonistic case law, but rather ‘his vision was theological, not legal’.

⁹Werner Maleczek, ‘Ein Brief des Kardinals Lothar von SS. Sergius und Bacchus (Innocenz III.) an Kaiser Heinrich VI.’, *Deutsches Archiv* 38 (1982):564-76. The letter reflects Lotharius’ rhetorical expertise and the common topics of the need for peace between emperor and pope, especially in the matter of the call for a crusade and the prosecution of heretics. Maleczek suggests that Lotharius’ letter was in response to a letter sent by Henry VI to individual cardinals.

¹⁰Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 11-16, and for the early date of the political decretals, 48. Pennington describes how his own original plan for the book was changed by the figure of Innocent, p. 11. James Powell has also emphasized Innocent’s ‘institutional pastoralism’: James M. Powell, ‘*Pastor Bonus*: Some Evidence of Honorius III’s Use of the Sermons of Innocent III’, *Speculum* 55 (1977):522-37. On Rome and the patrimony, see Daniel Waley, *The Papal State in the Thirteenth*

Innocent was also one of the youngest of all popes. Like John Paul II he left a youthful paper trail. Among the items on that paper trail were surprisingly varied works of theology, homiletics and exegesis. He also left an extensive and interesting anecdotal history, one that invites speculation (if not categorical judgments) about his personality.¹¹ There are a few interesting physical descriptions and portraits, perhaps two that are likenesses – and Gerhart Ladner has taught us how to read them – but there is no deathmask.¹² His extraordinary political and legal vision invites questions as to its origin, questions not yet finally settled by Pennington, Imkamp or Maleczek.¹³ He was, after all, Innocent III, not Innocent IV, and it would be unrealistic to expect his expertise in canon law in 1198 to be that of a professor at Bologna in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. What seems to be needed is to compare Innocent to other students of theology and canon law of his generation and to consider seriously the extent and character of his participation in the meetings of the consistory both before and after his election.

His astonishing flexibility and devotional artistry in accepting radical religious movements in the face of considerable opposition, as well as his sympathy for Greek devotional practices if not the Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy, asks the same question. The sheer bulk of his official correspondence, his care for its organization and preservation, and especially some of its legal innovations suggest again the career before the papacy, especially if Innocent's own hand can

Century (London, 1961), 23-67; Peter Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1972), 224-43. Michele Maccarrone, 'Papato e regno di Sicilia nel primo anno di pontificato de Innocenzo III', and 'Innocenzo III e gli Avvenimenti di Romagna del 1198', in Maccarrone, *Nuovi Studi su Innocenzo III*, ed. Roberto Lambertini (Rome, 1995), 137-70, 171-207; Brenda Bolton, "'Except the Lord keep the city": Towns in the Papal States at the Turn of the Twelfth Century', in Bolton, *Innocent III*, art. III; Christian Lackner, 'Studien zur verwaltung des Kirchenstaates unter Papst Innocenz III.', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 29 (1987):127-214; John C. Moore, 'Pope Innocent III, Sardinia, and the Papal State', *Speculum* 62 (1987):81-101. On the liturgy, see S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (Westminster-London, 1960), 91-128, and Van Dijk-Walker, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents* (Fribourg, 1975), 89-485.

On the title, see Michele Maccarrone, *Vicarius Christi: Storia del Titolo Papale* (Rome, 1952), to which may be added the pre-thirteenth-century inscription cited by Pierre Jounel, *Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle* (Rome, 1977), 352, n. 15.

¹¹The most ambitious attempt has been that of Helene Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, trans. Walter Sax (Amsterdam-New York, 1980), 289-315. See also Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe 1198-1216* (London-New York, 1994), 1-29, and Robert Brentano, *Rome before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome* (New York, 1974), 148-55.

¹²Gerhart Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, Bd. II (Vatican City, 1970), 53-79. Sayers, *Innocent III*, 2.

¹³See below, n. 25.

be detected in some of the key decretals.¹⁴ At the very least, the Registers and the legal collection sent to Bologna indicate Innocent's strong concern for order and record – a concern expressed even in such details as seeing to it that each church in the *patrimonium* possessed a silver chalice, which it was not allowed to pawn. This idea of order in details great and small seems a distinctive characteristic of Innocent, and of Lotharius.¹⁵ And he dreamed – at least three times while pope and with significant results, and presumably before.¹⁶ Innocent also remained sensitive and responsive to the dreams and visions of others throughout the pontificate. Those who dream – or are said to dream – are also interesting.

With good reason, the entire pontificate of Innocent, rather than the youth of Lotharius, has been the focus of most scholarship, particularly since most historians first encounter it in the dramatic contexts of Lateran IV and the early political decretals. But during the past two decades, that pontificate has been extensively rethought, from the work of Pennington, Imkamp, Roscher, and Maleczek to that of Brenda Bolton, Christoph Egger, Jane Sayers, Constance Rousseau and John Moore. In some respects all these changing views of Innocent seem to recapitulate the thought and interests of one great historian, Michele Maccarrone, whose own Innocent has moved from the *Chiesa e stato* of 1940 to the more recent studies of pastoral theology and the Petrine tradition in Rome.¹⁷

¹⁴On the Register, see Imkamp, *Kirchenbild*, 71-90, with full references. Most scholars agree that Innocent's own words are to be found in many of the official letters, although caution in the attribution of particular words and phrases by the pope must always be used. Innocent's care for the compilation of the registers is equalled by his care for the collecting of his own decretals in the *Compilatio Tertia* by Petrus Beneventanus in 1210-1211 and by his rejection of the *Compilatio Quarta*.

¹⁵On the Registers and the *Compilatio tertia*, see Imkamp, 32-46.

¹⁶On the dream of St Francis, see Edward Peters, 'Restoring the Church and Restoring Churches: Event and Image in Franciscan Biography', *Franziskanische Studien* 68 (1986):213-36. On the dream of the hospital, see Brenda Bolton, 'Received in His Name: Rome's Busy Baby Box', *The Church and Childhood*, ed. Diana Wood (= *Studies in Church History* 31)(Cambridge, 1994), 153-67, rpt in Bolton, *Imocent III*, art. XIX (further on children, Constance M. Rousseau, 'Innocent III, Defender of the Innocents and the Law: Children and Papal Policy (1198-1216)', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 32 [1994]:31-42); on Gilbert of Sempringham, see Raymonde Foreville and Gillian Keir, *The Book of St. Gilbert* (Oxford, 1987), 174-77. On the general problem, Robert E. Lerner, 'Himmelsvision oder Sinnendelirium? Franziskaner und Professoren als Traumdeuter im Paris des 13. Jahrhundert', *Historische Zeitschrift* 259 (1994):337-67, with extensive references; Carlo Bertelli, 'Römische Träume', and Julian Gardner, 'Päpstliche Träume und Palastmalereien: Ein Essay über mittelalterliche Traumikonographie', both in Agostino Paravicini-Bagliani and Giorgio Stabile, eds, *Träume im Mittelalter. Ikonologische Studien* (Stuttgart-Zurich, 1989), 91-112, 113-24; Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1992). Gardner points out (p. 114) that Innocent could also be sceptical about dreams and expressed some scepticism in *De miseria*, I. 24, and he omitted any reference to the dream of Constantine in the Sylvester-sermon, PL 217:481-6.

¹⁷Thomas F. X. Noble, 'Michele Maccarrone on the Medieval Papacy', *Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994):518-33, a review-article of Michele Maccarrone, *Romana Ecclesia / Cathedra Petri*. ed. Piero Zerbi, Raffaello Volpini, Alessandro Galuzzi, 2 vols (Rome, 1991). See also Zerbi's survey,

Perhaps the same may be said about the two editions of James Powell's *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?* in 1963 and 1994. And the most important key to the revised, rather than the older Innocent, seems to be Lotharius. There was no marked change in the man after the election, although there was continuing intellectual, political and devotional development. The life before the pontificate seems deserving of some new consideration.

II

We have, of course, some assistance in the eulogistic and shrewd biographical narrative, the *Gesta Innocentii Tertii*, written in 1208 by someone fairly close to the pope with full access to the registers, and from it and other sources the biography of Lotharius can be constructed (some of its dating has been revised very recently, by Professors Moore and Bolton, among others, in interesting ways), although it will not tell us everything we wish to know.¹⁸ But it is a substantial work, 'too important to neglect', as Bolton has said, and it was written in a recently developed biographical tradition that includes Boso's *Life of Alexander III*, the *Gesta Friderici* of Otto of Freising, the works of Suger, Guillaume le Breton, and Rigord on Louis VI and Philip Augustus, and the biographies of Bernard and Becket. The life can be easily and quickly summarized.

Lotharius was a son (we do not know the birth-order, although we do know of a brother named Richard and a sister who married into the Annibaldi family) of Trasimondo dei Conti di Segni and Claricia dei Scotti, his father part of a family of landowners in the Anagni region about fifty kilometers southeast of Rome, and his mother a member of the Romani de Scotta family, to which Pope Clement III (1187-1191), was also said to have belonged.¹⁹

'Michele Maccarrone, il cammino di uno storico', 1:xxiii-lix.

¹⁸Brenda Bolton, 'Too Important to Neglect: The *Gesta Innocentii PP III*', rpt in Bolton, *Innocent III*, art. IV, with full literature. See also Imkamp, *Kirchenbild*, 10-20. John C. Moore, 'Lotario dei Conti di Segni (Pope Innocent III) in the 1180s', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 29 (1991):255-8. On the redating of the Grandmont dispute I have relied on information provided by Brenda Bolton in a personal communication in late 1996. Martinus Polonus designates Innocent as *natione Campanus*, in contrast to Clement III, Celestine III and Honorius III, whom he designates as *natione Romanus*; Louis Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 2 (Paris, 1955):451, 453. The life of Innocent is 451-3. The *Gesta* is printed in PL 214:xvii-cxxxviii. There is a new edition by David Gress-Wright, *The "Gesta Innocentii III": Text, Introduction and Commentary*, PhD Diss., Bryn Mawr University, 1981.

¹⁹There is a survey of the known relatives and a convenient map and genealogy in Marc Dykmans, 'D'Innocent III à Boniface VIII. Histoire des Conti et des Annibaldi', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 45 (1975):19-211 and in Sayers, *Innocent III*, 33-7. Michele Maccarrone, 'Innocenzo III prima del Pontificato', *Archivio della R. Deputazione romana di Storia Patria* 66 (IX della Nuova Serie)(1943):59-134, at 67, and 83-4, rejects the relationship. Nothing is known of the age of Clement III. See Volkert Pfaff, 'Papst Clemens III. (1187-91)', *ZRG Kan.*, 97 (1980):261-316. Age and illness had allegedly prevented his election earlier in 1187. There is a possibility that his age might make it

Lotharius himself was born at Gavignano, near Segni and Anagni, in 1160 or 1161. He may have been dedicated to the church early, and he was sent to study at the monastery of Sant' Andrea in Rome under Peter Ishmael, whom Lotharius/Innocent as pope later made bishop of Sutri. Innocent consistently remembered his teachers and fellow-students with appreciation and gratitude. At Sant' Andrea Lotharius would have studied letters and may have come to the attention of his putative relative Cardinal Paul Scolari, who later became Pope Clement III (1187-1191).²⁰ Lotharius also may have studied liturgy in the Lateran *scola cantorum* and may have become a canon of St Peter's.²¹ His life from a very early date was Roman (and Roman largely in the absence of both pope and curia), but not entirely.

Lotharius went to the schools of Paris in the late 1170s or 1180. A few earlier popes had been in contact with the Paris schools, but by the last quarter of the twelfth century these schools had developed considerably and were on the eve of becoming the University of Paris, a move that Innocent later supported.²² At Paris Lotharius studied under Peter of Corbeil (whom Innocent later made bishop of Cambrai and still later archbishop of Sens) and under Peter the Chanter and Melior of Pisa. Among his fellow students were Stephen Langton, whom Innocent later made archbishop of Canterbury and a cardinal, Robert of Courson, whom Innocent also used as a legate and later made a cardinal, and Eudes de Sully, whom Innocent later used as a *visitor*. All of these were powerful thinkers and forceful personalities.²³ While at Paris, Lotharius also made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury in 1185 or 1186. Thomas had been canonized by Alexander III at Segni in 1173, and it is possible that Lotharius had witnessed the canonization – he would have been twelve or thirteen at the time. Hence his later interest in the saint and the rapidly expanding cult as well as his interests in the cause for which Becket had been martyred. Innocent also certainly knew – and perhaps remembered – something about the

unlikely that he was the uncle of Lotharius. Of Richard's three male children, one, Stephen, became a cleric in papal service, and two became secular lords. On the family, see Thumser, cited below, n. 36, and on Stephen, see Maleczek, *Papst*, 195-201.

²⁰On the curriculum, see Maccarrone, 'Innocenzo III prima del pontificato', 68-70.

²¹Imkamp, *Kirchenbild*, 20-3, and on the *schola cantorum* below, n. 39.

²²Peter Classen, 'Rom und Paris: Kurie und Universität im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', in Classen, *Studium und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. Johannes Fried, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Bd. 29 (Stuttgart, 1983), 127-69, esp. 153-4; Imkamp, *Kirchenbild*, 23-32; P. Osmund Lewry, 'Papal Ideals and the University of Paris 1170-1303', in Ryan, *Papacy*, 363-88. Further on Becket, *Gesta*, 131.

²³John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols (Princeton, 1970); *idem*, 'Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective', *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 138-72.

strength of English beer, as he pointedly reminded Robert, the advocate of Mauger bishop of Worcester.²⁴

Lotharius returned to Italy in December 1186, as Moore's revised dating has it, and his last act in France was the mission to the papal legates at Grandmont perhaps slightly earlier in 1186. If Lotharius indeed arrived in northern Italy in December 1186, this revised chronology gives him slightly more time to study canon law at Bologna – almost three years – than previous discussions have allowed, although it is too early to be sure, and in any case the argument from chronology is not Pennington's main argument, since Pennington admits that Innocent studied *something* at Bologna. He suggests that it might have been theology or the notarial art, although the former is doubtful, after his five or six years in Paris and the unknown quantity that theology at Bologna was in those years, and the latter improbable). It is worth pointing out in support of Pennington's argument that Innocent later spoke of taking advice as pope from *iuris periti et alium prudentum*.²⁵ Between 21 October and December 1187, Lotharius was made a sub-deacon by Gregory VIII and he joined the itinerant curia in northern Italy, not Rome, as Moore has pointed out, possibly in recognition of his role in the Grandmont mission, but just as possibly because of his great promise as a scholar-curialist and his status as a member of a prominent Campano-Roman family. The papal curia was itinerant in these years, and Lotharius could have studied at Bologna and joined the curia in northern Italy when needed. Lotharius' association with Gregory VIII also coincided with Gregory's issuing in October 1187 the decretal *Audita tremendi*, the great crusade call in the wake of the

²⁴Generally, see Christopher R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England*, Ppste und Papsttum, Bd. 9 (Stuttgart, 1976), esp. 26-43, and for France, Raymonde Foreville, *Le pape Innocent III et la France* Ppste und Papsttum, Bd. 26 (Stuttgart, 1992). Of the four saints canonized by Innocent, two – Gilbert of Sempringham and Wulfstan of Worcester – were English, Wulfstan particularly appearing as Innocent's ideal prelate and pastor. See Emma Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008-1095* (Oxford-Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 278-81.

²⁵Kenneth Pennington, 'The Legal Education of Pope Innocent III', *BMCL*, n.s. 4 (1974):70-77; *idem*, 'Pope Innocent III's Views on Church and State; A Gloss to *Per Venerabilem*', in *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Robert Somerville (Philadelphia, 1977), 49-68; *idem*, review of Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalscolleg*, in *ZRG Kan.* 73 (1987):381-4, rpt as 'Further Thoughts on Pope Innocent III's Knowledge of Law', in Kenneth Pennington, *Popes, Canonists and Texts, 1150-1550* (Aldershot-Brookfield, 1993), art. II. The first article is reprinted in the same collection as art. I. See also Irmkamp, *Kirchenbild*, 32-46. On Innocent's consulting experts in the law, see Reg. 1:314, cited in James A. Brundage, *ZRG Kan.* 112 (1995):37, n. 33. Richard Kay's research has suggested that Lotharius may have had more time available for study in Bologna than even Moore's and Bolton's revised dating has allowed, perhaps as much as an additional year.

disaster at Hattin, that launched the Third Crusade and that certainly echoes in Innocent's own later concerns for the Holy Land.²⁶

In December 1189 or January 1190 Clement III made Lotharius cardinal-deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus. He immediately began rebuilding both the church and the diaconate (*quae nimis erat deformis et ruinosa, ut magis crypta quam basilica videretur*), working on several of his theological writings, not, as far as is known, on canon law, and participating in the work of the curia, even, perhaps, as Moore has argued, producing in the *De miseria a speculum curiae*.²⁷

At the end of 1197, Roger of Hoveden relates, Celestine III proposed to the cardinals that he would resign the papacy on the condition that the cardinals agreed to elect John of St Paul, cardinal-priest of Sta Prisca, as his successor.²⁸

²⁶On Innocent and *Audita tremendi* see Helmut Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und das Kreuzzug* (Göttingen, 1969), 41-4, 270-2, and Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 62-97; for the papacy and the crusade generally, Robinson, *The Papacy*, 322-49, esp. 348-9. Most recently, see Norman Housley, 'Crusades Against Christians: Their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1216', *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 17-35, esp. 27-31, in which Housley emphasizes Innocent's drawing on eleventh- and twelfth-century crusading ideas, and John Gilchrist, 'The Lord's War as the Proving Ground of Faith: Pope Innocent III and the Propagation of Violence (1198-1216)', *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. Maya Schatzmiller (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1993), 65-83, in which Gilchrist, like Pennington, sees Innocent as primarily a theologian. Further, Giulio Cipollone, *Cristianità – Islam: Cattività e Liberazione in Nome di Dio: Il Tempo di Innocenzo III dopo 'il 1187'*, Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 60 (Rome, 1992), and *idem*, 'Innocenzo III e i Saraceni: Atteggiamenti differenziati (1198-1199)', *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia* 9 (1988):167-88.

Gregory VIII was also the first pope to issue formal decretals of the type later issued by Innocent III. See Robinson, *The Papacy*, 200-1, and for the regular use of Gratian's *Decretum* in the curia (under Clement III), *ibid.*, 483, citing Walther Holtzmann, 'Die Benutzung Gratians in der päpstlichen Kanzlei im 12. Jahrhundert', *Studia Gratiana* 1 (1953):323-49.

²⁷John C. Moore, 'Innocent III's *De Miseria Humanae Conditionis: A Speculum Curiae?*' *Catholic Historical Review* 67 (1981):553-64. The point is worth making that during Lotharius' time away from pastoral and curial duties he chose to work on his theological projects, the *De miseria*, the *De missarum misteriis*, and the *De quadripartita specie nuptiarum (Dqsn)* and perhaps some of the sermons and the commentary on the seven penitential psalms. Such a concentration of intellectual effort may reflect either a lack of interest in furthering his study of canon law or an alternative to the law he encountered in his curial duties. The description of the fabric of SS. Sergius and Bacchus is in the *Gesta*, IV, PL 214:xxviiiB.

²⁸The fullest discussions are those of Volkert Pfaff, 'Papst Coelestin III. Eine Studie', *ZRG Kan.* 78 (1961):108-28, and *idem*, 'Der Vorgänger: Das Wirken Coelestins III. aus der Sicht von Innocenz III', *ZRG Kan.* 91 (1974):121-67; see also Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 11. Whether Hoveden is to be believed in all matters concerning the last days of Celestine III and the election of 1198 is not certain. But the story of the abdication-designation offer is unusual and needs further examination. On the early history of papal abdication, see Pennington, *Pope and Bishops*, 101-10; Peter Herde, 'Election and Abdication of the Pope: Practice and Doctrine in the Thirteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and Kenneth Pennington, *Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series C: Subsidia*, 7 (Vatican City, 1985), 411-36, at 429-36; Martin Bertram, 'Die Abdankung Papst Coelestins V. und die Kanonisten', *ZRG Kan.* 56 (1970):1-10;

Roger's version of events in Rome between late 1197 and early 1198 is of great interest, but it is also not universally accepted. If we separate his discussion of Celestine III's alleged offer of resignation from Roger's later account of the conclave that elected Innocent III, it is possible to see in the former episode one of the two great events in the last three months of 1197 – the other being the death of Henry VI – that must have greatly concentrated the curia's attention on the problem of papal succession.

According to Hoveden, the cardinals rejected Celestine's offer, and when the pope died on 8 January 1198, they removed to the fortified Septizonium on the Palatine Hill in order to hold a secure election. Lotharius remained at the Lateran to attend the funeral rather than immediately joining the conclave. None of the leading candidates for the papacy – a group which may have included John of St Paul (the candidate of Celestine III himself), John of St Stephen, Peter of Gallocia (to whom the *De miseria* had been dedicated), Cencius Savelli (later Honorius III, the chancellor of the two preceding popes) and Octavian of Ostia – can have received a significant vote, since Lotharius appears to have received a majority on the first ballot and the necessary two-thirds on the second – hardly a compromise candidate.²⁹ The author of the *Gesta* (VI) states that immediately after the election three doves flew into the place where the cardinals had voted, the whitest of which settled near Innocent's right side. Might this be a discreet way of indicating that there had been only three candidates, including Lotharius, nominated at the original vote? A holy man was also said to have had a vision in which Lotharius married his mother. The images of *mater ecclesia* and the bishop's marriage to his church are thus the first ecclesiological images associated with the pontificate in the *Gesta*, images always close to Innocent's vision of the church.³⁰ The *Gesta* author also notes that many other similar revelations were

John R. Eastman, *Papal Abdication in Medieval Thought* (Lewiston, 1990). It is worth noting that as Pope Innocent later observed that the marriage of the pope and the Roman Church is so stable and firm that it can be broken only by death (cited from the *Dqsn* by Principe, 'Monastic, Episcopal, and Apologetic Theology', 152-3, n. 135).

On Celestine III and Henry VI, see Gerhard Baaken, 'Die Verhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Heinrich VI. und Papst Cölestin III. in den Jahren 1195-1197', *Deutsches Archiv* 27 (1971):457-513, with a full review of the literature, and Baaken, *Ius Imperii ad Regnum*.

²⁹On these men, see Maleczek, *Papst*, 114-17 (John of St Paul); 107-9 (John of St Stephen); 95-6 (Peter Gallocia); 111-13 (Cencius Savelli); 80-3 (Octavian of Ostia).

³⁰On the image, see Peters, 'Restoring the Church', and Imkamp, *Kirchenbild*, 260-9, 300-23. Robert Benson's discussion of papal marriage-imagery in the context of ecclesiastical office in *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office* (Princeton, 1968), 144-7, illustrates an Innocent whose concerns for the authority of the *electus* may well have stemmed from his own experience. Benson cites the *Sermo 3 De diversis*, Innocent's sermon on the first anniversary of his own coronation in 1199, as abounding in marriage-imagery. See also Richard Kay's essay in this volume.

made to pious men, but that these are omitted in the *Gesta* at the wish of the pope, who had evidently read a draft of at least part of it.

Lotharius was elected pope on 8 January. Although there has been some disagreement as to the cardinals' estimation of Innocent and his youth, I suggest that the conclave knew exactly what it was doing; the cardinals may have preferred youthful vigor to age and experience, and they certainly knew Lotharius.³¹ He may have been something of an unknown quantity elsewhere in Europe, but the cardinals surely knew him. He chose – or more probably was given (one wishes that we knew about the choice of name more exactly) – the name Innocent.³² He announced his election when he issued his first papal letter on 9 January. He was ordained priest at the next Ember day, on 21 February, and bishop and pope the following day, the feast of St Peter's Chair.³³

The Tor' dei Conti was begun shortly afterwards. The family of the (probably not yet Conti di) Segni either then or earlier, settled on the western slope of the Viminal and in the area behind the forum of Nerva, also possessing property and influence in the *riione* Monti.³⁴ Innocent also began to build his own residence on

³¹Maleczek, *Papst*, 101-4.

³²Maria L. Taylor, 'The Election of Innocent III', *The Church and Sovereignty, ca. 590-1918: Essays in Honour of Michael Wilks*, ed. Diana Wood (= *Studies in Church History, Subsidia* 9)(Cambridge, 1991), 96-112. Taylor argues persuasively that only twenty-one cardinals were present for the election. On the process of election, see Robinson, *The Papacy*, 84-90. The *Ordo Romanus* XII prescribed that the senior cardinal deacon was to name the *papa electus*, and Taylor points out that in 1198 that deacon was Gratian of SS. Cosma e Damiano. Taylor also assumes that the name was given to indicate previous papal models that the new pope should keep in mind. However, it is worth pointing out that three of the last four popes elected at the end of the twelfth century were given (or took) names that had been used earlier in the century by antipopes: Gregory VIII ('Gregory VIII', 1118-1121), Clement III ('Clement III', 1080-1084), and Innocent III ('Innocent III', 1179-1180). On the term, see Michael Stoller, 'The Emergence of the Term *Antipapa* in Medieval Usage', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 23 (1985):43-61. That the memory of antipopes was strong at the end of the twelfth century is indicated by the fact that Gregory VIII expressed great hostility to 'Victor IV' when he exhumed the remains and scattered them (Robinson, *The Papacy*, 506). It is possible that Lotharius was present. It is pointless to speculate about whether 'Victor IV' was still too potent a name and too recent a memory to obliterate by renaming the new pope Victor IV. And there were other antipapal names that had yet to be replaced. 'Innocent III', however, had been quite recent but had only a short and relatively colorless pontificate. It is not at all clear that the choice of papal names invariably intended to echo the pontificates and policies of earlier popes with the same name. Gregory VII, for example, appears to have chosen his papal name from his early patron and predecessor Gregory VI. I share the scepticism of Maccarrone, 'Innocenzo III prima del pontificato', 131-2.

³³Taylor, 'The Election of Innocent III'. See also Bolton, 'Rome as a Setting for God's Grace', 5, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *La cour des papes au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1995), 19-20. Innocent later raised the rank of sub-deacon to that of a major order. On Innocent's consecration of Innocent II's church of Sta Maria in Trastevere, see Taylor, 110-11, Bolton, 'Rome as a Setting', 10-13.

³⁴Sayers, *Innocent III*, 33-7; Paravicini Bagliani, *La cour des papes*, 18, suggests an earlier move to Rome on the occasion of the marriage of Lotharius' parents and the mother's Roman connections. See also Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980), 157.

the Mons Saccorum at the Vatican. His interest in the Vatican began early and continued throughout the pontificate, a reminder of Innocent's Petrine devotion.³⁵ He was instantly plunged into the problems of the church and the world in the late winter and spring of 1198. And that is the life before the papacy.

III

What can we make of it? For all of the detail about Lotharius it does not tell us, it does allow us access to him through several smaller prosopographies, thus avoiding one of Synan's concerns – the prosopographies of Roman and Campanian families, possibly those of Sant' Andrea and the *scola cantorum*, the schools of Paris, possibly those of Bologna, the curia, and the college of cardinals. In several of these what we do not learn about Lotharius we can learn about the group, even when, as he often does, Lotharius/Innocent seems unrepresentative. Some of these have been well studied: the Roman families by Matthias Thumser and Étienne Hubert, Paris by John Baldwin, Stephen Ferruolo and Walter Principe; Bologna by Stephan Kuttner; the college of cardinals and the curia by Werner Maleczek, the bishops by Pennington.³⁶

There are at least echoes of the others: much of the later use of language and rhetoric and the linguistic wit and verbal sarcasm that comes out again and again to the end of the life has the air of the schools and the court about it.³⁷ There is something of the same quality in the account of Innocent's summer working days and leisure hours at Subiaco in the well-known letter discovered by Karl Hampe

³⁵Christopher Walter, 'Papal Political Imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace', *Cahiers archéologiques* 20 (1970):155-76, and 21 (1971):109-36, rpt in Walter, *Prayer and Power in Byzantine and Papal Imagery* (Aldershot-Brookfield, 1993), art. VIIa-b; Gerhart B. Ladner, 'I Mosaici e gli Affreschi ecclesiastico-politici nell' Antico Palazzo Lateranense', rpt in Ladner, *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages: Selected Studies in History and Art*, 1 (Rome, 1983):347-66; Brenda Bolton, 'Advertise the Message: Images in Rome at the Turn of the Twelfth Century', *The Church and the Arts*, ed. Diana Wood (= *Studies in Church History* 28) (Cambridge, 1992), rpt in Bolton, *Innocent III*, art. XVII, pp. 117-30; Krautheimer, *Rome*, 203-7 and figs 255-8, 260; Bolton, 'Rome as a Setting', 18-19; and Sayers, *Innocent III*, 10-15. On saints, see Pierre Jounel, *Le culte des saints*. On Peter, see Maccarrone, 'La "cathedra sancti Petri" nel Medioevo: da simbolo a reliquia', *Romana Ecclesia / Cathedra Petri*, 2:1249-1374, esp. 1349-55.

³⁶Matthias Thumser, *Rom und der römische Adel in der späten Stauferzeit* (Tübingen, 1995), esp. 75-97, 196-7; Étienne Hubert, *Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du Xe siècle à la fin du XIII siècle* (Rome, 1990), 233-64, 281-96; Baldwin, above, n. 15; Stephen Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100-1215* (Stanford, 1985); Principe, below, nn. 45-6; Stephan Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik* (Vatican City, 1937); Maleczek and Pennington, above, n. 8, and, for the cardinalate, Robinson, *The Papacy*, 33-120, and Maleczek, *Papst*, 57-204.

³⁷Sayers, 2-3, citing Stephan Kuttner, 'Universal Pope or Servant of God's Servants: the Canonists, Papal Titles and Innocent III', *Revue de droit canonique* 32 (1981), rpt in Kuttner, *Studies in the History of Medieval Canon Law* (Hampshire-Brookfield, 1990), art. VIII.

and eloquently cited by Tillmann.³⁸ Innocent's interest in and skill at liturgy and chant, particularly that of papal Rome – a priest with a voice and a fine ear, *exercitatus in cantilena et psalmodia* as the author of the *Gesta* tells us – probably reflects Lotharius' experience at the *scola cantorum* at the Lateran and its continuing significance to him.³⁹ There is also substantial evidence of deep personal piety and theological interests reflected in the sermons and theological works – on baptism, marriage and the doctrine of Purgatory, for instance.⁴⁰ There is also Innocent's profound concern for the condition of the clergy and the papal household; a remarkable responsiveness to the laity and its own distinctive needs; church reform generally, interestingly conceptualized in Innocent's concern for the rebuilding and refurbishing of both material and figurative churches; the crusade – Innocent was twenty-seven or -eight when Hattin occurred, and he was present at the issuing of *Audita tremendi*. He knew that God tests Christians by demanding penance of them and willingness to lay down their lives for their brothers and that the crusade was impossible without the necessary preliminary penance and reform. Crusade and moral reform are always closely linked in his thought.⁴¹ He possessed an elevated and articulated concept of authority that was expressed very early in the pontificate and must have been developed well before it began, perhaps initially in relation to bishops and to Rome and the patrimony, but quickly extended to other fields as well. The question of legal study at Bologna may also be clarified by considering these smaller prosopographies more closely and in context.

³⁸Karl Hampe, 'Eine Schilderung der Sommeraufenthaltes der römischen Kurie unter Innocenz III. in Subiaco 1202', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 8 (1905):509-35, extensively discussed by Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, 288-315.

³⁹Imkamp, *Kirchenbild*, 20-3. See also Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, 'Die Bedeutung Roms im päpstlichen Zeremoniell', in *Rom im hohen Mittelalter. Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert*, ed. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and Ludwig Schmugge (Sigmaringen, 1992), 47-61. The use of the phrase *exercitatus in cantilena et psalmodia* by the author of the *Gesta* is, I suggest, rather strong evidence that Lotharius had spent some time at the Lateran *schola cantorum*, since the phrase was used frequently in precisely this context. See Joseph Dyer, 'The Schola Cantorum in Its Roman Milieu in the Early Middle Ages', *De Musica et Cantu. Studien Zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer (Hildesheim-Zurich-New York, 1993), 19-40.

⁴⁰Christoph Egger, 'Papst Innocenz III. als Theologe. Beiträge zur Kenntnis seines Denkens im Rahmen der Frühscholastik', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 30 (1992):55-123, and *idem*, 'Die Taufe bei Papst Innocenz III. Theologische und kanonistische Probleme', paper presented to the X International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Syracuse, 1996. On Innocent and Purgatory, see Jacques LeGoff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984), 174-5, and Sayers, 19-20. See also Giles Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), 97-100.

⁴¹See the discussion in Hehl, 'Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug?', 316, and Christoph Maier's essay in the present volume.

The life also tells us a few other things about Lotharius. His was a life of remarkable travel for a future pope, not, as in the cases of Adrian IV or Alexander III, in papal service or papal or curial exile, but as a student and pilgrim, through northern France, possibly southern Flanders, Normandy, southeastern England and northern Italy. And Lotharius was elected pope while young enough to have these experiences and places fresh in his memory, two generations younger, as Volkert Pfaff has reminded us, than his immediate predecessor, Celestine III, who had been born just after the beginning of the twelfth century. Celestine III had himself thus known the papacy from Calixtus II to Clement III.⁴² Innocent also ruled in a world contended for and ruled by other young men – Philip of Swabia and Otto of Brunswick (both around twenty in 1198), Philip Augustus and Henry VI (both b. 1165), four or five years younger than Innocent, John of England (b. 1167), six or seven years younger than Innocent.⁴³ And some of these young men had grown up very quickly. As a number of scholars have pointed out, Innocent's great pronouncements on papal authority all come from the very early pontificate – they are those of a young pope speaking firmly to young lords as well as to distant rulers. Pennington is surely right: Lotharius had been thinking hard about the papacy long before he became pope. One can only wonder about Lotharius' future role in the curia if he had not been elected pope in 1198. John of Gaeta did not die until 1214. Lotharius would surely have become a bishop – or a monk – perhaps bishop of Ostia, a Hostiensis *avant la lettre*, but a very different Hostiensis!

IV

He did become a bishop, and a bishop of Rome quite unlike any of his predecessors or successors. Here again, the smaller prosopographies may signal some of that distinctiveness, even when the evidence suggests Innocent's differing from the main concerns of the groups identified. Karlfried Froelich has demonstrated convincingly that Innocent's use of exegesis to define papal authority differed from both the exegetical understanding of the schools and from earlier traditions of papal exegesis, which resulted, Froelich argues, in the fact that 'Innocent III fused both lines of papal interpretation, reading the task of "strengthening" specifically as part of the pope's universal teaching ministry', in an 'imaginative fusion of exegesis and papal ideology'.⁴⁴ Innocent learned the methods of

⁴²Celestine III had been made a cardinal in 1144. Pfaff, 'Der Vorgänger', 124; Maleczek, *Papst*, 68-70.

⁴³On the ages of these rulers and Innocent's own awareness of his youth, see Bolton, 'Philip Augustus and John', 114-15.

⁴⁴Karlfried Froelich, 'Saint Peter, Papal Primacy, and the Exegetical Tradition, 1150-1300', in Ryan, *Papacy*, 3-44, at 25 and 43.

interpreting the *sacra pagina* at the schools of Paris, but he was not bound to all of their exegetical areas of concentration.

Nor does Innocent seem to have shared the views of the Paris moral theologians concerning the papacy. Walter Principe has considered the school theologians' views of the papacy, particularly their general lack of interest in it.⁴⁵ But when Principe treats monastic, episcopal and apologetic theology, we find a very different tradition, one that seems much closer to Innocent and perhaps to Lotharius.⁴⁶ Particularly striking appears the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux.⁴⁷ Such influences are not surprising. Since the eighth century at least, many of the most important assertions concerning the nature and authority of the papal office were articulated by writers outside of Rome, and even outside of Italy, from Bede and the early Carolingians through the authors of the Pseudo-Isidore collection to Bernard, Gerhoch of Reichersberg, Anselm of Havelberg and Hildegard of Bingen. Principe himself discusses Innocent's theology of the papacy in this latter context, rather than in that of the schools.⁴⁸

Principe's discussions, with the observations of Maccarrone, Jacqueline and Froelich, point to an Innocent (and hence to a Lotharius) much influenced by some strands of twelfth-century monastic thought, particularly that of Bernard of Clairvaux, as does the favor he showed toward Cistercians and his replacement of much of the papal household by monks and his reform of papal household

⁴⁵Walter H. Principe, 'The School Theologians' Views of the Papacy, 1150-1250', in Ryan, *Papacy*, 45-116.

⁴⁶Walter H. Principe, 'Monastic, Episcopal, and Apologetic Theology of the Papacy, 1150-1250', in Ryan, *Papacy*, 117-70.

⁴⁷*Idem*, 118-29, 149-54; Froelich, 'Saint Peter', 41-2; Michele Maccarrone, *Chiesa e Stato nella Dottrina di Papa Innocenzo III* (Rome, 1940), 19-22, 29-31, 35-47, 51; Stanley Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: The Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1972); Bernard Jacqueline, *Episcopat et papauté chez saint Bernard de Clairvaux* (Saint-Lo, 1975), esp. 304-5; Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn (London, 1970), 426-37, Annamaria Ambrosioni, 'Bernardo e il papato', *Bernardo Cisterciense: Atti del XXVI Convegno storico internazionale* (Spoleto, 1990), 59-79; *idem*, 'San Bernardo, il papato e l'Italia', *San Bernardo e l'Italia: Atti del Convegno di studi*, ed. Pietro Zerbi (Milan, 1993), 25-50; Sabine Teubner-Schoebel, *Bernhard von Clairvaux als Vermittler an der Kurie: Eine Auswertung seiner Briefsammlung* (Bonn, 1993); Giulio Silano, 'Of Sleep and Sleeplessness: The Papacy and the Law, 1150-1300', in Ryan, *Papacy*, 343-61, esp. 343-9; Jeannine Quillet, 'Saint Bernard et le pouvoir', *Mediaevalia Christiana XIe-XIIIe siècles: Hommage à Raymonde Foreville*, ed. Coloman Étienne Viola (Paris, 1989), 246-59; James A. Brundage, 'St. Bernard and the Jurists', *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1992), 25-33; Jean Leclercq, 'Saint Bernard's Attitude toward War', *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History II*, ed. John R. Sommerfeldt, *Cistercian Studies* 24 (Kalamazoo, 1976), 20-2.

⁴⁸Principe, 'Monastic, Episcopal, and Apologetic Theology', 149-54. See also Noble, 'Moribidity and Vitality'.

dress to simple white wool clothing.⁴⁹ Innocent's first confessor was the Cistercian Rainier of Ponza, his chaplain was the Cistercian Nicholas, and the first cardinal he created was the Cistercian Gerard of Pontigny, Cardinal Deacon of St Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano in 1198 and later Cardinal Priest of S. Marcello in 1199.⁵⁰

The letter from Subiaco discovered by Hampe also underlines Innocent's close association with monasticism generally. The sermon *In resurrectione Domini* delivered at Subiaco and the Subiaco fresco in the *Sacro Speco* are two other pieces of evidence. So is the fourteenth-century gloss of Petrus Bohier to the *vita* of Gregory IV in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Glossing the word *visitator*, Petrus observes that, 'Today, this is not an office of the pope. However, Innocent III personally visited and reformed the monastery at Subiaco'.⁵¹ Innocent's concern with and interest in monasticism was enduring.⁵² It is worth emphasizing this aspect of Innocent's personal interests because it reminds us of the place of omens, visions and dreams in the pontificate. The *Gesta* author was permitted by Innocent to describe only one of these concerning the election, and evidence for the others comes from slightly later sources. But they tell us that the author of *Novit, Solitae, Per venerabilem, Vergentis in senium*, and *Venerabilem* was also sensitive to the content of dreams and visions, his own and those of others, again in contrast to the direction of much early thirteenth-century oneirology.⁵³

⁴⁹In general, see Michele Maccarrone, 'Innocenzo III e la Vita Religiosa', in Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III* (Padua, 1972), 223-337, and Brenda Bolton, 'Via ascetica: A Papal Quandry', *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985):161-91 (rpt in Bolton, *Innocent III*, art. VI). On the monastic personal servants and the white wool robes, see *Gesta*, CXLVIII; Bolton, 'Via ascetica', 168. Most recently, Olivier Guyotjeannin, 'Innocent III', *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, ed. Philippe Levillain (Paris, 1994), 877-82. On Innocent and the Cistercian Order, see John C. Moore, 'Peter of Lucedio (Cistercian Patriarch of Antioch) and Pope Innocent III', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 29 (1987):221-49, at 222, and Brenda Bolton, 'For the see of Simon Peter: The Cistercians at Innocent III's Nearest Frontier', in Bolton, *Innocent III*, art. II; on Rainier of Ponza, pp. 11-19.

⁵⁰Maleczek, *Papst*, 124-5. In the *Gesta* (CXXVI) Innocent restores the monastery of St Martin in Viterbo and affiliates it with Pontigny.

⁵¹*Liber Pontificalis Glossato*, ed. Ulderico Prerovský, vol. 3, *Glosse, Studia Gratiana* XXIII (1978), p. 401, *glo. ad v. visitator*: 'Hodie non est officium papae. Innocentius tamen tertius per se monasterium Sublacense visitavit et reformavit . . .'. The editor cites Innocent's decretal of 1202 to Subiaco, *Accedentes cause devotionis* (Pott. 1720), which Bohier claimed to have seen. Bohier's own credentials as a reformer perhaps explain his interest in Innocent's monastic reforming activities. On Innocent and Subiaco, see Bolton, 'Via ascetica', 177-9. The reformed monastery was that of Sta Scholastica.

⁵²See Maccarrone, 'Primato romano e monasteri dal principio de sec. XII ad Innocenzo III', *Romana Ecclesia / Cathedra Petri*, 2:821-928, esp. 895-928; Brenda Bolton, 'Daughters of Rome: All One in Christ Jesus', in Bolton, *Innocent III*, art. XVI.

⁵³See the sources cited above, n. 16, especially Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, 83-123, and the essay by Michael Goodich in the present volume.

His sermon collection, which also both resembles and differs from the homiletic concerns of the Paris schools, was sent to the abbot of Citeaux.⁵⁴ It is also striking that the Pauline text cited in terms of religious in the *Sermo in Resurrectione Domini* edited by Moore, based on the text of Phil. 3:20, *Nostra conversatio in celis est*, is cited by Innocent in terms of himself and his clerical – perhaps monastic – audience in *Sermo XIV De tempore*.⁵⁵ The papal court described in the Hampe letter and other sources is certainly not a monastic institution – it could not have been – but it surely appears under Innocent to have operated according to that *gravitas* that Bernard of Clairvaux had urged in the *De consideratione*.⁵⁶

The appeal of Citeaux and Bernard should not be surprising. Bernard's ascetic views and allegorical method found a remarkably sympathetic student in Lotharius, and the *De consideratione* was the greatest *speculum papae* of the twelfth century. It would have been unavoidable by anyone in the curia thinking seriously about the papacy, especially during a troubled and increasingly ineffective pontificate like that of Celestine III. Bernard had also urged the pursuit of wisdom in the small leisure afforded by the press of public affairs (I. 12), a description that fits well the *Gesta* portrait of Lotharius working on theological studies in the leisure he could get from the business of the curia.⁵⁷

A second kind of influence, represented (and claimed for himself on Innocent) by Gerald of Wales, focused on sacramental theology and pastoralism, particularly pastoral failures, represented respectively in the first and second distinctions of Gerald's *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, which he presented to Innocent in Rome in 1199.⁵⁸ Gerald was nearly a generation older than Innocent, also a product of

⁵⁴John C. Moore, 'The Sermons of Pope Innocent III', *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 36 (1994):81-142. On the differences between the sermons of Innocent and those of the school tradition, see Moore, 99, 106, and on the image of the papacy in the sermons, 105-9. See also Synan, 'The Pope's Other Sheep', esp. 391-8.

⁵⁵Moore, 'Sermons', 135-42, at 137. *Sermo XIV* is in PL 217:382B, a sermon resembling the Moore sermon in other respects as well.

⁵⁶Bernard of Clairvaux, *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope*, trans. John D. Anderson and Elizabeth T. Kennan (Kalamazoo, 1976), IV. 22. On the courtly context of such *gravitas*, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, 1994). On citations from the *De consideratione* in the work of Innocent III, p. 187, and above, n. 40. Cf. *Sermo 32 De sanctis*, the sermon for All Saints' Day preached at Subiaco.

⁵⁷Maccarrone, 'Innocenzo III prima del pontificato', 89, 120.

⁵⁸Geraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, ed. J. S. Brewer, RS 21/1:119. See the translation by John J. Hagen: Gerald of Wales, *The Jewel of the Church: A Translation of "Gemma Ecclesiastica" by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Leiden, 1979), xvi. Gerald characterizes Innocent as 'copiose literatus est et literaturam dilexit'. On Gerald, see Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982), and Richard Kay, 'Gerald of Wales and the Fourth Lateran Council', forthcoming in *Viator*.