

Pope Celestine III (1191–1198)

DIPLOMAT AND PASTOR



Edited by

John Doran and
 Damian J. Smith

CHURCH,
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Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West

General Editors

*Brenda Bolton, Anne J. Duggan, and
Damian J. Smith*

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The series *Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West* reflects the central concerns necessary for any in-depth study of the medieval Church – greater cultural awareness and interdisciplinarity. Including both monographs and edited collections, this new series draws on the most innovative work from established and younger scholars alike, offering a balance of interests, vertically though the period from c.400 to c.1500 or horizontally across Latin Christendom. Topics covered range from cultural history, the monastic life, relations between Church and State to law and ritual, palaeography and textual transmission. All authors, from a wide range of disciplinary backgrounds, share a commitment to innovation, analysis and historical accuracy.

About the volume

Hyacinth Bobone (c. 1105–1198) was one of the great figures of twelfth-century Europe. Active in the Roman Curia from the 1120s, a student in Paris, and associated with both Peter Abelard and Arnold of Brescia, he was made cardinal deacon of Santa Maria in Cosmedin by Pope Lucius II in 1144 and served there during forty-seven years before being elected as pope in 1191.

As curial cardinal and as papal legate in France, Spain, Portugal and the Empire, he was deeply involved in many of the major political conflicts and ecclesiastical reforms of his time. As pope, he contended with formidable secular rulers and serious setbacks for the crusading movement. His pontificate saw particularly notable developments in the fields of canon law and canonization policy, while his Roman origins influenced his artistic patronage in Rome and his attitude to the city's Jews. Yet this remarkable pope has been overshadowed by his celebrated successor, Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) and there has been no full-length study of his life since 1905.

The studies presented here offer a fresh look at Hyacinth's early life in Rome, Paris and as legate, explain his relationship as cardinal and pope with the Christian kings, examine his promotion of the crusade in the Holy Land, on the Baltic Frontier and in the Iberian Peninsula, and analyze his role as pastor and reformer. These articles, written by leading experts in their respective fields, inform us not only on the life of an exceptional churchman but also of the vibrant and rapidly changing times in which he lived.



Pope Celestine III, from Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, Burgerbibliothek Bern, Cod. 120.II, f. 105r

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Pope Celestine III (1191–1198)

Diplomat and Pastor

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Preface

Pope Celestine III suffered a double misfortune in the timing of his pontificate. His registers, along with those of all of the twelfth-century popes, are lost, but he was succeeded by Innocent III, whose registers survive. Innocent also had an anonymous biographer, who did not much like Celestine, and his lead has been followed by generations of historians. We, like almost everybody else, came to know of Celestine through studying Innocent. Like almost everybody else, we imbibed the poor opinion of Celestine traceable to the *Gesta Innocentii III*. A chance discussion a decade ago sowed the seeds for this collection, as we each realized that a reappraisal of Celestine III was long overdue. The theme matured through a series of seminars held at the Leeds International Medieval Congress and further discussion both public and private. Our thanks are due to Frances Andrews, Susan Boynton, Louise Bourdua and Brenda Bolton. Aleta Doran has been kind enough to provide the maps, in spite of her sacrifices to the popes over the years. A particular debt is owed to Anne Duggan for guiding us through unfamiliar publishing territory and for sharpening wits with her deep knowledge. John Smedley of Ashgate has been a model of encouragement and patience. It was with great sadness that we learned of the death of Michael Goodich as this volume neared completion. Michael's scholarship and friendship will be remembered and treasured by those who knew him, while his humour will be irreplaceable. We sincerely thank Marion Goodich for allowing us to publish Michael's chapter in this volume, which we have dedicated to Michael's memory. He, like others, was surprised to find how comprehensively Celestine III has been ignored and overlooked. It is our hope that this volume will provide a long-overdue reappraisal of this most interesting of popes, whose life spanned the whole of the twelfth century, that most interesting of periods in the history of the papacy.

For permission to reproduce the illustrations in this book, the editors wish to thank the following: Dr Martin Germann, keeper of the Bongarsiana Codices in the Burgerbibliothek Bern, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Archivio Fotografico della Fabbrica di S. Pietro.

Chester and Saint Louis
20 February 2007

JD, DS.



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Abbreviations

<i>AHP</i>	<i>Archivum Historiae Pontificiae</i>
<i>BIHR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> (now <i>Historical Research</i>)
BL	British Library
Boso, <i>Vita Adriani</i>	<i>Le Liber Pontificalis</i> , ed. L. Duchesne, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd ser. 3, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Paris, 1955–7), ii, 388–97
Brixius	J. M. Brixius, <i>Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130–1181</i> (Berlin, 1912)
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnhout, 1953–)
Codex	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>
1–5 Comp	E. Friedberg, <i>Quinque compilationes antiquae necnon collectio canonum Lipsiensis</i> (Leipzig, 1882; repr. Graz, 1956)
Decretum	<i>Decretum Gratiani; Corpus Iuris Canonici</i> , i
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> , 67 vols (Rome, 1960–2006)
<i>DHGE</i>	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> , ed. A. Baudrillart, A. de Meyer, E. van Cauwenbergh, and R. Aubert (Paris, 1912–)
<i>Digest</i>	<i>The Digest of Justinian</i> , ed. Theodor Mommsen and Paul Krueger, English translation, ed. by Alan Watson, 4 vols (Philadelphia, 1985)
<i>Ecumenical Councils</i>	<i>Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta</i> , ed. J. Alberigo <i>et al.</i> , 3rd edn, 2 vols (Bologna, 1973); the same text, with the same pagination, is available with an English translation: <i>Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils</i> , ed. by N. P. Tanner, S.J., 2 vols (Georgetown, 1990)
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Friedberg, <i>Corpus iuris canonici</i>	<i>Corpus iuris canonici</i> , ed. E. Friedberg, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1879–81)

- GC *Gallia Christiana* (nova), 16 vols (Paris, 1715–1865; repr. Farnborough, 1970)
- Italia Pontificia* P. F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, Regesta Romanorum pontificum, 10 vols. in 8: i–viii (Berlin, 1906–35; repr. 1961); ix, ed. W. Holtzmann (Berlin, 1962); x, ed. D. Girgensohn (Zurich, 1975)
- JL P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ad annum 1198*, ed. S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, and P. W. Ewald, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1885–88)
- Liber censuum* *Le Liber censuum de l'église romaine*, ed. L. Duchesne et al., 3 vols (Paris, 1889–1952)
- Liber Pontificalis* *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 2nd Ser. 3, 2nd edn., 3 vols (Paris, 1955–57)
- Mansi* *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi, cont. I. B. Martin, L. Petit, 53 vols. (Florence/Venice, 1759–98; Paris, 1901–27; repr. Graz, 1960–61)
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, inde ab anno Christi quintesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum* (Hanover/Berlin, 1824–)
- MGH *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, 8 vols (Hanover/Leipzig, 1893–1927) = MGH *Leges* (in 4to), Sectio IV
- MGH SRG *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historica separatim editi*, 61 vols (Hanover, et alibi, 1839–1935; variously re-edited and reprinted)
- MGH SRG, NS *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, New Series (Berlin, 1922–)
- MGH SS *Scriptores* (in folio), 32 vols in 34 (Hanover, 1826–1934)
- Muratori, *Rer. Ital. SS* *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori, 25 vols (Milan, 1723–51)
- NMT Nelson's Medieval Texts
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
- Ohnsorge, *Legaten Alexanders III.* W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. im ersten Jahrzehnt seines Pontifikats (1159–1169)*, Historische Studien, 175 (Berlin, 1928)

OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina (Patrologia latina)</i> , 221 vols, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1841–64)
PUE	<i>Papsturkunden in England</i> , ed. W. Holtzmann, 3 vols, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, i, New Ser. 25 (Berlin, 1930); ii, 3rd Ser., 14–15 (Berlin 1935–36); iii, 3rd Ser., 33 (Göttingen, 1952)
PU Portugal	<i>Papsturkunden in Portugal</i> , ed. C. Erdmann, Abhandlungen...Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, New Ser., 20/3 (Berlin, 1927; repr. Göttingen, 1970)
PU Spanien	<i>Papsturkunden in Spanien</i> , ed. P. F. Kehr, Vorarbeiten zur Hispania pontificia, 2 vols, Abhandlungen...Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, New Ser. 18/2, 22: i (Katalanien); ii (Navarra und Aragon) (Berlin, 1926, 1928; repr. Göttingen, 1970)
QF	Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken
<i>Recueil des historiens</i>	<i>Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France</i> , ed. M. Bouquet, <i>et al.</i> [xiv–xviii, ed. M.-J.-J. Brial], new edn. directed by L. Delisle, 19 vols. (Paris, 1869–80)
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i>
Howden, <i>Chronica</i>	<i>Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene</i> , ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS 51 (London, 1868–71)
<i>Reg. Inn.</i> , i	<i>Die Register Innocenz' III., 1. Pontifikatsjahr, 1198/1199.</i> ed. O. Hageneder and A. Haidacher, Publikationen der Abteilung für historische Studien des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts in Rom, 2. Abt., 1st Ser., 1 (Graz/Cologne, 1964)
<i>Reg. Inn.</i> , ii	<i>Die Register Innocenz' III., 2. Pontifikatsjahr, 1199/1200. Texte</i> , ed. O. Hageneder, W. Maleczek, A. A. Strnad, Publikationen...Rom, 2. Abt., 1st Ser., 2 (Rome/Vienna, 1979)
RS	Rolls Series: <i>Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, published...under the direction of the Master of the Rolls</i> , 99 vols (London, 1858–96)
s.a.	sub anno

xiv

Pope Celestine III (1191–1198)

s.v.

sub vocabulo

X

Liber Extra: Decretales Gregorii IX: Friedberg, Corpus iuris canonici, ii.

ZRG Kan. Abt.

Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung

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Dedicated to the memory of

Michael Goodich

1944–2006

Chapter 1

Hyacinth Bobone: Diplomat and Pope

Anne J. Duggan

Perfice gressus meos in semitis tuis

The most extraordinary fact about Hyacinth Bobone is that he was ever elected pope. Having been appointed cardinal deacon by Celestine II (1143–44) (or possibly by Lucius II) in 1144,¹ he watched numerous colleagues in the Sacred College rise through the grades to cardinal bishop and even pope before, at the age of about eighty-six, when most of those colleagues had ‘gone the way of all flesh’, he was elected *nemine contradicente* on 29 or 30 March 1191, the very day of his predecessor Clement III’s death,² ordained priest on 30 March or, more probably, 13 April (Easter

* ‘Make my steps perfect in thy ways’ (Ps. 16 (17): 5); or, as the King James version has it, ‘Hold up my goings in thy paths’. This was the personal device or motto inscribed in the rota at the bottom of Celestine’s privileges. The rota consisted of a double circle (containing the device), within which was drawn a cross containing in the upper quadrants the names of Saints Peter and Paul, and in the lower quadrants the pope’s name and title:

Scs Petrus	Scs Paulus
Cele pp.	stinus iii.

1 S. Weiss, *Die Urkunden der päpstlichen Legaten von Leo IX. bis Coelestin III. (1049–1198)*, *Forschungen zur Papst- und Kaiser Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 17 (Cologne, 1995), 192; V. Pfaff, ‘Celestino III’, *Enciclopedia dei papi*, ii (2000), 320b–326b, at 320b. For the earlier consensus in favour of Lucius II, which largely followed J. Leineweber, *Studien zur Geschichte Papst Cölestins III.* (Diss., Jena, 1905), 9–10, see Brixius, 52, 104 n. 112; H. Tillmann, ‘Ricerche sull’origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo, II/1’, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 26 (1972), 313–53, at 351; B. Zenker, *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130–1159* (Diss. Würzburg, 1964), 161–7; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), 51; cf. P. Zerbi, *Papato, impero e respublica Christiana dal 1187 al 1198* (Milan, 1955; 2nd edn 1980), 68 n. 15.

2 The contemporary sources are contradictory about the dates of Clement’s death (to which 21, 28, 29, or 30 March, or 10 April 1191, have variously been assigned) and Hyacinth’s election and priestly ordination: Zerbi, *Papato*, 65, 83–4 n. 2 (undecided); J. Petersohn, ‘Clemente III’, *Enciclopedia dei papi*, ii, 316b–319b, at 319b, ‘Non è possibile precisare il giorno della morte di C[lemente]’; Leineweber, *Papst Cölestins III*, 37 (28 March); K. Baaken, ‘Zu Wahl, Weihe und Krönung Papst Cölestins III.’, *Deutsches Archiv*, 41 (1985), 203–11 (21 March); V. Pfaff, ‘Feststellungen zu den Urkunden und dem Itinerar Papst

Saturday), and consecrated bishop and enthroned as pope on the following day, Easter Sunday.³ According to the English chronicler, Ralph of Diss (de Diceto), dean of St Paul's, Hyacinth accepted the office 'extremely reluctantly (*vix tandem*), lest a schism should arise in God's Church'.⁴ Numerous questions arise about the election of an octogenarian at a moment of grave crisis, when an ambitious young emperor (Henry VI, 1190–97) was approaching Rome for his coronation,⁵ and with it the revival of imperial fortunes to a level not seen since the days of Charlemagne, the Ottonian emperors (962–1002) and Henry III (1039–56). For I. S. Robinson, his election was a hasty compromise reached by divided cardinals, its speed in large part dictated by the need to preside over the imperial coronation which took place on Easter Monday (15 April) 1191;⁶ but his colleagues had good reason to place their confidence in Hyacinth Bobone, despite – or perhaps because of – his great age.⁷

Hyacinth was a son of the Boboni, one of Rome's rising aristocratic families, whose position as ancestors of the powerful Orsini has recently been confirmed,

Coelestins III.', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 78 (1959), 110–39, at 134; idem, 'Celestino III', 321b (10 April); Robinson, *The Papacy*, 509 '(probably 10 April)': cf. [Roger of Howden], *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 49 (London, 1867), ii, 161 (10 April); Roger of Howden, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS 51 (London, 1868–71), iii, 101 (10 April). Convincing arguments in favour of 29 March have been presented by H. Houben, 'Philipp von Heinsberg, Heinrich VI. und Montecassino. Mit einem Exkurs zum Todesdatum Papst Clemens III.', *QF* 68 (1988), 52–73, at 65–73.

3 The sources all confirm his enthronement on Easter Sunday, 14 April; but there is uncertainty about his ordination as priest: Houben, 'Philipp von Heinsberg', 72 (30 March or 13 April); Baaken, 'Zu Wahl, Weihe und Krönung', 211 (30 March); Pfaff, 'Celestino III', 321b (13 April). Since there is no decisive evidence for 30 March, there is much to be said for Easter Saturday (13 April) as the day of Celestine's priestly ordination. The argument that the Roman Jews could not have played their customary rôle in the coronation procession (Champagne, Ch. 11, pp. 275–6), is based on the mistaken belief that Easter Sunday occurred in Holy Week. It did not. Holy Week ran from Palm Sunday to Holy (Easter) Saturday; Easter Sunday, whose celebration began with the Vigil on Holy (Easter) Saturday evening, was the first day of Easter Week.

4 *Radulfi de Diceto decani Landoniensis opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 68 (London, 1876), ii, 89, 'Jacinctus inter diaconos ecclesiae Romanae primus, ne scisma subitum in ecclesia Dei consurgeret, se fieri papam vix tandem consensit.'

5 Born in 1165, Henry was 26.

6 Robinson, *The Papacy*, 509–10; *Pontificum romanorum qui fuerunt inde ab exeunte saeculo IX usque ad finem saeculi XIII vitae*, ed. I. M. Watterich, ii (Leipzig, 1862), 711–20. The coronation had been delayed by the illness (and perhaps reluctance) of Clement III: Zerbi, *Papato*, 60–61.

7 See V. Pfaff, 'Papst Clemens III. (1187–1191), mit einer Liste der Kardinalsunterschriften', *ZRG Kan. Abt.*, 66 (1980), 261–316, at 270, who included him among the four most experienced men in the College of Cardinals: the other three were Melior, cardinal priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and chamberlain (1193–95), Master Gerard of Lucca, cardinal deacon of S. Adriano (1182–1208), and Master Soffred of Pistoia, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata (1182–93), cardinal priest of S. Prassede (1193–1208/10); cf. idem, 'Papst Clemens III.', *ZRG Kan. Abt.*, 77 (1971), 109–28; for positive assessments, see P. Partner, *The Lands of St Peter. The Papal State in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (London, 1972), 222; Zerbi, *Papato*, 175–7.

against the earlier scepticism of Helene Tillmann.⁸ He had the benefit of theological training in the schools of Paris, and he was introduced very early into the clerical service of the Roman church. Tillmann found evidence of more than one subdeacon Hyacinth from 1115 onwards, but she was rightly doubtful whether they can all be identified with the one who was prior of the subdeacons of the sacred palace in 1138. The uncertainty about the earliest stages of his curial career does not, however, disprove Peter of Blois's statement that Hyacinth had told him that he had served as *levita* (deacon) for sixty-five years, before his election to the papacy, especially if the term was used somewhat loosely to include the subdiaconate. This could confirm his identification with the subdeacon Hyacinth who appears in 1126.⁹ A birth-date *c.* 1105 would be compatible with entry into the subdiaconate in that year, when he would have been 21. The only problem with this dating is the 12-year delay between his first appearance as subdeacon in 1126 and his elevation to the position of prior of the subdeacons of the Lateran Palace in or about 1138. Some of those intervening years must have been given to his education, almost certainly in Paris; and the Anacletan schism of February 1130 to January 1138 may have encouraged an extended stay in the schools, for Innocent II (1130–43) was exiled from Rome until 1137.¹⁰ Moreover, his talents, which were to manifest themselves in international diplomacy, were of the kind which mature slowly. Fortunately, the chronology becomes somewhat clearer from 1144, when he was nominated cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, which title he bore until his elevation to the papacy in 1191.¹¹

It might be supposed from his long service in the lowest rank of the cardinalate that he had been tainted by his association with Abelard; but that argument cannot be sustained for long. At least three former pupils had stellar careers: Guido di Castello, for example, successively cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via Lata (*c.* 1128–33) and cardinal priest of S. Marco (1133–43), became Pope Celestine II (1143–44);¹² Roland Bandinelli, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano (1150), cardinal priest of S. Marco (1151–59), and chancellor (1153–59), became Pope Alexander III (1159–

8 M. Thumser, *Rom und der römische Adel in der späten Stauferzeit* (Tübingen, 1995), 182; Zerbi, *Papato*, 65; Robinson, *The Papacy*, 510 'Bobo-Orsini'; cf. Tillmann, 'Ricerche', 350–3.

9 *PL*, ccvii, 366 (from letter 123, to Richard FitzNigel, bishop of London, excusing his own refusal to accept priestly orders): 'Certe dominus Coelestinus, qui hodie sedet, sicut ex ipsius ore frequenter accepi, in officio levitae sexaginta quinque annos expleverat, antequam ipsum Dominus in summi pontificatus apicem sublimasset.' Cf. Leineweber, *Papst Cölestins III*, 5, 69; Zenker, *Die Mitglieder*, 162 and n. 152.

10 Robinson, *The Papacy*, 245; cf. Doran, below, Ch. 2, at n. 28 and Duggan, below, Ch. 9, at n. 1.

11 Above, n. 1.

12 Brixius, 34–5 no. 19, 75 n. 17; corrected by Zenker, *Die Mitglieder*, 83–4. D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard. The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period* (Cambridge, 1969; repr. 1970), 20–21. Among the books which Celestine left in 1144 to the cathedral of St Floridus in Città di Castello (Tiburinum), where he had been a canon, was a copy of Abelard's *Sic et non*: A. Wilmart, 'Les livres légués par Célestin II à la cathédrale de Città-di-Castello', *Revue Bénédictine*, 35 (1923), 98–102, at 101.

81);¹³ and Omnebene was bishop of Verona (1157–85).¹⁴ But there is an apparent difference. Guido, Roland, and Omnebene all supplemented their theology with the study of jurisprudence, at the moment when law was becoming a crucial instrument of ecclesiastical government. As far as the evidence goes, Hyacinth was primarily a theologian, but one cannot exclude the possibility of some unrecorded legal training. On the other hand, what he lacked in formal legal education could be supplied by Bologna-trained experts. It is surely significant that, during his first mission to Spain and Provence (1154–55), the *bibliothecarius* who issued some at least of his legatine *acta* was the *legisperitus*, Master Vivian, who later served as a jurisconsult in the Curia from c. 1169;¹⁵ Everard of Ypres, who later wrote a *Summula decretalium questionum* summarizing Sicard of Cremona's *Summa* (1179–81), was in his entourage in the 1160s;¹⁶ and Master Raymond de *Capella*, who acted as *datarius* during his second Spanish mission (1172–74), was later (1177) sent by Alexander III to settle the dispute between the archbishops of Zadar (Zara) and Split about the bishopric of Fara.¹⁷ Hyacinth's long service among the cardinal deacons may in fact reflect an unspoken, certainly unrecorded, preference for the diplomatic work in which he excelled, but it may also reflect the conscientious reformer's reluctance to accept ordination to the priesthood – a dignity he received only on Easter Saturday 1191, on the eve of his episcopal consecration and papal enthronement on Easter Sunday.¹⁸

13 M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III: Étude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et dans son œuvre* (Paris, 1956), 79, 83; cf. Brixius, 57, 112; Zenker, *Die Mitglieder*, 85–8; Luscombe, *School of Peter Abelard*, 15–16 (although Luscombe is mistaken in identifying the Roland of the *Sentences* with the author of the *Stroma*: see J. T. Noonan, 'Who was Rolandus?', in *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honour of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Pennsylvania, 1977), 21–48); R. Weigand, 'Glossen des Magister Rolandus zum Dekret Gratians', in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, ed. F. Liotta, Accademia Senese degli Intronati (Siena, 1986), 389–423, at 391.

14 Luscombe, *School of Peter Abelard*, 15, 17, 253–8. For his canonical writing, see R. Weigand, 'Die Dekret-Abbreviatio Omnebenes und ihre Glossen', in *Recht als Heildienst. Mathias Kaiser zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. W. Schulz (Paderborn, 1989), 271–87.

15 *PU Spanien, i (Katalanien)*, 339–40 no. 66 (dated Narbonne, 31 March 1154). Vivian was successively cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano 1175 and cardinal priest of S. Stefano in Celio Monte 1175–84; his career can be traced from c. 1140 x 1144: M. Polock, 'Magister Vivianus, ein Kardinal Alexanders III. Prosopographische Anmerkungen', in *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Mordek (Tübingen, 2001), 265–76; Brixius, 66–7. See also Duggan, below, Ch. 9, at nn. 2–3. Cf. Weiss, *Urkunden der päpstlichen Legaten*, 191–2, 194, who suggests (192) that the chaplain and notary *Magister Robertus* may also have had legal training.

16 Luscombe, *School of Peter Abelard*, 23 n. 2.

17 *PL*, cc, 1143–4 no. 1317; Weiss, *Urkunden der päpstlichen Legaten*, 200; Smith, below, Ch. 3, at n. 69. Fara is listed under Split in M. Tangl, *Die päpstlichen Kanzleiordnungen von 1200–1500* (Innsbruck, 1984), 11.

18 [Howden], *Gesta regis Henricii*, ii, 161; Howden, *Chronica*, iii, 101; Diceto, ii, 89. Such deferment of higher orders was not unusual. Lotario di Segni (Innocent III), cardinal deacon of SS. Sergio e Bacco from 1190, was not ordained a priest until the next Ember Saturday (21 Feb. 1198), one of the days prescribed for ordinations, and the eve of his

However that may be, he was recognized as an important voice in the Curia even before his introduction to the Sacred College. No less a person than Bernard of Clairvaux had complained against him to Pope Innocent II for his defence of Abelard at the Council of Sens in 1141,¹⁹ where, according to John of Salisbury, he was associated with the later notorious Arnold of Brescia.²⁰ Whether that means that he had been a pupil of Peter Abelard in Paris is uncertain, but it remains a strong possibility.²¹ That he should have intervened in such a case argues more than a commonplace interest in theology; and this view is confirmed by Gerhoch of Reichersberg,²² who submitted his *De investigatione Antichristi Liber* to Hyacinth's scrutiny²³ in the late 1140s (and that of Hugh of Novara, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina: d. 1150),²⁴ and in the 1160s, the same Gerhoch described him as a powerful member of the Roman Church (*magnum in ecclesia Romana membrum*).²⁵

What was his major activity throughout that long service of the Curia? In a nutshell – he was a diplomat. Education in France introduced him to that northern kingdom and its clergy, and he was with Eugenius III at the council of Reims in 1148. But it was in the Iberian peninsula and Provence that he first distinguished himself as a papal ambassador, with the long legation of 1154–55, during which he presided over the important council of Valladolid (January, 1155), which gave formal papal support to the crusading effort in the peninsula;²⁶ and he was in Iberia again, in 1171–74, when he travelled widely through the region, meeting kings,

episcopal consecration on Sunday, 22 Feb., the feast of the Chair of St Peter at Antioch: Houben, 'Philipp von Heinsberg', 67.

19 *Opera di San Bernardo*, ed. Ferruccio Gastaldelli, VI/i–ii, *Lettere* (Milan, 1986–1987), i, 780–89 no. 189, at 788, 'Iacinctus multa mala ostendit nobis; nec enim que voluit potuit' (correcting *PL*, clxxxii, 356–7, no. 189, '... nec enim quae voluit, fecit, vel potuit'; cf. *PL*, clxxxii, 542–3, no. 338, at 543 '... non fecit tamen, non quia non voluit, sed quia non potuit'. Luscombe, *School of Peter Abelard*, 22; cf. Zerbi, *Papato*, 66 n. 8. For the date (1141), see P. Zerbi, 'Philosophici' e 'logici', *Un ventennio di incontri e scontri: Soissons, Sens, Cluny (1121–41)* (Rome, 2002), 75–176, esp. 141–5.

20 John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, trans. Marjorie Chibnall (London, 1956; revised repr. Oxford, 1986), 63; cf. Zerbi, *Papato*, 66–7.

21 Zerbi, *Papato*, 66–7; Luscombe, *School of Peter Abelard*, 22–3, 27, 28.

22 Zerbi, *Papato*, 71.

23 *De investigatione Antichristi Liber*, ed. E. Sackur, in *MGH Libelli*, iii (1897), 307: 'opus domnis etiam cardinalibus, viris nimirum litteratissimis ac prudentibus, Hugoni maxime et Iacincto gratum confecerim'. Cf. Zerbi, *Papato*, 71; Zenker, *Die Mitglieder*, 124 n. 486.

24 Zenker, *Die Mitglieder*, 123–4.

25 *PL*, cxciv, 573–4, no. 19; cf. Luscombe, *School of Peter Abelard*, 23; P. Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 392.

26 Appointed by Anastasius IV: Zerbi, *Papato*, 68–9; Leineweber, *Papst Cölestins III.*, 10–15; G. Säbekow, *Die päpstlichen Legationen nach Spanien und Portugal bis zum Ausgang des xii. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1931), 48–51; Weiss, *Urkunden der päpstlichen Legaten*, 173–203. For his *acta* in Spain and Portugal, see *PU Spanien*, i (*Katalanien*), 339–41 no. 66; ii/2 (*Navarra und Aragon*), 377–82 nos 69–71, 386–98 nos 569–80; *PU Portugal*, 219–25, nos 54–5.

nobles, and higher ecclesiastics.²⁷ As Damian Smith shows,²⁸ Hyacinth became something of an expert on Spanish affairs, following, perhaps, in the footsteps of the Englishman, Nicholas Breakspear, whom he would have known,²⁹ and he developed those interests further during his pontificate, when he sent his nephew, Cardinal Gregory of S. Angelo, on two extended legations, the first (1191–94) to put some steel into the Christian resistance to the Muslim *révanche*, which resulted in the shocking defeat of Christian forces at Alarcos (1195); the second (1196–97) to rally the defeated.³⁰ Hyacinth was one of two legates sent to Frederick I in 1158, entrusted with the delicate mission of attempting to smooth over papal–imperial relations after the Besançon incident,³¹ and he was involved in the negotiations which led in 1177 to the treaty of Venice.³² He also conducted missions to France (1162, 1164 and 1165), as well as less high-profile missions to Genoa in 1165³³ and northern Italy in 1158, 1164, 1177, 1181 and 1187.³⁴

So much is clear from the documentary evidence gathered in the *Papsturkunden* volumes touching these regions. But what about the man who was traversing large

27 Zerbi, *Papato*, 75; Leineweber, *Papst Cölestins III.*, 26–32; Säbekow, *Die päpstlichen Legationen*, 53–60; D. J. Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon. The Limits of Papal Authority* (Aldershot, 2004), 21. For his *acta* in Spain and Portugal, see *PU Spanien*, i (*Katalanien*), 449–52 no. 155, 453–6 no. 157, 457–8 nos 159–60; ii (*Navarra und Aragon*), 461 no. 128, 464–6 no. 131; *PU Portugal*, 239–43, nos 68–71. He later recalled both Spanish legations in 1194: *PU Spanien*, i (*Katalanien*), 551–4 no. 246, at 552.

28 Smith, below, Ch. 3.

29 Nicholas, then abbot of St-Ruf near Avignon, had visited Catalonia in 1148–49 and retained an interest in the region: see D. J. Smith, ‘The Abbot-Crusader: Nicholas Breakspear in Catalonia’, in *Adrian IV. The English Pope (1154–1159). Studies and Texts*, ed. B. Bolton and A. J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), 29–39; A. J. Duggan, ‘*Servus servorum Dei*’, *ibid.*, 181–210, at 191–2.

30 Zerbi, *Papato*, 150–63 *passim*; Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon*, 209; Weiss, *Urkunden der päpstlichen Legaten*, 300–308; W. Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216. Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III.*, Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom, 6 (Vienna, 1984), 98–9.

31 His companion was Henry of Pisa, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo e Achilleo: Zerbi, *Papato*, 69–70; Leineweber, *Papst Cölestins III.*, 15–19; Weiss, *Urkunden der päpstlichen Legaten*, 221–2; *Otonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. Imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz and B. von Simson, 3rd edn, *MGH SRG* 46 (Hanover/Leipzig, 1912), 194–7; *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa by Otto of Freising and his Continuator; Rahewin*, trans. C. C. Mierow (New York, 1966), 197–200.

32 Zerbi, *Papato*, 75–6. Cardinal Boso recorded that Frederick I nominated Cardinal Hyacinth as one of three papal commissioners to resolve the dispute about the Matildine lands and the county of Bertinoro: *Liber Pontificalis*, ii, 443; cf. *Boso's Life of Alexander III*, trans. G. M. Ellis (Oxford, 1973), 113, where Hyacinth is called ‘James’.

33 W. Janssen, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom schisma Anaklets II. bis zum Tode Coelestins III.* (1130–1198), 80–81, 83; W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III. im ersten Jahrzehnt seines Pontifikats (1159–1169)*, Eberings Historische Studien, 175 (Berlin, 1928), 62; G. Dunken, *Die politische Wirksamkeit der päpstlichen Legaten in der Zeit des Kampfes zwischen Kaisertum und Papsttum in Oberitalien unter Friedrich I.*, Eberings Historische Studien, 209 (Berlin, 1931), 74.

34 Dunken, *Die politische Wirksamkeit*, 41–2, 69–70, 133, 149–50, 163.

areas of Western Europe during his middle and old age? If he were born in 1105, he would have been about forty-nine when he set out on the great Spanish legation in 1154, and seventy-two when he negotiated with Frederick I in 1177. If a man is known by his friends, Hyacinth rejoiced in some distinguished company. Abelard, Arnold of Brescia, and Gerhoch of Reichersberg have been mentioned already; but Peter of Celle, abbot of Saint-Rémi in Reims, who was choosy about whom he admitted into his *amicitia*, regarded him as a friend;³⁵ so, too, did Guérin, prior of Saint-Victor in Paris, who spoke warmly of his powerful patronage;³⁶ and Thomas Becket regarded him as a ‘special patron and friend’, whose support in the Curia never wavered throughout the English crisis.³⁷ Among the cardinals, he was associated with Guido di Castello (Celestine II), the most distinguished of a distinguished College,³⁸ Henry of Pisa, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo e Achilleo, and Hubald of Ostia. At the same time he maintained excellent relations with the kings of León and Castille and Louis VII of France;³⁹ he was trusted by Frederick I,⁴⁰ and his enjoyment of the friendship of Eleanor of Aquitaine, queen of England, is attested in the extraordinary letter from c. 1161–62, in which she invoked his support for her relative (*consanguineo meo*), Abbot Pierre Raimond of St-Maixent:

I rejoice that I have, and have had, such a friend in so important a person. [...] For your letter declares, and my consciousness understands from your letter, that it is your settled intention to devote yourself wholly to my honour and my eminence. For my part, I devotedly and faithfully place at your disposal what I am, what I am able to do, all my heart, all my possessions.⁴¹

35 In 1179–80, Peter, then abbot of Saint-Rémi in Reims, asked his friend Berneredus, formerly abbot of Saint-Crépin-le-Grand, recently promoted cardinal bishop of Palestrina (March 1179), to ‘Convey our greetings to the chancellor (Albert de Morra), the cardinal bishops of Tusculum (Peter of Pavia) and Albano (Henry de Marcy), Lord Hyacinth, and that holy man the cardinal bishop of Ostia (Hubald)’: *The Letters of Peter of Celle*, ed. and trans. J. Haseldine, OMT (Oxford, 2001), 492–3.

36 *PL*, cvi, 1261–2, at 1262: ‘Caeteris quidem Deum timentibus in paternitatis vestrae promotione communis est gaudiorum materia. Sed in hac parte laetitiae B. Victoris ecclesia gloriatur speciali privilegio, quae pietatis dignatione coelestis vos hactenus benignissimum Patrem in suis necessitatibus et inexpugnabilem cognoscitur invenisse patronum.’

37 *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury 1162–1170*, ed. and trans. A. J. Duggan [= *CTB*], 2 vols, OMT (Oxford, 2000), i, 38–41 no. 16, at 40–41; cf. nos 80, 118, 141, 174, 217, 236, 305.

38 For his intellectual interests, see above, n. 12.

39 For Iberia, see Smith, Ch. 3, at nn. 69–72. He called himself Louis VII’s ‘amicus specialissimus’ in 1165, for example, in a letter which was accompanied by the gift of ‘zuccarum rosatum et violatum’ as a remedy for the ‘calorem hepatis’: *Recueil des historiens*, xvi, 123, no. 380; cf. *ibid.*, 123, no. 381; and Louis’s chancellor, Hugh of Champfleury, bishop of Soissons, had earlier (1164) invited Hyacinth to Soissons in very warm terms: *ibid.*, 204, no. 24; see Montaubin, below, Ch. 4, at n. 20.

40 Above, at n. 32.

41 ‘Gaudeo in tanta persona, tantum me habere & habuisse amicum. [...] Testantur enim litterae vestrae, & litteris vestris mea testatur conscientia, vos ex proposito ad honorem meum et meam plurimum intendere magnificentiam. Ego quod sum, quod possum, totam mentem

Yet Hyacinth seems not to have acquired the reputation for arrogance and personal aggrandizement that marred the memory of Cardinal Vivian, the lawyer who had accompanied him to Spain in the early 1150s.⁴² One German writer, Baldric, Master of the Schools in Trier, who saw him in the entourage of Eugenius III in 1147, described him as ‘drawing everyone into his love by the sweetness of his discourse’. More than that, Baldric added, ‘to hear and see him was to learn a sense of honour’;⁴³ and an anonymous report speaks of his excellent chanting voice.⁴⁴ These are merely snippets of contemporary appreciation, but can we come any closer to the man behind the office?

The identification of an individual voice in the formalized productions of a cardinal’s secretariat or of a pope’s chancery is notoriously difficult. Letters, mandates, judgments, privileges were all drafted by professional *dictatores* in accordance with strict rules of composition, using standard formulae which varied little from document to document.⁴⁵ Indeed, so distinctive was the form and style of papal *acta* that deviation from the *cursus* was regarded as *prima facie* evidence of forgery well before Celestine’s day.⁴⁶ Moreover, the pope did not act alone. Decisions were made and mandates issued *communi fratrum nostrorum consilio*, ‘with the advice of our brethren’, that is, the College of Cardinals. Sitting in formal session, they and he constituted the consistory (*consistorium*) of the Roman Church, whose existence,

meam, omnes facultates meas vobis devote, fideliterque expono’: *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, ed. L. d’Achery, new ed. (Paris: Montalant, 1723), 528–9. For this important text, I am grateful to Christoph Egger (Vienna) and John Doran (Chester); see also the parallel letter to Pope Alexander III, *ibid.*, 528.

42 His legation to England, Scotland and Ireland (1176–77) was criticized by English and Scottish chroniclers: Pollock, ‘Magister Vivianus’, 268–9.

43 *Gesta Adalberonis archiepiscopi Treverensis auctore Balderico scholastico Trevirensi a. 1132–1152*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS*, viii (Hanover, 1848), 243–60, at 255: ‘Quid dicam de iacincto, qui omnem iacinctum splendore suae virtutis vincebat, qui eloquii sui dulcedine omnes in amorem sui tractabat, quem audire atque videre, honestatem discere erat.’

44 *Vera narratio foundationis prioratus S. Barbarae in Algia* (Ste-Barbe-en-Auge) in *Recueil des historiens*, xiv, 501.

45 *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) concerning England and Wales*, ed. C. R. Cheney and M. G. Cheney (Oxford, 1967), xi–xviii.

46 John of Salisbury, *Historia Pontificalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (London, 1956; revised repr. Oxford, 1986), 86–7: ‘Ipsa tamen privilegia suspecta habeantur, tum quia concepta non erant in ea scribendi forma quam sequitur ecclesia Romana, tum quia ex collatione scripture et bulle videbantur non esse pontificum quorum nomina preferebant’; cf. Celestine III to the suffragans and dean of Rouen (JL 17645; *PL*, ccvi, 1252 no. 38): ‘Per falsarios, qui nuper sunt in Urbe reperti, quaedam sunt litterae destinatae, quas timemus tanquam veras ab aliquibus admitti; ideoque mandamus, si quos (*al.* quas) tales valueritis reperire, quas cognoscere poteritis ex comparatione bullae et qualitate styli, faciatis capi et tandiu sub arcta custodia detineri, donec id nobis fuerit intimatum.’ Celestine’s letter, issued from the Lateran on 21 Dec. 1191, reached 2 *Comp.* (5.9.3), but it was superseded in the *Liber Extra* by Innocent III’s decretals on the subject: *X* 5.20.4–9.

either as a place or as an institution, can be traced from the late eleventh century;⁴⁷ and its collective judgment expressed the decision of the Roman Church. These two factors – the standardization of papal diplomatic and the crucial rôle of the cardinals in the formulation of policy – certainly obscure the voice of the pope, but they do not entirely obliterate it.

The problem of establishing individual authorship was not unique to the papacy. Many important persons such as bishops, kings, queens and nobles relied upon professional clerks or secretaries to draft their written communications. John of Salisbury, for example, drafted Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury's official correspondence, although we know that only because John compiled a selection for presentation to his friend, Peter of Celle;⁴⁸ and I have argued on stylistic grounds that a good many of the letters issued in Becket's name were composed by this same John.⁴⁹ From one perspective, these were John's work, and the 'early letters' were so considered by him; but from another, they were indeed the letters of his employers: 'What went out under Becket's seal carried his authority and no doubt transmitted what, often after much anxious debate, he agreed should be the expression of his judgment *at that moment* and *for that recipient*.' The concept of the 'authorship', then, whether of episcopal or of papal letters, should take into account 'the processes of composition: discussion, drafting, revision, transcription, and dispatch'.⁵⁰

Given these realities, do we have any hope of finding the authentic voice of Hyacinth/Celestine in the official products of his chancery? I think that we do; but we must distinguish between the documents, issued more-or-less routinely, which required no assessment of claims or settlement of disputes, and replies to complicated questions which entailed discussion or judgment. One does not expect to find 'an individual voice' in the great mass of standard privileges and appointments of judges delegate; but in matters of unusual complexity, especially where an interpretation of the law was made or an indulgence allowed, or where there is some personal

47 J. von Sydow, 'Il "consistorium" dopo lo scisma del 1130', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 9 (1955), 165–76; idem, 'Untersuchungen zur kurialen Verwaltungsgeschichte im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums', *Deutsches Archiv*, 11 (1954–55), 18–73, 36–7; Robinson, *The Papacy*, 99–118, 188–92; Duggan, 'Servus servorum Dei', in *Adrian IV*. (above, n. 29), 198–9.

48 *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, i: *The Early Letters*, ed. and trans. W. J. Millor and H. E. Butler, NMT (London, 1955; reissued, Oxford, 1986), x–xi.

49 *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket*, i, p. xxiv; A. J. Duggan, 'Classical Quotations and Allusions in the Correspondence of Thomas Becket: an investigation of their sources', in *Viator*, 32 (2001), 1–22; repr. with the same pagination in eadem, *Thomas Becket: friends, networks, texts, and cult* (Aldershot, 2007), no. IV.

50 A. J. Duggan, 'Authorship and Authenticity in the Becket Correspondence', *Vom Nutzen des Edierens. Akten des internationalen Kongresses zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Wien, 3.–5. Juni 2004*, ed. B. Merta, A. Sommerlechner and H. Weigl (Vienna and Munich, 2005), 25–44, at 44; repr. with the same pagination in Duggan, *Thomas Becket: friends...cult*, no. V.

connection between the petitioner and the pope, one may sometimes find hints of the pope's own style.⁵¹

For Celestine, two examples of such carefully pondered letters must suffice for the present discussion:⁵² *Laudabilem pontificalis officii*, sent in 1191–93 to Theobald, bishop of Acre (1191–c. 1200), and *Cum non ab homine*, sent in 1191–92 to Archbishop Eirik of Nidaros (Trondheim) (1189–1203). The Acre letter contained Celestine's decisions on very complex situations which had emerged in the complicated social and religious conditions of the disintegrating Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Nidaros letter related to the equally confused situation in war-torn Norway.⁵³ A careful reading reveals evidence of a more personal phraseology than is usual in papal decisions. In the Acre letter, for example, Celestine uses the verb *sentimus* (we think) twice and *consentimus* (we agree with) once; in the Nidaros letter, *sentimus* occurs twice. Of course, the verb has multiple meanings, including the more authoritative 'decide'; but my feeling is that Celestine was using the word in its less magisterial mode, since it occurs only once in the 331 letters and privileges in *Patrologia Latina*; and that is in a consultation for Archbishop Walter (of Coutances) of Rouen.⁵⁴ In the Acre letter, he chose to express an opinion (*censemus*), rather than to impose a judgment, in a difficult case relating to the legitimacy of the children of a marriage which had been declared invalid; and the difference between a simple and a solemn vow of chastity was confirmed in words which emphasized that the pope, too, had taken counsel: *consultis uiris prudentibus arbitramur* – 'after taking the advice of learned men, we judge that...'

More significantly, the Nidaros letter opened with a significant statement of the balance between the *plenitudo potestatis* of the Roman Church (*sacrosancta Romana ecclesia*) and the *sollicitudo* which the other (episcopal) churches are

51 *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, ed. Cheney and Cheney, xvi–xviii; cf. C. R. Cheney, 'The Letters of Pope Innocent III', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 35 (1942), 23–43, at 34–41. See now the important study by Patrick Zutshi, 'The Personal Role of the Pope in the Production of Papal Letters in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in *Vom Nutzen des Schreibens. Spezialles Gedächtnis, Herrschaft und Besitz im Mittelalter*, ed. W. Pohl and P. Herold, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 306; *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 5 (Vienna, 2002), 225–36, esp. 226–7, 231–2 and 236: 'We have seen that the pope's approval was necessary for a substantial proportion of petitions for common letters and that he was closely involved in various ways in the production of curial letters; and we should not be surprised to find that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the pope's personal part in the production of documents continued to be vital.' For the construction of papal letters, see J. E. Sayers, *Papal Government in England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), 94–129.

52 These belong to category (c) in *Letters of Pope Innocent III*, ed. Cheney and Cheney, xvi: 'These letters were necessarily of a freer composition than the routine grants and rescripts ...'

53 For a fuller discussion of these important letters, see Duggan, below, Ch. 9, at nn. 17–73 and Appendix, nos 2 and 3.

54 *PL*, ccvi, 1006–10 no. 127, another consultation about legal procedure, dated 17 June (1193).

called to share.⁵⁵ Although the earliest known pairing of the two terms occurs in Leo I's rebuke to Bishop Anastasius of Thessalonica (? 446)⁵⁶ – a text which received wide currency through Gratian's inclusion of the key passage in his *Decretum*,⁵⁷ this is the first known occurrence in a twelfth-century papal letter of terminology which was to undergo considerable evolution in the writings of Innocent III and his successors.⁵⁸ In Celestine's mouth, however, it seems to me that *plenitudo potestatis*–*pars sollicitudinis* indicated, not so much the later juridical concept of hierarchical authority, but more the idea of episcopal sharing in the papal responsibility for the welfare of the Church, although the bishop's authority was confined to his own diocese, while the pope's was universal.⁵⁹ This usage seems to echo Bernard of

55 W. Holtzmann, 'La "Collectio Seguntina" et les décrétales de Clément III et de Célestin III', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 50 (1955), 400–53 no. 43, at 431: 'Cum non ab homine uel constitutione humana sed a Deo et eius auctoritate sacrosancta Romana ecclesia instituta sit capud ecclesiarum et magistra, rationis ordo requirit ut in arduis et dubiis questionibus recurratur ad ipsam, que cum habeat plenitudinem potestatis ecclesias alias in partem sollicitudinis conuocauerit (Since the holy Roman Church is established as the head and mistress of the churches not by human constitution but by God and through His authority, the order of reason requires that recourse should be had to her in difficult and doubtful matters, since, although she has the fullness of power, she has called the other churches to share the burden.)'

56 *PL*, liv, 671, no. 14.

57 Gratian, C.3, qu.6, c.8 (ed. Friedberg, i, 520–21): 'Vices enim nostras ita tuae credimus karitati, ut in partem sis uocatus sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis'; cf. *ibid.*, C.2, qu.6, c.11. J. Rivière, 'In partem sollicitudinis. Évolution d'une formule pontificale', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 5 (1925), 210–31; W. Ullmann, 'Leo I and the Theme of Papal Primacy', *Journal of Theological Studies*, xi (1960), 25–51; J. A. Watt, 'The Use of the Term "Plenitudo potestatis" by Hostiensis', in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law: Boston College, 12–16 August 1963*, ed. S. Kuttner and J. J. Ryan, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series C: Subsidia, 1 (Città del Vaticano, 1965), 161–87, esp. 163–4; A. Marchietto, 'In partem sollicitudinis ... non in plenitudinem potestatis. Evoluzione di una formula di rapporto Primato-Episcopato', in *Studia in honorem eminentissimi cardinali Alphonsi M. Stickler*, ed. R. I. Card. Castillo Lara (Rome, 1992), 269–98.

58 Watt, 'The Use of the Term "Plenitudo Potestatis"', 164–87; idem, *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century. The Contribution of the Canonists* (London, 1965), 75–92.

59 Prior Guarin of Saint-Victor in Paris spoke of Celestine himself having been transferred 'from a share in the responsibility [of the papacy] to the fullness of power (de parte sollicitudinis ... in plenitudinem potestatis)' when he was elected pope: *PL*, ccvi, 1261–2 no. 1, at 1261. In 1193, Peter of Blois (*ibid.*, 1262–5 no. 2, at 1262) put into the mouth of Queen Eleanor of England the much wider claim that God had established him 'over peoples and kingdoms in all fullness of power (super gentes et regna in omni plenitudine potestatis)'. There remains considerable uncertainty about the authenticity of this, and the other two letters in Eleanor's name, which appear in Peter of Blois's letter collection (*PL*, ccvii, nos 144–6). Although H. G. Richardson ('The Letters and Charters of Eleanor of Aquitaine', *EHR*, 74 [1959], 193–213, at 202), L. Wahlgren (*The Letter Collections of Peter of Blois. Studies in the Manuscript Tradition*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia, 58 [Göteborg, 1993], 13) and most recently J. Martindale (*ODNB*, online edn 2004–06) have accepted them as real letters, the substantial doubts raised a hundred years ago by B. A. Lees ('The Letters of Queen

Clairvaux's ideas in *De consideratione*. There, the pope's *sollicitudo* for the whole Church should not absorb the bishops' *sollicitudo* for their own churches, although it oversees both:

'Thus, although each of the others [bishops] has his own [ship], to you has been entrusted the one great ship; the universal Church herself is made up of all of them, spread throughout the world (*Ita, cum quisque ceterorum habeat suam, tibi una commissa est grandissima navis, facta ex omnibus ipsa universalis Ecclesia, toto orbe diffusa*).'⁶⁰

Celestine had indeed crossed swords with Bernard at Sens in 1141 on the subject of Abelard's theology, but there is no reason to believe that he was otherwise hostile to the person or to the moral teaching of the now canonized saint.⁶¹ Indeed, his attempts to restrict appeals,⁶² to put the finances of the Curia on a firmer footing, and to curtail the venality and fraud associated with its operations, which may have anticipated the better-known actions of Innocent III,⁶³ are in the spirit of St Bernard's

Eleanor of Aquitaine to Pope Celestine III', *EHR*, 21 [1906], 78–93) have not been adequately rebutted. In a recent communication (2001) Professor Nicholas Vincent dismissed the Eleanor texts, and the letters supposedly from Henry II to Alexander III complaining bitterly about the conduct of his sons, as rhetorical exercises. See *idem*, 'The Court of Henry II', in *Henry II. New Interpretations*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and N. Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), 278–334 at 302–4. Eleanor's letters read like demonstrations of Peter's exceptional rhetorical skill, intended, perhaps, to obtain a secure position in Eleanor's court (which he did not get). The death of Baldwin of Canterbury (at Acre, 19 Nov. 1190) had deprived him of the post of archbishop's chancellor, and he was not employed by the new archbishop, Hubert Walter, elected 29–30 May 1193.

60 *De consideratione*, ii, 16; *S. Bernardi Opera*, iii, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochas (Rome, 1963), 381–493, at 424 (*PL*, clxxxii, 752); cf. *Epistolae*, 131–2 (*PL*, clxxxii, 286–7). B. Jacqueline, 'Bernard et l'expression "plenitudo potestatis"', *Bernard de Clairvaux* (Paris, 1952), 345–8; Y. Congar, 'L'ecclésiologie de S. Bernard', in *S. Bernard théologien, Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 9 (1953), 136–90, at 159–65, 181–90; and esp. E. Kennan's judicious conclusions in 'The "De Consideratione" of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and the Papacy of the Mid-Twelfth Century. A Review of Scholarship', *Traditio*, 23 (1967), 74–115, esp. 94–115. The phrase *plures assumerentur in partem sollicitudinis* in the letter cited by Robinson, *The Papacy*, 92 n. 203, referred to the conferment of a legation on Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury in 1195 (*PL*, ccvi, 1075–6 no. 191, at 1075).

61 Canonized by Alexander III in 1174.

62 Below, Duggan, Ch. 9, at n. 83.

63 P. Zutshi, 'Innocent III and the Reform of the Papal Chancery', in *Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis*, Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9–15 Settembre 1998, ed. A. Sommerlechner, 2 vols (Rome, 2003), i, 84–101, at 91–2. Setting aside the question of whether clauses 1, 2 and 7 of Innocent's 'chancery ordinance' were issued by Celestine (as suggested by W. Stelzer, 'Die Anfänge der Petentenvertretung an der päpstlichen Kurie unter Innocenz III.', Atti del III Congresso Internazionale di Diplomatica, *Annuali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari dell'Università di Roma*, 12/ii [1972], 130–39 and Sayers, *Papal Government*, 49), there is no doubt that his initiatives in mid-1198 (cf. *X* 5.20.4–5) reflected Celestine's preoccupations. Cf. Pfaff, 'Celestino III', 322a–b.

advice to Eugenius III.⁶⁴ Celestine returned to the theme of solicitude at the end of the Nidaros letter with a comment which emphasized the special attention which he had given to the various questions raised by Archbishop Eirik. 'If anyone carefully scrutinizes the statutes of the holy fathers,' he wrote, 'he will find that in all these [matters] we have not decided anything new, but we have, with what one might call a careful (or watchful?) hand, brought what is ancient up to date – *quasi quadam manu sollicitudinis innovasse*.'⁶⁵ The 'we', of course, expressed the authority of the papal office; but the tact with which it was exercised reflected the character of the man. Here, indeed, we can catch an echo of that 'sweetness of discourse'⁶⁶ which impressed contemporaries.

We can, however, go a little further in the quest for Celestine's 'voice'. More than 20 years earlier (late 1170) there had been an extremely enlightening exchange of letters between Thomas Becket and the then Cardinal Hyacinth. In announcing the Peace of Fréteval (22 July 1170), Thomas expressed his thanks for Hyacinth's support in fulsome terms:

If it is right that the labourer in the field should be the first to eat after rendering the first fruits to God, it is even more right that your kindness, which has laboured so much and so long to raise up the all but ruined holy church of Canterbury – and, which is more, worked with greater constancy and effectiveness than the others – should receive the fruits of your service from her, in the offering of thanks and proffer of service. For when the faith of nearly all our other friends was exhausted, you raised their spirits from weakness to hope.⁶⁷

Even when full allowance is made for the element of *captatio benevolentie* in this passage, it attests a consistency and loyalty to Becket's cause among all the vicissitudes of the exile, which can be verified from other sources. Thomas clearly valued Hyacinth's protection very highly indeed, for the 'Becket materials' contain more letters addressed to him than to any other 'friendly' cardinal.⁶⁸ His association

64 *De consideratione*, iv. 22: *S. Bernardi Opera*, iii, 465; cf. *Bernard of Clairvaux, Five Books on Consideration. Advice to a Pope*, trans. J. D. Anderson and E. T. Kennan, Cistercian Fathers Series, 13 (Kalamazoo, 1976), 136.

65 W. Holtzmann, 'Krone und Kirche in Norwegen im 12. Jahrhundert', *Deutsches Archiv*, 2 (1938), 341–400, at 400, 'Nimirum in his omnibus, si quis sanctorum patrum statuta diligenter perscrutetur, nichil novum nos respondisse reperiet, sed quod antiquum est quasi quadam manu sollicitudinis innovasse.' For full text and trans., see Duggan, below, Ch. 9, Appendix, no. 3.

66 Above, at n. 43.

67 *CTB*, ii, no. 305. Cf. Leineweber, *Papst Cölestins III.*, 33–5.

68 Eight: *CTB*, nos. 16, 80 (with Conrad von Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mainz, cardinal bishop of Sabina and Henry of Pisa, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo e Achilleo) 118, 141, 174 (with Henry of Pisa, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo e Achilleo), 217, 236 and 305. Although nine letters were addressed to William of Pavia, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli (*CTB*, nos. 133, 136, 142, 154, 184, 215, 218, 247, 304), two (nos. 133 and 136) were set aside on the advice of John of Salisbury: *ibid.*, nos. 135, 138; *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ii: *The Later Letters (1163–1180)*, ed. and trans. W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke, OMT (Oxford, 1979), no. 229; cf. *CTB*, no. 138, at n. 2.

with cardinals Conrad von Wittelsbach and Henry of Pisa place him at the centre of what we may call the 'Becket party' in the Curia,⁶⁹ and there are indications that he played a significant part in introducing the cult of St Thomas the Martyr into Portugal. The evidence is the unique survival, in a manuscript transcribed at São Mamede de Lorvão in 1185, of a letter which Thomas sent to Hyacinth in August 1169, and the most likely medium for transmission is Hyacinth himself.⁷⁰ During his extended Iberian legation of 1172–74, he spent some months in Portugal in early 1173, the very year in which Becket was canonized. The records of his legation place him at Coimbra and Braga, respectively ten and 150 kilometres from São Mamede, in January–February 1173.⁷¹ Since Lorvão was the premier Benedictine house in the emerging Portuguese kingdom, it is more than likely that he visited and perhaps stayed in the monastery during that period. What better gift could the cardinal legate give to his hosts than a letter bearing the seal of the new saint?⁷² If this surmise is correct, then the legate may have had advance knowledge of the formal canonization, which was celebrated at Segni on 21 February 1173.

Hyacinth's reply to Becket's effusive thanks is even more instructive. After emphasizing the warmth of their friendship, he went on to say:

It is not necessary to set down in writing with what warm affection we have desired your peace because, even if we were silent, you can read in your heart what love binds us to you;

and he disclosed something of his own diplomatic moderation in his response to Becket's complaints about the king's dilatory observance of the peace:

69 A. J. Duggan, 'Thomas Becket's Italian Network', in *Pope, Church and City: Essays in Honour of Brenda M. Bolton*, ed. F. Andrews, C. Egger and C. M. Rousseau (Leiden, 2004), 177–201; repr. with different pagination in Duggan, *Thomas Becket: friends ... cult*, no. I.

70 *Sepe quidem cogimur*, CTB, ii, no. 217; A. J. Duggan, 'A new Becket Letter: *Sepe quidem cogimur*', *Historical Research*, 63 (1990), 86–99. The letter was copied into a dated codex (Lisbon, cod. Alcobaça CCXC/143), where it follows the earliest surviving copy of Benedict of Peterborough's *Liber miraculorum beati Thome* and an anonymous *Passio sancti Thome*: A. J. Duggan, 'The Lorvão Transcription of Benedict of Peterborough's *Liber miraculorum beati Thome*: Lisbon, cod. Alcobaça CCXC/143', *Scriptorium*, 51 (1997), 51–68; eadem, 'Aspects of Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Twelfth Century. Manuscripts, Relics, Decretals and the Cult of St Thomas Becket at Lorvão, Alcobaça and Tomar', *Portuguese Studies*, 14 (1998), 1–19; both repr. with the same pagination in Duggan, *Thomas Becket: friends ... cult*, nos. XII and X.

71 *PU Portugal*, 239–43 nos 68–70, 380 no. 5; *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, ed. R. Hiestand, *Abhandlungen ... Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3rd Ser.*, 77 (Göttingen, 1972), 278–81 no. 89; cf. G. Säbekow, *Die päpstlichen Legationen und Portugal bis zum Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Diss. Berlin, 1931), 53–60; M. Pacaut, 'Les légats d'Alexandre III (1159–1181)', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 50 (1955), 821–38, at 831–2.

72 For letters as relics, see P. A. Newton, 'Some New Material for the Study of the Iconography of St Thomas Becket', in *Thomas Becket, Actes du colloque international de Sédrières, 19–24 Août 1973*, ed. Raymonde Foreville (Paris, 1975), 255–63, at 260, citing an indenture of Feb. 1464 which lists 'i lettre under the seal of seint Thomas of Canterbury and other relics'.

Yet if the [king's] body which is corrupted cannot bring him back to the place of righteousness, we strongly advise and caution you to strive to instruct him in a spirit of mildness, so that he will take pains to fulfil what is missing from his reparation, and, brought back and restored to his former affection and disposition, he may consistently show you due favour and respond to the malice of your enemies according to your desire. We certainly think that your prudence should take this path, so that the man's animosity may be restrained, and the perversity of your enemies destroyed....⁷³

Hyacinth's advice *to instruct* [King Henry] *in a spirit of mildness* might have been an anticipation of his own guiding principle when, as Pope Celestine, he had to deal with the emperor Henry VI, and others.

Robinson interpreted Celestine's failure to take decisive action against the emperor for the exclusion and murder of Albert of Louvain, bishop of Liège (1191–92),⁷⁴ as well as his pusillanimity over the imprisonment of King Richard of England (1193–94), as evidence of the temporary ascendancy of a combination of pro-imperialist and 'moderate' factions in the Curia.⁷⁵ But in both instances, Celestine's actions can be read as the acts of a prudent man who did the best he could in exceptionally difficult circumstances. Albert's election was in fact confirmed in the teeth of imperial opposition, his consecration authorized, his supplanter (Lothar of Hochstaden, provost of Bonn) excommunicated and suspended from all ecclesiastical office, despite the emperor's protection,⁷⁶ and his murderers excommunicated.⁷⁷ Henry VI

73 *CTB*, ii, no. 306.

74 Following a dual election at Liège, Henry VI intruded his own candidate, Lothar of Bonn, expelling Albert and maintaining Lothar by force. Albert fled to Reims, where he was consecrated and supported by Archbishop William, until a group of German knights joined his household and treacherously murdered him in the countryside outside. The emperor's culpability was inferred from his reception of the knights at court: see below, nn. 76–78.

75 Robinson, *The Papacy*, 119, 514–15. Professor Robinson rightly drew attention to the greatly enhanced size of the College of Cardinals over which Celestine presided – more than 30 new promotions had been made by Clement III (1187–91: the former Paul Scolari, cardinal bishop of Palestrina 1181–87) between March 1188 and October 1190 (*ibid.*, 118–19) and the evidence of their active participation in the decision-making process within the Curia (*ibid.*, 119–20), but his conclusion that 'hostile factions of cardinals paralysed political decision-making' rests on rather slender foundations. There were certainly different opinions about how the unfolding crisis in papal–imperial relations should be handled, but such diversity was as much a consequence of the political reality as of 'faction'. For Clement III's elevations, see Pfaff, 'Papst Clemens III.' (1980), esp. 269.

76 R. H. Schmandt, 'The Election and Assassination of Albert of Louvain, Bishop of Liège, 1191–92', *Speculum*, 42 (1967), 639–60, at 652. For detailed profiles of the cardinals in office at the death of Clement III, see Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg*, 67–109.

77 The well informed Flemish continuator of Sigebert of Gembloux's *Chronicon*, writing at the monastery of Anchin, records that Celestine ordered Archbishop William of Reims to consecrate Albert (Sept. 1192, in default of Archbishop Bruno of Cologne), following which Henry VI destroyed the houses of Albert's clerical supporters in Liège. After his murder, the pope excommunicated 'omnes interfectores episcopi' (*Sigeberti continuatio Aquicinctina: MGH SS*, vi (Hanover, 1844), 429, 430; *Vitae*, ed. Watterich, ii, 731, 732).

was generally held responsible, and local opinion forced him to exonerate himself by oath.⁷⁸

It is hard to see what more the pope could do. That Celestine did not, in imitation of Alexander III's elevation of Thomas Becket, see fit to canonize the murdered Bishop Albert, despite the composition of a *Vita* by Werric of Lobbes, should not necessarily be interpreted as lukewarmness on his part. Not all murdered bishops attracted the kind of cult which grew up spontaneously in Becket's cathedral city;⁷⁹ not all murdered bishops deserved automatic canonization. Although Beryl Smalley thought that Albert's was 'as good or even a better cause' than Becket's,⁸⁰ his was a run-of-the-mill dispute about episcopal appointment. His election was canonical; and his exclusion by the new emperor was a direct challenge to the papal authority which had supported him; but there had been no equivalent to the Constitutions of Clarendon, and, as Piero Zerbi pointed out long ago, Albert's assassination lacked the aggravated sacrilege involved in Becket's murder.⁸¹ Where Thomas had been cut down in his own cathedral in an attack which seemed calculated to emphasize the desecration of an anointed person,⁸² Albert was attacked and killed on a country road outside Reims. The question of canonization aside, however, there were significant similarities between the way Alexander III had handled the Canterbury outrage and Celestine's reaction to the Liège affair. Like the imperial Henry, the English Henry had not been excommunicated (although he was denied entry to churches until he had been reconciled), nor had an interdict been placed on England, but the king was compelled to carry out a series of penances and Becket's murderers were ostracized and forced to undertake penances which cost them their lives.⁸³ Celestine's reaction to the murder in 1194 of Archbishop Berenguer of Tarragona (1174–94) was similar: he ordered the chapter to excommunicate the murderer, Guillem Ramon de Montcada, and his accomplices, interdict his lands, and pursue the malefactors 'like Saracens'; at the same time, they were to induce the king, queen, and nobles by the threat of excommunication and interdict to expel the culprits from their territories.⁸⁴

78 Schmandt, 'Election and Assassination', 655–6, who concludes (p. 659), 'Undoubtedly the plot against Albert originated in the emperor's court, but not necessarily with his foreknowledge'; Zerbi, *Papato*, 101 n. 87.

79 A. Duggan, *Thomas Becket*, Reputations (London, 2004), 216–17.

80 Smalley, *Becket Conflict*, 209–10.

81 Zerbi, *Papato*, 97–8, 100.

82 M. Aurell, 'Le meurtre de Thomas Becket: les gestes d'une martyre', in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter. Murder of Bishops*, ed. N. Fryde and D. Reitz (Göttingen, 2003), 187–210.

83 A. J. Duggan, 'Diplomacy, Status, and Conscience: Henry II's penance for Becket's murder', *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte. Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht*, ed. K. Borchardt and E. Bünz (Stuttgart, 1998), i, 265–90; repr. with the same pagination in Duggan, *Thomas Becket: friends ... cult*, no. VII; N. Vincent, 'The Murderers of Thomas Becket', in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter*, 211–72.

84 *PL*, ccvi, 1045–8 no. 164, *Plangendum esset*, dated from St Peter's, 17 June (1194). Guillem Ramon was indeed exiled for 20 years and he secured absolution from Innocent III (and the right of inheritance to Béarn) only after accepting additional penances and five years'

In the case of Richard I, his captor, Leopold V of Austria, was excommunicated and interdicted, but the emperor who held him to ransom and forced him to pay homage for the English kingdom was merely rebuked, and no coercive action was taken against Philip II of France for his invasion of the lands of a crusader. The reports to the contrary transmitted by Roger of Howden, the English chronicler who had accompanied Richard on crusade, must be treated with extreme caution. Although Celestine upheld the immunity of Richard's Norman duchy, even against his own legates (1192) and strove to make peace between Richard and Philip,⁸⁵ there is no evidence that he threatened to impose anathema on Philip and his kingdom if he continued his attacks on the lands of the captive Richard; or that a similar threat was made against the emperor and his kingdom to obtain a speedy release; or that Henry had died 'excommunicated by Pope Celestine for his imprisonment and holding-to-ransom of King Richard of England'.⁸⁶ Apart from admonition, there was little that Celestine could have done without producing the very consequence that his election was intended to prevent – an attack on Rome by an emperor whose political power was poised to embrace the whole of the Italian peninsula, as well as the island of Sicily. On the other hand, he instructed Bishop Adelhard of Verona (1194) to make the absolution of Leopold of Austria and his men (*suos*) dependent on the release and compensation of Richard's hostages, to be followed by a penitential crusade, which was to last as long as Richard's captivity.⁸⁷

What, then, are we to make of the extraordinary story, uniquely transmitted by the same Roger of Howden, that during the imperial coronation ceremony in Rome, Celestine held the crown between his feet and then kicked it away as Henry VI knelt before him?⁸⁸ There is no corroborative evidence at all.⁸⁹ Far from being an eyewitness, Roger had set out for the Holy Land with King Richard five days

penitential crusade in the Holy Land (although he was allowed to commute the latter): Smith, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon*, 166–8.

85 See Montauban, Ch. 4, at n. 59. Octavian, cardinal bishop of Ostia had laid an interdict on Normandy because Richard's seneschal (William) denied him entry into the duchy: Celestine raised the interdict and instructed his legates (the same Octavian and Jordan of Fossa Nova, cardinal priest of S. Pudenziana) not to enter the duchy; [Howden], *Gesta regis Henrici*, ii, 247, 249–50. The incident was the subject of debate between English canonists at Oxford: J. A. Brundage, 'The Crusade of Richard I: two canonical *questiones*', *Speculum*, 38 (1963), 443–52, at 444–5, 451–2; repr. with the same pagination and some corrections in idem, *The Crusades, Holy War, and Canon Law*, CS 338 (Aldershot, 1991), no. III.

86 Howden, *Chronica*, iii, 208; iv, 31: cf. G. A. Loud, 'The Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of England, 1066–1266', *History*, 88 (2003), 540–66, at 559; see Edbury, below, Ch. 5, at n. 16.

87 Diceto, ii, 119; *PL*, ccvi, 636–7.

88 *Chronica*, iii, 102, but not in Howden's earlier *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ii, 161.

89 Robinson, *Papacy*, 510–12; P. Csendes, *Heinrich VI.* (Darmstadt, 1993), 93–8. The relevant sources are listed in Leineweber, *Papst Cölestins III*, 38 n. 5. There is considerable debate about the actual coronation *ordo* used in 1191, but the *ordo* attached to the front of the *Liber censuum*, i, 1*–6*, which Duchesne dates to 1046 (cf. *Vitae*, ed. Watterich, ii, 711–20), describes the main features of the ceremonial; cf. the contemporary illustration in Peter of Eboli's *Liber ad honorem Augusti* (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 120II, fol. 105r): facsimile edn by T. Kölzer (Sigmaringen, 1994), 239; cf. Csendes, *Heinrich VI.*, plate 4.

before the alleged incident occurred,⁹⁰ and although Professor Zerbi saw similarities between Howden's account and the description of Constantine's coronation in a German *Legenda S. Silvestri*,⁹¹ it reads more like a mischievous tale circulated in English court circles to discredit an emperor who had held King Richard to a humiliating ransom in 1193–94. Indeed it parallels the anti-French propaganda conducted by Richard's supporters in the mid-1190s to discredit Philip II and his cousin, Philip of Dreux, bishop of Beauvais. That campaign went to the extent of concocting two forged letters, which were transmitted in full by Howden. In the second, purporting to be a response to a fictitious letter from Philip of Dreux, Pope Celestine was made to condemn Philip II, 'your king', for his treacherous invasion of Richard's lands, and the bishop, for 'putting on the armour of a soldier'.⁹² The coronation story and the claim that Henry VI had died excommunicate diminished the emperor; the 'Beauvais dossier' discredited Philip of Beauvais and the king of France. Such reports would have been music to the ears of a man who had been with the Lionheart outside the walls of Acre.

* * * *

Celestine's pontificate coincided with a series of crises, none of his making: the cauldron of political and personal feuding that was the Third Crusade, the succession crisis in Sicily, the short-lived but terrifying ascendancy of Henry VI both as Romano-German emperor and as a particularly brutal king of the Norman *regno*. Popes from Alexander III had urged the western princes to mount an effective response to the threat to the Latin kingdom posed by the Seljuk Turks, but it took the devastating defeat at Hattin (June 1187) and the fall of the Holy City of Jerusalem (October 1187) to galvanize the kings and princes of Europe to pledge their support for a

90 D. Corner, 'The Earliest Surviving Manuscript of Roger of Howden's "Chronica"', *EHR*, 98 (1983), 297–310, at 308; J. Gillingham, 'The Travels of Roger of Howden and his Views of the Irish, Scots and Welsh', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1997–8), 151–69, at 153.

91 P. Zerbi, 'Un momento oscuro nella incoronazione romana di Enrico VI (a. 1191). Risultati di una vivace polemica storiografica e tentativo di ricostruzione dell'episodio' (first published in 1954), in idem, *Ecclesia in hoc mundo posita. Studi di storia e di storiografia medioevale raccolti in occasione del 70° genetliaco dell'autore*, ed. M. P. Alberzoni, A. Ambrosioni, A. Lucioni, G. Picasso, and P. Tomea (Milan, 1993), 161–72, at 172. In the context of deliberately propagated mis-information (below, at n. 92), the presence of Richard's formidable mother (Queen Eleanor) and Archbishop Walter of Rouen, whom he had just commissioned to take charge of affairs in England, in or near Rome at the time of the coronation (Howden, *Chronica*, iii, 100; L. Landon, *Itinerary of King Richard I with Studies on Certain Matters of Interest connected with his Reign*, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, 51, n.s. 13 [London, 1935], 192–4) does nothing to guarantee the veracity of Howden's account.

92 Howden, *Chronica*, iv, 21–4; *PL*, ccvi, 1278–80 no. 8 and *ibid.*, 1246–47 no. 3: see J. Gillingham, 'Royal Newsletters, Forgeries and English Historians: Some Links between Court and History in the Reign of Richard I', in *La Cour Plantagenêt (1154–1204)*, ed. M. Aurell (Poitiers, 2000), 171–85, at 184–5, which speaks of the 'Europe wide propaganda war of remarkable ferocity'.

crusade. Frederick I emerged as the leader, by reason of age and imperial status; but his death on 10 June 1190 in the River Salef removed the figurehead and demoralized the German army which he was leading, and his heir, the 25-year-old Henry VI, became too embroiled in the business of Sicily to engage in person, but he was fully committed to the crusade, which was enlarged to include the Byzantine empire; and it was only his unexpected death on 28 September 1197 which cut short the enterprise.⁹³

Richard of England was a dedicated crusader, but he, too, had Sicilian preoccupations. At a critical juncture, William II of Sicily had died childless (18 November 1189), leaving as his widow Richard's sister, Joanna of England, and a major international crisis. The immediate heir was William II's aunt Constance, posthumous daughter of Roger II, who had been married at Milan on 27 July 1186 (following betrothal in 1184) to the imperial heir, Henry. The German succession, as it was perceived by many of the Sicilian nobility, was unpopular;⁹⁴ and Count Tancred of Lecce, an illegitimate cousin of William II (son of his dead uncle, Roger of Apulia), succeeded in making himself king in 1190.⁹⁵ All might have been well,

93 The imperial Marshal (Henry of Kalden) and Chancellor (Conrad of Querfurt, bishop of Hildesheim) were its designated leaders, and parties of German troops set out for the Levant through the spring and summer of 1197, culminating with a major embarkation from Messina in September: H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1988), 149–51; C. Naumann, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrichs VI.* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994).

94 The political élite was divided between the party led by Archbishop Walter of Palermo, who supported the marriage and its consequences and the Vice-chancellor Matteo d'Ajello and Roger, count of Andria, Justiciar of Puglia and the Terra di Lavoro. Matteo organized the election of Tancred of Lecce (son of Emma, dei conti di Lecce and Roger of Apulia: D. Clementi, 'The Circumstances of Count Tancred's Accession to the Kingdom of Sicily, Duchy of Apulia and the Principality of Capua', in *Mélanges Antonio Marongiu*, (Palermo, 1967), 57–80. It is possible that William II had at least one living heir when the betrothal was celebrated in 1184, for Queen Joanna was reported to have borne a son, Boamund, during a visit to Normandy in 1181: but there is scant evidence, one way or the other: D. A. Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge, 1992), 275.

95 Although the date of Tancred's coronation has been disputed (F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols [Paris, 1907; repr. New York, 1969], ii, 424–5, argued for Jan. 1191), current scholarship favours 18 Jan. 1190 (Csendes, *Heinrich VI.*, 77–8; Matthew, *Norman Kingdom*, 287). Two sources claim that Clement III gave his approval: *Annales Casinenses*, *MGH SS* xix, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1866) 303–20, at 314, 'de assensu et favore ecclesiae Romanae'; Arnold of Lübeck, *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum*, ed. I. M. Lappenberg, *MGH SRG*, 14 (Hanover, 1868), 152, 'a sede Apostolica iam ibi ordinatus fuerat'; but Richard of San Germano, *Chronica regni Siciliae* (Muratori, vii, 972), says the opposite: 'Papa prohibente et contradicente'. It is possible that there was no papal mission to Sicily until after Tancred's coronation. The presence of Clement's *vicarius* (Albinus, cardinal bishop of Albano) at Messina in summer 1191 has been inferred from the reference to his intercession in King Tancred's privilege for the city of Gaeta, but if it was a formal mission, nothing seems to have come of it; and it was not until the following June 1192, that Albinus, together with Gregory, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Aquiro, negotiated the accord of Gravina (below, at n. 106: U.-R. Blumenthal 'Cardinal Albinus of Albano and the *Digesta pauperis scolaris Albini*: MS. Ottob. lat. 3057', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 20 (1982),

for Tancred was an experienced general, but even though Richard I of England and Philip II of France recognized his title, Richard's activities during his six-month sojourn in Sicily (from 23 September 1190 to 10 April 1191), *en route* to Palestine, undermined his authority in the kingdom.⁹⁶ In revenge for attacks on his men, who were said to have assaulted Sicilian women, and insults directed at himself, Richard sacked the strategically important city of Messina and burnt the Sicilian fleet at anchor in the harbour;⁹⁷ and, in repayment of Joanna's dowry and settlement of his own claims to a legacy from William II, the Lionheart prized 40,000 ounces of gold from the hapless Tancred. The pill was sugared, somewhat, by the inclusion of a marriage agreement (between Richard's nephew and heir Arthur of Brittany and one of Tancred's daughters) and a formal treaty of friendship between the two kings.⁹⁸ The financial cost could be borne, but the citizens of Messina were unlikely to forget his inability to protect them from the English king's revenge, and preoccupation with Richard's demands distracted King Tancred from taking command of the defence of Apulia in person.⁹⁹

7–49, at 29–32; repr. with the same numeration in eadem, *Papal Reform and Canon Law in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, CS 618 (Aldershot, 1998); cf. Pfaff, 'Papst Clemens III.' (1980), 278. For the general circumstances, see Csendes, *Heinrich VI.*, 77–80; D. Clementi, 'The Circumstances of Count Tancred's Accession', 57–80; E. Jordan, *L'Allemagne et l'Italie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1939), 150–66.

96 Together with Philip II of France and his army: *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ii, 125–40, 146–7, 150–62. Cf. Chalandon, *Domination normande*, ii, 436–42.

97 Roger of Howden (who travelled with King Richard), *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ii, 125–9, 132; *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, v. 720, 817: cf. Chalandon, *Domination normande*, ii, 437–9; Richard's ability to punish the citizens of Messina in this way is a commentary on Tancred's weakness. In Portugal, two months earlier (July 1190), when similar assaults on women caused violent brawls in the streets of Lisbon, King Sancho demanded assurances from the English captains and, when the brawls were repeated, he shut the gates of Lisbon and imprisoned seven hundred crusaders (*ibid.*, ii, 119–20).

98 *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ii, 132–9, at 133: 'Unde factum est quod per consilium virorum rex Siciliae dedit regi Angliae viginti millia unciarum auri pro quieta clamazione dodarii Johanna sororis suae; et alia viginti millia unciarum auri pro quieta clamazione pro omni supradictorum quietia clamantia, quae in iure petebat de divisa Willelmi regis defuncti, et pro matrimonio contrahendo inter Arturum ducem britanniae, nepotem suum, et unam de filiabus regis Tancredi.' The *Gesta* gives the full text of Richard's letters of confirmation: *ibid.*, 133–8. D. Mack Smith, *A History of Sicily*, i, *Medieval Sicily 800–1713* (London, 1968), 46–7; S. Tramontana, *La monarchia normanna e sveva* (Turin, 1986), 217; W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, 'L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)', *Byzantion*, 38 (1968), 123–77, esp. 151, 157–64; repr. with the same pagination in idem, *Familles d'Orient latin XIIIe–XIVe siècles*, CS 176 (London, 1983), no. 1. Cf. J. A. Brundage, 'Richard the Lion-Heart and Byzantium', in *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 6–7 (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1967), 63–79, repr. with the same pagination in idem, *The Crusades*, no. IV. The de-stabilizing effects of Richard's sojourn in Sicily are glossed over in Matthew, *Norman Kingdom*, 287. For the generally low opinion of Sicily and its people held by English chroniclers and commentators (especially Peter of Blois), see Loud, 'The Kingdom of Sicily', 555–7, 560–61.

99 Chalandon, *Domination normande*, ii, 449.