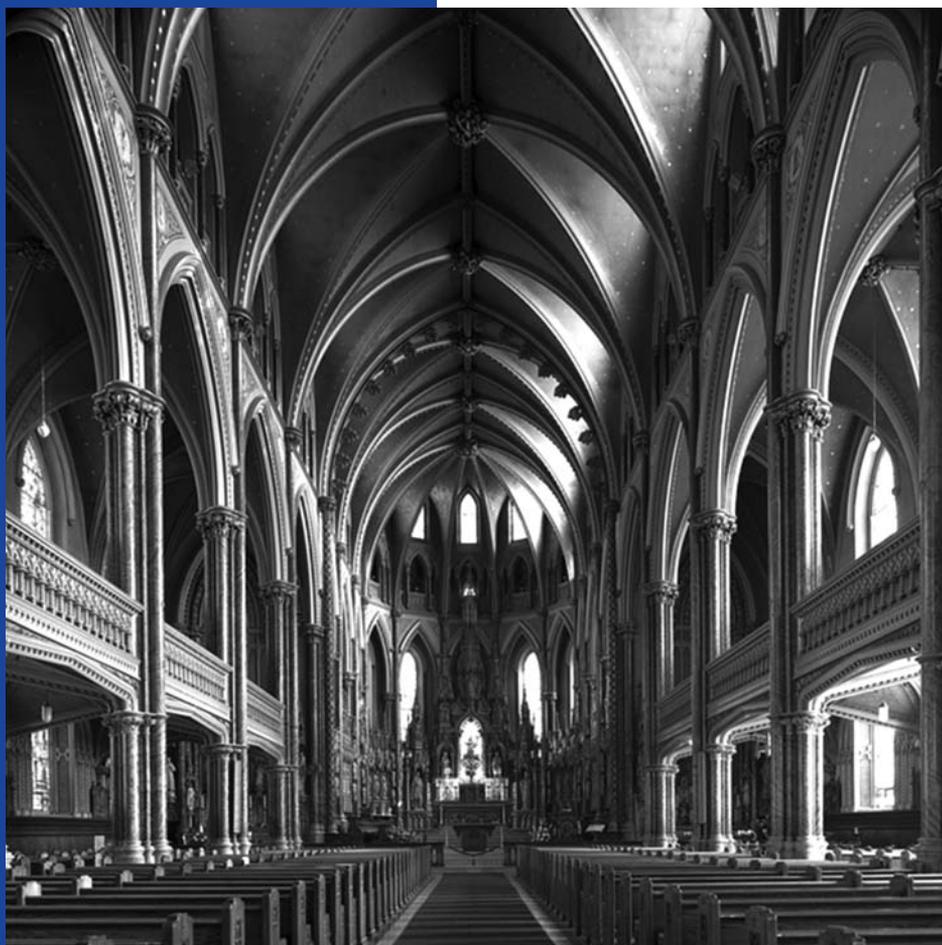


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**ONE, HOLY,
CATHOLIC, AND
APOSTOLIC:
A HISTORY OF THE
CHURCH IN THE
MIDDLE AGES
COURSE GUIDE**



Professor Thomas F. Madden
SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY

One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic: A History of the Church in the Middle Ages

Professor Thomas F. Madden

Saint Louis University



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One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic:
A History of the Church in the Middle Ages

Professor Thomas F. Madden



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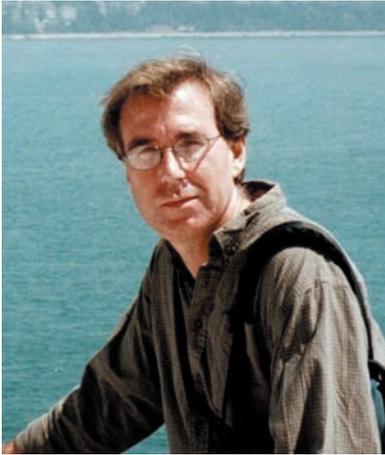
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Course Syllabus

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About Your Professor

Thomas F. Madden

Thomas F. Madden is a professor of medieval history and chair of the Department of History at Saint Louis University. A recognized expert on the Crusades, he has appeared in forums such as National Public Radio and the *New York Times*. Professor Madden is the author of *The New Concise History of the Crusades* and *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice*. He is coauthor with Donald E. Queller of *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople* and the editor of *Crusades: The Illustrated History* and *The Crusades: Essential Readings*. Among his published journal articles are “The Enduring Myths of the Fourth Crusade,” “Father of the Bride: Fathers, Daughters, and Dowries in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Venice,” and “The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203–1204: A Damage Assessment.”

The following books provide an excellent overview of the lectures found in this course:

Logan, F. Donald. *A History of the Church in the Middle Ages*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Lynch, Joseph H. *The Medieval Church: A Brief History*. London: Longman, 1995.

Southern, R.W. *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*. New ed. New York: Penguin, 1990.

Thomson, John A.F. *The Western Church in the Middle Ages*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.



The basilica of Notre Dame cathedral, Paris

Introduction

Renowned professor Thomas F. Madden turns his scholarly eye on the intrigue and politics swirling about the Medieval Church. Professor Madden explores the compelling events that shaped the culture and forever altered history, from the Monophysite Controversy to reform movements to the Inquisition, Black Death, and Great Schism.

This is a history populated with larger-than-life characters and notorious personages such as Charlemagne, Pope Innocent III, and the Knights Templar. Richly detailed and infused with dramatic intensity, Professor Madden's captivating lectures provide a better understanding not only of the Medieval Church, but of the modern world that followed.

Lecture 1: Birth of the Medieval Church

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Judith Herrin's *The Formation of Christendom*.

Overview of Ecclesiology by 600 A.D.

The head of the Church was Christ, who had given the authority in the Church to the Apostles. At the top of the church hierarchy were the five patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Beneath the patriarchates were the metropolitan centers (while the patriarchates were considered metropolitans, not all metropolitans were patriarchates).

The pope was the direct line of apostolic succession, and bishops were in charge of particular areas. Secular and monastic clergy administered to the laity.

Unique to this arrangement was the separation of church and state. In most cultures, church and state were one and the same, but here, while there was much overlap, they were not the same. The interaction and competition between the two will form much of the story of the Medieval Church.

East and West Begin to Part Ways

Throughout the seventh century, Rome remained part of the Roman Empire based in Constantinople. As *pontifex maximus*, the pope was required to have his election confirmed by the emperor in Constantinople before he could assume office.

The Monophysite Controversy continued to rage in the East, despite attempts by the emperors to stamp out the heresy. These divisions weakened the empire, leaving it susceptible to outside invasions.

The Persian Empire invaded, capturing the Holy Land and Syria and even besieging Constantinople. The war ended in 627.

Arab Muslims invaded in 637 and within a decade had captured Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. Within a century all of North Africa and Spain was also lost.

Desperate for a solution to the division, Emperor Heraclius supported a compromise: monothelism, or one will.

Pope Honorius I (625–638) cautiously responded to a query on the matter, which the emperor and others took to mean that the pope had approved monothelism. The emperor imposed it by law.

The Monothelite controversy wreaked havoc on a weakened Rome. Because subsequent popes refused to ratify it, the emperors used strong-arm tactics.

In the 640s, imperial troops ransacked papal property in Rome and destroyed the papal residence in Constantinople. In 653, imperial troops arrested Pope Martin I (649–653) and sent him to Constantinople, where he was convicted of treason.

Persecutions and pressure continued until 680, when Emperor Constantine IV gave in, calling a council in Constantinople, to which Pope Agatho (678–681) sent delegates.

Chalcedon was affirmed, monothelism condemned, and the age-old commitment to orthodoxy in Rome praised. By 700, the practical ties between the popes and Constantinople were extraordinarily thin.

The Final Break

Imperial confirmation of election was no longer necessary. Byzantium's resources were strapped with matters in the East. The final break between papacy and empire arose from yet another Eastern heresy.

In 726, Emperor Leo III issued a decree against images. The Iconoclastic Controversy had begun.

Gregory II and his successor Gregory III (731–741) refused to accept it, maintaining that laymen should not meddle in ecclesiastical matters.

In 733, Leo ordered the confiscation of all papal properties in southern Italy and Sicily. In addition, he decreed that the patriarchal jurisdiction of the popes no longer extended to those regions or to Greece.

Although popes would continue to seek reconciliation, the papacy and empire would henceforth be separate.

The withdrawal of imperial attention to southern Italy and the East left the popes and the city of Rome with no protector. The Lombard armies continued to win victories, pressing in on Rome and Ravenna. The situation was desperate.

In order to survive, the popes began to shift their gaze from the Roman East to the barbarian North. Almost a century of predominantly Greek popes gave way to popes from Latin Rome.

In 750, Pepin the Short sent a delegate to Rome to discuss royal power. Pope Zachary (741–752) affirmed that Pepin might depose the Merovingian king and be crowned himself. This signified a change in the nature of Western kingship, one that would benefit the popes.

In 751, Ravenna fell to the Lombards. Pope Stephen II (752–757) traveled to Frankland to meet with Pepin and seek his help.

He anointed Pepin and his family members. For his part, Pepin led the papal horse as a groom. In 754, Pepin and his Frankish armies invaded Italy, crushing the Lombards.

The exarchate of Ravenna became the "Donation of Pepin." This formed a new "Patrimony of St. Peter," or the Papal State, which would last for more than a millennium.

It was a recognition of a new reality, in which protection could be afforded only by feudal lands, not great empires. The bishop of Rome, like the bishops of other important towns, was also a feudal lord.

The Donation of Pepin created a new order, in which the pope was not only the ruler of Rome, but of rich lands across central Italy. As such, the papal office was not simply one of prestige and spiritual authority, but of secular authority. As the highest office in the region, it was worth fighting for.

It also cemented a relationship between the papacy and the Franks, who became the protectors of the popes. The “Donation of Constantine” was written sometime in the latter half of the eighth century. Although a forgery, it was probably meant to authenticate something that was believed to be true, that Constantine had bestowed on Sylvester I the western half of the Roman Empire.

Charlemagne and the Church

Charlemagne came to power in 771, Pope Hadrian I in 772. The former saw himself as a successor to the Romans, and the latter was in agreement.

In 773, the Lombards besieged Rome. Charlemagne invaded, captured Pavia, and took the title “King of the Lombards.”

Charlemagne spent Easter 774 in Rome, doing the pope great homage. Charlemagne concerned himself with the decline of Roman learning and culture in the West. He was particularly concerned with ensuring uniformity in liturgy across Europe. Hadrian gave Roman liturgical books to him, which were used to bring this about.

Charlemagne also enforced the Benedictine Rule in all monasteries across his domains.

Leo III (795–816) was elected for his skill and sanctity, but Rome was entering a time when those qualities were not as important as faction and family.

In 799, while conducting a procession, he was attacked by a band of armed men from a rival faction who believed they had blinded him. He recovered and fled to Charlemagne’s court. He was then restored to his position in Rome.

The year 800 saw the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the Romans. This began the medieval concept of the Holy Roman Empire, in which the leader obtained his imperial title only through the pope.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What effect did the Monothelite controversy have on Rome?
2. How did the Papal State come about?

Suggested Reading

Herrin, Judith. *The Formation of Christendom*. Reprint ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

Other Books of Interest

McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895*. Lincoln, UK: The Lincoln Record Society, 1977.

Noble, Thomas F.X. *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

Wallace-Hadrill, J.M. *The Frankish Church*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Lecture 2: The Church in an Age of Chaos

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Geoffrey Barraclough's *The Crucible of Europe: The Ninth and Tenth Centuries in European History*.

Photian Schism

The Church, which once spanned the known world, was shrinking in its scope and focus. Patriarch Ignatius of Constantinople was deposed by Emperor Michael III in 858 and replaced with a layman, Photius.

After hearing both sides, Pope Nicholas I sided with Ignatius, ordering the emperor to restore him to his see and excommunicating Photius. When the emperor protested, the pope responded that the East was hardly known for its doctrinal uniformity, having frequently lapsed into heresy and schism. He ridiculed the concept of a Roman emperor who could not even speak Latin and reminded him (rightly) that the authority of the see of St. Peter existed before Constantinople was founded and would continue long after the emperors were gone.

In 867, Photius excommunicated the pope on the basis of the insertion of the Filioque Clause in the creed, which asserted that the Holy Spirit proceeded from both the Father and the Son. This argument, that the pope was himself a heretic, would be used with increased regularity in the East.

This was a shaky argument, however, since many Greek Fathers had asserted a double procession of the Holy Spirit. The usual Greek complaint, therefore, was that the pope had inserted the idea into the creed without the approval of a council.

In 869, Emperor Basil the Macedonian deposed Photius and restored Ignatius, thus ending the schism. After Ignatius's death in 877, Photius was canonically made patriarch, but only after confessing publicly that Rome was the first see of Christianity.

A Historical Nadir

The New Invasions of the mid-ninth and tenth centuries devastated Europe and the Church. In Rome, a Muslim force invaded the city in 846.

Leo IV (847–855) expanded the fortifications of the city, creating the Leonine wall. Monasteries and churches across Europe were ransacked by Vikings, Magyars, and Muslims.

By the late ninth century, the papacy was the plaything of competing Italian families. Many of the popes died violent deaths, victims of intrigue and infighting.

Pope Stephen VI in 897 had his rival and predecessor, Pope Formosus, exhumed and dressed as pope. After a synod heard the charges against him, he was condemned, had two fingers removed, dressed as a layman, and thrown in the Tiber.

Similar problems beset other bishoprics across Europe. The papacy and the Church in the West were at a historical nadir.

The New Invasions and general decline in order in Europe led to confusion, laxity, and corruption in the Church. Secular lords took over the roles previously played by ecclesiastical authorities.

There followed the institution of private churches, which conflicted with tithes and rights of baptistery churches. Concubinage and clerical marriage became commonplace. Some bishops had wives before ordination, although they were supposed to take vows of celibacy.

The integration of church offices into the feudal system led directly to simony. The episcopacy became something worth paying for. Monasteries became corporations rather than houses of prayer, and were founded and supported by lay people for the salvation of their souls. As large landowners, abbots also owed obedience to feudal lords.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. On what did Photius base his excommunication of the pope?
2. What led to simony?

Suggested Reading

Barraclough, Geoffrey. *The Crucible of Europe: The Ninth and Tenth Centuries in European History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Other Books of Interest

Dvornik, Francis. *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1966.

———. *The Photian Schism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948.

Logan, F. Donald. *The Vikings in History*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 1992.

**Lecture 3:
In the Year 1000:
A Tour Across a Medieval Ecclesiastical Landscape**

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Eleanor Shipley Duckett's *Death and Life in the Tenth Century*.

Medieval Churches

Religion and the Church were everywhere, from rural farmlands to the largest cities. Local churches dotted the landscape, as did shrines and crosses.

Baptistery churches had official rights to tithes and dues, and had the font. Private churches, built for convenience of one's subjects or the glory of one's family, were built by local lords. These made the situation more complex.

Private churches were under lay control, although the clergy required episcopal ordination and had to accept visits. Secular clergy, all tonsured, usually began with minor orders before proceeding to major orders.

Minor orders were received as preparation for the major orders, but were not permanent. These included doorkeeper, lector, exorcist (baptismal), and acolyte.

Major orders were bestowed by the sacrament of Holy Orders and required life-long vows of celibacy and recitation of the Divine Office. These included subdeacon, deacon, and priest.

Clergy were supposed to be literate and were often the only literate people for miles.

Monasteries

In large cities, parish and personal churches could be very close together. Monasteries could be found in great number in the countryside, but were also packed into cities as well.

Benedictine monasticism's emphasis on humility and moderation remained, but the role of manual labor declined. The abbot or abbess remained the monarch of the monastery.

The main product of monasteries was intercessory prayer. Laity, aware of the inherent sinfulness of their lives, founded or supported the monasteries.

Monks engaged in daily prayer cycles. Because of the continued donations, many of the monks were concerned with administration.

The rural monastery would have large amounts of land, and usually a village or two. These monasteries would consist of a parlatorium, cloister (claustrum), chapter hall, refectory, dormitory, and church. Outlying buildings could include an oven, brew house, alms house, guest houses, lay brothers' dormitory, workshops, and smithy.

Urban monasteries were more compact, but would have many of the same central features.

Bishops

The cathedral was the seat of the bishop. Traditionally chosen by local election and acclamation, bishops by 1000 were increasingly selected by lay lords. Bishops had to be thirty years old and sexually continent. Consecration was traditionally done by three other bishops, but by 1000 laymen and some clergy would do it. The choice was traditionally approved by the pope, but by 1000 this was rarely done.

A bishop was married to his diocese and was unable to leave it. The bishop was responsible for ordaining priests, blessing altars and other buildings and objects in his domain, and ordaining and supervising secular clergy. As lords in their own right, bishops were also busy with the business of defending their property and answering to their feudal lords.

The cathedral, which was always busy, had a staff of clergy known as canons who assisted with the administration. As with large monastic churches, there was a need for more and more side altars. The need for educated clergy was sufficiently great that many cathedrals began to open their own schools.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was the distinction between baptistery and private churches?
2. What were a bishop's responsibilities?

Suggested Reading

Duckett, Eleanor Shipley. *Death and Life in the Tenth Century*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1989.

Other Books of Interest

Johnson, Edgar Nathaniel. *The Secular Activities of the German Episcopate: 919–1024*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1932.

Lecture 4: The Faith of the Medieval Church

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is John R.H. Moorman's *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*.

Medieval Christian (Catholic) Faith

The Church was encountered on a daily basis in the Middle Ages. Average Christians believed in original sin. Therefore, each person needed to embrace the Incarnation and Redemption to redeem his or her soul.

The foundation of the Church was with the Apostles, and the bishops were their successors. Satan and his demons were perceived as active in the world and as trying to steal souls away from God. There was belief in Heaven, Hell, Purgatory, indulgences, and the invocation of saints and the Blessed Mary. Local saints were turned to and relics venerated.

Baptism

The means by which the faithful received the graces of God were the sacraments. Baptism removed all sin, including original sin. Infant baptism was the norm from the fifth century onward. The formerly long process of initiation was compacted into a short ceremony. Sponsors, usually three, brought the child to the church, because the mother was unclean.

A priest greeted the baby at the church door, asked the name, and exorcised evil spirits. The baptism, usually by immersion, was done inside. Frequently the child would immediately receive consecrated wine.

Confirmation

Confirmation, originally a portion of the elaborate baptismal ceremony, was separated by the lack of available bishops. The sacrament could be given at any age. The act of confirming was the bishop's, not that of the faithful.

Bishops would offer anointing at various times, but there were never enough opportunities for everyone to receive it. Theologians concluded that while preferable, it was not necessary.

The Eucharist

The Eucharist was the central sacrament, in which the priest changed the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. It was performed in all churches at least on Sunday and often on weekdays.

The liturgy, usually sung and often elaborate, took place on an altar, usually behind a screen. The congregation would kneel, waiting for the ringing of bells and the glimpse of the host.

Reception of the Eucharist was only possible after fasting, sexual abstinence, confession of sins, and sometimes other sacrifices. Thus, most people seldom received communion. Occasionally, the priest would bless bread for consumption.

Fourth Lateran Council (1215) required all those above the age of reason (twelve to fourteen years of age) to receive the Eucharist at Easter once a year. Masses also became extremely important as a way of helping the dead achieve heaven.

Confession

Early Church confession was public, and only for grave (mortal) sins. The penances were difficult. In the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, Irish monks spread a practice of private confession.

All sins were to be confessed. Public penance was still required for public scandal, but this was rare. After the Fourth Lateran Council, all Christians were required to make a confession in preparation for communion.

Confessors' manuals, particularly those of the friars, became sophisticated.

Marriage

Marriage customs in Europe varied widely, yet the Church was able to bring them into some uniformity. For a valid marriage, the Church insisted on consent of both the man and woman. This, while reasonably novel, was non-negotiable.

For a valid marriage, the Church also insisted that there be no impediments. One or both could not already be married. There were prohibitions based on kinship. Banns had to be said for at least three weeks from the pulpit.

The sacrament was administered not by the priest, but by the couple in their mutual vows and consummation. Only this was necessary. The Church, though, recommended the exchange of gifts, the presence of a priest, and a Mass.

The Church's position was at odds with the traditional power of parents, although in practice this seldom caused problems.

Holy Orders

Unlike in the Greek East, in western Europe Holy Orders and marriage were incompatible. The same man could not receive both. Holy Orders bestowed the status of major order on a man. It was done by a laying on of hands by the bishop, an act that stretched back to the Apostles.

According to canon law, men had to be at least twenty-five, legitimately born, never married, and reasonably educated before ordination. Seminaries did not exist, so education could be haphazard.

Clergy were clearly visible as a result of their tonsure. As much as 2 percent of the European population was clergy. After the Fourth Lateran Council, priests were required to wear distinctive clothing and refrain from finery.

Extreme Unction and Sacramentals

Based on James 5:14–16, the sacrament of Last Rites had existed since the early Church. Surprisingly, though, it was not much sought after among most people. Many believed that it either caused death, or required one to live as a monk after recovery. Extreme unction was most often administered in monasteries, cathedrals, or palaces.

Even more commonly encountered were sacramentals. These could include rituals such as a coronation or a churching and the blessing of crops, livestock, and ships.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What is the purpose of baptism?
2. What is extreme unction?

Suggested Reading

Moorman, John R.H. *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*. Brooklyn: Ams Press, Inc., 1977.

Other Books of Interest

Brooke, Christopher N.L. *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Hamilton, Sarah. *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050*. London: Royal Historical Society, 2002.

Le Goff, Jacques. *The Birth of Purgatory*. Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Lynch, Joseph H. *Godparents and Kingship in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Lecture 5: The Eleventh-Century Reform Movement

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Steven Runciman's *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches During the XIth and XIIIth Centuries*.

Reform

Because of the chaos left behind with the New Invasions, the Church was in need of reform. The monastery at Cluny in Burgundy was founded by Duke William of Aquitaine in 909. It was exempted from all local secular and ecclesiastical control and was answerable only to the pope. There a new, reformed Benedictine monasticism grew.

Reform ideas took root and blossomed in the tenth century at Cluny. Monastic reform spread across Europe, acting as a conduit of reform ideas to the secular nobility.

The secular nobility actively promoted the expansion of Cluniac reform. Means of reform included the restoration of papal authority and oversight in Europe and the removal of lay control over the appointment of ecclesiastical offices.

The German Emperor Henry III sought to enact the first reform measure to purify the Church. In 1046, he deposed the three competing popes and appointed his own reform popes. With the support of the emperor, these non-Roman popes were able to enact reforms.

Reform popes brought to Rome reform-minded clerics from across Europe to staff church offices. Leo IX (1049–1054) was the first effective reform pope. His pontificate marked a dramatic change from the recent past.

Leo convened local synods across central Europe, rooting out simony and other abuses. Research in the papal archives was undertaken to develop a codified code of law for the Church, based solidly on Scripture, the Church Fathers, papal decrees, and councils.

Opponents of reform—particularly those like bishops or the Roman aristocracy who benefited from the corrupt system—were many.

Schism of 1054

Leo IX sought closer ties with the emperor in Constantinople to defeat their common enemy, the Normans. The ideas of reform, however, also played a role, particularly with regard to the Orthodox of southern Italy.

To reconcile differences between the two, Leo sent Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candide to Constantinople. Relations between Humbert and Patriarch Cerularius were bad from the start. The patriarch refused to afford Humbert the honors of a papal legate and openly doubted his credentials.

When news arrived of the pope's death, Humbert's presence in Constantinople became irrelevant. Mutual excommunications were exchanged. This, however, did not constitute the final schism between Catholic and Orthodox.

Henry died in 1056, leaving a regent government. This provided the opportunity for the well-established reformers in Rome to implement the second phase of reform.

Papal Election Decree of 1059

As with other bishops, the bishop of Rome would be chosen by the leading clergy of his see without interference. The cardinals would henceforth elect popes. Emperors and all other secular authorities would stay out. With minor modifications, this is still the method used.

The regent government confirmed the decree, but Henry IV would later disclaim it.

Gregory VII (1073–1085) was the most dramatic of the reform papacy. So influential was he that the reform was subsequently referred to as Gregorian.

Dictatus Papae (1075), although not a public document, laid out the reformers' understanding of the papacy. Many were uncontroversial, even in the East: that he himself may be judged by no one, that to the pope should be referred the more important cases of every church, that the Roman Church has never erred, nor will it err to all eternity, the Scripture bearing witness.

Others, however, were implied in the past, but never stated openly or attempted directly: that he alone may use the imperial insignia, that it may be permitted to him to depose emperors (this based on the deposition of the Merovingians), that he may absolve subjects from their fealty to wicked men.

In 1075, in a synod in Rome, Gregory formally forbade lay investiture of clerical authority. Henry assembled disgruntled German bishops at Worms in 1076 and wrote an extraordinary letter, claiming that Gregory was no pope, that he wielded religion as a tool of violence, and that he should step down.

Gregory's response was a letter to St. Peter. In it, he deposed Henry and absolved his subjects from oaths of fealty. Thus began the Investiture Controversy.

Canossa

Henry's empire began to fall apart. He was forced to travel to Canossa in 1077 to beg forgiveness from the pope.

With tears and promises, he was given back his empire. In 1080, Henry again defied the pope, but this time the pope's response was not as effective.

The emperor made his own pope in Germany—something that would become a fixture during this period—and set about placing him on the throne of St. Peter.

In 1084, Henry captured Rome, causing Gregory to hole up in Castel Sant' Angelo. However, the Normans came to his rescue, sacking Rome in the process.

Although Gregory died in exile, ultimately the reformers would win. The

Investiture Controversy would elevate the popes to greater prominence and authority while politically shredding medieval Germany.

Even before the controversy formally ended with the Concordat of Worms in 1122, the papacy had the upper hand.

Having reformed the Church, reformers also sought to reform all of Christian society. They were particularly concerned with the nobility, whose levels of violence were worrisome.

Crusades

The Crusades, although initiated by outside threats, were a means by which warriors could be sanctified. The success of the call of the First Crusade in 1095 by Urban II (a Cluny monk himself) demonstrates the extent to which reform had spread throughout European society.

Like monks, crusaders took vows. The Church promised remission of the temporal penalties of sin for participants, placing their property under Church protection.

By 1095, reform was a given. Cluny had more than one thousand priories housing more than twenty thousand monks. Its church was the largest in the Christian West.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. Who was the first effective reform pope?
2. What provided the opportunity for the implementation of the second phase of reform?

Suggested Reading

Runciman, Steven. *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches During the XIth and XIIIth Centuries*. London: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2005.

Other Books of Interest

Blumenthal, Uta-Renate. *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988.

Cowdrey, H.E.J. *The Cluniacs and Gregorian Reform*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

———. *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–85*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Madden, Thomas F. *The New Concise History of the Crusades*. Updated ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005.

Robinson, Ian S. *Henry IV of Germany, 1056–1106*. New ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Lecture 6: The Flowering of the Twelfth Century

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Charles Homer Haskins's *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*.

The Rise of Papal Authority

The twelfth century saw an economic, intellectual, and religious revival in Europe. It was a time of growth and innovation.

Popes held small amounts of land and commanded few troops. Yet they were universally seen as the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, and the head of Christendom.

Development of Canon Law

Collections were forged during the controversies of the eleventh century. In the 1140s, a monk named Gratian produced the Concordance of the Discordant Canons, or the Decretum. This became the standard compilation.

Canon law, based on the principles of Roman law, was more comprehensive and sophisticated than any secular laws. It was also the law that regulated more assets, leading to many practitioners.

Canon law was appended and amended by new papal decretals, which were usually in response to court cases. These were added to the corpus.

The pope was the only one who could offer dispensations from canonical norms. This brought floods of requests. Ecclesiastical courts were extremely busy. Appeals could be made all the way to Rome, which caused the expansion of the curia.

Papal Legates

Papal Legates became the means by which the pope could extend his authority to distant lands. Legates presided over councils, synods, and court cases. Legates also negotiated with kings and princes.

The legates were crucial to the management of the Church and were the beginning of modern diplomacy.

Church Councils

The last ecumenical council accepted by the eastern and western halves of the Church was the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. The reform popes started calling ecumenical councils themselves with the First Lateran Council in 1123. These would continue regularly.

Rather than a meeting to discern doctrine, the councils were an organ of the pope. They could not exist without his call and their decrees were invalid without his confirmation.

Beginning in the twelfth century and extending into the fourteenth, popes acquired control over the appointment of most high ecclesiastical offices, including bishops and many abbots.

The new methods of election were precise and defined by canon law. Frequently, the loser of an election appealed to Rome. The pope increasingly was in the position of hearing cases and making appointments to settle disputes. Over time, the pope simply made the appointment, without the need for an election.

The Reform Orders

Although Cluny had spread reform across Europe, it was soon a victim of its own success. Some reformers began to criticize Cluny, its abbots, and its monks of excessive wealth and a detachment from real piety.

The Cistercians were a small collection of pious men who set up a new, experimental monastery at Cîteaux, about sixty miles from Cluny. The community sought to live in strict adherence to Benedict's Rule.

The Cistercians opposed the finery and decoration of Cluny, dressing in woolen habits without dye (thus the White Monks). They returned to a balance of manual labor and prayer. The austerity and sanctity of the Cistercians drew great praise and many recruits and put Cluny on the defensive.

Daughter houses had an abbot, thus preserving the Rule and making the arrangement of grouping of equals. Abbots met annually from across Europe at Cîteaux. By 1200, there were 525 houses. Many were founded in wild frontier areas, with little lay interference.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux

The most visible of the Cistercian abbots was St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who had a broad reputation for sanctity and criticized Cluny. He traveled across Europe, preaching everywhere, and became a voice of reform of all aspects of Christian society.

After the Muslim capture of Edessa, he became the main proponent of the Second Crusade.

The Carthusians

An order of hermits/monks, the Carthusians lived in small monasteries and accepted only a few men. The order was an attempt to bring together the best of the lone hermit with a monastic community.

The Military Orders

The Knights of the Temple (Templars) was begun by Hugh of Payen in the 1120s to create an order of warriors/monks who would defend Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land. The Knights were supported by Bernard of Clairvaux and headquartered at the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem.

The Knights of the Hospital of St. John (Hospitallers) was begun to administer to the sick and poor in Jerusalem. By the 1140s, they had branched into military affairs.

Other orders were also created, such as the Teutonic Knights. Many of the convents of the military orders were in Europe, providing services for pilgrims and collecting alms for the Holy Land.

Canons Regular

The Rule of St. Augustine, which was less strict than Benedict's, was encouraged on secular clergy. In parts of France and Italy, many of the secular clergy, particularly in towns, organized themselves in the Canons Regular. In this way, monastic reform was introduced at the parish level.

Nunneries, which had been relatively scarce before, began to grow rapidly in the twelfth century. In part this was demographic, given the larger population in Europe and the desire to maintain property in patrilineal families. Nunneries, however, were more expensive and more difficult to manage.

Nunneries had none of the means by which male monasteries could earn a living. They were less attractive as places of donation, because they could offer prayer but no Masses.

Schism

Despite this reform energy, problems still remained in the relationship of the pope with the German emperor. Frederick I Barbarossa (1155–1190) was determined to bring the Italian communes into line. Pope Alexander III, who was allied with the Normans in southern Italy, opposed this kind of enclosure.

The Normans held their lands as a papal fief. Frederick selected his own pope, Victor IV, whom he installed in Rome. The schism would last almost two decades.

Frederick waged war against the Italians, who rallied under the papal banner and called themselves the Lombard League. In the end, Frederick was forced to admit defeat. At the Peace of Venice in 1177, he kissed the foot of Alexander III.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was the purpose of papal legates?
2. Who were the Cistercians?

Suggested Reading

Haskins, Charles Homer. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. New ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Other Books of Interest

Constable, Giles. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*. Reprint ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Lawrence, C.H. *Medieval Monasticism*. 3rd ed. London: Longman, 2000.

Lekai, Louis J. *The Cistercians: Ideal and Reality*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1977.

Venarde, Bruce. *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Lecture 7: The Age of Pope Innocent III

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is James C. Moore's *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216): To Root Up and to Plant*.

The Two Swords Theory

By the end of the twelfth century, no one in Europe disputed that the pope's power was great. Questions continued to arise, however, about the division between papal and secular authority.

The Two Swords Theory was that the spiritual sword was wielded by the pope as the Vicar of Christ, and the temporal sword was wielded by the secular authority, to be used at the leave or command of the pope.

The Two Lights Theory

The Two Lights Theory was that secular authority drew its strength from spiritual authority, just as the moon draws its light from the sun.

Innocent III (1198–1216)

The pinnacle of the papal monarchy, Innocent and his curia were active in a dizzying array of activities across Europe. A canon lawyer who studied at the University of Bologna, Innocent became pope at age thirty-seven.

For Innocent, the success in the Crusades was a necessity. The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 made clear that God was calling his people to reform.

The Fourth Crusade went hopelessly off course, capturing Constantinople in 1204. Innocent organized the peace, seeking to raise troops in France and vessels in Venice.

Unable to pay their bills, the crusaders supported an imperial pretender to the Byzantine throne. In April 1204, they conquered Constantinople.

Although Innocent condemned the crusade, he nonetheless saw its outcome as divinely ordained. He believed that the schism between east and west was ended. It was not.

The Fourth Crusade would, however, bring about a much closer relationship with the Byzantine East.

The Albigensian Crusade was aimed at a powerful heresy in southern France. The Fifth Crusade, carefully crafted by Innocent to be a papally run enterprise, would launch only after his death.

Innocent and Secular Rulers

Innocent excommunicated King John of England in 1209 for refusing to accept the canonically elected archbishop of Canterbury. John relented, giving over England to the pope and promising an annual payment of feudal dues.

He excommunicated King Philip II of France for refusing to take back his estranged wife, Ingeborg. With regard to Italy, Innocent continued a policy of avoiding encirclement. It was crucial that no secular power have control of the popes.

After playing both sides of a contest for the German throne, he eventually accepted Frederick II, who was heir to the German Empire and the Norman kingdom of southern Italy, provided that he not inherit both. Frederick became a papal ward.

The situation had been reversed. It was now the pope who took an active role in the selection of a new emperor, and not the other way around.

Fourth Lateran Council (1215)

This was the largest such council ever, with representatives from across Latin Christendom and including bishops from the East. More than four hundred bishops and eight hundred abbots attended. These were supplemented by thousands of other clergy and secular representatives.

This was the culmination of the papal monarchy and was attended by obedient patriarchs from the faraway East. Reform measures included yearly confession for all faithful, a definition of transubstantiation, and distinctive dress for clergy and Jews.

The preparation and conduct of secular clergy were reformed and secular clergy were forbidden from lists of activities, such as gaming, commerce, shedding of blood, and taking part in ordeals. Cathedrals were required to provide basic theological and pastoral training free of charge to those preparing for priesthood.

A ban was placed on any new orders and a new crusade to rescue Jerusalem was called.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was the Two Swords Theory?
2. Why did Pope Innocent excommunicate King John of England?

Suggested Reading

Moore, James C. *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216): To Root Up and to Plant*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003.

Other Books of Interest

Boyle, Leonard E. *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education, and Canon Law, 1200–1400*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1981.

Morris, Colin. *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Queller, Donald E., and Thomas F. Madden. *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Ullmann, Walter. *Medieval Papalism: The Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists*. New York: Hyperion Press, 1981.

Lecture 8: Cathedral and University

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is John W. Baldwin's *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages, 1000–1300*.

Monastic Schools

Education in medieval Europe existed only within the Church. Until the twelfth century, only clergy and monks needed to know how to read and write.

Beginning in the twelfth century, there was a need for educated men in royal courts and elsewhere as written law and vibrant commerce became more widespread.

From 800 to 1000, the only organized schools were inside monasteries. Monasteries required literate clergy for services and administration, but also for copying and producing religious texts. The emphasis in these schools, therefore, was in Latin rhetoric and grammar.

Run by a single master, the schools had no set course of study, degrees, or marks. Students ranged from adults with some literacy to oblates as young as ten.

The assumption was that the education was for monastic training, but by the eleventh century there were students for the secular clergy or even nobility.

Cathedral Schools

Like monastic schools, cathedral schools responded to a necessity—in this case, the need for educated secular clergy as well as highly educated upper clergy.

By their nature they were urban, thus attracting many different people—some in minor orders with no intention of being ordained. Unlike the monastic masters, the masters in cathedral schools were hired for their learning and were ambitious for advancement.

In general, cathedral schools provided higher levels of education, including the traditional Roman trivium (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and quadrivium (geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, music).

Masters at the cathedral schools in the twelfth century were reintroduced to Aristotle, whose methods were trained on theology—scholasticism. This new strain of thought spread quickly, gaining many admirers and opponents. It attempted to apply Aristotelian logic to everything, including theology.

The logic was not used for experiment, however. It was used solely for the reconciliation and illumination of the authorities. Public disputations on matters of theology drew audiences of learned and made careers for masters.

Peter Abelard was a knight's son who gave up his patrimony to pursue education at various cathedral schools. During his twenties and early thirties, he alternated between seeking out great masters, like Anselm, and teaching himself.

As his reputation grew, Abelard learned that he could either teach for pay at a cathedral or hang out his own shingle for student fees. He went to Notre Dame, the cathedral school of Paris, where he ended up in a love affair with Heloise, the niece of a cathedral canon. He wrote many treatises and became increasingly well known.

Across Europe, cathedral schools expanded and competed for and with masters. By the late twelfth century, monastic schools were shrinking. Reform orders, like the Cistercians, did not accept oblates.

Monastic reformers like Bernard condemned the theological debates of the masters.

Birth of the University

Because of scholars like Peter Abelard, Paris became the hub for education and theological training in Europe. The cathedral school was joined by numerous other schools, taught by independent masters, on the bank of the Seine.

The masters, as clergy and theology instructors, remained under the control of the bishop, who had to license them. Large numbers of students flocked to Paris from every country. Many sought advancement in the Church, others in growing secular bureaucracies.

Parisians welcomed this at first, because it brought money. But over time the relationship with the students soured. As relations between the masters and scholars on one side and the cathedral and town on the other side deteriorated, the former decided to form a guild.

University is a guild term. The masters created a regular medieval guild. Standards, prices, services, and qualifications were set by the guild. Attire was regulated for guild members. Students could progress to bachelor, the equivalent of a journeyman. Bachelors, who assisted with students, could progress to master (also called doctor or professor).

When in 1200 a tavern brawl led to a street war between students and Parisians, King Philip II Augustus confirmed that the masters and students were to enjoy ecclesiastical protection when it came to the law.

In 1229, another disturbance in the student quarter led to the execution of a student, in violation of their privileges. The masters appealed, but the monarch did nothing. The masters struck, closing down the university for two years. In 1231, the king and pope granted the University of Paris virtual autonomy in Paris. Classes were moved to the Latin Quarter.

Other universities, such as Oxford and Bologna, were growing at about the same time. And other universities began to sprout in the thirteenth century, including Toulouse, Cambridge, and Naples.

Instruction in the university consisted of five years of study of the liberal arts before moving on to advanced studies. The emphasis, however, was on the trivium.

Advanced education, based on the university's specialty, would be in medicine, law, or, most importantly, theology.

Masters provided a "reading" lectio of authorities seemingly in conflict. Students would dispute, while the master oversaw. Everything was based on logic.

St. Thomas Aquinas

The zenith of scholasticism came with St. Thomas Aquinas. Born of Italian nobility, he entered the Dominicans, pursued his education, and settled at Paris.

Aquinas's reputation spread, bringing him frequently to the papal court. His body of writings is immense. In the *Summa Theologica*, Thomas attempted to provide a comprehensive guide to theology within a disputation form. It dealt with an extraordinary range of subjects, despite the fact that it was unfinished at his death.

Thomism was a synthesis of faith and reason. It held that truth is one, and therefore cannot be, as neo-Platonists argued, outside of reason to comprehend.

Thomistic philosophy fundamentally changed not only Western Christian theology, but also the West's outlook on the universe. The universities, created by the Church for its own use, were increasingly used by those middle-born young people who simply wanted to advance themselves. The new skills and thought that the universities provided would change Europe.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. Why was there a need for educated men in royal courts in the twelfth century?
2. Who was Peter Abelard?

Suggested Reading

Baldwin, John W. *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages, 1000–1300*. Reprint ed. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1997.

Other Books of Interest

- Daly, Lowrie J. *The Medieval University*. Lanham, MD: Sheed & Ward, 1961.
- Haskins, Charles Homer. *The Rise of the Universities*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975.
- Leclercq, Jean. *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*. 3rd ed. New York: Fordham University Press, 1982.

Lecture 9: Heresy and Inquisition

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Malcolm Lambert's *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*.

Heresy

Although not a major problem before the thirteenth century, heresy nevertheless posed a significant threat to medieval Christians. Heresy was deadly. It killed not only one's soul, but threatened to spread to others as well. It tore apart the fabric of society.

Secular authorities held heresy to be a capital offense. This led to trials judged by those with no ability to discern guilt.

In 1184, Pope Lucius III ordered bishops to take responsibility for the inquisition portion of criminal trials. This would allow for knowledgeable judges, rules of evidence, and opportunities for contrition.

In general, this form of local inquisition worked, because it placed the desire of the clergy to save souls ahead of the desire of the secular lord to burn heretics.

Catharism

The system of local inquisition assumed that religious and secular authorities wished to restrain heresy. But what if they did not?

An ancient heresy, Manichaeism, had continued to exist in the East, primarily in various port cities. It spread to the Balkans in the ninth century, known there as Bogomilism. Brought by merchants, it began to spread in northern Italian port cities and then found fertile ground in southern France.

Southern France, or Languedoc, was known for its wealth and the sophistication of its court culture, steeped in courtly love. The heresy, known there as Catharism, became a favorite of sophisticates, even if they did not themselves practice it.

Catharism was particularly prevalent in the area of Albi, and thus was also called Albigensianism. A dualist belief, Catharism held that the universe was locked in a struggle between a good god of spirit and an evil god of matter.

Yahweh, the good god, made the universe of spirit. Jehovah, the evil god, made the material world to enslave spirits. Those who do not achieve perfection in this life must be reborn. Jesus was a phantom, sent by the good god to preach the truth. His message was warped by the evil god, whose servant, the Church, made all physical.

Catharism survived because it was well organized, with bishops and clergy. Prefects were clergy, ordained by a consolamentum, ministering to the faithful and living according to strictest regulations.

Believers corresponded to the laity. They were not required to obey all of the rules, although they were enjoined to do their best.

Papal Response

Pope Innocent III sent several papal legates to the region to reform the Church and see that secular lords did their best to combat the heresy. The legates were opposed by local church leaders and lay lords.

Raymond VI of Toulouse, the most powerful magnate in the region, was openly hostile to the legates and favorable to the Cathars. In 1207, Innocent excommunicated Raymond and placed his lands under interdict. Raymond ignored it.

Despite these measures, Catharism continued to enjoy popularity. In January 1208, the papal legate to Toulouse was assassinated after being threatened by Raymond. This was the last straw.

Albigensian Crusade

In March 1208, Innocent III proclaimed a crusade to capture the lands of those lords who were either heretics themselves or refused to combat heresy.

Unlike crusading to the East, pilgrimage clearly had no role to play in the Albigensian Crusade. How then was the crusade vow to be fulfilled?

Innocent decreed that forty days of service constituted the fulfillment of the crusade vow. The response in northern France was tremendous.

Raymond of Toulouse quickly changed his mind. In June 1209, he repented of his sins and joined the crusade. In the summer of 1209, the crusade conquered Béziers and Carcassonne, two hotbeds of Catharism.

Control of these conquered areas needed to go to someone. Simon de Montfort, who had previously taken part in the Fourth Crusade, was chosen as permanent leader of the Albigensian Crusade.

Raymond of Toulouse began to work against the crusade, and so he was once again excommunicated in 1211. A final settlement of the crusade was decided at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

Simon de Montfort's conquest was confirmed as his property. Raymond VI of Toulouse was deprived of his lands. Provence was to be held until his son, Raymond VII, came of age.

With that settled, the crusade indulgence was revoked so that energies could be put into the newly called Fifth Crusade.

When Raymond VII came of age, he led an initially successful rebellion against Simon. However, King Louis VIII of France (1223–1226) declared war and forced Raymond to back down.

At the Peace of Paris in 1229, Raymond VII was absolved and allowed to keep some of his lands. However, the lands would be inherited by the children of his daughter, Joan, who was married to Alphonse of Poitiers, a member of the Capetian royal family.

The crusade did not extinguish Catharism, but it did remove the aristocracy that allowed it to grow.

Poverty Movements

Apostolic poverty movements became increasingly popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These were attempts to follow literally the commands of Jesus to his Apostles—to give up everything and care for others.

In part, these were a result of increasing wealth and population in towns in southern France and northern Italy. In part, they were a response to the continued failure of the crusades in the East.

All poverty movements centered around one personality and frequently disbanded when that leader died or left. Many became the basis for a monastery or hospital. The vast majority of these movements were sanctioned and applauded by the Church. A few, though, drifted into heresy.

The Waldensians

The Waldensians was begun by a wealthy merchant, Valdes, in Lyons in the 1170s. He split his wealth with his wife and daughters and threw his portion into the streets.

Valdes gained a reputation for sanctity and attracted a number of followers, the Poor Men of Lyons. Valdes could not read Latin, but he had some portions of the New Testament translated for him into the vernacular. On this basis, he and his followers wished to preach.

By this time, church authorities had learned to be wary of uneducated and illiterate street preachers, who frequently preached heresy without knowing it.

The archbishop of Lyons ordered Valdes and his followers to stop. Valdes met with Pope Alexander III in 1179 at the Third Lateran Council, appealing the decision of the archbishop. Theologians tested Valdes's knowledge of the faith and found it severely deficient.

Alexander confirmed his group's vows, but told them not to preach without the permission of the local clergy. Unable to get permission, Valdes and his followers preached anyway. In 1184, they were excommunicated and expelled from Lyons.

Spurned, the Waldensians began to preach against the Church, eventually organizing one of their own. Although they opposed Cathars, they borrowed some of their organization, with bishops, prefects, and friends. In time, they would reject Purgatory, indulgence, and adopt the Donatist heresy with regard to priests, yet include all Catholic priests as bad.

The movement remained underground, although at times it was very weak, with many of its leaders returning to the Church. A version of it continued until the Reformation, when it accepted various Calvinist ideas, and it still exists today.

The Medieval Inquisition

By the mid-thirteenth century, it was becoming clear that the local inquisitions, managed by bishops, were ineffective against organized and widely spread heresies. Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) instituted a new inquisition, managed by the curia, and staffed largely by the well-educated Dominicans.

Inquisitors were well-trained in Roman law and canon law. More than any other court, they were concerned with the rights of the accused.

Manuals provided the best techniques for uncovering and correcting heresy. Inquisitors saw themselves as doctors of souls. Inquisitors had the freedom to go wherever heresy was suspected, which was usually in southern France or in large cities.

When the inquisitors arrived, a sermon would be preached and a period of grace announced—usually about a week. Individuals would be examined regarding their knowledge of heresy or heretics.

Accusations required evidence and the accused were allowed a defense. Those found guilty could repent and do penance. Heretics who refused to repent were given over to secular authorities, who usually burned them at the stake.

The inquisition, assisted by secular lords, put an end to Catharism and drove what little remained of Waldensianism underground. However, as royal courts grew in power in the thirteenth century and beyond, kings no longer wanted the pope to have this kind of power in their domains.

As a result, inquisitions were taken over by secular authorities. By the fifteenth century, only the Roman inquisition remained in papal hands.

Judaism

Judaism was not a heresy, but it did come under the scrutiny of the Church and inquisition in the thirteenth century. The long tradition of the Church, from St. Paul to St. Augustine to Gregory the Great, was that the Jews must be tolerated and respected. They represented the truth of the Old Testament and would be converted to Christianity at the time of the Second Coming.

In the thirteenth century, Louis IX of France and Pope Innocent IV became aware of the Talmud. These writings were antithetical to the concept of a chosen people or the living letters of the law.

Innocent declared the Talmud heretical and gave authority to secular lords and the inquisition to confiscate them. Conversions forced by mobs or others were not unknown in the Middle Ages.

Because the Church did not recognize forced conversions, these were considered invalid if the Jew immediately renounced it. If he or she did not, they were Christian and therefore fell under the jurisdiction of the inquisition.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was Catharism?
2. What was the result of the Albigensian Crusade?

Suggested Reading

Lambert, Malcolm. *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*. London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1977.

Other Books of Interest

Barber, Malcolm. *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*. London: Longman, 2000.

Cameron, Euan. *Waldenses: Rejections of Holy Church in Medieval Europe*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, Inc., 2001.

Cohen, Jeremy. *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Hamilton, Bernard. *The Medieval Inquisition*. Teaneck, NJ: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1982.

Peters, Edward. *Inquisition*. Reprint ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Lecture 10: Coming of the Friars

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is C.H. Lawrence's *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*.

Mendicant Orders

The lay apostolic poverty movements produced heretics, but also new orders that embraced the Church and its teachings. These are collectively referred to as mendicant orders.

St. Francis of Assisi

Born in 1182, Francis was the son of a wealthy cloth merchant in Assisi. He fought in the commune's wars and was highly regarded among his well-heeled peers.

One night during a torchlight stroll, he was crowned "King of the Revelers." He hung back, speaking of his plan to marry "Lady Poverty."

He began to live a humble life of prayer, poverty, and begging. At the ruined church of San Damiano, he heard the crucifix say to him, "Francis, do you not see that my house is being destroyed? Go and repair it for me."

He attempted to sell all of his possessions—which legally belonged to his father—and give the money to the bishop.

When his father disinherited him, Francis stripped himself naked, claiming to have no father except the one in heaven.

He gathered followers among other children of wealthy parents. They called themselves the little brothers, *fratres minores*.

The Order of the Friars Minor

Like Valdes, Francis was struck by the words of Christ: "Everywhere on your road preach and say, 'The Kingdom of God is at hand.' Cure the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, drive out devils. Freely have you been given; freely give. Carry neither gold, nor silver, nor money in your belts, nor bag, nor two coats, nor sandals, nor staff, for the workman is worthy of his hire" (Matt. 10: 7–10).

Unlike Valdes, though, Francis did not have problems with local Church authorities, who were used to such movements. In 1210, Francis and eleven of his followers went to Rome and met Pope Innocent III. They brought a simple Rule with them.

Innocent attempted to dissuade them, urging them instead to join a monastery. But when that failed, he gave oral approval to their order. Francis and his followers were allowed to preach, but only with regard to morality, not on matters of theology.

The Order of the Friars Minor (or Franciscans) grew at an amazing rate across Europe. Francis insisted that the brothers must own nothing, either individually or corporately. They were sent out two-by-two to care for the poor and preach a simple message of penance. This, however, raised the danger of heresy.

Francis dismissed the danger, always asserting his love for Holy Mother Church and its priesthood. Unlike the Waldensians, he embraced the Eucharist and all priests, good or bad.

Francis's Movement

In 1219 and 1220, Francis traveled to Egypt to join the Fifth Crusade. Perhaps seeking martyrdom, he insisted on entering the sultan's camp. Although the sultan found Francis impressive, he did not convert to Christianity.

As the order continued to grow, Francis was under increasing pressure, especially from his friend Cardinal Hugolino (later Gregory IX), to organize his order more effectively.

He wrote the *Regula prima*, which did not meet with Hugolino's approval. In 1223, he wrote the *Regula secunda*.

Francis was willing to streamline his organization, but was not willing to give up the emphasis on the individual and the freedom from wealth. Francis retired from the leadership of the order, receiving the stigmata in 1224 and dictating the *Testament* in 1226 just before his death. In it, he reiterated his faith in the priests "even if they persecute me."

In 1228, Francis was canonized by Gregory IX, and the foundation stone of his magnificent basilica in Assisi was laid. In 1245, Innocent IV declared that Franciscans could use property that would be owned by the popes.

Francis's movement grew in many ways. It continued to minister to the poor and sick, particularly in cities. In time, the Franciscans embraced learning, competing with Dominicans in the great universities.

Better educated Franciscan preachers became an important means of communication between the pope and the faithful. Like other mendicants, they were exempt from local ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Poor Clares

The Poor Clares provided a way for women to embrace apostolic poverty. The tertiary order provided a means for common people to help in their own way.

Spiritual Franciscans

Spiritual Franciscans would pose a problem for several centuries. In 1260, at a general chapter presided over by St. Bonaventure, admission was restricted to educated clerics and laymen of some position.

Francis himself could not have joined. Yet the sanctity of men like Bonaventure or St. Anthony of Padua was not in question. The question was how to translate a way of life of one man into a self-sustaining institution.

St. Dominic

Born in 1170, Dominic was a well-educated Spaniard who was a canon regular in Castille. Impressed by Dominic's sanctity, Pope Innocent III commissioned him to go to southern France to preach against Catharism. While preaching and debating (1205–1215), he cultivated the piety and poverty that was otherwise the domain of the Cathars.

He gathered a following and was given a church and house in Toulouse. In 1216, Innocent confirmed the Order of Friars Preachers (Dominicans).

Like the Friars Minor, the Dominicans were mendicants. Unlike the Friars Minor, the Dominicans valued education and the ability to preach orthodox Catholicism.

Each Dominican priory had a school, so it was natural that some Dominicans became great scholars, such as Thomas Aquinas. In the thirteenth century, the Dominicans were given a virtual monopoly over the inquisition. They were sometimes referred to as "Domini canes."

The friars were an urban phenomenon, growing out of the increased wealth in medieval towns. They did not stay in the cities, however.

Dominicans and Franciscans were missionary orders and they traveled across Europe, but also into the East to spread the faith. By the fourteenth century, mendicants were penetrating deep into East Asia, even into Beijing.

By the sixteenth century, they had spread across the globe. Overall, the friars energized the Church, bringing the vitality of the apostolic poverty movements within the framework of the apostolic succession.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What were the most common characteristics of the Order of the Friars Minor?
2. In what ways were the Dominicans different from the Friars Minor?

Suggested Reading

Lawrence, C.H. *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*. London: Longman Publishing Group, 1994.

Other Books of Interest

House, Adrian. *Francis of Assisi: A Revolutionary Life*. Mahwah, NJ: HiddenSpring, 2001.

Koudelka, Vladimir. *Dominic*. St. Albans, UK: Darton, Longman, & Todd, Ltd., 1997.

Lambert, Malcolm. *Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210–1323*. Rev. ed. St. Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute Publications, December 1998.

Moorman, John R.H. *A History of the Franciscan Order: From Its Origins to the Year 1517*. Reprint. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Vicaire, Marie-Humbert. *Saint Dominic and His Times*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.

Lecture 11: The Apogee of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Daniel Waley's *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century*.

The Rise of Royal Power

In the thirteenth century, the power of the papacy was at its zenith. But the same factors that led to greater wealth and learning in Europe were also expanding the power of kings.

Frederick II was both Holy Roman Emperor and the King of Sicily, now a papal fief. He skillfully played several popes, making wide-ranging promises to crusade and support papal rights, but in fact doing nothing of the sort.

In 1227, Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241) excommunicated Frederick when he once again broke his promise to crusade. Frederick crusaded anyway. He secured a meaningless treaty with the sultan, which gave over nominal control of Jerusalem for the price of disarming the Christians.

Emperor and pope fought bitterly over northern Italy. Frederick called Gregory a heretic, Pharisee, and an anti-Christ. Gregory returned the insults.

When Gregory died in 1241, the cardinals were imprisoned by Frederick and Senator Orsini, each of whom attempted to sway the election their way. One cardinal died while imprisoned.

They elected Celestine IV, who died less than a month later. The cardinals scattered.

The Empire Declines

The new pope, Innocent IV (1243–1254), attempted to make peace with Frederick, but all attempts failed. In 1245, he called an ecumenical council at Lyons, which condemned Frederick as a heretic and an enemy of the Church, confirming his excommunication and deposing him. A crusade was called against all enemies of Christ, including Frederick.

Innocent then set about creating a new order—a Europe without a Holy Roman Emperor. Despite relentless warfare against papal lands, Frederick was unable to make headway. St. Louis IX steadfastly supported the pope.

Frederick died in 1250 and, shortly thereafter, Gregory made a triumphal procession across southern Italy. Imperial power in Italy was broken. The German Empire was no longer the leading power in Europe.

As the empire declined, the kingdoms of England and France rose. The popes sought and usually obtained good relations with these new powers, who were eager to have the support of the Holy See.

St. Louis IX of France, although a powerful king, was deeply religious and devoted to the Church. He strove to be a perfect Christian monarch.

Although his two crusades failed, he was revered across Europe and was quickly canonized after his death in 1270.

In 1274, the Second Council of Lyons was attended by representatives from the Christian East. They solemnly ended the schism, although in subsequent years they refused to honor the canons.

The Turning Point—Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303)

After more than two years of deadlock, the cardinals elected an illiterate hermit as the new pope, Celestine V (1294). After five months of incompetent government, he resigned the office. His advisor, Benedict Caetani, was elected and took the name Boniface VIII.

Boniface reorganized canon law, more precisely defined papal authority vis a vis secular powers, and founded the University of Rome. In 1300, he declared the first Jubilee year, which brought many thousands of pilgrims.

The extraordinary response to the Jubilee from across Christendom spoke volumes about the health of the Church and Christian society. Boniface proceeded as other popes in the thirteenth century, yet the secular powers in England and France were in a position to defy him.

When England and France went to war in 1294, both kings began illegally taxing their clergy to fund the war. Boniface issued *Clericis laicos* in 1296, forbidding such taxation without papal permission.

Boniface purposely mentioned no one, hoping to strike a compromise that would allow some temporary taxation. In England, the problem was defused by the archbishop's order that the payment should be left to individual conscience.

In France, Philip IV allowed no such measure and indeed forbade the export of any funds outside of France, thus cutting off the papacy.

Boniface and Philip

Over the following years, Boniface attempted various compromises with Philip, allowing him to get the money while preserving the rights of the Church. Philip and his advisors began a campaign of slurs, claiming that Boniface had murdered his predecessor and that he was a heretic.

In 1301, Boniface wrote to Philip, warning him that he was acting in a sinful manner, although obviously because of bad advice. Philip ignored this.

Boniface called a council in Rome, but less than half of the French bishops attended, fearful of the king.

Unam Sanctam in 1302 laid out completely Philip's, and every other Christian's, duty to obey the pope in matters of sin. "There is only one Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church." The pope as the Vicar of Christ is the head of that Church. Those who deny that are not of the Church. The two swords are given to the Church by God for the service of his people and the salvation of souls. The spiritual must act when the temporal moves to sin. "It is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." Philip was given a year to repent.

Philip called councils of French clergy, who condemned Boniface as a murderer and heretic. Troops entered Anagni in September 1303, just before the pope was to excommunicate Philip, and arrested the pope. He died shortly thereafter.

Although armed with papal prerogatives, elaborate theological and philosophical justifications, and meticulously developed canon law, the popes were now faced with the brute force of new and vital kingdoms.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What actions did Pope Boniface VIII take upon election?
2. What was specified in the *Unam Sanctam* in 1302?

Suggested Reading

Waley, Daniel. *The Papal State in the Thirteenth Century*. London: Macmillan, 1961.

Other Books of Interest

Abulafia, David. *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Boase, Thomas Sherrer Ross. *Boniface VIII*. London: Constable, 1933.

Kessler, H.L., and Johanna Zacharia. *Rome 1300: On the Path of the Pilgrim*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Strayer, Joseph. *The Reign of Philip the Fair*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Lecture 12: In the Time of the Black Death

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Philip Ziegler's *The Black Death*.

Century of Destruction

Although the fourteenth century opened with the enthusiasm and self-confidence of a jubilee, it would be a century of horrible destruction for Europe and the Church.

By 1300, the population of Europe was at an all-time high. A global warming period had allowed for more cultivated lands and longer growing periods. Forests were cut back for fuel and to create new arable land.

Given relatively stagnant technologies and an economy that had run out of steam, a disaster loomed. For the next several centuries, the planet entered a cooling period, with shorter growing seasons and more rain.

Beginning in 1315, a series of famines hit Europe, bringing widespread starvation and upheaval. Food prices increased as much as 500 percent. Famine-related disease ravaged livestock. Monastic houses, particularly in the north, were hit hard.

The Black Death

Because of its relative isolation, Europe had been free of plague for many centuries. Coming from the Far East, the plague appeared on the Crimea in 1345.

Genoese vessels there sailed to Constantinople and then Italy in 1347. These plague ships brought the rats and fleas that carried the disease: Bubonic and Pneumonic Plague.

For the next three years, the plague swept through Europe from Italy, across central Europe, to the north and even Scandinavia. The death toll was unprecedented. In large cities such as Rome, Milan, Paris, and Venice, 60 percent or more died in the initial outbreak.

Cities tried desperate measures to keep the plague out, but nothing worked. Houses stood empty, bodies lay on the streets, new cemeteries were opened.

Death rates were not as high in rural areas, but were still around 30 percent, and whole villages disappeared. Monasteries were especially hard hit—many ceased to exist at all.

By 1350, somewhere between 40 and 50 percent of Europe's population was dead—some forty million people. Although the years 1347 to 1350 were the worst, the plague continued to appear every generation or so for centuries.

Effects of the Black Death on Europe

The imbalance in population and food supply was dramatically rectified. Labor became a precious commodity, land less so. The standard of living for survivors increased.

It is sometimes said that the Black Death caused a “shifting of gear” for European society. New ideas that wove the joys of this world in with a concern for the next world blossomed.

A labor shortage combined with a vibrant economy brought a need for labor-saving devices.

Effects of the Black Death on the Church

Clerical death rates were generally higher than the rest of the population, because priests and the religious were busy tending to the sick and dying.

The priest who was buried with the person to whom he administered Extreme Unction was a common image.

Bishops, who generally lived in larger towns, died in great numbers as they tried to organize a response to the plague. The friars, who were much more active in cities and who stayed to care for the sick when others fled, had particularly high death rates.

Europeans naturally looked to the Church for answers, yet few were forthcoming. Everyone agreed that God was angry, but the reason for this anger was debated.

Church leaders ordered fasts, prayer, and solemn processions of relics. Doctors at the University of Paris blamed it on bad humors in the air.

The Church was also affected by popular responses to the plague. Almost immediately during the outbreak of the plague, people began accusing the Jews of poisoning the water supply.

Across Europe, secular lords and mobs rounded up Jews and burned them. Pope Clement VI harshly condemned these persecutions, threatening excommunication. He opened papal lands to the thousands of Jewish refugees. However, the persecutions continued as long as the plague remained.

Flagellants began to organize, attempting to atone for the sins of Christendom. They traveled in large groups, whipping each other in various rituals. Despite their popularity, Pope Clement VI condemned the flagellants in 1349.

In later outbreaks, city leaders occasionally made deals with saints or Mary to save them from the plague, resulting in the building of great churches.

Many fingers also pointed to a wealthy Church and a pope who no longer lived in Rome, the seat of his authority. For critics, the Church was the problem, not the solution.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How did the Black Death affect European society?
2. How did the Black Death affect the Church?

Suggested Reading

Ziegler, Philip. *The Black Death*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1971.

Other Books of Interest

Jordan, William Chester. *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century*. New ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Lerner, Robert E. *The Age of Adversity: The Fourteenth Century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968.

Lecture 13: The Avignon Papacy and the Return to Rome

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Yves Renouard's *The Avignon Papacy*.

The Avignon Papacy (1309–1378)

The Conclave sought a candidate for the papacy who could make peace with the king of France, but still uphold the rights of the Church. Clement V (1305–1314), a Frenchman, was crowned in Lyons with Philip IV present.

Attempts at appeasing Philip, who was determined to blacken the memory of Boniface VIII and seize further Church property, failed. Clement withdrew all bulls against Philip, commending him.

In 1307, Philip arrested all Knights Templar in France and seized their property, accusing them of the same sort of vices and sins that he had previously accused Boniface.

Clement ratified the king's arrest of the Knights Templar by suppressing the order in 1312. Clement settled in Avignon to await an opportune time to sail to Rome. It never came.

The temporary relocation of the papacy became permanent. As cardinals were added or replaced, the new men were usually French.

Away from Rome

The increasingly complex bureaucracy found a congenial home away from the factions and mobs of Rome. Although all popes claimed an intent to return to Rome, it did not happen.

Why did they remain? Avignon was safer than Rome and the papal states. Avignon also had good communication with Italy and all of Europe.

The Avignon popes expended great effort to stop the Hundred Years War in order to launch a new crusade.

Reforms

Reforms in papal administration occurred under John XXII (1316–1334). Suspecting that the popes were supporting the French, the English and some others cut off tithes to the papacy. This created a need for new funds.

Bureaucracies sprang up to better minister to the faithful, but also to better extract funds from the Church. Because the pope controlled more of the appointments, he required fees to be paid, usually pegged to annual incomes.

In practice, this allowed the popes to make appointments of university educated men, rather than relying on local favoritism. But it ruffled many feathers.

Fees were also charged for hearings, dispensations, and confirmations. More money meant more critics.

Pluralism and absenteeism was becoming a problem. The extraordinary amount of money in Avignon and the exploding bureaucracy were contrasted with the poverty of Christ.

The Spiritual Franciscans bitterly rebuked the popes for perverting the Church. Much of the money, however, did go to feeding the poor. In Avignon, the pope gave away sixty-seven-thousand loaves of bread per week, as well as medicine, clothes, and other necessities.

Given the situation, Benedict XII (1334–1342) built a fortress-like papal palace in Avignon, which was expanded extravagantly by his successor Clement VI (1342–1352).

The Black Death and the Mongol invasions led to increased calls for a return to Rome and reform of the Church from Spiritual Franciscans, Conciliarists, and St. Catherine of Siena, who wrote letters insisting that the popes return to their see: “Do not resist the will of God any longer: your starving sheep await your return to Peter’s see.”

Return to Rome

Much of the papacy’s income was spent on mercenaries to hold on to the papal states in Italy. It was necessary that the pope return.

Urban V (1362–1370) returned in 1367, remaining for three years. Despite his best attempts, he could not remain. It was too unstable and too dangerous. He returned in 1370, dying shortly afterward.

Gregory XI (1370–1378) was determined to return to Rome, despite strong pressure from French leaders.

The Duke of Anjou wrote: “You are traveling to a country and to a people, where there is little love for you. You are turning away from the source of faith, that is, that kingdom wherein the holy Church has greater authority and perfection than anywhere else in the world. You may indeed cause great harm to the Church, for, were you to die there, which your doctors say is quite likely, the Romans—those alien and treacherous people—will control the Sacred College and will elect a pope who suits them.”

Gregory believed that he was sick precisely because God was angry with him. He returned to Rome in 1377 and died shortly thereafter.

Two Popes

When the Conclave met in Rome, the mobs demanded a Roman pope. The cardinals unanimously elected the Archbishop of Bari, who was an Italian and was well known to them, having served as a diplomat for more than a decade in Avignon.

When the mobs broke into the palace, the cardinals scattered, fearing for their lives. They put an aged Roman cardinal on the throne, hoping it would calm them.

He disclaimed any desire to be a pope or anti-pope. But the Romans were happy enough with an Italian, and heads cooled.

Urban VI (1378–1389) was enthroned with much hope amid cheers and applause from his cardinals. Cardinals writing home expressed their relief at how things had turned out. However, Urban exhibited a sudden change in personality.

He gave sermons berating cardinals by name for their luxurious lifestyles. He exhibited a hot temper that could become violent. A few months later, thirteen cardinals went to Anagni and issued a *Declaratio*, claiming that the election was invalid because of duress and fear.

The real problem was that there was no way to deal with a bad or unstable pope, since no one could judge him. They elected one of their own, “Clement VII,” who first tried to take over Rome, but then returned with the cardinals to Avignon.

King Charles V of France consulted with the masters of the University of Paris, the majority of whom sided with Clement. Back in Rome, Urban was deserted by his curia and cardinals, but not the people. He named new cardinals, mostly Italians.

Both popes excommunicated the other, and Europe split along national lines in support of the two popes.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. How did the papacy settle in Avignon?
2. Why did the Spiritual Franciscans rebuke the popes in this time period?

Suggested Reading

Renouard, Yves. *The Avignon Papacy*. New York: Barnes & Noble Booksellers, 2003.

Other Books of Interest

Barber, Malcolm. *The Trial of the Templars*. Reissue ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Menache, Sophia. *Clement V*. New ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Mollat, G. *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1963.

Ullmann, Walter. *The Origins of the Great Schism*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1972.

Lecture 14: The Great Schism and the Question of Reform

The **Suggested Reading** for this lecture is Robert N. Swanson's *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism*.

The Great Schism (1378–1415)

The Avignon papacy and its aftermath led more people to demand reform of the Church. Yet unlike in the eleventh century, the papacy was not the leader of reform, but the object of it.

The spectacle of two popes, two colleges, and two curiae excommunicating each other only further degraded the image of the popes. Europe split along political lines, supporting one or the other pope.

No one doubted the authority and necessity of the pope—but how could anyone judge someone who could not be judged? Monarchs, princes, and ecclesiastical leaders across Europe sought a solution.

The masters and students at the University of Paris were largely split between two options. Mutual resignation had the most support.

Conciliarism had a number of intellectual heavyweights behind it. Most were moderates, holding that only a council could judge in matters of this extremity. Some were radicals, claiming that all power should reside with the council, retaining the pope only as a figurehead or simply as one more bishop.

The popes and cardinals themselves worked to find a solution. Each death of a pope brought the possibility that the other cardinals would elect the rival.

“Benedict XIII” at Avignon and Gregory XII at Rome were both elected with the promise that they would resign if the other would. The sticking point, though, was who was legitimate. Several attempts at bringing about a meeting of the two failed.

The Council of Pisa (1409)

Disgusted with the inability of the two popes to come to terms, kingdoms began to withdraw their support from either.

In 1408, most of the cardinals from both sides met and pledged to secure mutual resignations, or else they would call a general council and elect a new pope together.

The Council of Pisa was attended by a large number of ecclesiastics and representatives of princes from across Europe. With support for the two popes at a nadir, Europeans looked to the council to give them a new pope.

The council repeatedly called the popes to attend, yet both refused, saying rightly that only a pope has authority to call a council. In response, the council declared both popes deposed and the Holy See vacant.

This was based on the concept that a criminal or heretic pope could be deposed by a council—something that had never been part of canon law. They also decreed that a reform council would be held in a few years' time.

They then elected the highly respected Franciscan bishop of Milan, who became "Alexander V." Most people in Europe rejoiced that the schism was over. The other two popes had only pockets of support.

Yet, as Rome prepared for the entry of Alexander, he died suddenly. A hasty election was held that was largely controlled by Baldassare Cossa, a former pirate who likely poisoned Alexander. Cossa became "John XXIII" and triumphantly entered Rome.

Despite the irregularity, most of Europe recognized John. But not all, and that was a problem.

Council of Constance (1414–1418)

The planning for a new council had begun immediately after Pisa. This was to be a reform council, yet some of the reformers were radical conciliarists who argued that Pisa was a failure.

Emperor Sigismund offered to host it at Constance, so as to remove it from the problems of Italian politics. The council first turned its attention to the remaining popes, Gregory and Benedict.

Conciliarists began to argue that true union could not occur until the council was recognized as the authority in the Church and all of the popes were deposed. John, who saw the direction of this argument, fled, but was brought back under arrest and deposed.

The council then issued the decree *Haec sancta*: "This holy synod of Constance legitimately assembled in the Holy Spirit, forms a general council representing the Catholic Church militant. It derives its powers immediately from Christ, and everyone of whatever position or rank, even the papacy itself, is bound to obey it in all things pertaining to the faith, to the healing of the schism and to the general reform of the Church of God in head and members."

Thus the council held all authority, even over popes, regardless of the situation.

In 1415, Gregory XII, now approaching death, offered to call the council into being and immediately resign in return for the council's recognition of his legitimacy. This was agreed to, although it represented a setback for conciliarists.

Benedict XIII was deposed and the council elected Martin V. With the schism over, the council turned its attention to reform of the Church. John Hus, a Czech religious leader whose sermons had sparked riots and violence in Bohemia, was given safe conduct to the council to defend his teachings.

Hus had accepted many teachings of John Wyclif, an English heretic of the previous generation. He held that bad clergy had no authority or power, the papacy was not foundational, Purgatory did not exist, and the Mass was not a real miracle. Despite the promise of safe conduct, he was burned at the stake.

The conciliarists concluded with the decree *Frequens*, which required regular councils to be called in the future.

The Council of Basil

Martin V and his supporters were no lovers of conciliarism, yet abiding by Frequens, he called a council to meet in Basil in 1431. From the beginning, the council was poorly attended.

Although frequent councils sounded good, most prelates were too busy at home to leave for one or more years to attend them. Instead, the council was dominated by academics, who held to the most radical elements of conciliarism.

Eugenius IV (1431–1447) dissolved the council, yet citing *Haec sancta*, they refused to be dissolved. Under pressure not to seem opposed to reform, Eugenius later reversed his dissolution, allowing the council to continue.

As year by year went by, the council became more radical, making decrees that stripped the papacy of its rights over appointments outside the papal states and developing committees to take over most of the pope's duties in Europe. In effect, it attempted to make the council the pope and the pope the bishop of Rome.

Martin avoided a direct confrontation, instead choosing to negotiate directly with secular lords. He recognized that most of them were willing to abandon conciliarism for more control over the Church in their domains.

Martin also vigorously pursued negotiations with the Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaeologus, who wished to convene an ecumenical council. The Byzantine Empire was largely gone, reduced to little more than Constantinople and a few other strips of land.

Those at Basil recognized the threat of the Greeks, attempting to direct them to their council. They failed.

The Council of Ferrara/Florence (1438–1445)

The arrival of the Byzantine emperor, patriarch of Constantinople, and more than seven hundred other church leaders from Asia, Armenia, and Egypt made the pope's council the place to be.

The Union of Florence

Matters of liturgy and filioque were met with compromise. The emperor and patriarch accepted papal supremacy over the whole Church, East and West.

The pope proclaimed a new crusade against the Turks. Basil had nothing to compare with this. Although it continued to sit in one form or another until 1447, it had withered to irrelevance before that.

The Crusade of Varna failed to stop the Turks and Constantinople fell in 1453. Conciliarism, which saw its greatest triumph at Basil, also died with that council.

In 1460, Pope Pius II issued the papal bull, *Execrabilis*, which condemned Frequens. Although the popes had weathered the storm of schism and conciliarism, they only occasionally responded to the widespread desire for Church reform.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw explosions in private devotion and a desire to be sure of salvation. The popes responded with indulgences.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Questions

1. What was conciliarism?
2. What was specified in the *Haec sancta*?

Suggested Reading

Swanson, Robert N. *Universities, Academics, and the Great Schism*. New ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Other Books of Interest

Smith, John Holland. *The Great Schism, 1378: The Disintegration of the Papacy*. Newton Center, MA: Charles T. Branford, 1970.

Tierney, Brian. *Foundations of Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism*. New ed. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 1997.

Suggested Readings for This Course:

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- Lynch, Joseph H. *The Medieval Church: A Brief History*. London: Longman, 1995.
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Suggested Readings for Individual Lectures:

- Baldwin, John W. *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages, 1000–1300*. Reprint ed. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1997.
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- Moore, James C. *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216): To Root Up and to Plant*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003.
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