

Igor Razum

**TRADITION AND REFORM: THE IMPACT OF THE FOURTH
LATERAN COUNCIL IN CENTRAL EUROPE**

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2014

**TRADITION AND REFORM: THE IMPACT OF THE FOURTH LATERAN
COUNCIL IN CENTRAL EUROPE**

by

Igor Razum

(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in
Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

Examiner

Budapest
May 2014

**TRADITION AND REFORM: THE IMPACT OF THE FOURTH LATERAN
COUNCIL IN CENTRAL EUROPE**

by

Igor Razum

(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in
Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

External Reader

Budapest
May 2014

**TRADITION AND REFORM: THE IMPACT OF THE FOURTH LATERAN
COUNCIL IN CENTRAL EUROPE**

by

Igor Razum

(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in
Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

External Supervisor

Budapest
May 2014

I, the undersigned, **Igor Razum**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, __ May 2014

Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Fac mecum domine signum in bonum

(Psalm 86 (85): 17)

There is wishful thinking in Hell as well as on Earth.

(C. S. Lewis)

I would first like to thank my two supervisors, Marianne Sághy and Gábor Klaniczay whose continued support allowed for the completion of this thesis. Their insightful questions and constructive comments helped shape the thesis to its final form. The help and useful comments of my friends and colleagues at the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University during the numerous thesis related workshops was equally beneficial for the successful writing of the thesis. The staff, namely Annabella Pál and Csilla Dobos, and all the professors at the Department, made these two years a memorable experience. A great debt of gratitude goes to Judith Rasson who corrected the thesis and helped form it in a more approachable way.

I thank all the staff at the libraries I used during my studies, the CEU main library and the ELTE medieval library. A thank you to the staff at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, the Library of the Pontificia Università Gregoriana, and the Library of the American Academy in Rome, for helping me during my research and, along with the sisters of the Figlie della Misericordia, made my Roman spring a successful and enjoyable endeavour.

The last two years would be a very different experience if it had not been for my friends from home who supported me in my journey and were instrumental in guiding me towards the finish line. I must thank my friends Dubravko Škrlin-Hren, because of whom I first went to Rome which sparked my interest in the papacy and Ivan Botica, who supported me and helped in my initial research five years ago. Their friendship and belief in me has been a humbling source of inspiration. A big thank you goes to my friend Dejan Zadro who helped me, more than once, acquire this or that book or article and whose help in my studies is immeasurable.

Last, but definitely not least, I thank my family. Especially, my parents, Stjepan and Anita, who are always there for me and who only ever want me to be the best that I can be. And finally my grandmother, Marija. Without her and my grandfather Antun, I would not be the person that I am today. Her life is a shining light and a clear signpost of where to go. I dedicate this work to her and to the memory of my grandfather.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER I. THE FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL AND WESTERN EUROPE	10
CHAPTER II. THE IMPACT OF THE COUNCIL IN HUNGARY, POLAND, AND BOHEMIA.....	20
II. 1. The Morals of Clerics and the Discipline of the Church	20
II. 2. Clerical Education	31
II. 3. “Frontier of Christendom”	42
CONCLUSION – THE END OF REFORM?	57
BIBLIOGRAPHY	62

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Bull. Pol.	Sułkowska-Kuraś, Irena & Stanisław Kuraś, ed. <i>Bullarium Poloniae</i> , vol. 1. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1982.
CDB	Friedrich, Gustav, ed. <i>Codex Diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bohemiae</i> . vols. 2-3. Prague: Wiesner, 1912-1942.
KDW	Societas Literariae Poznaniensis, ed. <i>Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski</i> . Poznań, 1877.
MES	Knauz, Ferdinand, ed. <i>Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis</i> . Esztergom, 1874.
Reg. Greg. IX.	Auvray, L., ed. <i>Les Registres de Grégoire IX.</i> , 4 vols. Paris, Bibliothèque de Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1890-1955.
Reg. Hon. III.	Pressuti, Pietro, ed. <i>Regesta Honorii papae III.</i> , 2 vols. Rome: 1888-1905. Repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1978.

INTRODUCTION

*Not for the sake of earthly convenience or temporal glory, but for the sake of the reform of the universal church and the complete liberation of the Holy Land—it is for these two causes that I have principally and especially convoked this holy council.*¹

Reform is a simple word, usually signifying a complicated process. It has often been used related to religious renewal, famously when denoting the movement starting in the eleventh century usually described as the “Gregorian reform”.² Such movements arise when there is a sense of decay and degeneration arises in a community, Latin Christendom in this case. However, the nature of reform seems to be continuous, as no reform is actually fully successful and though they do end, it is usually with a start of a new renewal process. The new has become the old and therefore can be critiqued.

Medieval times were no exception to this, and reforms were quite dynamic then. Since the rise of scholastic thought in the second millennium, debates on theological issues had been flourishing and in combination with the development of universities this provided a valuable avenue for the creation of new concepts and ideas and their subsequent spread throughout Christendom. At the centre of all these developments was the reform agenda proposed by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Probably the most important medieval council in Latin Christendom, it defined what Christianity was and what it should be in the foreseeable future. Bound around two main ideas, internal renewal of the Church and the liberation of the Holy Land

¹ Part of Innocent III’s sermon on the day of the first session of the Lateran council, November 11, 1215; John C. Moore, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root up and to Plant* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 231.

² For an overview of the period of the “Gregorian reform” see Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 79-133; Uta-Renate Blumenthal, “The Papacy and Canon Law in the Eleventh-Century Reform,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (1998): 201-218; I. S. Robinson, “Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085),” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36, no. 3 (1985): 439-483.

through the crusades, the council, presided over by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), was an impressive show of religious zeal and institutional strength.³

The great peaceful assembly in November 1215 amassed some four hundred bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, as well as representatives of the kings of France, Hungary, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Aragon. Emperor Frederick II and Emperor Henry of Constantinople as well as some princes who had business at the council such as count Raymond of Toulouse appeared at the council in person.⁴ Among other political issues addressed at the council was the papal support for Frederick II (1220-1250) against Otto IV (1209-1215) in the imperial struggle and the suppression of rebellion in England which resulted in issuing the Magna Carta (1215).⁵

The Fourth Lateran Council has long been present as a focus of study, but in the last fifty years with greater interest in matters not as related to the political elements of the papacy, interest in the council as a whole has flourished. The seminal work by Raymonde Foreville remains, even now, a standard for any evaluation of the council.⁶ In combination with the published eyewitness account of the council this provided the basis for scholars examining Innocent III's influence and leadership of the event.⁷ The most extensive contribution to current research came around the anniversary of Innocent's election as pope with two publications analysing the pope's pontificate where the Fourth Lateran Council and some of its decrees received attention.⁸ In the last twenty

³ For the Fourth Lateran Council and Pope Innocent III in a general overview see Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 417-451; Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *The Papacy*, trans. James Sievert (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 170-187; Walter Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 2003), 201-250; Harald Zimmermann, *Das Papsttum im Mittelalter. Eine Papstgeschichte im Spiegel der Historiographie. Mit einem Verzeichnis der Päpste vom 4. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1981), 153-158.

⁴ For a list of participating bishops see Raymonde Foreville, *Latran I, II, III et Latran IV* (Paris: Éditions de l'Orante, 1965), 391-395; for a general overview of participants, clerical and lay see Moore, *Innocent III*, 229-230, 233-234; Foreville, *Latran*, 251-252, 254-256.

⁵ Moore, *Innocent III*, 235-236

⁶ Foreville, *Latran*.

⁷ Stephan Kuttner & Antonio García y García, "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council," *Traditio* 20 (1964): 115-178.

⁸ John C. Moore, ed., *Pope Innocent III and his World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Andrea Sommerlechner, ed., *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003).

years many of the themes developed at the council received detailed attention, but even before that, studies that either focused on the Council's decrees or saw them in a longer context were published.⁹

The council canons focused on areas such as “heretics and Jews, organizational and judicial reforms, marriage law, clerical appointments and support, reforms of the clergy, and reforms of the laity.”¹⁰ They defined the Christian faith as well as the heretical threats to Christianity, the stance towards the Greeks, set about the reform agenda through provincial councils, defined the proper procedure for inquests, the co-territoriality of different rites within the authority of the Roman Church, reformed clerical education and morals, promoted preaching, austere regulations regarding clerical dress or feasting, forbade clerics to participate in secular activities such as duels. The council promoted the mystery of the Eucharist and the altar and mandated yearly confession. The assembled clergy assented that the soul has priority over the body in case of sickness, pronounced how episcopal elections were supposed to be held, they defined the management of ecclesiastical benefices, appeals to ecclesiastical as well as secular justice, proclaimed their stance on the position of clerics within society, stressing their exceptional position in relation to the laity. Furthermore, the council provided regulation on the taxation of clergy and tax evasion, on

⁹ Several topics stand out among the research interests of scholars such as the position of Jews within Latin Christendom, the theological issue of transubstantiation, crusade and conversion narratives in the aftermath of the Council, the development of law, the practice of confession and penance, the development of institutional Church hierarchy on a continental and local level or the subject of ordeal; James A. Brundage, “Intermarriage between Christians and Jews in Medieval Canon Law,” *Jewish History* 3, no. 1 (1988): 25-40; Joseph Goering, “The Invention of Transubstantiation,” *Traditio* 46 (1991): 147-170; Jessalynn Lea Bird, “Crusade and Conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): Oliver of Paderborn’s and James of Vitry’s Missions to Muslims Reconsidered,” *Essays in Medieval Studies* 21 (2004): 23-47; Alain Boureau, “How Law Came to the Monks: The Use of Law in English Society at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century,” *Past & Present* 167 (2000): 29-74; Joseph Goering, “The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession,” *Traditio* 59 (2004): 175-227; Anthony Perron, “Metropolitan Might and Papal Power on the Latin-Christian Frontier: Transforming the Danish Church around the Time of the Fourth Lateran Council,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 89, no. 2 (2003): 182-212; John W. Baldwin, “The Intellectual Preparation for the Canon of 1215 against Ordeals,” *Speculum* 36, no. 4 (1961): 613-636.

¹⁰ Moore, *Innocent III*, 239

excommunication, on the practices of marital agreements, on simony, usury, Jews and other non-Christians and finally a plan for the crusades.¹¹

The spread of the decrees has also come under renewed scrutiny with Lothar Waldmüller writing about Hungarian, Croatian, and Dalmatian provincial synods in this period and Richard Kay analysing a single council held in Bourges in 1225.¹² This shows a reintroduced focus on conciliar acts and legislation.¹³ However, the predominant attention still lies on specific canons and their reception.

However, this was in Rome, and the eternal city and the Roman Curia could at times appear to be a world apart. The question would then be was there any impact north of Rome once the bishops had crossed the Tiber and the Rubicon? Was the reform an isolated Roman theoretical construct or a practical package the bishops could use to remedy their own regions? How was the process of transferring this new code of law and behaviour to the rest of Europe achieved? Suppositions of impact or its rejection are simplifications of long-term processes that impacted Latin Christendom in centuries to come. The many issues raised in the seventy canons of the council served as a basis for developing many defining elements of everyday life, regulating dress habits, sanctifying marital agreements, defining sacramental practices, and especially making confession a yearly obligation. Theological issues that had not been raised in centuries such as

¹¹ Moore, *Innocent III*, 237-251; Foreville, *Latran*, 275-279, 287-306.

¹² Lothar Waldmüller, *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn: von der Völkerwanderung bis zum Ende der Arpaden (1311)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1987); Richard Kay, *The Council of Bourges, 1225: A Documentary History* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2002).

¹³ For an analysis of the Fourth Lateran Council's legal contribution and contextualisation see Anne J. Duggan, "Conciliar Law 1123-1215: The Legislation of the Four Lateran Councils," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann & Kenneth Pennington (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 318-366; A. García y García, "The Fourth Lateran Council and the Canonists," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann & Kenneth Pennington (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 367-378.

transubstantiation and the definition of the Creed came to the fore, in part as a response to various heretical ideas from the previous centuries.

All of these novel and less-than-novel ideas became available to a wide array of church officials, who were, to various degrees, motivated to execute these changes effectively for the good of the entire Christian community. Christendom had become quite large in the three centuries prior to the Fourth Lateran Council with the eastern expansion being a very visible show of this process. Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia, lands of the “new Christendom” established themselves in this community. They bordered the Holy Roman Empire and thus were constantly exposed to the dynamics of imperial politics, which created tension when the papacy sought to find itself an independent position after the eleventh century. By the thirteenth century the ecclesiastical situation had become as elaborate as ever, Hungary and Poland were essentially independent of the great German centres, however, Bohemia was still part of the German archbishopric of Mainz.¹⁴

This thesis examines the translation of reform through the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council in the parts of Central Europe from the pontificates of Innocent III up until the time of Innocent IV (1243-1254). Who were the people set to accomplish this task? How did the papacy organise the local bishops and clergy for the task of reform? And why at some point did the popes send their own legates into the area, especially Hungary? Answering all of these questions would make a contribution to understanding the relations between the papacy and Central Europe as well as to assessing ecclesiastical transfers from Italy and Germany into the region. The scope of this thesis is limited to a set collection of canons dealing with clerical education and morals, two very

¹⁴ For an overview of Central European ecclesiastical structures from the tenth century onwards see Nora Berend et al., *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c. 900-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 328-349.

basic ideas, but essential for the formation of a new and reformed clergy for Christendom as defined by the Lateran Council.

This clergy were not supposed to be drunkards or live in luxury. A cleric was to refrain from secular pursuits and live a chaste life. He also had to take care of his flock, the parish, and to do that he needed knowledge.¹⁵ Hence, the educational part of the reform which was supposed to ensure that priests knew what they were saying during the mass and that they were saying it the right way. Knowledge of Latin and an understanding, however basic, of theology was to become the norm. The “Gregorian reform” had put greater emphasis on the Eucharistic ritual and the great program constituted in 1215 in the Lateran left nothing to chance. In the sources this usually shows itself in the form of a higher number of masters of grammar or theology appearing either as witnesses or actively engaged in ecclesiastical affairs.

The issue of translating this set of decrees and reform ideas to Central Europe is problematic due to the few sources, especially papal correspondence dealing directly with issues. Most sources are involved with political issues, that is, whenever they were not confirming previous or new possessions and privileges. But, the answer, or at least the beginning of one, is precisely in the few sources concerning the reform impact in Central Europe. Most of the correspondence has been published in papal registers or national source collections. The only other matter of immediate interest would be the provincial councils which were supposed to be held annually, but this turned out to be too great a demand throughout Latin Christendom. Any analysis of reform would benefit from an overview and study of provincial councils, but the problem seems to be a lack of sources dealing with these councils where scholars could base inferences.

¹⁵ For an analysis of the impact of the Fourth Lateran Council on the development of pastoral care see Norman Tanner, “Pastoral Care: the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215,” in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G. R. Evans (London: Cassell, 2000), 112-125.

The analysis provides a dynamic overview of transfers of specific canons in primarily ecclesiastical (between popes and local bishops) correspondence, finding where and how often quotes and inferences to the Lateran decrees can be found. This is especially true for the chapters dealing with the reform of clerical morals and education. However, this alone as a mere quantitative method would be reductive, for a survey such as this requires a combination with a qualitative evaluation of the sources and the information provided therein.

Contextualisation is essential for establishing the dynamic relationships among the various correspondents. The choice of the region, Central Europe, provides an approachable comparative framework. Yet, the original actor in this reform, the papacy, which forces such an approach as the region, generally received an equal amount of attention and appreciation from the supreme pontiffs in the period. Several hundred letters sent from Rome, collected in pontifical registers and then national source collections were examined, using elements of serial history, scrutinising these collections for mentions of masters of theology and grammar as well as the reform of clerical morals.

Moving towards the specific character of this region as a “frontier of Christendom” at the time it is interesting to see how the reform ideas, impacted the way non-Christians were seen and integrated into the community, if they did at all. Jews and Muslims in Hungary were affected, since the Fourth Lateran Council projects an exclusion policy towards these groups within Christian kingdoms. Since this frontier also borders pagans in the Baltic region, it is essential to see what the position of the local Church was in promoting and executing missionary work and crusading activity.

Internal reform was only part of the plan, the other being crusades. Pope Innocent III had already established part of his crusading plan in 1213 and the Fourth Lateran Council finished with

the bull *Ad liberandam*, essentially the seventy-first canon, which detailed how crusades would function in the future, primarily the Fifth Crusade, which was soon to follow. Christendom at that point was already heavily engaged with heresies and the “frontier” to the east was exposed to pagans in the Baltic region and was generally a dynamic area with new groups like the Cumans and the Mongols coming into the area.

The dynamics of internal Church politics, the relationship between the popes and the bishops was key for this transfer and for the success of the reform. However, the reform could not be accomplished or even attempted without the support of secular royal power. This supporting element is not focused on that much here, nevertheless, it remained an integral part of ecclesiastical affairs not only in Central Europe but in the whole of Latin Christendom.

The gradual approach and active participation of the church centre in Rome along with legates and local bishops were the essential parts of a vibrant papal policy towards Central Europe. Although unable to encompass the whole account of crusading in the period, the goal here is to provide a clear understanding of how ecclesiastical priorities shifted and adjusted to the situation at hand, as well as what the supporting element of secular power, royal and of other noblemen actually meant in the great expansion towards the north and east of Europe. The ecclesiastical perspective is a priority here as it allows a much wider understanding of events.

What then is the main outlook of this thesis? Primarily, it provides a starting point for future research efforts with a strong view of certain conciliar legislative transfers, viewing those possible transfers in a real context and not in the idealized construct of Latin Christendom. Rather than forcing a single perspective, either the regional Central European, the various national ones, or a Roman one, it strives to strike a balance keeping a rational view on the limitations of such an attempt.

This reform should not be viewed as a linear process, as it had its more active periods exemplified by exceptional people and its less active periods when the clergy in charge of the effort were found to be wanting. The sources can provide modern scholars with exactly the exceptional cases, positive or negative, and omit a multitude of average everyday instances of simultaneous victories and defeats for the reform effort. Finding a balance between the exceptional and commonplace on the one hand and the local, regional, and the continental level on the other is essential for an image of Central Europe constructed on a valid basis rather than a completely imagined story.

CHAPTER I. THE FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL AND WESTERN EUROPE

*In the same year, namely, A.D. 1215,
a sacred and general synod
was held in the month of November,
in the church of the Holy Savior at Rome,
called Constantinian, at which our lord pope Innocent,
in the eighteenth year of his pontificate, presided,
and which was attended by four hundred and twelve bishops¹⁶*

When hundreds of bishops and thousands of priests and deacons flocked to Rome in November 1215 it was for one of the largest peaceful assemblies in the Middle Ages. The city had been host to a council thirty six years before, yet compared to this it was a much smaller affair. The summons to the council was sent out of the Lateran in April 1213, thus giving the bishops and clergy of Latin Christendom enough time to prepare for the reform agenda. The council itself was perhaps not the most democratic of events, however, more of a spectacular way of ending a period of communication, cooperation, and the creation of the agenda by the prelates and the Roman Curia. The plan was that each ecclesiastical province should have two bishops staying behind to take care of the needs of the flock whilst the majority of bishops and abbots were supposed to be present at the council in November.

The driving force behind this endeavour was the pope, Innocent III. Considered by some authors to be the most powerful pope of the medieval papacy, Innocent's youth and singular drive allowed him to push the boundaries of Christendom in all directions. As a young student at the Paris schools he was influenced by Peter Chanter's ideas on moral philosophy, his studies at Bologna and practical work in the Curia as sub-deacon and then cardinal allowed him to be

¹⁶ An account of the Fourth Lateran Council by Roger Wendover (d. 1236); Jessalynn Bird, et al., ed., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 121.

considered by many as a great legislator.¹⁷ However, considering the various opinions on this matter, as pope at the time he needed to control many different skills and a great deal of knowledge, and he did so successfully.

Innocent came to the Apostolic See at a time when the imperial power was beset by crisis after the death of Henry VI in late 1197 and two candidates emerged as contenders for the imperial honour. Innocent attempted to use this moment to strengthen the position of the papacy on the Italian peninsula at the same time promoting a strong Church throughout Latin Christendom. His life and times have been the subject of numerous monographs and articles. In the last decades the work by James M. Powell, John C. Moore, Brenda Bolton, and Othmar Hageneder stands out. All of the authors dealing with Innocent III had to contend with the Fourth Lateran Council as essentially the crowning achievement of his pontificate.

Powell's best known work is an analysis of the Fifth Crusade, where he provides a view of the social and historical impact of the crusade organized by Innocent III and undertaken in the time of Honorius III (1216-1227).¹⁸ This means focus on papal decrees, specifically the bull *Quia maior* (1213) and the seventy first decree of the Lateran Council, the bull *Ad liberandam*.¹⁹ Powell showed a great interest in the pope, translating his thirteenth century *gesta*, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*,²⁰ as well as editing a collection of excerpts dealing with the development of Innocent III in historiography.²¹

¹⁷ Moore, *Innocent III*, 8, 219-220; for more on Pope Innocent III's legal education see Kenneth Pennington, "The Legal Education of Pope Innocent III," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 4 (1974): 70-77.

¹⁸ James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade: 1213-1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

¹⁹ Idem, 20-22, 44-47; for full English translations of both papal bulls with annotations see Bird, *Crusade and Christendom*, 107-112, 124-129.

²⁰ James M. Powell, ed., *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007).

²¹ James M. Powell, ed., *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994); for an analysis of the historical development of the image of Pope Innocent III see James M. Powell, "Innocent III: The Making of an Image," in *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis*, vol. 2, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003), 1363-1373.

Moore authored the most recent scholarly biography of Innocent III, a chronological overview of the pope's life from his early education, ascension into the Roman curia, and a detailed and insightful, yet human, account of his pontificate.²² In this respect, Moore follows a trend set by Helene Tillmann in the 1950s with her biography of the pope.²³ This was a move away from a view of the pope as a strictly political figure and started a whole period in historiography where attention turned to matters of pastoral care and the impact of a pope's pontificate on everyday church life.

This resulted in many diverse studies; among them Brenda Bolton stands out for her years of research on this pope.²⁴ Relevant to this thesis is her article on Innocent's approach to the Lateran Council, drawing inspiration from the eyewitness account of the council on how the pope used the spatial advantages of the Lateran for the council, as well as the relics and history of the pontifical centre in Lateran. It is interesting to see how Innocent used relics from the True Cross obtained in 1204 when the attention of the Council turned to the upcoming Crusade.²⁵

The last half century saw the efforts of the Austrian Academy of Sciences producing a critical edition of the registers of Pope Innocent III.²⁶ The leading man behind the project was Othmar Hageneder, producing numerous articles along with the volumes of the registers. One of these articles deals, for instance, with the conquest of Zadar in the Fourth Crusade.²⁷

²² Moore, *Innocent III*.

²³ Helene Tillmann, *Papst Innocenz III* (Bonn: Ludwig Rohrscheid, 1954).

²⁴ For a collection of articles on Innocent III see Brenda Bolton, *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1995).

²⁵ Eadem, "A Show with a Meaning: Innocent III's Approach to the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215," in *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1995), XI, 53-67.

²⁶ The last publication was of the register of the pope's twelfth year; Othmar Hageneder et al., ed., *Die Register Innocenz' III*. 11 vols. (Vienna: 1964-2012).

²⁷ Othmar Hageneder, "Innocenz III. und die Eroberung Zadars (1202). Eine Neuinterpretation des Br. V 160 (161)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 100 (1992): 197-213.

Among scholars dealing with the council the name of Raymonde Foreville stands out. Her study of the four councils held in the Lateran in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries provides a comparative overview of the developing nature of these assemblies.²⁸ Furthermore, it gives a detailed account of the councils and the specificity of each in its own time, taking into account the complex religious and political background, including heresies, schisms, and imperial pressure. As with any such research effort it does have its limits, yet with a firm basis in conciliar decrees, papal decretals, and even the eyewitness account of the Council, this study is the basis of any specific analysis of canon decisions of the time and the historical development of two centuries of ecclesiastical conciliar legislation.

The seventy council canons dealt with various topics that were seen to be important, defining the Catholic faith, defining heresies, regulating the hierarchy within the Church, reforming clerical morals and clerical education, stressing preaching as a primary direction of pastoral care, establishing canon order within Latin Christendom through provincial councils and a general chapter of monastic orders. There was also a focus on material aspects, be they the management of ecclesiastical possessions, usury, or the position of non-Christians.²⁹

The final decree of the Council was the papal bull *Ad liberandam*, the plans and framework for the Fifth Crusade.³⁰ The pope decided to take a more controlling part in the Crusade after the less than fortunate achievements of the last crusade effort. Provisions were made for the crusading enterprise and the papal bull soon became the basis for crusading throughout Latin Christendom, through exemption from taxation for Crusaders or prohibiting tournaments.³¹ Reform and crusade

²⁸ Foreville, *Latran*.

²⁹ Moore, *Innocent III*, 237-250.

³⁰ Moore, *Innocent III*, 250-251; Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 267-271.

³¹ For more on the impact of crusading on discourse in Latin Christendom see Björn Weiler, "The 'Negotium Terrae Sanctae' in the Political Discourse of Latin Christendom, 1215-1311," *The International History Review* 25, no. 1 (2003): 1-36.

were seen as the most important themes of the council and the tent poles of the program for the future of Christendom. Both of these were tied together – as Innocent preached in his opening sermon to the Council – for the prosperity of the Church.³² The pope saw reform as a prerequisite to the liberation of Jerusalem.

The Lateran reform was an extensive vision of the Christian world defined in a mature legal and theological language. Although the scholarship on the Council itself and on the legislation it produced is extensive, there are only two studies dealing with the impact of the reform on a regional level. The first was written by Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang in 1934.³³ This analysis focused on providing an outlook on the almost sixty year period after the Fourth Lateran Council in the English Church. Their work concentrates on the bishops, episcopal elections, and the activities by these bishops in the period, in promoting and enforcing the Lateran reform.

Their analysis focuses heavily on the aspects of legal transfers, looking at the reform as an interplay, spreading and appropriation regarding the law codes postulated by the advance in canon law in the twelfth and early thirteenth century, focusing on the decrees of the two Lateran councils (1179 and 1215) and the publication of Gregory IX's *Liber extra*. Their view of the reform's impact is narrow and negative to a degree. The authors contended with existing sources and they saw them as having a greater effect on legal maturity in England, not as much on the spiritual reform, which was the motivation presented behind the whole enterprise. Their conclusions, however, also refer to the improvement of the morals and education of the clergy. The situation in England was not a simple matter of a juxtaposed contrast between before and after 1215. In the

³² Moore, *Innocent III*, 230-233.

³³ Marion Gibbs & Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272, with Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).

period analysed clergymen were educated by ecclesiastical schools and clerks were trained at the king's court, yet the differences between the two ways may not have been that pronounced.

This first attempt at a longer and larger impact study was indirectly criticized by D. W. Robertson in 1949 in his study on preaching in England.³⁴ Robertson tried to disprove the hypothesis of low impact due to a lack of preaching and of English inferiority towards France. He found that not only was England a place where preaching had been a well-established practice previously, but after the Lateran Council bishops responded to the new demands by creating guidebooks for their priests. For example, Roger Weseham, bishop of Coventry, sent out a treatise to his priests about how preaching should be reformed at that time, to become “*pure, integre et expresse*”.³⁵ The preaching was to lead to a stronger faith needed for opposing heresy, magic, and witchcraft.

This is just one example how impact studies analysing a large area can have problematic reductive results. The canons of the council are laws and they present something that was supposed to be transmitted throughout Christendom. This did not exclude the instructive nature of the council and the laws. Clergy, but more often bishops, could refer to the council decrees as a program, and laws as waypoints towards continued faith and loyalty. Robertson's examples are again problematic as they are in fact few in number. Yet, again, one wonders how the availability of sources affects the judgment of the historian on this period. In 1930 Ross William Collins analysed how the parish priest was perceived by the church councils, mainly provincial ones, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³⁶ He compared the conciliar documents of mostly English and

³⁴ D. W. Robertson, Jr., “Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England,” *Speculum* 24, no. 3 (1949): 376-388.

³⁵ Robertson, “Frequency of Preaching”, 384.

³⁶ Ross William Collins, “The Parish Priest and his Flock as Depicted by the Councils of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *The Journal of Religion* 10, no. 3 (1930): 313-332.

French councils to ascertain how various clerical misdeeds (drunkenness, luxurious clothing etc.) survived in the body of canons promulgated over these two centuries. He saw this as a sign that “the lives of the clergy as well as of the people fell short of the ideals for which the medieval church stood”.³⁷

Here, again, one can make a decision to view the appearance of these clerical wrongdoings as a continued presence of depraved clergy in Latin Christendom. Yet, the other possibility is that there was a need to point out clerical wrongdoings at councils. It seems illogical that bishops would give out commendations to the good priests. Priests who were not so good needed to reform, and it was for them and their parish community that councils reiterated the same decrees. The provincial council, more than anything else, was a place of communication and learning, where bishops were supposed to do their duty and teach their priests and deacons what they took back from the Lateran.

Moving towards the German lands is the second comprehensive impact study, by Paul Pixton.³⁸ His study of German bishops and the implementation of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council is a detailed analysis of the ecclesiastical situation in the German lands in the thirty years after the Lateran Council, up until the First Council of Lyon in 1245. Pixton analyses the provincial synods, or possible inferences to synods held throughout the six German archdioceses of the time. Presenting the activity of the archbishops and bishops who were supposed to spread the ideas of the council he finds them active in these efforts (at least five archbishops and thirty bishops), and when not local bishops then papal legates who were directly supposed to proceed in that respect. Yet, after this initial thrust in the first seven years, the rest of the analysed period seems to be

³⁷ Idem, 332.

³⁸ Paul B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 1216-1245* (Leiden: Brill, 1995)

lacking major impact with scant mention of the decrees and the reform. Thus, Pixton concludes that the impact of the Lateran decrees was limited. This is apparently explainable through the political situation in the German lands, especially in the time of Frederick II and his frequent conflicts with Gregory IX (1227-1241).

Pixton produced a comprehensive account of German conciliar activity, both actual and probable councils. Similar to the effort of Gibbs and Lang he looked at the bishops as the personifications of the reform, as indeed Innocent III intended them to be. He unfortunately puts too much emphasis on the provincial synods and loses sight of the German Church as a whole. He also marginalises the role and impact of the mendicant orders, which although quite popular in their own respect, were actually part of this reform effort. His focus on the time period also prevents him from seeing wider processes. Although an effort through the entire thirteenth century would have been an exceptional volume, it is necessary for the more accurate conclusion which his analysis strives for.

It would appear a more focused effort like those previously mentioned would suffice or something akin to Gray Cowan Boyce's article on the schools in Erfurt in the thirteenth century.³⁹ Seeking to unravel the origins of the university in Erfurt, Boyce analyses what came before, the cathedral school. He mostly focuses on the second half of the thirteenth century, especially on school regulations of the time and a local poet Nicholas of Bibera as sources for the school and scholars in Erfurt. He also mentions the arrival of the Franciscans in 1231 as a positive event in the intellectual life of the town; their monastery quickly became a hub of intellectual pursuits. The canonist, Henry of Merseburg served as *lector* in the house and John of Erfurt was also there for

³⁹ Gray Cowan Boyce, "Erfurt Schools and Scholars in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 24, no. 1 (1949): 1-18.

some forty years. The Dominicans, although arriving in 1228, required a century to rise in prominence within the community of Erfurt; a shining example of this is Meister Eckhart.

Boyce ends his article with a positive conclusion, writing about Erfurt that it was “a scene where men of varied interests and backgrounds came together, often only by the accidents of history.”⁴⁰ Speaking of the clergy he continues that they were mostly from elsewhere “frequently trained in the legal schools of Italy or the theological and arts schools of Paris”.⁴¹ However, he concludes that Erfurt’s light was “bright enough” even in the thirteenth century and “if quantity is any measure of worth, the number of students sitting in their schools seems a flattering indication of their success”.⁴² Boyce manages to go through his entire analysis without mentioning the Fourth Lateran Council once, apparently seeing the success of Erfurt as a special, as well as typical experience in Germany.

In a more recent article, Paul Pixton dealt with the general impact of the Lateran Council on German schools.⁴³ Much as in his previously mentioned volume, Pixton finds “limited success in establishing theological schools at archiepiscopal churches”.⁴⁴ Pixton’s analysis is based on transfers of conciliar legislation, ecclesiastical correspondence, and episcopal chronicles. His results include the historical context, similar to his monograph.

These several studies on the impact of conciliar decrees present an image of a not-very-receptive Latin Christendom, especially the general studies that focus on provincial conciliar legislation. When looked at as a whole, which in all fairness has not been done in a comprehensive manner thus far, Western Europe would seem as much lost in the translation of the decrees as

⁴⁰ Boyce, “Erfurt Schools and Scholars”, 18

⁴¹ Idem.

⁴² Boyce, “Erfurt Schools and Scholars”, 18.

⁴³ Paul B. Pixton, “Pope Innocent III and the German Schools: the Impact of Canon 11 of the Fourth Lateranum upon Cathedral and Other Schools 1216-1272,” in *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis*, vol. 2, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003), 1101-1132.

⁴⁴ Idem, 1131.

Central Europe. However, since a study of such magnitude has not been attempted focusing on smaller case studies seems to be a viable alternative. The problem arising there can be a narrow focus on the local nature of the case, processes and development can seem exceptional when in fact they could be part of a continual trend.

What is the answer, and what is the best interpretative solution for the council's reception? There is no obvious answer. Both avenues provide certain interesting and valid results, but at the same time they leave open questions. Complementary studies featuring both approaches could provide a beneficial outlook at the process of reception and implementation of council decrees. This task would require quite an extensive transnational scholarly effort lasting many decades. The probable results? The impact of the Fourth Lateran Council in Western Europe was a dynamic process of perception, translation, and acquisition of new patterns of behaviour and ecclesiastical legislation. In some regions this transfer was limited depending on the local ecclesiastical and political situation and the personal influence of the bishop. The image is therefore a colourful one, as with most topics pertaining to the whole of Latin Christendom.

CHAPTER II. THE IMPACT OF THE COUNCIL IN HUNGARY, POLAND, AND BOHEMIA

Beasts of many kinds are attempting to destroy the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth, and their onset has so far succeeded against it that over no small area thorn have sprung up instead of vines, and (with grief we report it!) the vines themselves are variously infected and diseased, and instead of the grape they bring forth the wild grape.⁴⁵

II. 1. The Morals of Clerics and the Discipline of the Church

When the “Gregorian reform” started in the mid-eleventh century, its protagonists rallied around themes such as the issue of simony (selling of priestly offices) and clerical marriage. These questions perpetuated the debate in the curia of Pope Leo IX, especially among his three most active cardinals: Humbertus, Peter Damian, and Hildebrand.⁴⁶ Cardinal Hildebrand later became Pope Gregory VII and set the Roman Church on a collision course with the Holy Roman Empire.⁴⁷ Matters of lay investiture took the forefront of the debate, but the need for reform of the Church directed inward did not subside through time. The first three Lateran Councils (1123, 1139, 1179) did not go deeply into the matter of clerical reform, but the Fourth Lateran Council sent out clear signals as to what was considered to be erroneous behavior and not worthy of the new Church. The council approached the subject matter in detail and dealt with ecclesiastical discipline in eight of the canons (6-13), with clerical morals in nine of the canons (14-22), and with simony specifically in four canons (63-66).⁴⁸ Nearly a fifth of the seventy canons of the Fourth Lateran

⁴⁵ The opening of the bull *Vineam domini* summoning Christendom to the Fourth Lateran Council (translation by C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple); C. R. Cheney & W. H. Semple, ed., *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198-1216)* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1953).

⁴⁶ For more on the start of the “Gregorian reform” see Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 21-33, 79-108; Blumenthal, “The Papacy and Canon Law”, 201-218; I. S. Robinson, “Pope Gregory VII”, 439-483.

⁴⁷ For more on Gregory VII’s relationship with imperial and secular authority in general see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII. 1073-1085* (Oxford: O Press, 1998), 75-271; I. S. Robinson, “Pope Gregory VII, the Princes and the Pactum 1077-1080,” *The English Historical Review* 94, no. 373 (1979): 721-756.

⁴⁸ Tanner, *Decrees* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 236-246, 264-265.

Council thus dealt with matters pertaining to the internal reform of the Church. This was seen as necessary to achieve the ultimate goal of a victorious Church in the Crusades.⁴⁹

The reprehensible deeds of clergymen were well-documented from early on in the reform movement⁵⁰ and so council decisions should be seen as answers to queries brought to the attention of the Roman curia. The council summons sent out in April of 1213 gave the multitude of bishops and abbots time not only to arrange their affairs in preparation for the Council but also to correspond within their ecclesiastical provinces and with Rome on matters of reform. The presence of these decrees indicates the continued existence of the problems of clerical morals and church discipline as a whole. The Lateran Council(s) sought to remedy the fact that the Church had to repeat such decrees continually, a detail that indicates the decisions did not gain traction with part of the clergy. As far as the implementation of this kind of legislation in a regional context goes, it is difficult to ascertain how this was reflected in concrete terms. The primary sources in such matters are the decrees of the provincial councils and they seem to have been rare in the first half of the thirteenth century in eastern Central Europe. The other sources are correspondence either between the local bishops or papal legates and the popes.

A short overview of the canons can reveal some ideas as to what the prevailing problems with undisciplined and morally inept clergymen actually were. Canon 7 set down the clear hierarchy of responsibility where the bishops were the ones responsible for the reform of their subjects. The judicial and moral authority given to the bishop was higher than in previous times and regulated in a general way pertaining to Christendom as a whole.⁵¹ The subsequent canon

⁴⁹ Moore, *Innocent III*, 228-252.

⁵⁰ Decrees against the practices of simony and clerical marriage had been present since the Roman synod of 1059; Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, 92-94.

⁵¹ Canon 7: "By this inviolable constitution we decree that prelates of churches should prudently and diligently attend to the correction of their subject's offences, especially of clerics, and to the reform of morals... In order that they may be able to exercise freely this office of correction and reform, we decree that no custom or appeal can impede the execution of their decisions, unless they go beyond the form which is to be observed in such matters. The offences of

defines the limits and prerogatives of the embattled Church, seeking to mark out how far a bishop could go whilst inquiring into any dishonest behavior. The enduring matter of clerical incontinence is addressed in Canon 14. This canon not only dealt with the problem of clerical marriage within the scope of reform and its eradication as a means to a chaste life, but also defined the sanctions to be applied to those found guilty. Not only were the clergymen who lived in such a way held accountable, but even those bishops or other superiors who protected if not openly condoned such disreputable practices.⁵² Related to this, Canon 31 deals with ending the practice of sons succeeding their fathers as canons in the same churches.⁵³ Canon 15 speaks out against drunk clergymen, moving to abolish clerical drunkenness completely, as well as the practice of clergymen hunting or fowling.⁵⁴ These decrees indicate an incentive by the Roman Curia to move the clergy away from secular pursuits and practices. This is clearly evident in the wording of Canon 16, which deals with clerical attire. It stipulates not only how clerics should and should not dress, but how they should avoid taverns, secular business, entertainment, and games of chance.⁵⁵ This canon tries to remove the temptation of vanity from the clergy.

canons of a cathedral church, however, which have customarily been corrected by the chapter, are to be corrected by the chapter in those churches which until now have had this custom, at the instance and on the orders of the bishop and within a suitable time-limit which the bishop will decide.” (all English translations of the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council are by Norman P. Tanner) Tanner, *Decrees*, 237.

⁵² Canon 14: “In order that the morals and conduct of clerics may be reformed for the better, let all of them strive to live in a continent and chaste way, especially those in holy orders. Let them beware of every vice involving lust, especially that on account of which the wrath of God came down from heaven,” Tanner, *Decrees*, 242.

⁵³ Canon 31: “In order to abolish a very bad practice that has grown up in many churches, we strictly forbid the sons of canons, especially if they are illegitimate, to become canons in the secular churches in which their fathers hold office. If the contrary is attempted, we declare it to be invalid. Those who attempt to make such persons canons are to be suspended from their benefices,” Tanner, *Decrees*, 249.

⁵⁴ Canon 15: “All clerics should carefully abstain from gluttony and drunkenness. They should temper the wine to themselves and themselves to the wine. Let no one be urged to drink, since drunkenness obscures the intellect and stirs up lust. Accordingly we decree that that abuse is to be entirely abolished whereby in some places drinkers bind themselves to drink equal amounts, and that man is most praised who makes the most people drunk and himself drains the deepest cups... We forbid all clerics to hunt or to fowl, so let them not presume to have dogs or birds for fowling,” Tanner, *Decrees*, 242-243.

⁵⁵ Canon 16: “Clerics should not practice callings or business of a secular nature, especially those that are dishonorable. They should not watch mimes, entertainers and actors. Let them avoid taverns altogether, unless by chance they are obliged by necessity on a journey. They should not play at games of chance or of dice, nor be present at such games... Their outer garments should be closed and neither too short nor too long. Let them not indulge in red or green

Issues of discipline are the other part of the analyzed material and deal with the proper way of supporting the hierarchy of the church and establish the duties and prerogatives of bishops and priests. Canon 6 already defines the necessity of holding provincial councils on a yearly basis. The councils were supposed to be the instrument through which archbishops would transfer reform decrees within their provinces.⁵⁶ A similar obligation was placed on abbots and priors, who previously did not have general chapters. These general assemblies were supposed to be held every three years as stipulated by Canon 12.⁵⁷ The paramount role in all of this was that of the bishop; therefore it is not surprising that Canon 17 focuses precisely on the reform of the bishop himself, as there were some who lived lavish lives and failed to care for their flock, in effect failing in their pastoral duty.⁵⁸ The Council also dealt with the matter of the election of ecclesiastical officials, Canons 24 to 26 specifying the reformed stance. Secret elections were prohibited, secular abuses

cloths, long sleeves or shoes with embroidery or pointed toes, or in bridles, saddles, breast-plates and spurs that are gilded or have other superfluous ornamentation... They are not to wear buckles or belts ornamented with gold or silver, or even rings except for those whose dignity it befits to have them," Tanner, *Decrees*, 243.

⁵⁶ Canon 6: "As is known to have been ordained of old by the holy fathers, metropolitans should not fail to hold provincial councils each year with their suffragans in which they consider diligently and in the fear of God the correction of excesses and the reform of morals, especially among the clergy. Let them recite the canonical rules, especially those which have been laid down by this general council, so as to secure their observance, inflicting on transgressors the punishment due. In order that this may be done more effectively, let them appoint for each diocese suitable persons, that is to say prudent and honest persons, who will simply and summarily, without any jurisdiction, throughout the whole year, carefully investigate what needs correction or reform and will then faithfully report these matters to the metropolitan and suffragans and others at the next council, so that they may proceed with careful deliberation against these and other matters according to what is profitable and decent," Tanner, *Decrees*, 236-237.

⁵⁷ Canon 12: "In every kingdom or province let there be held every three years, saving the right of diocesan bishops, a general chapter of those abbots, and priors who do not have abbots over them, who have not been accustomed to hold one. All should attend, unless they have a canonical impediment, at one of the monasteries which is suitable for the purpose... Let them invite in charity, at the start of this innovation, two neighboring Cistercian abbots to give them appropriate advice and help, since from long practice the Cistercians are well informed about holding such chapters..." Tanner, *Decrees*, 240-241.

⁵⁸ Canon 17: "We regretfully relate that not only certain lesser clerics but also some prelates of churches pass almost half the night in unnecessary feasting and forbidden conversation, not to mention other things, and leaving what is left of the night for sleep, they are barely roused at the dawn chorus of the birds and pass away the entire morning in a continuous state of stupor. There are others who celebrate mass barely four times a year and, what is worse, do not bother to attend; if they happen to be present when it is being celebrated, they flee the silence of the choir and pay attention to conversations of the laity outside and so, while they attend to talk that is unnecessary for them, they do not give an attentive ear to the things of God. We altogether forbid these and similar things on pain of suspension. We strictly command such persons, in virtue of obedience, to celebrate the divine office, day and night alike, as far as God allows them, with both zeal and devotion," Tanner, *Decrees*, 243.

were to be seen as nullifying the validity of the election, and improper confirmations were also to be punished by higher authorities (not necessarily by the pope).

It is difficult to ascertain how the spread of these decrees came about. The normal procedure would have been for the bishops staying in Rome in November 1215 to copy the canons of the council and bring them back to their home provinces to publish amongst their suffragans, perhaps at a provincial assembly as stipulated by Canon 6. Of the more than 400 bishops at the council, eighteen came from Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia.⁵⁹ The reception of the council decrees by the bishops and provinces varied. Bohemian bishops note five references to church councils in the period between 1213 and 1254. The first is naturally the summons to the council, the bull *Vineam domini sabaoth* sent out from the Lateran on April 19, 1213, to Bishop Daniel of Prague.⁶⁰ The letter was also sent to Archbishop John of Esztergom,⁶¹ as well as the archbishop of Gniezno.⁶² This was the standard papal bull addressed to bishops throughout Christendom.⁶³ Bishop Daniel did not live to see the Lateran basilica, his successor, Andrew, was present at the council and in 1217 received a letter from Pope Honorius III on the observation of the canons of the Council.⁶⁴ Honorius was protesting against inequities suffered by clergy in Andrew's province at the hands of laymen.⁶⁵ The matter of ecclesiastical liberties (...*ecclesie libertatem*...) was high

⁵⁹ The archbishops of Esztergom, Kalocsa, Split, Gniezno, the bishops of Eger, Győr, Veszprém, Vác, Nagyvárad/Oradea, Csanád, Hvar, Nin, Cracow, Breslau/Wrocław, Lebus, Kujawy, Prague and Olmütz/Olomouc; a full list of participants in Foreville, *Latran*, 391-395.

⁶⁰ CDB II, 99.

⁶¹ MES I, 203.

⁶² Bull. Pol., vol. I, 27.

⁶³ For an analysis of the bull see Alberto Melloni, "Vineam Domini – 10 April 1213: New Efforts and Traditional Topoi – Summoning Lateran IV," in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 63-73.

⁶⁴ CDB II, 126.

⁶⁵ *Non tam detestabilis quam abhominabilis consuetudo in Boemie partibus inolevit, quod laici quidam contra deum et sacrorum canonum instituta ecclesiasticos viros capiunt et eos carcerali custodie mancipantes presumunt mortis supplicio condemnare*, CDB II, 126.

on the list of papal priorities of the time.⁶⁶ Honorius recalled the novelties of the council again in a letter to the abbots and brothers of the Premonstratensians and then to the bishops of Latin Christendom in 1219, signifying that he favored the order in the papal reform effort.⁶⁷ This was, however, a general letter not specific to Bohemia. A similar letter was sent in 1222 pertaining to the Cistercians.⁶⁸ It was only in 1234 that Pope Gregory IX sent a letter ordering the abbots of Břevnov and Kladruba, both Benedictine, and of Nepomuk and Plasy, both Cistercian, to convene a provincial council as per Canon 12 of the Fourth Lateran Council.⁶⁹ Although this account is quite detailed it is mostly instructive based on the council canon, rather than relating to a specific grievance coming from Bohemia. The pope was much more specific in his letter to Peter, the abbot of the Strahov monastery, two months later.⁷⁰ The pope had received word that some canons subject to the abbot were applying the strength of their hands in a violent manner against monks and clergy, thus breaking with the meaning of the published canons (of the Fourth Lateran Council). This could be a reference to Canon 7, which covers how to deal with how clerical. The physical nature of their mistakes was similar to Canon 18, which deals with the involvement of clergy in sentences involving the shedding of blood.⁷¹ However, since Gregory does not give further detail, this letter should be seen as an elaboration on Canon 7. The excessive behavior of the canons remains a general remark. The next time a council was noted of in papal correspondence

⁶⁶ Wojciech Iwanczak, "Innocent III and Bohemia," in *Innocenzo III: Urbs et orbis*, vol. 2, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner (Rome: Istituto storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003), 1209-1212.

⁶⁷ CDB II, 163

⁶⁸ CDB II, 208.

⁶⁹ CDB III/1, 72-74.

⁷⁰ CDB III/1, 76.

⁷¹ Canon 18: "No cleric may decree or pronounce a sentence involving the shedding of blood or carry out a punishment involving the same, or be present when such punishment is carried out..." Tanner, *Decrees*, 244; this decree in theory stipulated that ecclesiastical power required the aid of secular authorities in the promotion of justice although its initial intent seemed to be the abolishment of such practices, for more see Baldwin, "Canon of 1215 against Ordeals", 613-636.

with Bohemia was in 1240, when Gregory IX summoned the bishops to a general council in Rome in the following year.⁷² This effort eventually proved unsuccessful as Frederick II moved to block the council by hindering the bishops in his territory. Archbishop Matthias of Esztergom received the summons as well and the instruction to determine who would come from within his province to the council in Rome.⁷³ Gregory had formed a well thought-out plan for the council, but he could not contend with Frederick's powerful maneuvering.

The Polish cases of "reform correspondence" are even fewer. In 1218 Honorius III sent a letter to the archbishop of Gniezno in which he underlines the need to reform the flock in the province of Plock.⁷⁴ Besides numerous references to councils in the letter (...*Concilium in provincia tua...*, ...*ante generale Concilium...*, ...*in Plocensi ecclesia Syndoum celebrans...*, *Sicque in nullo servata generalis Concilii forma edita super corrigendis excessibus subditorum...*, ...*presertim iuxta constitutiones Concilii generalis...*), Honorius shows considerable awareness of the situation in Poland, referring to Duke Conrad of Mazovia, but even more so to several clerics in the ecclesiastical province.⁷⁵ One can only suppose there was previous correspondence between the Church in Poland and the pope, considering the detailed response of Honorius III to the apparent lack of significant reform in the province of Plock. This is the only papal letter sent to Polish clergy that has clear references to Church councils (whether the general council in the Lateran or provincial ones).

The reform of the Polish Church continued and a council was held in 1233 in Syradia/Sieradz where a series of constitutions was confirmed by Archbishop Fulk of Gniezno.⁷⁶

⁷² CDB III/2, 327-328; the bishops of Prague and Olomouc (Olmütz) were summoned to the council in Rome.

⁷³ MES I, 336.

⁷⁴ KDW, no. 102.

⁷⁵ These clerics are noted only as A., B., P., and W.

⁷⁶ KDW, no. 150.

This assembly of bishops of the Polish Church was, due to its diligence (*habita diligenti*), committed to a council aimed at innovating or adding to what the archbishop's predecessors had established to meet the goal of reform for the better (*melius reformando*). The council is not precise as to what the previous constitutions were, but it most likely refers to decisions emanating from the Lateran in 1215. The note on the council itself in the final parts of the constitutions (*ut secundum constitutionem Concilii Lateranensis* and possibly *per statute Syndoi reformata*). The content of the constitutions is also clearly influenced by the Fourth Lateran Council, with the matter of clerical incontinence stressed as the most acute problem (*Super omnia autem districtè statuantes precipimus, ut omnes clerici sicut tenentur continenciam observant ab omnio genere fornicacionis abstinentes...*) followed by clerical marriage (*matrimonia nullomodo eis licuit contrahere...*).

The Council of Syradia implies several important details. First, the issue of clerical morals continued to be problematic eighteen years after the Fourth Lateran Council. However, since the issue had been a matter of controversy for hundreds of years it would have been unreasonable to expect one council to resolve it.⁷⁷ A second, more implicit detail, comes to mind when considering the various references to decisions by predecessors and directly to the Lateran Council. The Church in Poland, especially the Archbishop of Gniezno Henryk Kietlicz who had been present at the Lateran, was actively pursuing the reform program set out by the Lateran Council.⁷⁸ The lack of sources could lead one to think that reform was not highly apparent in everyday ecclesiastical affairs, but the constitutions of the Council of Syradia speak to the contrary, implying that not only were councils held prior to 1233 but that they were important to the history of the Church in

⁷⁷ Laura Wertheimer, "Children of Disorder: Clerical Parentage, Illegitimacy, and Reform in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 15, no. 3 (2006): 382-407.

⁷⁸ Urszula Borkowska, "Innocent III and the Countries of the 'New Christianity' – Poland and Hungary," in *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis*, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003), 1180-1189.

Poland. The spread of ideas is easiest to trace through provincial councils such as this one, but once one or more instances of such a council are identified questions arise as to the impact of the Lateran Council.

The archbishop of Esztergom received a letter from Honorius III in 1216, a year after the Fourth Lateran Council, asking of the archbishop and the Church in Hungary to uphold the constitutions of the council and to provide the appropriate resources for the upcoming Crusade.⁷⁹ Nine years later the pope called upon the Benedictines in Hungary on the matter of the celebration of a general chapter and tightening up on visitations to monasteries.⁸⁰ Such a letter is in accordance with Canon 12 of the Fourth Lateran Council.⁸¹ The next time a great conciliar reform effort became apparent in the Hungarian Church was the Council of Buda in the second half of the thirteenth century, in 1279.⁸² Lothar Waldmüller's analysis of councils in Hungary provides an unclear picture with regard to provincial councils.⁸³ There was probably one council in Kalocsa in 1222 connected to Legate Acontius and more likely a provincial council in Esztergom in 1252.⁸⁴ A comparison to the previously mentioned Polish council of 1233 may provide an image of the Hungarian Church as one that had a delayed response to the reform of the Lateran Council. Contrary to this notion, it is more likely that the reform was done by means of legates, the papacy's men of confidence. In the period between 1213 and 1254 nine papal legates were active in Hungary.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ MES I, 211.

⁸⁰ MES I, 249-252.

⁸¹ For a quote of Canon 12 see footnote 57.

⁸² Zoltán J. Kosztolnyik, "Rome and the Church in Hungary in 1279: The Synod of Buda," *Annuario Historiae Conciliourum* 22 (1990): 68-85.

⁸³ Waldmüller, *Synoden*, 173-176.

⁸⁴ *Idem*, 177-178.

⁸⁵ The legates were Ugolino de Segni, cardinal bishop of Ostia (legate from 1217-1219); Acontius, papal chaplain and subdeacon (1219, 1221-1225 [?]); Robert, archbishop of Esztergom (1227-1232); Aegidius, papal chaplain and subdeacon (1228-1232); Jacob de Pecoraria, cardinal bishop of Palestrina (August, 1232–March 1234); Salvi, bishop of Perugia (1237-1238); Posa, OP, bishop of Bosnia (1238-1239 [?]); John of Civittella, papal chaplain and subdeacon

Legates were the long arm of the papacy across the Alps.⁸⁶ At the very beginning of this period is Legate Hugolino, the future pope Gregory IX, who was sent by Honorius III with full authority.⁸⁷ In 1221, Acontius, papal subdeacon and chaplain, went on a mission to root out heretics and pirates in Dalmatia, as these issues were detrimental to the Fifth Crusade. He was also active in reforming the Church in Hungary. The last order he received from the pope mandated him to give the *pallium* to the archbishop-elect of Split, Guncel.⁸⁸ Pope Gregory IX sent another papal chaplain, subdeacon Aegidius, as legate to Hungary, Croatia, and Bosnia.⁸⁹ Aegidius mostly worked as a judge in Hungary, deliberating on disputes between the Abbey of Pannonhalma and the chapter of Veszprém, resolving the attacks against the Benedictine monastery of Némétujvár or establishing a bishopric in Syrmia.⁹⁰ Jacob of Pecorara was needed due to the conflict between King Andrew and Archbishop Robert of Esztergom that resulted in an interdict over all Hungary and excommunication for the king's high ranking officials.⁹¹ Jacob was empowered with the *plenitudo potestatis* as his mission was expansive compared to Aegidius. The legate functioned as judge in the case between the Benedictine abbey of Kolozsvár and the bishop of Transylvania.

(1241); and Stephen Báncsa, archbishop of Esztergom (1253). For more on the issue of papal legates in Hungary see Gabor Barabas, "Das Papsttum und Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts (ca. 1198- ca. 1241). Päpstliche Einflussnahme – Zusammenwirken – Interessengegensätze" (Doctoral Dissertation, Philosophischen Fakultät und Fachbereich Theologie der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen, 2013), 35-100.

⁸⁶ For more on papal legates in the thirteenth century see Robert C. Figueira, "The Medieval Papal Legate and His Province: Geographical Limits of Jurisdiction," in *Plenitude of Power: The Doctrines and Exercise of Authority in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Robert Louis Benson*, ed. Robert C. Figueira (Aldershot: Ashgate 2006), 73-106; Claudia Zey, "Die Augen des Papstes. Zu Eigenschaften und Vollmachten päpstlicher Legaten," in *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III.*, ed. Jochen Johrendt & Harald Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 77-108; and specifically for Hungary see James Ross Sweeney, "Innocent III., Canon Law and Papal Judges Delegate in Hungary," in *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Ross Sweeney & Stanley Chodrow (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 26-52.

⁸⁷ Barabas, "Papsttum und Ungarn", 44-45.

⁸⁸ Heinrich Zimmermann, *Die päpstliche Legation in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts: vom Regierungsantritt Innocenz' III. bis zum Tode Gregors IX. (1198-1241)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1913), 94; Barabas, "Papsttum und Ungarn", 55-58.

⁸⁹ Zimmerman, *Päpstliche Legation*, 116.

⁹⁰ Barabas, "Papsttum und Ungarn", 58-62.

⁹¹ Zimmermann, *Päpstliche Legation*, 109.

However, Jacob of Pecorara had to deal with the split between Archbishop Robert and King Andrew, all the while taking care of the interests of the Hungarian Church and promoting the cause of the Teutonic Order.⁹² Next was Bishop Salvi of Perugia whose mission was to promote the cause of the Holy Land as well as the Latin Empire with the princes of Bulgaria and Hungary. The mission in Bulgaria was less than successful and Salvi had to promote a crusade against John Asen II of Bulgaria.⁹³

On the one hand there was a provincial council, and on the other hand there were legates. Neither actually provided stability, the legates least of all, since their legations were intermittent and they were not focused on one specific kingdom or province, but rather on a wider region.⁹⁴ This balance was further impacted by the lack of sources pertaining to the specific issues of reform in a continuous manner. At this point it would be appropriate to note that the papal chancery in the time of Innocent III copied and registered fewer than one fifth of the documents it produced.⁹⁵ Considering this, it is difficult to create conclusive interpretations of the impact of reform (pertaining to the matter of clerical marriage and ecclesiastical discipline) in a region where sources are not as extensive compared to the examples of England or Germany, previously mentioned.⁹⁶ An evaluation of the issue of reform and the impact of the Lateran Council therefore rests not on the quantitative approach that can so easily be applied when dealing with German lands, but rather documents the importance of several examples of the impact of reform. Bohemia

⁹² Barabas, "Papsttum und Ungarn", 47-51, 82-84

⁹³ Zimmermann, *Päpstliche Legation*, 128; Barabas, "Papsttum und Ungarn", 53-54, 227-228

⁹⁴ For more on papal legates in the High Middle Ages see Robert C. Figuiera, "The Medieval Papal Legate and His Province: Geographical Limits of Jurisdiction," in *Plenitude of Power: The Doctrines and Exercise of Authority in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Robert Louis Benson*, ed. Robert C. Figuiera (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 73-106.

⁹⁵ For more on the research done into the registers of Innocent III (1198-1216) see Othmar Hageneder, "Die Register Innozenz' III", in *Papst Innozenz III.: Weichensteller der Geschichte Europas*, ed. Thomas Frenz (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000), 92.

⁹⁶ The reform efforts in England and Germany have received comprehensive analysis by historians. For more see Gibbs & Lang, *Bishops and Reform*; Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Fourth Lateran Council*.

was a land apart considering the various levels of its integration into the German political and ecclesiastical sphere, with diocesan councils convening in Prague in 1216 and Olomouc in 1243, yet all three ecclesiastical provinces exhibited an appreciation of the decrees of the council.⁹⁷ The dynamics of papal correspondence addressed to Central Europe show that the Lateran Council was important both to Honorius III and Gregory IX. Honorius referred directly to the council while Gregory was more subtle in his formulations. The local bishops were not silent; in the meantime, the Polish bishops convened at least one provincial council in 1233 and the Hungarian archbishops of Esztergom, Robert and Stephen, became papal legates. It would be an illusion to imagine these occurrences happening without strong papal approval and support.

II. 2. Clerical Education

The proceeding of the Fourth Lateran Council give a detailed conception of the position of the Roman Church about clerical education, a position that had been lacking since the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.⁹⁸ The proceedings were not limited to clerical education, but provided a general educational agenda encompassing lay students as well. The text of Canon 11 provides insight into the importance held by educational themes in the policies of the papacy:

Zeal for learning and the opportunity to make progress is denied to some through lack of means. The Lateran council therefore dutifully decreed that ‘in each cathedral church there should be provided a suitable benefice for a master who shall instruct without charge the clerics of the cathedral church and other poor scholars, thus at once satisfying the teacher’s needs and opening up the way of knowledge to learners’. This decree, however, is very little observed in many churches. We therefore confirm it and add that not only in every cathedral church but also in other churches with sufficient resources, a suitable master, elected by the chapter or by the greater and sounder part of it, shall be appointed by the prelate to teach grammar and other branches of study, as far as is possible, to the clerics of those and other

⁹⁷ Bishop Andrew of Prague published the Lateran decrees returning from Rome in 1216; Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Fourth Lateran Council*, 296-297, 406-412, 439.

⁹⁸ There appears to have been a post-Carolingian gap in interest in the practicalities of education; furthermore, most of the scholarship concentrates on the area of Western Europe; see M. M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (London: Paul Elek, 1978), 33; for a more general overview of educational trends see Ellen Perry Pride, “Ecclesiastical Legislation on Education, A. D. 300-1200,” *Church History* 12, no.4 (1943): 235-254.

churches. The metropolitan church shall have a theologian to teach scripture to priests and others and especially to instruct them in matters which are recognized as pertaining to the cure of souls. The income of one prebend shall be assigned by the chapter to each master, and as much shall be assigned by the metropolitan to the theologian. The incumbent does not by this become a canon but he receives the income of one as long as he continues to teach. If the metropolitan church finds providing for two masters a burden, let it provide for the theologian in the aforesaid way but get adequate provision made for the grammarian in another church of the city or diocese.⁹⁹

Canon 11 of the Council thus stipulates that, following the decision of the Third Lateran Council, every cathedral church should assign a suitable benefice to a master who would then instruct the clerics and poor students of the area.¹⁰⁰ This would relieve the students from having to pay a fee. Canon 11, however, states that this was not observed in many churches. Innocent III affirmed the previous idea and expanded upon it that every archbishopric should have a theologian.¹⁰¹ The cathedral chapter was supposed to assign a benefice to the master and the archbishop to the theologian as long as they were instructors in the school. If the archbishopric could not provide for both instructors then the archbishop should take care of the theologian while another church in the diocese provided for the grammarian.

This canon reveals several things about the idea of clerical education from the perspective of the Roman Church. The pope found it necessary to affirm a previous decision and to provide further instruction for the bishops as to how they were responsible for the educational needs of the clergy in their dioceses. This may mean that the Third Lateran Council had little effect, but also that Innocent III and his curia had a keener sense of how ecclesiastical provinces functioned and tried to tailor the canon so as to make it a viable option for most if not all of Latin Christendom.

⁹⁹ Tanner, *Decrees*, 240.

¹⁰⁰ Tanner, *Decrees*, 240; for Canon 18 of the Third Lateran Council see idem, 220.

¹⁰¹ *Sane metropolitana ecclesia theologum nichilominus habeat, qui sacerdotes et alios in sacra pagina doceat et in hiis presertim informet, quae ad curam animarum spectare noscuntur*, Tanner, *Decrees*, 240.

Alexander III's council failed to have the desired effect; the question arises as to what was the impact of Canon 11 of the Fourth Lateran Council.

Canon 11 is a workable framework and in reality the only clear sign of a concerted effort to systematically advance the educational process for clerics as well as the laity. Apart from this there are two additional points that would give a more complete account on the state of education in this area. First, the presence of clerics from the area as students in European universities, and, second, the role of the mendicant orders in the educational system and their possible contributions.

Examining students from Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland can provide a certain insight into the inclusion of local students into European educational trends and practices, but this does not reveal conclusive answers regarding the impact of Canon 11 in the first half of the thirteenth century. A quick survey of Hungarian and Slavic students at the University of Paris shows that only a few students had reached Paris at this time.¹⁰²

The influence of mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans, on medieval education is well attested.¹⁰³ The preachers were well received at Paris and one of the students in the very beginning was Roland of Cremona who would become a master in his own right.¹⁰⁴ In 1221 the Dominicans entered Oxford, and with Robert Bacon becoming part of the order, they had a chair at the faculty.¹⁰⁵ Admission to this prestigious universities was limited, the Dominicans sending a

¹⁰² Ivo, bishop of Cracow (1218-1229) or Lucas Banffy, archbishop of Esztergom (1158); Alexander Budinszky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1876), 226-234; for more on the choice between Paris and Bologna for students from the Hungarian Kingdom in the twelfth and thirteenth century see László Mezey, *Deákiség és Európa* [Clerical Intelligencia and Europe] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979), 144-159; for the case of a Hungarian cleric in Oxford see J. Laszlovsky, "Nicholaus clericus: a Hungarian student at Oxford University in the twelfth century," *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988): 217-231; there is no clear system of choice until the thirteenth century and the establishment of mendicant schools in the region.

¹⁰³ William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order. Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, vol. 2 (New York: Alba House, 1966), 3-14; for more on the beginnings of the Dominican Order and their preaching function see Patrick Zutshi, "Pope Honorius III's *Gratiarum Omnium* and the Beginnings of the Dominican Order," in *Omnia disce – Medieval Studies in Memory of Leonard Boyle, O.P.*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 199-210.

¹⁰⁴ Lawrence, *Friars* 128-129.

¹⁰⁵ *Idem*, 131.

maximum of three candidates from a province, the Franciscans two.¹⁰⁶ The Dominicans established general schools in university towns which were centres of intellectual thought of the time. These schools could train lectors for friaries thus allowing the spread of knowledge, primarily theological.¹⁰⁷ However, specifically in the area of eastern Central Europe it had no discernable effect in on developing an educational structure in this early period. Neither Lawrence nor Hinnebusch mention an existing structure in the first half of the thirteenth century, a time when the Dominicans were establishing themselves in the universities and schools in Western Europe. It was only in the latter half of the thirteenth century and more definitely in the fourteenth century that the organization of the fledgling order in eastern Central Europe could provide viable support for the educational reform.¹⁰⁸

Paul Pixton gives a comprehensive analysis of the impact the canon had on cathedral and other schools in German lands. His detailed study deals with the changes, primarily with the progressive influx of higher level instructors at the schools. Pixton finds evidence of this reform in a kind of prosopographical inquiry on various people associated with the cathedral schools. This means that whenever he found mentions of a *magister*, more precisely one dealing with theology, a *scholasticus*, he identified this as a sign of the council's impact. Even more so if the source provides information on financing the instructor. From this he was able to ascertain a progressive shift occurring in the development of cathedral schools in German lands.¹⁰⁹

Translating these questions to the eastern Central European area offers a specific challenge for research as there was no longer a politically unified area, at least in theory, but rather an area

¹⁰⁶ Lawrence, *Friars*, 135.

¹⁰⁷ Idem; Hinnebusch, *Dominican Order*, 19-32.

¹⁰⁸ Hinnebusch, *Dominican Order*, 236-239.

¹⁰⁹ Pixton carries his research even further than the scope of this thesis, dealing with the question why the German cathedral schools did not develop into universities in this period; Pixton, "Pope Innocent III and the German Schools", 1101-1132.

dominated by Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia. These three significant polities communicated during this period, frequently interacting in secular as well as ecclesiastical matters. Not only did they communicate amongst themselves, but also with the German lands, which is another reason why Pixton's work is a good reference point, though he has a larger base of analysis.¹¹⁰

In the period prior to the council the area of eastern Central Europe been part of a scholarly circle, or literate, to say the least, but any study in this respect would move beyond the scope of this thesis. The development of a literate community here has been researched, but does not provide a firm account of the existence of a clerical educational system.¹¹¹ In 1910 Remig Békefi published a survey of chapter schools where he lists names of instructors at the cathedral centres.¹¹² However, this invaluable work deserves a new perspective taking into account the historiographical developments in the last century, especially focusing on the Fourth Lateran Council and its influence on educational systems.¹¹³ Krzysztof Stopka has written on cathedral schools in Poland providing insight into educational structures in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, tracing their origins to the eleventh century and the establishment of a Church in Poland.¹¹⁴

A great number of letters was sent from the popes to this region from 1213 up to 1254. Hundreds of privileges, appeals, orders, questions, a vibrant communication that is only part of the

¹¹⁰ In 1215 there were forty-two cathedral chapters, one hundred eighty-eight collegiate chapters and canoness foundations, 1254 monasteries, priories and chapters of canons regular in the German lands; Pixton, "Pope Innocent III and the German Schools", 1102.

¹¹¹ Anna Adamska, "The Introduction of Writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary, Bohemia)," in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 165-190.

¹¹² Remig Békefi, *A káptalni iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* [History of cathedral schools up to 1540] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910).

¹¹³ Bekefi lists that most major cathedral centres (Bács, Eger, Győr, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, Kalocsa, Nyitra, Pécs, Vác, Várad, Veszprém, Zagreb) in this period had instructors of grammar and a *schola cantorum*, only Esztergom had a *scholasticus*. Békefi, *History of cathedral schools*, 95-103.

¹¹⁴ Krzysztof Stopka, "Studia nad geneza szkół katedralnych w Polsce średniowiecznej" [Study on the origins of cathedral schools in medieval Poland], *Studia Historyczne* 36, no. 1 (1993): 3-21.

whole mass of correspondence among the popes, bishops, abbots, legates, and other ecclesiastical officials as well as the secular rulers.

There is only one letter from Innocent III to the clergy of this area that takes note of a senior instructor or highly knowledgeable individual in either of the three polities. His letter to the bishop of Győr asks him to urge the archdeacon in Nyitra/Nitra and the *scholasticus* of Székesfehérvár to compel the Hospitallers to restore the tithe to the abbey of Pannonhalma.¹¹⁵ Honorius III followed up this letter with his own, telling the archdeacon and the *scholasticus* to proceed and not to be hindered by the absence of the bishop of Győr.¹¹⁶

There is mention of a *magister* P. in a letter by Honorius III from 1216 where the pope instructs the *magister* a canon of Prague,¹¹⁷ and his brother, Herman, on the necessity of keeping illegitimate sons from entering the holy orders. Since the primary concern of the letter is with another issue, several questions arise about the *magister*. Regarding his name, the editors of the source edition give the suggestion that this P. is the *magister* Peter who is attested as a signatory of a privilege given by Daniel II, bishop of Prague, in 1209.¹¹⁸ If one accepts this probable identification then Peter would be part of an older tradition and not a sign of the direct impact of the Fourth Lateran Council, but could be connected to the Third Lateran Council. Another matter is that Peter is identified as a canon of Prague, whilst Canon 11 states that an instructor need not be a canon to be hired.¹¹⁹ Therefore, it is probable that Peter was hired as an instructor and taken on as a canon so as to deal with his financial needs.

¹¹⁵ ...*Scholastico Albensi*...; MES I, 210.

¹¹⁶ MES I, 213.

¹¹⁷ *Magistro P., canonico Pragensi*..., CDB II, 122.

¹¹⁸ CDB II, 78.

¹¹⁹ “To each master let there be assigned by the chapter the revenue of one benefice, and to the theologian let as much be given by the metropolitan; not that they thereby become canons, but they shall enjoy the revenue only so long as they hold the office of instructor.”, Tanner, *Decrees*, 240

The pope wrote a letter in 1218 to Robert, bishop of Olmütz/Olomouc, regarding the observation of the interdict in the diocese of Prague and there is a mention of a *scholasticus*. Namely, Honorius refers to ...*scolastico Wratislaviensibus*.¹²⁰ The editors resolved his name as Aegidius. This *scholasticus* moved out of an educational context into a more disciplinary role and therefore information about him is scarce, although he did have high standing with the pope since he was identified as a supporter of the interdict. This first letter was dated March 27, while another one was sent just two days after it scolding the bishop and granting authority to the *scolasticus Wratislaviensis* to remove the bishop if he did not comply.¹²¹

In 1220 Honorius III mentions a *magister* Egidius, archdeacon of Zawichost in a letter to the chapter of Gniezno notifying the chapter that he had received information on the quality of Provost Vincent regarding his election to the office of archbishop.¹²² Egidius was one of the pope's informants, which would imply his good standing with the pope as well as in his region.

The same year pope Honorius sent a letter to Ulrich II, bishop of Passau, ordering him to restore *magister* A., dean of Prague, to benefices in the Diocese of Prague.¹²³ What is interesting here is a mention of another *magister* Arnold¹²⁴, royal chaplain as well. A similar letter was sent to Eberhard II, archbishop of Salzburg on the very same day.¹²⁵ The pope soon sent a letter to Arnold himself, urging him to continue working despite the process that was conducted against him by the bishop of Prague.¹²⁶ Leopold VI, duke of Austria, sent a plea to the pope lest Arnold

¹²⁰ CDB II, 148.

¹²¹ CDB II, 149.

¹²² ...*magistri Egidii Zavichostensis et P. Poznaniensis archidiaconorum*..., KDW, n. 109.

¹²³ ...*magistrum A., regium capellanum*...; CDB II, 177.

¹²⁴ Resolved by the editors.

¹²⁵ CDB II, 178.

¹²⁶ CDB II, 185.

be restored by others.¹²⁷ Arnold was still not reinstated as the dean of Prague until at least 1222, when Honorius ordered the abbot of Strahov monastery to restore Arnold in his former office.¹²⁸

A note on a *magister* John, a *procurator* appears in a letter from Honorius III addressed to the clergy of Bohemia in 1221. This *magister* John instigated an agreement between the king and the bishop of Prague.¹²⁹ Further information on John appears in a charter dated soon after Honorius' letter, where the king confirms this agreement and calls John *procurator noster magister Johanne de Scacario*. John was a part of the king's court, ostensibly an important one.¹³⁰

Pope Honorius sent a letter in 1225 to *magister* Enoch, archdeacon of Nyitra/Nitra about the case of the tithe between the bishop of Veszprém and the Hospitallers.¹³¹ Other than this there is no more information about Enoch and his standing in Hungary.

A document dated after 1226 provides information on how the bishop of Breslau/Wrocław designated the judges assigned to the case of the bishop of Olmütz/Olomouc.¹³² There he mentions V., the *scolasticus Misnensi*, as delegated by the Apostolic See. Udalrico¹³³ of Meissen was therefore part of this group of judges; he is mentioned in another letter from the same year summoning witnesses in the case.¹³⁴ When analysing the entire group of sources it is necessary to take account of the frequent and dynamic ties between the German archbishoprics and general ecclesiastical hierarchy and the eastern Central European area, most apparent in the case of Bohemia.

¹²⁷ CDB II, 186.

¹²⁸ CDB II, 232.

¹²⁹ CDB II, 193.

¹³⁰ CDB II, 197.

¹³¹ MES I, 254.

¹³² CDB II, 291

¹³³ Resolved by the editors.

¹³⁴ CDB II, 292

The following year the new pope, Gregory IX, ordered an inquiry by Eberhard of Waldsassen into the case between Robert, bishop of Olmütz/Olomouc, and *magister* Sigfrid, canon of Olmütz/Olomouc. This case had previously been investigated to some extent by the popes own legate, Gregory de Crescentio.¹³⁵

Later in the year, Pope Gregory dealt with the matter of John the *scholasticus* of Prague and his election as the new bishop of the city.¹³⁶ The bishop of Passau was supposed to deal with that issue. What is quite interesting is that Gregory mentions a number of ecclesiastical officials in the letter including a *magister* S.,¹³⁷ canon of Prague, and a *magister* Petrus who was dean and canon of Prague.

In 1230, during the mission by Aegidius, chaplain of the pope, there is mention of a *magister* Manasses, archdeacon of Orăștie/Szászváros and *magister* Jacob, canon of St. Thomas of Esztergom.¹³⁸ Gregory IX refers to this mission by Aegidius in his letter in October 1231 disapproving of the decisions made by the chaplain.

Dealing with a quarrel in 1231 between the convent of Břevnov and Bishop John II of Prague over the tithe of the monastery of St. Mary, Gregory IX calls upon a *magister* Thomas, canon of Breslau/Wroclaw.¹³⁹ Thomas was again noted in the pope's letter on the case between the abbot of Břevnov and the bishop of Prague.¹⁴⁰

Wlasdislaw, Duke of Poland, mentions a *magister* Andrew of Cracow in a letter sent in 1232 regarding the immunity of the church in Dobrowo, again only as a witness.¹⁴¹ Five years later

¹³⁵ CDB II, 293.

¹³⁶ CDB II, 298.

¹³⁷ Resolved as Zdislavus. If one accepts this interpretation it could indicate a "homegrown" *magister*.

¹³⁸ ...*magistro Jacobo physic Canonico s. Thome Strigoniensis...*, MES, 272.

¹³⁹ CDB III/I, 5.

¹⁴⁰ CDB III/I, 7.

¹⁴¹ KDW, no. 136.

Wladislaw donated substantial privileges to the church of Poznań and a *magister* Theodorico was one of the witnesses.¹⁴²

In 1234, Thomas, bishop of Wrocław and a *magister* Rinaldus, archdeacon of Opole, served as arbiters in an agreement between the monasteries of Tyniec and St. Vincent of Wrocław.¹⁴³ Then there are two mentions of a *magister* Polonus in two charters by bishop Paul of Poznań in 1236 conferring possessions on the monastery of Heinrichau/Henryków. Polonus is cited as a witness in both charters.¹⁴⁴

Several years passed until there was written record of a new *scholasticus* of Prague. In 1240, the archdeacon of Passau had Stephen, the *scholasticus* of Prague, excommunicate a number of German prelates, including the archbishops of Salzburg, Passau, and Regensburg.¹⁴⁵ Gregory sent an interesting letter in 1241 on the position of the prepositure of Székesfehérvár and presents *magister* Benedict as provost of Buda, describing him as provident and honorable and saying he is the chancellor of the king's court.¹⁴⁶ In 1245 Innocent IV sent a letter to the archbishop of Esztergom regarding the case of the abbey of Pannonhalma against *magister* Nicholas, son of Nicholas of Nádasd.¹⁴⁷ Only a few days later the pope sent a dispensation through the bishop of Palestrina to *magister* Sixtus, a cleric of Esztergom, over the error of his parentage and decided not to give him a special license. In later years Sixtus apparently became a *scholasticus*.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² KDW, no. 203.

¹⁴³ KDW, no. 160.

¹⁴⁴ KDW, no. 196, no. 197.

¹⁴⁵ CDB III/II, 341.

¹⁴⁶ MES I, 337

¹⁴⁷ MES I, 358.

¹⁴⁸ MES I, 358

In Poland there is a note of a *magister* associated with the secular rulers, in this case with Duke Boleslaw. The duke produced a charter in 1247 describing a donation to the church of Poznań and as a witness there is a *magister* Bartholomew who was a *scholasticus* at Lebus.¹⁴⁹

The church of Poznań comes up in 1251 when Boguphalus, bishop of Poznań, was arranging a meeting with the Templars over issues regarding the tithe of Templar possessions in his diocese. Among those present was a *magister* Milonus.¹⁵⁰

In 1253 Innocent IV ordered the bishop of Győr to provide a benefice for *magister* Gerard, canon of Esztergom, who was related to Albert, the papal notary, and later chaplain of the bishop of Palestrina.¹⁵¹ This letter, although very short, is probably the only letter that deals precisely with one part of the problem stipulated by Canon 11 of the council: Financing. The pope's order to provide a benefice for Gerard is in line with the canon, which stipulates that the bishop should be the first to try and provide benefices for instructors of grammar and theology. There is no further information on Gerard aside from his family connection with the papal notary.¹⁵² A year later, however, Innocent IV sent a letter to the archbishop of Esztergom ordering him to provide one or more benefices for a *magister* Gerard of Parma, a canon of Esztergom, who excelled in doing a great and arduous task for the Roman church.¹⁵³ The pope fails to provide further details on this task, but it is apparent that it became an important matter that Gerard be taken care of by the archbishop as the bishop of Győr had clearly not been successful the previous year. In 1254, Innocent IV sent a letter to a *magister* Peter, provost of Čazma on the matter of debts of the archbishopric of Esztergom.¹⁵⁴ The content of this is repeated in a subsequent letter as well.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ KDW, no. 263.

¹⁵⁰ KDW, no. 294.

¹⁵¹ MES I, 403.

¹⁵² ...*Consobrino Alberti notarii papalis*..., MES I, 403.

¹⁵³ ...*qui in magnis et arduis ecclesiae Romanae negociis se obsequiosum et devotum exhibuit*..., MES I, 418.

¹⁵⁴ MES I, 415.

¹⁵⁵ MES I, 416.

Peter of Čazma appears once more, carrying the *pallium* for Benedict, the archbishop of Esztergom, but without a more detailed description.¹⁵⁶

A thorough reading of the sources searching for instructors and possible clues to the rise of a new educational system under the superior vision of the pope and the realization of this vision by the various bishops, finds such an image wanting. Namely, the sources leave an inconclusive image of the educational reform. The first point is that none of the instructors is referred to in the professional sense, rather it would seem that the *magistri* and *scholastici* were engaged in a multitude of activities from the basic witnessing of charter signings to the inquiries designated by an ecclesiastical superior, even as far as excommunicating prelates. Yet, references to them as people engaged in intellectual work are lacking.¹⁵⁷

Does this then mean that canon 11 had little or no impact on clerical education in East-Central Europe? The short answer is no, while a long answer would require a more comprehensive study of educational structures in medieval Europe from the middle of the eleventh century until the end of the thirteenth century, at least. The immediate answer is rather one of a nuanced approach to education in the region. Namely, during the pontificates of the four popes there are references to twenty-three men with the rank of instructor. Of that number only five were called *scholasticus*. Disregarding a certain impact of the Fourth Lateran Council would seem to be presumptuous, as would be its overemphasis.

II. 3. “Frontier of Christendom”

Central Europe was an area of dynamic demographic, economic, and political transformations from the tenth century onwards. Considering the impetus for change brought on

¹⁵⁶ MES I, 417.

¹⁵⁷ For a comprehensive list of *magistri* in Hungary in the thirteenth century and an analysis of their engagement in ecclesiastical and secular pursuits see Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Műszaki Kiadó, 2007), 33-56.

in no small part by the advent of Christianity and the integration of this region into Latin Christendom it is crucial to consider the perspective of the region in the first half of the thirteenth century. This period of expansion and transformation has been researched in a comparative effort encompassing other areas of “new Christendom” in the volume *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy*.¹⁵⁸ By the end of the twelfth century Hungary, Poland, and to an extent Bohemia, were fully able not only to receive but also to translate and expand the practice of Latin Christendom into pagan areas from the Baltic to the Cuman presence in Hungary.

Precisely there the idea of a “frontier of Christendom” formed.¹⁵⁹ Not as a one-way street where Central Europe was the “testing area” of Western ideas, but as a vibrant region of mutual communication. Yet the border areas of this region and its kingdoms were populated by a diverse populace, on the verge of embracing Christianity as well as having a quite recent non-Christian identity. At this point the idea of the “frontier” intersects with the idea of reform as postulated by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.¹⁶⁰ The previous chapters dealt mostly with the impact of reform on clerical education and discipline – the formation of a reformed cleric and intellectual for a new Latin Christendom – the council also dealt with everyday secular issues, such as the crusades and Jews and other non-Christians. Several of the decrees of the council gave an idea of how to deal with the “others”, within Christian kingdoms and on their borders.¹⁶¹ This escalation

¹⁵⁸ Nora Berend, ed., *Christianization and the Rise of the Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁵⁹ For more on the idea and concept of the region as frontier see Nora Berend, “Hungary, ‘the Gate of Christendom’,” in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 195-215; for an account of Hungary as a frontier society and the place of non-Christians in the kingdom see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and ‘Pagans’ in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁶⁰ Moore, *Innocent III*, 228-240.

¹⁶¹ Moore, *Innocent III*, 157-158, 241.

also followed a continuing effort on part of the papacy and local bishops to extend Christianity in the Baltic.¹⁶²

Four canons, 67 through 70, deal with Jews, and the final, 71st, canon deals with the upcoming Crusade. The problems defined by the council ranged from usury,¹⁶³ dress practices,¹⁶⁴ holding public office,¹⁶⁵ and Jewish converts.¹⁶⁶ The problem of usury was put in following a series of economy-related canons, and the canons related to Jewish matters were left for the final canons of the Council. The dressing practices were related to distinguishing Christians from Jews, and for better avoidance of possible mixing between the two communities. This was also applicable to Muslims and pagans, essentially most of the “others” in Christian Europe. The motivation behind

¹⁶² For an analysis of papal policy immediately preceding the Fourth Lateran Council, including crusading, missionary work and the establishment of a Church in these newly Christianised areas see Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147-1254* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 79-131.

¹⁶³ Canon 67: “...Wishing therefore to see that Christians are not savagely oppressed by Jews in this matter, we ordain by this synodal decree that if Jews in future, on any pretext, extort oppressive and excessive interest from Christians, then they are to be removed from contact with Christians until they have made adequate satisfaction for the immoderate burden. Christians too, if need be, shall be compelled by ecclesiastical censure, without the possibility of an appeal, to abstain from commerce with them,” in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 2, ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 265-266; for an analysis of the canons as part of the Lateran legislation see Foreville, *Latran*, 287-306; Moore, *Innocent III*, 241.

¹⁶⁴ Canon 68: “A difference of dress distinguishes Jews or Saracens from Christians in some provinces, but in others a certain confusion has developed so that they are indistinguishable. Whence it sometimes happens that by mistake Christians join with Jewish or Saracen women, and Jews or Saracens with Christian women. In order that the offence of such a damnable mixing may not spread further, under the excuse of a mistake of this kind, we decree that such persons of either sex, in every Christian province and at all times, are to be distinguished in public from other people by the character of their dress – seeing moreover that this was enjoined upon them by Moses himself, as we read...” Tanner, *Decrees*, 266; Moore, *Innocent III*, 241.

¹⁶⁵ Canon 69: “It would be too absurd for a blasphemer of Christ to exercise power over Christians. We therefore renew in this canon, on account of the boldness of the offender, what the council of Toledo providently decreed in this matter: we forbid Jews to be appointed to public offices, since under cover of them they are very hostile to Christians... Any official so appointed shall be denied commerce with Christians in business and in other matters until he has converted to the use of poor Christians, in accordance with the directions of the diocesan bishop, whatever he has obtained from Christians by reason of his office so acquired, and he shall surrender with shame the office which he irreverently assumed. We extend the same thing to pagans.” Tanner, *Decrees*, 266-267; Moore, *Innocent III*, 241.

¹⁶⁶ Canon 70: “Certain people who have come voluntarily to the waters of sacred baptism, as we learnt, do not wholly cast off the old person in order to put on the new more perfectly. For, in keeping remnants of their former rite, they upset the decorum of the Christian religion by such a mixing. Since it is written, cursed is he who enters the land by two paths, and a garment that is woven from linen and wool together should not be put on, we therefore decree that such people shall be wholly prevented by the prelates of churches from observing their old rite, so that those who freely offered themselves to the Christian religion may be kept to its observance by a salutary and necessary coercion. For it is a lesser evil not to know the Lord’s way than to go back on it after having known it,” Tanner, *Decrees*, 267; Moore, *Innocent III*, 241.

this set of decrees is the creation of clearly defined communities and identities where the Christians, dominant in Europe, would remain as strong and clear as ever.¹⁶⁷

Having formed this framework it is important to examine the possible practical implications of these decrees, developing from peaceful missionary work and conversion ending with crusades and exclusion. One cannot be sure where all of the “trouble spots” were on the various frontiers throughout Christendom that reported back to Rome in preparation for the Council. Monitoring the situation after the Council, however, reveals several interesting processes. Gregory IX exchanged vibrant communiqués with Archbishop Robert of Esztergom and Prince Béla of Hungary on converting and baptising the Cumans. Gregory sent a letter to Archbishop Robert in 1227 absolving him of his crusading vow to the Holy Land in favour of the task of converting and baptising the Cumans and confirmed his duties in Cumania.¹⁶⁸ The Cuman conversion was a topic again in the next year in his letter to Prince Béla imploring him to effectively pursue the conversion of the Cumans, which he had praiseworthily started already.¹⁶⁹ Gregory continued along the same lines in 1231 in another letter to the archbishop of Esztergom reiterating the need for the Robert’s duty as legate in Cumania.¹⁷⁰ The archbishop became engaged in a jurisdictional dispute over the bishop of Cumans in 1235.¹⁷¹ The bishop of Palestrina was

¹⁶⁷ For more on the relationship between bishops and Jews at the time of the Fourth Lateran Council see Norman Roth, “Bishops and Jews in the Middle Ages,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (1994): 11-13; Moore, *Innocent III*, 241-251; for a study of Innocent III’s policy towards Jews see Robert Chazan, “Pope Innocent III and the Jews,” in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 187-204.

¹⁶⁸ ...in gratiam Cumanorum convertendorum et baptizandorum a voto peregrinationis in subsidium Terrae sanctae absolvit eique in Cumania et Brodinia legationis officium committit, Gombos, *Catalogus*, 1086; Potthast, *Regesta* I, 690; Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 214.

¹⁶⁹ ...Belam natum Andreae II regis Hungariae rogat et obsecrat, ut conversionem Cumanorum, quam laudabiliter inchoavit, utiliter prosequaretur, Gombos, *Catalogus*, 1087; Potthast, *Regesta* I, 703; Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 214

¹⁷⁰ ...super gentem Cumanorum clementer respiciens, eis salvationis hostium aperuit hiis diebus...per te ad baptismi gratiam pervenerunt, attentius obsecrantes, ut iterum personaliter ad eos accedens, viam vite ipsis ostendas, MES I, 274

¹⁷¹ ...Prenestrini episcopi, dum in partibus Ungarie legationis officio fungeretur...deponente super obedientia et reverencia questionem, ad quas sibi sretandas eos candempnari petebat...idem legatus, antequam imponeret finem negotio ad sedem apostolicam est reversus, MES I, 312-313.

granted authority to resolve the issue. In 1229 the Cuman bishopric was separated from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Esztergom and placed directly under the Apostolic See.¹⁷² The archbishop retained his status as legate until 1231/1232,¹⁷³ and in 1231, the pope asked of Prince Béla to support the Cuman bishop.¹⁷⁴

The Cumans had become an issue for the Hungarian kings from the early thirteenth century. King Andrew II thought the Teutonic Knights would be a welcome defensive measure in 1211. They were placed strategically in the area of Burzenland, anticipating possible Cuman incursions.¹⁷⁵ Some Cumans pledged allegiance to the victorious Hungarians and accepted baptism. The Teutonic order soon lost its position due to conflicts with King Andrew and the Dominican order continued the conversion process.¹⁷⁶ The Dominican mission among the Cumans started in 1221 when five friars went to Hungary, according to a later tradition, on the express wishes of St. Dominic.¹⁷⁷ Their mission was supported by Archbishop Robert of Esztergom who was legate in this task. Eventually, in 1228, Theoderic, a Dominican, was appointed bishop of the Cumans.¹⁷⁸ The obvious success of the missionary effort is evident in a congratulatory letter from Gregory IX to the archbishop.¹⁷⁹ At least that was the perception in Rome and probably by the archbishop to some degree. Berend, however, claims that the Cumans acceptance of Christianity

¹⁷² *Episcopum Cumanorum ejusque successors a cujuslibet subjection, preterquam Romani Pontificis, liberos esse decernit, et immediate ad jurisdictionem Sedis Apostolicae pertinere*, Reg. Greg. IX., no. 345.; Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 215.

¹⁷³ Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 214-215.

¹⁷⁴ *Regem Belam, primogenitum regis Hungariae, rogat ut monet quatenus episcopo Cumanorum ecclesiam construat eamque amplis possessionibus dotet*, Reg. Greg. IX, no. 2156.

¹⁷⁵ Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 213; Fönnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, 159.

¹⁷⁶ For a detailed study on the political implications of the Cuman conversion and integration into the Hungarian Kingdom through the whole thirteenth century see Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 213-223.

¹⁷⁷ Fönnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, 159, n. 109; Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 216.

¹⁷⁸ *Priori ordinis Praedicatorum in Ungaria mandate quatenus, cum Strigoniensis archiepiscopus non parvam multitudinem Cumanorum converterit, et in partibus illis Theodericum de dicto ordine in episcopum jam parefecerit...*, Reg. Greg. IX., no. 185; Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 214-215

¹⁷⁹ *Strigoniensi archiepiscopo, apostolico legato, de Cumanorum conversione gratulatur...* Reg. Greg. IX., no. 187; Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 214-215.

was more of a diplomatic play, rather than an actual acceptance, comparing them to early medieval Bulgarians or thirteenth and fourteenth century Lithuanians.¹⁸⁰ The bishopric perished in 1241 under the Mongol invasion.¹⁸¹

The role of the Dominican Order was paramount for the success of many reform efforts throughout Christendom.¹⁸² In addition to the already mentioned impact on education in Western Europe they were key papal agents as preachers.¹⁸³ They were often engaged in preaching the crusade, as John of Wildeshausen preached for Frederick II's crusade to the Holy Land in 1225, but later on they would also play a role (along with Franciscans) in preaching for the Baltic crusade. In September 1243, the Dominicans, including the provincials of Poland and Bohemia, were commissioned "to preach a crusade in support of the Teutonic Knights who are fighting the pagans in Prussia and Livonia."¹⁸⁴ The crusade in Prussia was from early on a combined effort by the knights and friars and a model for the future. Dominicans in Bohemia and Poland were called upon to preach for the crusades in Prussia; supporting the Teutonic order in 1232, 1234, and 1236.¹⁸⁵ Polish Dominicans were active in their missionary work, sent by Pope Honorius to Russia in 1222.

¹⁸⁰ Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 216-217.

¹⁸¹ Eadem, 218.

¹⁸² On the place of mendicants and evangelical movements in the Lateran reform see Frances Andrews, "Innocent III and Evangelical Enthusiasts: The Route to Approval," in *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 229-241.

¹⁸³ They were often commissioned to preach the crusades in the thirteenth century, for more on mendicants as part of a crusade society see Bernard Hamilton, "Ideals of Holiness: Crusaders, Contemplatives, and Mendicants", *The International History Review* 17, no.4 (1995): 693-712.

¹⁸⁴ Lawrence, *Friars*, 185-186; The Dominicans were commissioned on a similar mission by Gregory IX in September 1230; Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, 195-199; for more on the beginnings of missionary work in Prussia and the Teutonic Order's original presence in the Baltic see László Pósa, "Prussian Missions and the Invitation of the Teutonic Order into Kulmerland," in *The Crusades and Military Order: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi & József Laszlovsky (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies – Central European University, 2001), 429-448.; and for the Order's subsequent involvement in the Crusades in the first half of the thirteenth century see Maria Starnawska, "Military Orders and the Beginning of Crusades in Prussia," in *The Crusades and Military Order: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi & József Laszlovsky (Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies – Central European University, 2001), 417-428.

¹⁸⁵ Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, 199.

The friars established a convent in Kiev and within a decade a bishop for Russia was given approval.¹⁸⁶

Converting the Cumans was seen as a priority and the papacy responded to this by an active policy, first with the Teutonic Order and then with the Dominican Order. While this would seem to indicate that the papacy assumed a less threatening posture as time went on, it looks more as though the internal pressure by the King Andrew pushed the strong military order out of the contested area and allowed the Dominicans to take their place. The ecclesiastical position toward conversion stayed the same. The bishop of the Cumans also seems to have become a problem at some point, removed from the previous authority of the archbishop of Esztergom. The pope's mandates to the prince for support could also indicate that there was an unwillingness by the secular authority, at this early stage, to support a jurisdictionally separate body within the kingdom.¹⁸⁷

The Cumans were not a real factor in the public life of the Kingdom, not yet at least, but, if one reads papal correspondence with Hungarian prelates, the Muslims and Jews were. Honorius III reprimanded the Hungarian royals in 1221 on the matter of Muslims enslaving Christians and holding Christian servants.¹⁸⁸ Honorius then referred to the erroneous practice of baptized Christians being subject to non-Christians and the possible risk of falling into "pagan error". Four years later the archbishop of Kalocsa received a similar reprimand from Honorius.¹⁸⁹ The reference in the letter to the Council of Toledo is in line with canon 69 of the Fourth Lateran Council, showing that Honorius was keeping a very keen eye on the reform program.

¹⁸⁶ Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, 223

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 215.

¹⁸⁸ Reg. Hon. III., no. 3301, 3296; Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 152; for more on papal Hungarian relations in the 1220s and the legation of Jacob of Pecorara see Barabas, *Papsttum und Ungarn*, 234-245.

¹⁸⁹ Reg. Hon. III., no. 5611.

In 1231 Gregory IX sent a letter to Archbishop Robert of Esztergom stating that he had heard rumours of the oppression of the Christian poor at the hands of Muslims and Jews.¹⁹⁰ He also mentions how Muslims have a better position and enjoy greater liberties in Hungary.¹⁹¹ Continuing the list of “horrors from Hungary” is the intermingling of fallen Christians and Muslims, where the practice of Muslims taking Christian women as their wives under duress is stated expressly.¹⁹² Furthermore, Muslims acquiring Christian possessions was seen to lead to Christians being compelled to renounce their faith.¹⁹³ There was also an omnipresent practice of Jews and Muslims holding public offices.¹⁹⁴ Robert was given authority to deal with the disturbing state of affairs in Hungary. This entire letter is again in line with Canon 69 of the Fourth Lateran Council.

The situation came to a head in 1232 when Archbishop Robert of Esztergom moved to punish the king’s counsellors as he saw that decrees on the position of non-Christians were not observed. Jews and Muslims were, according to Robert, employed in public offices and this situation threatened to escalate with possibly more people preferring Islam over Christianity. Amongst the officials accused for allowing such a state to continue, the palatine was threatened with punishment unless he mended his ways.¹⁹⁵ King Andrew sought to resolve the situation and appealed to Archbishop Robert and to the pope. Gregory sent Jacob of Pecorara, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, as his legate to deal with the rising tensions in Hungary.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ *...Horrendus... ad nos rumor ascendit... inter alia... propter oppressionem christianorum pauperum, et Sarracenorum Iudeorumque...*, MES I, 275

¹⁹¹ *...videntes Sarracenos melioris conditionis et maioris libertatis prerogative gaudere...*, MES I, 275

¹⁹² *...non solum per errorem christiani Sarracenorum et Sarraceni christianorum mulieribus commiscuntur, verum etiam illas ducunt dampnabiliter in uxores*, MES I, 275

¹⁹³ *Emunt preterea Sarraceni mancipia Christiana... et ipsas apostare compellunt*, MES I, 275

¹⁹⁴ *...passim Iudei ac Sarraceni publicis officiis preponuntur*, MES I, 275

¹⁹⁵ Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 157; King Andrew resolved the situation, for a moment at least, by returning property to the archbishop and chapter of Esztergom; MES I, 286-287.

¹⁹⁶ Zimmermann, *Päpstliche Legation*, 109.

The king was caught between two fires and the pope fully supported Archbishop Robert in his claims of misdoings by the king's men, and their punishment through interdict and excommunication, if necessary.¹⁹⁷ The resolution seemingly came about in 1233 with the oath of Bereg, which essentially guaranteed ecclesiastical privileges and excluded Jews and Muslims from the "treasury and mint, money-changing, salt intendants and tax-collectors."¹⁹⁸ However, King Andrew continued to conduct himself independently of papal sanction. Legate Jacob of Pecorara worked to widen the base supporting this exclusion policy, enlisting princes and other royal dignitaries, yet he could not prevent the kingdom from changing back after he left. Robert of Esztergom and the bishop of Bosnia were supposed to enforce the various oaths and agreements made by the legate. Again, the ecclesiastical powers of Hungary promulgated the interdict on the Kingdom.¹⁹⁹

Several points come out regarding the impact of the Lateran Council and the general papal stance towards Cumans on the one hand and Jews and Muslims on the other. First, while the Jews and Muslims are clearly seen as not belonging to Latin Christendom, the door is still left open for the Cumans and the popes are supporting the efforts of the Hungarian Church to convert them to Christianity. Papal support through the Teutonic Knights and afterward through the Dominican Order as the standard bearers of the Christianisation move towards the east is evident and should be taken as part of a systemic effort by the papacy. This is in line with the original meaning of the Lateran reform through the expansion of the reformed Christian identity on the new converts.

¹⁹⁷ A[ndreae]. *Regi Hungariae, oppressionem pauperum Christianorum, dominatum Sarracenorum et Judaeroum in Christi fidelibus exactiones insupportabiles quibus multi Christiani gravabantur, subversam libertatem ecclesisticam etc. in regno Hungariae objicit, eique significat se ad emendanda praedicta J[acobum]. Praenestinum electum, ad partes Hungariae, commisso ipsi legationis plenae officio, destinandum providisse...*, Reg. Greg. IX., no. 1498.

¹⁹⁸ Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 159.

¹⁹⁹ Berend, *Gates of Christendom*, 159-160.

Appreciation of the Cumans' position is also stated in a specific approach by the Church, a more gentle hand for the newcomers.

Jews and Muslims were clearly not to be treated gently. The popes' letters are clear as to what is acceptable, and having Jews and Muslims "oppressing" Christians in a Christian kingdom was not. This is again in accordance with the council's decisions on such matters, most clearly with canon 69, which deals with the issue of public offices. The issue strained relations in the Hungarian Kingdom for ten years until it reached the breaking point with the promulgation of the interdict and excommunication of high officials of the kingdom. Neither Poland nor Bohemia had to contend with such a problem and the interventions of the papacy and local ecclesiastical government in secular, royal affairs. Why was Hungary special?²⁰⁰

Nora Berend has written a comprehensive account of Hungary in the thirteenth century, dealing precisely with the issue of the position of Jews, Muslims, and Cumans in the kingdom. Her analysis of royal activities and the ensuing conflict between King Andrew and Pope Gregory portrays Archbishop Robert of Esztergom as the pope's main informer and essentially an *agent provocateur* within the Kingdom. The goal behind it all was of course the archbishop's quest for power in Hungary. Although reluctant to completely dismiss this interpretation, I do feel it overemphasizes the political role of the archbishop.

It is naturally difficult to speak of the bishop's motivation, but the notion of reform fervour due to the Lateran Council is equally plausible. Hungarian prelates were present at the Lateran Council, including Robert's predecessor in Esztergom, and more importantly Robert himself as

²⁰⁰ On papal-Hungarian relations in the twelfth and thirteenth century see Gergely Kiss, "Jurisdictionem in abbatibus regalibus' Incertitudes de la papauté envers la hiérarchie de l'église hongroise aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles," *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* 6 (2011): 83-101; Zsolt Hunyadi, "Papal-Hungarian Relations in the Late Twelfth Century: Remarks on the Hungaria Pontificia," *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* 6 (2011): 73-82.

bishop of Veszprém.²⁰¹ The actions of bishops in this period are often coloured with the finer lines of politics, and at times perhaps not so fine, yet it is quite possible that the archbishop of Esztergom along with other prelates of the Hungarian Kingdom were actively engaging with “troubling” behaviour by their secular leaders. Troubling in the sense that this was not in line with the reform so wholeheartedly pronounced in 1215. A stronger political position for the Hungarian bishops would mean an easier time at promulgating certain reform efforts. In this light, their efforts seem to be a part of the Lateran reform, most clearly when dealing with non-Christians holding public offices in the Kingdom.

It is interesting to note that Poland and Bohemia did not have serious issues with non-Christians in their territory, at least not according to papal correspondence in the period. Poland, however, was more active in the second way of expressing one’s Christian fervour in this period, crusades. Honorius III had sent a letter to the archbishop of Gniezno and the Polish crusaders in 1217 about absolving them from their vow of pilgrimage to Jerusalem in favour of battling the pagans in Prussia.²⁰² The pope provided an immediate reference to the council in 1215, referring to the indulgences the general council had granted to the crusaders.²⁰³ But clearly, already in 1217, the pagans on Polish borders in Prussia were a definite problem, enough so as to divert troops and resources from the Holy Land.²⁰⁴ In the matter of church hierarchy the final part of the letter was

²⁰¹ See footnote 59.

²⁰² *...sane prefati episcopi atque principes nobis humili instantia supplicarunt, ut illius terre necessitate inspecta, te a Ierosolimitane peregrinationis labore, a quo, ut asserunt, ipsa te absolvit infirmitas, absolvere dignaremur, et dare nichilominus tibi licentiam retinendi Crucesignatos provincie memorate per triennium contra predictorum paganorum barbariem pugnatos, concessa tibi et illis ea venia peccatorum, que Crucesignatis transitis ad partes Ierosolime indulgetur..., KDW, no. 92.*

²⁰³ *...approbatione Concilii generalis Crucesignatis generaliter indulgetur, KDW, no. 92.*

²⁰⁴ *...ut omnes Crucesignatos, saltem duorum ducatum Polonie qui sunt magis vicini paganis, a voto Ierosolimitane peregrinationis absolvere dignaremur iniuncto eisdem ut pugnent contra paganos ipsos, eadem indulgentia gavisuri, id tue prudentie duximus relinquendum..., KDW, no. 92.*

significant, as the pope strictly prohibits armed incursions into the parts of Prussia that had already been subject to conversion.²⁰⁵

This conversion effort had already been a matter of interest to Innocent III in 1210, when the pope ordered the archbishop of Gniezno to support the efforts of the monks Christian and Philip.²⁰⁶ The archbishop was supposed to take care of the newly Christianised population until a proper ecclesiastical organisation was set up, that is, until the Prussians received their own bishop.²⁰⁷ Further details on the monks' mission to Prussia were given by Innocent two years later in a letter to the Cistercian general chapter, as Christian and Philip were members of the Cistercian Order.²⁰⁸ The monks had begun their work spreading the word of God in Prussia several years before.²⁰⁹ The pope does not fail to mention, again, the role of the archbishop of Gniezno in the Christian effort in Prussia.²¹⁰

Concluding his account on the Prussian mission, Innocent III, in a note dated August 1212, like previous letter, reiterated the necessary support of the archbishop of Gniezno in protecting the fledgling Christian faithful in Prussia against oppression.²¹¹ Archbishop Henry had been granted legatine power by the pope to punish the oppression of Christians if necessary, and his active hand

²⁰⁵ *...sub interminatione autem anathematis districtius inhihemus, ne quisquam terram baptizatorum de Prussia sine permissione sui episcopi cum exercitu intrare presumat...*, KDW, no. 92.

²⁰⁶ *In hac siquidem laborare vinea dilecti filii Christianus, Philippus et quidam alii monachi pio desiderio cupientes...*, KDW, no. 67; for more on the Polish impact in this period see Borkowska, "Poland and Hungary", 1186-1187.

²⁰⁷ *...eisdem monachis et fratribus suis nec non et aliis ad fidem de novo conversis, in ecclesiasticis Sacramentis et aliis que ad ampliandum Christiane religionis cultum spectare noscuntur, tandiu curam officii pastoralis impendas, donec divina faciente clementia adeo ibidem numerus fidelium augeatur, ut proprium possint episcopum obtinere* KDW, no. 67.

²⁰⁸ *Universis abbatibus in generali Cisterciensi Capitulo congregatis. Dilecti filii Christianus et Philippus ac eorum socii, vestri Ordinis fratres*, KDW, no. 75.

²⁰⁹ *olim de nostra licentia incepterunt seminare in partibus Prussie verbum Dei, ut eundo et flendo mittentes semina sua... qui omni creature suum iussit Evangelium predicari, sicut per prophetam promiserat, virtutem multam evangelizantibus daret...*, KDW, no. 75; Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *Popes and Baltic Crusades*, 81-82.

²¹⁰ *venerabili fratri nostro Gnesnensi archiepiscopo, de cuius discretione fiduciam gerimus plenior, nostris damus litteris in mandatis, ut non subito credens omni spiritui, sed probans spiritus si ex Deo sunt*, KDW, no. 75.

²¹¹ *...hoc utique quidam vestrum sicut accepimus minime attendentes, et querentes que sua sunt non que Christi, quam cito intelligunt aliquos e gentilibus per Prussiam constitutis nove regenerationis gratiam suscepisse, statim oneribus eos servilibus aggravant, et venientes ad Christiane fidei libertatem deterioris conditionis efficiunt...*, KDW, no. 76.

in dealing with the developing Christian community in Prussia was of prime importance to Rome.²¹²

Honorius III returned to Prussian matters in 1218 when he confirmed privileges given by Duke Władysław six years before, and here he mentions the Prussian bishop, a new institution established at the time of the Fourth Lateran Council.²¹³ The pope decided to relieve the Polish archbishop of the burden of legation to allow the Prussian bishopric to flourish on its own.²¹⁴ The Polish archbishop was to end his legation in Prussia, as the papacy saw fit that the new bishopric should be independent of strong Polish influence. This was possibly connected to the strong approach of Polish nobles, especially if one considers the good relationship between the papacy and Archbishop Henry, whom the pope made legate.²¹⁵

Bohemia was not the vanguard of Christendom, but it, too, was part of papal efforts to mobilize Christendom in the fight against non-Christians at the frontier. In 1232 Gregory IX sent a letter to the Dominicans in Bohemia ordering them to preach the crusade in the north against the pagan Prussians in support of the Teutonic order.²¹⁶ The situation was not clear cut, for in two years the focus was again directed towards the Holy Land and Gregory urged Robert of Olomouc

²¹² *...nos enim venerabili fratri nostro H. Gnesnensi archiepiscopo nostris damus litteris in mandatis, ut tales foveat propensius propter Deum et defendat eosdem a molestiis indebitis et pressuris, oppressores eorum indebitos, monitione premissa, per censuram ecclesiasticam...*, KDW, no. 76.

²¹³ Fönnesberg-Shmidt, *Popes and Baltic Crusades*, 81, 126-128, 135, 180; *venerabili fratri...episcopo Pruscie salutem... villam de Cecoviz et libertates ac immunitates secularium exactionum, a dilecto filio Wladislavo duce de Kalis pia tibi liberalitate concessas, sicut eas iuste obtines et quiete et in eiusdem ducis autentico plenius continetur, cuius tenorem de verbo ad verbum presenti pagine duximus annotandum, tibi et per te ecclesie tue auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus...*, KDW, no. 105.

²¹⁴ *...cum tibi olim pro novella plantatione in Pruscie partibus fidei Christiane legationis fuerit officium ab apostolica Sede commissum... ut ab huiusmodi legationis onere de cetero conquiescas...*, KDW, no. 105.

²¹⁵ Apparently Innocent granted Henry special privileges in a letter sent in 1207; Borkowska, "Poland and Hungary", 1185.

²¹⁶ *...mandat, ut assumpto sanctae praedicationis officio 'pauperum et debiliu[m] cruce signatorum in regno Boemie' vota peregrinationis Hierosolymitanae in succursum fratrum hospitalis sanctae Mariae Teutonicorum adversus Prutenos commutent...*, CDB III/1, 15.

to provide aid for the Crusade in *outremer* in March 1235.²¹⁷ Did the papacy then have a sustained policy in Bohemia regarding the Crusades? Considering the limited sources it might seem hard to ascertain such a policy, but the Fourth Lateran Council and the seventy-first canon or the bull *Ad liberandam* resolved the issue of crusade policy for decades. The framework provided was so expansive and in reality so flexible that popes, prelates, and secular princes could react to perceived threats to Christendom with immediate intent. Bohemia was not an island in this respect and though it might not have been on the forefront of crusading, it still had clergyman on its territory advocating the crusade vigorously in support of common goals.

The Prussian conversion and Crusade endeavour provided a field where first Polish and later German missionaries and crusaders could operate, fulfilling their vows of liberating the Holy Land in a closer, quicker, and logistically much simpler way. This was only possible in times when the primary goal, which always remained the repeated liberation of Jerusalem, was not the immediate goal. The foundations laid by Innocent III in 1215 proved invaluable for generations to come in formulating and applying their “holy labours” widely. That bishops present at the Council in 1215 were indispensable in promoting this newly refined program is also logical and assumes an appropriation of the crusading ethos and an acquisition of crusade propaganda to a degree that had not been present before the council.

Both the crusading and conversion narratives were actively used by ecclesiastical officials in Rome and on a local level. Although at this point relatively clearly defined and perhaps seemingly juxtaposed processes, they became interchangeable possibilities in various efforts to redefine the religious landscape of the “frontiers of Christendom”. The papacy had become

²¹⁷ *Episcopo Olomucensi manda quatenus ad subventionem Ecclesiae, pro cuius libertate tuenda Fridericus, Romanorum imperator, paratus erat magnifice prosequi, proximo futuro martio aut cum decenti militia ipse veniat, aut si venire nequiverit eam mittat*, Reg. Greg. IX., no. 2243; CDB III/I, 109.

experienced in encountering new non-Christians on the outskirts of Latin Christendom and additionally it went about perfecting the internal reform of the Christian community as well as returning those Christian that had fallen away from the orthodox faith back into the fold.

What then was the image of the “frontier(s) of Christendom” from Innocent III up until the death of Innocent IV? First, the four popes analysed here were clearly well informed about the region and the challenges faced by the local ecclesiastical hierarchy. They responded to the situation, when needed, with a stable reform agenda that included crusading, conversion, and marginalization of non-Christians. How the bishops and clergy in Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary received these plans is difficult to define more definitely due to the scarcity of sources. However, it seems as though the bishops tried to spread the reform ideas when possible, specifically those related to crusading and the marginalisation of non-Christian. Conversion was not prime on the reform agenda of the Council, but since the Council defined Christian identity for the thirteenth century it provided a framework for bishops and preachers in the field to work with.

The specificity of the region is the fact that it is so exposed to migrations and demographic changes – especially true for Hungary, consider the Mongol invasion of 1241 – that it leads to it being a true field of variety of Church practice towards non-Christians. Papal policy remained regularly defined regardless of kingdoms or duchies, always looking to strengthen Christian unity. Bishops in Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia adhered to universal ideas like the Crusade, a great enterprise for the liberation of Christendom or as in the Baltic case, for the expansion and protection of Christendom, and they supported missionary work, conversion efforts, and the expansion to “newer Christendom”. However, they remained local or regional players in the Central European game of royal thrones and bishops’ staffs, trying hard to find their own places between the popes and princes of the day.

CONCLUSION – THE END OF REFORM?

*Come, night, since sunlight fails, earth mourns
To lose its light midday.
The world's light passes, father Innocent
Has died. Father of Rome and world, he bore
Each name in turn, took note of what he had,
what he could give the world and what to God:
Beauty, wealth of mind, and gifted tongue.
You see: the tongue will cease, the pen will fall.²¹⁸*

When Pope Innocent III died on July 16, 1216, in Perugia a great and energetic pope ended his pontificate. But this was not a novel happenstance; popes had died before and would continue to do many times afterwards, with only a few opting for retirement. The important feature of this moment in time was the reform. Industriosly defined and promoted only half a year before, the reform agenda was now left without its champion. Although Innocent's pen did fall, the reform went on through Honorius III and Gregory IX, both of whom were present at the Fourth Lateran Council and were members of Innocent's College of Cardinals.

The reform was, from a Roman perspective, more important than any one pope. However, its promotion would require a vigorous hand. The popes continued the promotion of the reform, and Gregory even published a compilation of law incorporating many of the Lateran decrees, the *Liber extra*. He even tried to convene a general council, although that effort was thwarted by Emperor Frederick II. Innocent IV realized this plan in 1245, in Lyon. His pontificate marked the transition of the papacy into a new period, moving ever so closely to a more authoritative and combative stance toward secular power; some scholars would go on to call this hierocracy or theocracy. This moves the focus away from the reform, the original theme of this thesis.

²¹⁸ *Nox accede, quia cessit sol, lugeat Orbis, In medio lucis lumen obisse suum. Lumen obit mundi, quia decessit pater Innocentius; iste pater Urbis et Orbis erat Nomen utrumque tenens versum, notat hoc quod habebat, Quid mundo posset, reddere quidve Deo. Si speciem, si mentis opes, si munera lingue Attendes, cedet lingua cadetque stilus;* an anonymous epitaph for Innocent III (translation by John C. Moore); Moore, *Innocent III*, 288-289.

Did the reform have an impact in Central Europe? Taking into account the various examples from Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia it would seem to have been fairly limited. The few sources in this early period are the answer to that, yet even those few sources provide interesting evidence of the themes of reforming clerical education and morals. The example of *Magister* Gerard of Parma, who was supposed to be allotted a benefice, first by the bishop of Győr and then by the archbishop of Esztergom is the only example fully in accordance with the Lateran Council's Canon 11. However, as the only example it does not indicate an absence of impact. *Magistri* and *scholastici* were present in the region, working as court officials, providing valued expertise and counsel.

The reform of clerical morals was an ongoing struggle, continuing for a long time after the thirteenth century, yet direct references to this part of the reform seem to be limited in the region. These kinds of matters, more than others, fell under the purview of provincial councils. The unfortunate lack of provincial legislation leads to speculation and only hints at a sustained effort. Far from clinging to the ideal of yearly councils, it seems reasonable to assume that councils were held to deal with pressing issues, of which clerical morals were surely high on the list. The council of Syradia in 1233 supports that assumption and it seems as though the archbishop of Gniezno supported the reform agenda through provincial assemblies. The Bohemian hierarchy was under German authority, but provincial councils were seen to be an active part of Church life. The Hungarian Church presumably underwent the reform under the direct supervision and guidance of papal legates supporting the efforts of the local episcopate.

The crusades and the general approach towards non-Christians, provides a more restrictive and reactive perspective on the impact of the decrees. The council left little in way of tolerance as it sought to form a clear Christian identity in contrast to heretical or other non-Christian ones,

which makes it difficult to ascertain the precise intent of this influence. Restricting public offices to Christians, excluding Jews, Muslims and others, was perhaps the idea of church officials, but the implementation of these decrees fell on the secular arm of government. Princes and kings made these decisions and decided how far they would support their spiritual superior, the pope, in Rome. Oftentimes local bishops were caught in a balancing act between Rome and their prince, at times promoting a more forceful reform, at times seeking to appease the ruler. Again, there is no simple answer, nevertheless the policies of most bishops were aimed at sustained reform, playing the long game, rather than opting for a possible quick chance for martyrdom.

The mendicant orders, especially Dominicans come to the fore in this field, both as missionaries and preaching the crusades. The Polish and Bohemian Dominicans focused on missionary work and crusading in Prussia, while the Dominicans in Hungary engaged in missionary work in Cumania. Considering this, it seems that the mendicants were successfully doing the task the pope's intended for them – welcoming a wider audience to the message of Christianity.

Secular rulers were more supportive of the crusades because they were aimed outside of the realm. This was an agreeable way of getting rid of internal discord, as it allowed the ruler to send unruly noblemen on a holy pilgrimage. Additionally a successful crusade could mean territorial expansion. In ecclesiastical terms, the situation was more complicated. The crusade in the Baltic was part of an effort toward Christianising the area, and thus it needed to be regulated by the papacy as it soon became a jurisdictional issue with the newly established Prussian bishopric wanting a more independent position. The neighbouring establishment in Gniezno was reluctant, wishing to retain its importance and traditionally strong position in the region.

There are, of course, other avenues of research on the impact of the Fourth Lateran Council in Central Europe. The subject of the crusades as a supranational endeavour invites more study, for instance in Bosnia, as the topic of anti-heretical action there deserves re-evaluation. The other topics of reform that were stressed in this thesis could be expanded chronologically to encompass the entire century and to see if there was a deeper retention of these ideas and concepts. Furthermore, it would be insightful to see the developing trends of the episcopate and clergy in general and especially the topic of education. The development of the impact of mendicant orders on preaching and education through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, essentially until the foundation of the first universities in the region, were invaluable for propagating reform in Central Europe. The way in which Innocent III's successors convoked new councils and promoted new reform, through the two councils in Lyon (1245, 1274) and the council of Vienne (1311), the Roman measure of the impact became slowly evident.

Concluding about the reform in Central Europe it is difficult to give a definitive answer as to its success or failure as well as its end. I think that through all the dynamics of the early period after the council, taking into account the political background of the region, the reception was apparent, although perhaps not evenly distributed. As with other parts of Latin Christendom, some bishops were more zealous and others were not, while the majority set themselves somewhere in between taking guidance from more prominent leaders.

The fact remains that the situation changed; the playing field was altering quickly, and if nothing else the Lateran decrees granted bishops and clergy a playbook for how to proceed. Church reform, although it seems quite institutional, was a very personal affair. Innocent III had given the bishops authority and imposed on them an obligation to be the reform, as he saw through them the success and failure of their joint enterprise. The council was Innocent's moment, but the reform

was theirs and although it cannot be said that it was fully successful it is difficult to say that it ended with Innocent IV. Better to say that it was transformed into a new reform for a new age.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources:

- Bird, Jessalynn et al., ed., *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
- Cheney, C. R. & W. H. Semple, ed. *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198-1216)*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1953.
- Friedrich, Gustav, ed. *Codex Diplomaticus et epistolarius Regni Bohemiae*, vols. 2-3. Prague: Wiesner, 1912-1942.
- Gombos, Albinus Franciscus, ed. *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*. Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 2011.
- Hageneder, Othmar & Anton Haidacher, ed. *Die Register Innocenz' III*. 11 vols. Vienna: Böhlau, 1964-2012.
- Knauz, Ferdinand, ed. *Monumenta Ecclesiae Strigoniensis*, vol. 1 Esztergom, 1874.
- Potthast, Augustus, ed. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1. Berlin, 1874.
- Societas Literariae Poznaniensis, ed. *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*. Poznań, 1877.
- Sułkowska-Kuraś, Irena & Stanisław Kuraś, ed. *Bullarium Poloniae*, vol. 1. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1982.
- Tanner, Norman P., ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990.

Secondary sources:

- Adamska, Anna. "The Introduction of Writing in Central Europe (Poland, Hungary, Bohemia)." In *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, ed. Marco Mostert, 165-190. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.
- Andrews, Frances. "Innocent III and Evangelical Enthusiasts: The Route to Approval." In *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore, 229-241. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Baldwin, John W. "The Intellectual Preparation for the Canon of 1215 against Ordeals." *Speculum* 36, no. 4 (1961): 613-636.
- Barabas, Gabor, "Das Papsttum und Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts (ca. 1198-ca. 1241). Päpstliche Einflussnahme – Zusammenwirken – Interessengegensätze." Doctoral Dissertation, Philosophischen Fakultät und Fachbereich Theologie der Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen-Nürnberg, Erlangen, 2013.
- Békefi, Remig. *A káptalni iskolák története Magyarországon 1540-ig* [History of cathedral schools up to 1540]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1910.
- Berend, Nora, ed. *Christianization and the Rise of the Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Berend, Nora. *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Berend, Nora, "Hungary, 'the Gate of Christendom'." In *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend, 195-215. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Bird, Jessalynn. "Reform or Crusade? Anti-Usury and Crusade Preaching during the Pontificate of Innocent III." In *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore, 168-185. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Bird, Jessalynn Lea. "Crusade and Conversion after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215): Oliver of Paderborn's and James of Vitry's Missions to Muslims Reconsidered." *Essays in Medieval Studies* 21 (2004): 23-47.

- Blumenthal, Uta-Renate. "The Papacy and Canon Law in the Eleventh-Century Reform." *The Catholic Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (1998): 201-218.
- Boyce, Gray Cowan. "Erfurt Schools and Scholars in the Thirteenth Century." *Speculum* 24, no. 1 (1949): 1-18.
- Bolton, Brenda. *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care*. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1995.
- Bolton, Brenda. "A Show with Meaning: Innocent III's Approach to the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215." In *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care*, XI, 53-67. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1995.
- Borkowska, Urszula. "Innocent III and the Countries of the 'New Christianity' – Poland and Hungary." In *Innocenzo III: Urbs et orbis: Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9-15 settembre 1998*, vol. 2, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner, 1169-1191. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003.
- Boureau, Alain. "How Law Came to the Monks: The Use of Law in English Society at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century." *Past & Present* 167 (2000): 29-74.
- Brundage, James A. "Intermarriage between Christians and Jews in Medieval Canon Law." *Jewish History* 3, no. 1 (1988): 25-40.
- Budinszky, Alexander. *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter*. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1876.
- Chazan, Robert. "Pope Innocent III and the Jews." In *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore, 187-204. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Collins, Ross William. "The Parish Priest and His Flock as Depicted by the Councils of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." *The Journal of Religion* 10, no. 3 (1930): 313-332.
- Cowdrey, H. E. J. *Pope Gregory VII: 1073-1085*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

- Duggan, Anne J. "Conciliar Law 1123-1215: The Legislation of the Four Lateran Councils." In *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann & Kenneth Pennington, 318-366. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008.
- Figueira, Robert C. "The Medieval Papal Legate and His Province: Geographical Limits of Jurisdiction." In *Plenitude of Power: The Doctrines and Exercise of Authority in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Robert Louis Benson*, ed. Robert C. Figueira, 73-106. Aldershot: Ashgate 2006.
- Fonnesberg-Schmidt, Iben. *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades 1147-1254*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Foreville, Raymonde. *Latran I, II, III et Latran IV*. Paris: Éditions de l'Orante, 1965.
- García y García, A. "The Fourth Lateran Council and the Canonists." In *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann & Kenneth Pennington, 367-378. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008.
- Gibbs, Marion & Jane Lang. *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272, with Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215*. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.
- Goering, Joseph. "The Invention of Transubstantiation." *Traditio* 46 (1991): 147-170.
- Goering, Joseph. "The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession." *Traditio* 59 (2004): 175-227.
- Hageneder, Othmar. "Innocenz III. und die Eroberung Zadars (1202). Eine Neuinterpretation des Br. V 160 (161)." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 100 (1992): 197-213.
- Hageneder, Othmar. "Die Register Innozenz' III." In *Papst Innozenz III.: Weichensteller der Geschichte Europas*, ed. Thomas Frenz, 91-102. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2000.
- Hamilton, Bernard. "Ideals of Holiness: Crusaders, Contemplatives, and Mendicants." *The International History Review* 17, no. 4 (1995): 693-712.

- Hinnebusch, William A. *The History of the Dominican Order. Intellectual and Cultural Life to 1500*, vol. 2. New York: Alba House, 1966.
- Hunyadi, Zsolt. "Papal-Hungarian Relations in the Late Twelfth Century: Remarks on the *Hungaria Pontificia*." *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* 6 (2011): 73-82.
- Iwanczak, Wojciech. "Innocent III and Bohemia." In *Innocenzo III: Urbs et orbis: Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9-15 settembre 1998*, vol. 2, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner, 1200-1212. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003.
- Kay, Richard. *The Council of Bourges, 1225: A Documentary History*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2002.
- Kiss, Gergely. "'Jurisdictionem in abbatibus regalibus' Incertitudes de la papauté envers la hiérarchie de l'église hongroise aux XII^e-XIII^e siècles." *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* 6 (2011): 83-101.
- Kosztolnyik, Zoltán J. "Rome and the Church in Hungary in 1279: The Synod of Buda." *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 22 (1990): 68-85.
- Kuttner, Stephan & Antonio García y García, "A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council." *Traditio* 20 (1964): 115-178.
- Laszlovsky, J. "Nicholaus clericus: a Hungarian student at Oxford University in the twelfth century." *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988): 217-231.
- Lawrence, C. H. *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*. London: Longman, 1994.
- Maleczek, Werner. *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984.
- Mályusz, Elemér. *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary]. Budapest: Műszaki Kiadó, 2007.

- Mezey, László. *Deákiség és Európa* [Clerical Intelligencia and Europe]. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1979.
- Melloni, Alberto. "Vineam Domini – 10 April 1213: New Efforts and Traditional *Topoi* – Summoning Lateran IV." In *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. John C. Moore, 63-73. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Moore, John C., ed. *Pope Innocent III and his World*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.
- Moore, John C. *Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root Up and to Plant*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Morris, Colin. *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Pennington, Kenneth. "The Legal Education of Pope Innocent III." *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 4 (1974): 70-77.
- Perron, Anthony. "Metropolitan Might and Papal Power on the Latin-Christian Frontier: Transforming the Danish Church around the Time of the Fourth Lateran Council." *The Catholic Historical Review* 89, no. 2 (2003): 182-212.
- Pixton, Paul B. *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 1216-1245*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Pixton, Paul B. "Pope Innocent III and the German Schools: The Impact of Canon 11 of the Fourth Lateranum upon Cathedral and Other Schools 1216-1272." In *Innocenzo III: Urbs et orbis: Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9-15 settembre 1998*, vol. 2, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner, 1101-1132. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003.
- Pósán, László. "Prussian Missions and the Invitation of the Teutonic Order into Kulmerland." In *The Crusades and Military Order: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi & József Laszlovsky, 429-448. Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies – Central European University, 2001.

Powell, James M. *Anatomy of a Crusade: 1213-1221*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.

Powell, James M., ed., *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?* Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994.

Powell, James M. "Innocent III: The Making of an Image." in *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis: Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9-15 settembre 1998*, vol. 2, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner, 1363-1373. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003.

Powell, James M., ed., *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author*. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007.

Pride, Ellen Perry. "Ecclesiastical Legislation on Education, A. D. 300-1200." *Church History* 12, no.4 (1943): 235-254.

Robertson, Jr., D. W. "Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England." *Speculum* 24, no. 3 (1949): 376-388.

Robinson, I. S. "Pope Gregory VII, the Princes and the Pactum 1077-1080." *The English Historical Review* 94, no. 373 (1979): 721-756.

Robinson, I. S. "Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085)." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36, no. 3 (1985): 439-483.

Roth, Norman. "Bishops and Jews in the Middle Ages." *The Catholic Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (1994): 1-17.

Schimmelpfennig, Bernhard. *The Papacy*. Trans. by James Sievert. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Smith, Charles Edward. "Clerical Violence in the Pontificate of Innocent III." *The Journal of Religion* 24, no. 1 (1944): 37-41.

- Sommerlechner, Andrea, ed. *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis: Atti del Congresso Internazionale Roma, 9-15 settembre 1998*, 2 vols. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio evo, 2003.
- Starnawska, Maria. "Military Orders and the Beginning of Crusades in Prussia." In *The Crusades and Military Order: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Zsolt Hunyadi & József Laszlovsky, 417-428. Budapest: Department of Medieval Studies – Central European University, 2001.
- Stopka, Krzysztof. "Studia nad geneza szkół katedralnych w Polsce średniowiecznej" [Study on the origins of cathedral schools in medieval Poland]. *Studia Historyczne* 36, no. 1 (1993): 3-21.
- Sweeney, James Ross. "Innocent III, Canon law, and Papal Judges Delegate in Hungary." In *Popes, Teachers, and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*. ed. James Ross Sweeney & Stanley Chodorow. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Tanner, Norman. "Pastoral Care: The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215." In *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G. R. Evans, 112-125. London: Cassell, 2000.
- Tillmann, Helene. *Papst Innocenz III*. Bonn: Ludwig Rohrscheid, 1954.
- Ullmann, Walter. *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Waldmüller, Lothar. *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn: von der Völkerwanderung bis zum Ende der Arpaden (1311)*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1987.
- Weiler, Björn. "The 'Negotium Terrae Sanctae' in the Political Discourse of Latin Christendom, 1215-1311." *The International History Review* 25, no. 1 (2003): 1-36.
- Wertheimer, Laura. "Children of Disorder: Clerical Parentage, Illegitimacy, and Reform in the Middle Ages." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 15, no. 3 (2006): 382-407.
- Zey, Claudia. "Die Augen des Papstes. Zu Eigenschaften und Vollmachten päpstlicher Legaten." In *Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innozenz III*, ed. Jochen Johrendt, Harald Müller, 77-108. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.

Zimmermann, Harald. *Das Papsttum im Mittelalter. Eine Papstgeschichte im Spiegel der Historiographie. Mit einem Verzeichnis der Päpste vom 4. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert.* Stuttgart: Ulmer, 1981.

Zimmermann, Heinrich. *Die päpstliche Legation in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts: vom Regierungsantritt Innocenz' III. bis zum Tode Gregors IX. (1198-1241).* Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1913.

Zutshi, Patrick. "Pope Honorius III's *Gratiarum Omnium* and the Beginnings of the Dominican Order." In *Omnia disce – Medieval Studies in Memory of Leonard Boyle, O.P.*, ed. Anne J. Duggan, 199-210. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.