THE INFLUENCE OF POPE INNOCENT III
ON SPIRITUAL AND CLERICAL RENEWAL
IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH DURING
THIRTEENTH CENTURY SOUTH WESTERN EUROPE

BY

R.S.A. LAING

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by

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submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

degree of

MASTER OF THEOLOGY

in the subject of

CHURCH HISTORY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF. M. MADISE

OCTOBER 2011

(Student No.: 3156 709 6)

Declaration on Plagiarism

I declare that: **The Influence of Pope Innocent III on Spiritual and Clerical Renewal in the Catholic Church during Thirteenth Century South Western Europe** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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R.S.A. Laing   Date

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank those who helped me make this work possible. In particular I wish to thank Almighty God, my parents Ambrose and Theresa Laing, my siblings, especially Janine Laing, Tristan Bailey, Fr. Phillip Vietri, Prof. M Madise, Prof. P.H. Gundani, Roland Bhana, Bernard Hutton, Ajay Sam, Rajen Navsaria, Helena Glanville, Anastacia Tommy, Paulsha January and Jackalyn Abrahams. This work is dedicated to my parents Ambrose and Theresa Laing for their love and support throughout my life.

Preface

I was born in Port Elizabeth and attended the local school in my suburb. It was while attending High School that my passion for history surfaced. Eventually when I began studying for the priesthood the subject/area of Church History fascinated me.

In 2004 I began working at St. Philip Neri Seminary as the Dean of Students. It was while teaching church history at the seminary that I became interested in the period of the High Middle Ages. As a Catholic I was overwhelmed by the contribution made by the Church to the advancement of culture in Europe and to spiritual renewal. However, it was Pope Innocent III and St. Francis of Assisi who really grabbed my attention. It was mainly due to their exemplary example that the idea for a research paper about spiritual renewal began. As a student for the priesthood I have first hand knowledge of the corruption and the lack of spiritual formation of some clergy. Therefore I hope that this research paper will give us some ideas of how to move forward in the area of spiritual formation by learning from this period and people.

At the moment I am the Religious Co-ordinator at St. James Roman Catholic High School. It is a predominantly black school and these learners are from disadvantaged backgrounds. Through God's help I believe that these studies will allow me to teach them about spiritual formation.

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OPSOMMING

Die stryd tussen kerk en staat het voortgegaan gedurende die dertiende eeu. Die kruistogte het voortgeduur in die Ooste met die aanruk van Islam. Kruistogte was ook aangeroep om sodoende 'n einde te maak aan kettery, veral Albiganiese kettery. Ongelukkig die ontwikkelde heerskappye, soos die Cisteriaanse orde, het nie daarin geslaag om probleme soos kettery en korrupsie in die kerk op te los. Skolastiese teologie het ontwikkel met die vestiging van die universiteite. Hierdie gebeure het 'n kardinale impak gehad op die dertiende eeu. Gedurende die periode, het geestelik hernuwing begin met Pous Innocent III. Owerhede soos die Vierde Laterniese Owerheid het godsdiens onderrig, gedefinieer en korrupsie aangespreek. Tog, was een van die belangrikste bronne van geestelike hernuwing, die Bedelmonnik Orde, wat toestemming van Pous Innocent III gekry het om in die kerk te handel. Hierdie orde het bygedra tot onderig in universiteite en deur Katoliek leke het kultuur voortgespruit.

Summary

The struggle between church and state continued during the thirteenth century. The crusades continued in the East with the advance of Islam. Crusades were also called for to put an end to heresies, in particular the Albigensian heresy. Unfortunately the established orders, such as the Cistercians, failed to combat heresy and to solve the problems of corruption in the Church. Scholastic theology developed with the establishment of the universities. These events influenced the thirteenth century. During the thirteenth century spiritual renewal began with Pope Innocent III. Councils like the Fourth Lateran Council defined church teaching and addressed corruption of the clergy. However, one of the most important sources of spiritual renewal came from the mendicant orders who had been given permission by Pope Innocent III to operate in the Church. These orders contributed immensely to education in the universities and through the Catholic laity culture advanced.

Key terms:

Spiritual renewal; Social background; Political background; Economic background; Cultural background; Pope Innocent III; Fourth Lateran Council; Mendicant orders; Universities; Western culture.

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INTRODUCTION

Area and Field of Research

This study will mainly focus on the role played by Pope Innocent III in spiritual and clerical renewal that occurred during the High Middle Ages and more specifically during the Thirteenth Century. Therefore the Fourth Lateran Council which he convened and which was one of the major councils during this period will be examined as it addressed issues which would contribute to Catholic spiritual renewal. The mendicant or begging orders will be researched as well since Pope Innocent III gave them recognition as official religious orders in the Catholic Church. Thus the role they played in spiritual renewal will be researched. This study will also focus on the role played by the laity as part of the Catholic Church in the cultural advancement of South Western Europe during the Thirteenth Century. Therefore various areas of cultural growth will be investigated.

The purpose of this research study is to explore the impact and influence Pope Innocent III had on spiritual renewal in the Catholic Church during his pontificate. The aim is to explore the value of good leadership in the church and the effect the Catholic Church had on cultural advancement in South Western Europe. The study also explores the importance of active participation by the laity in church life.

The High Middle Ages saw great transformation taking place across Europe. There was a shift in thinking as people became more progressive in their outlook of the world and the church. Many factors contributed toward this. People became more materialistic and the corruption of some of the clergy made people more critical of the church. However, history shows that there seems to have been a major spiritual revival during this period. Therefore this study was undertaken to investigate how the church addressed these challenges.

Formulation of the Research Problem and Research Questions

Research problem
The primary research problem is formulated as follows:

This research will investigate the role played by Pope Innocent III in spiritual renewal during his tenure as pope.

Research sub-problem

How did his pontificate influence the church and culture in South Western Europe in the period immediately following his tenure as pope?

Research questions

How influential was the pontificate of Pope Innocent III in addressing corruption of some of the clergy?

To what extent did the pontificate of Pope Innocent III influence spiritual renewal of the laity?

What effect did the pontificate of Pope Innocent III have on the cultural advancement of South Western Europe?

<u>Research Framework/Design</u>

Research methodology

The aim of this section is to provide a clear and concise account of the manner in which the research for this dissertation was undertaken. According to Leedy (1985:119), we investigate what happens in history by looking at events and people and how they relate to each other and their environment in a meaningful way. In order to do this the Sociological Method is used in this research paper. According to Tosh (2009:234), this is a method which allows the researcher to ask deeper questions which are not usually asked e.g. differences and conflicts between generations, the influence of social status on society, social mobility, child-rearing in its relation to culture, the sociology of knowledge and the professions. The researcher may not always be able to answer these questions with the information at hand but they remain important for the task. The researcher realises that this method may open up more questions but it compels him to take into account the importance of viewing his work differently. This method is used therefore to

investigate the power dimension in the Roman Catholic Church and how this impacts on relationships between the clergy and laity. It is also used in order to answer the hypothesis such as the role of the pope in the spiritual revival of the clergy and laity, the influence of good leadership on a social group i.e. the pontificate of Pope Innocent III and on the cultural advancement of South Western Europe.

According to Cantor, N (1969:4–10), there are a few approaches to interpreting medieval historical change. Firstly the dialectical–spiritual approach looks at medieval history by debating the nature of Christian Society i.e. the implications of the imperial ideal, the origins of the crusading ideal, the conflicting interpretations of freedom. They did not however, examine closely the institutional defects of the monarchy and the personal failings of the medieval German kings and nobility. The second of these approaches is the American institutional school's approach of focussing on the pattern of medieval state building. Their intention was to find out how medieval historical change contributed to the beginnings of the modern state. The criticism of this school is that there is an indifference in their work to many of the issues that affected and disturbed medieval men themselves like the spiritual struggles of medieval society. Due to their approach these two methods were not deemed practical for this research paper. For the purposes of this study and within the framework of the Sociological Method the Devotional – personal school's approach is used to further interpret the sources. Two of the proponents of this school are used within this research paper viz. M.D. Knowles and R.W. Southern. This approach focuses on ecclesiastical and cultural history of the medieval period. Their approach is to take a deeper look at the piety of medieval religious leaders and men and how these currents of piety brought about the transvaluation of medieval values. Since people are not just emotional, psychological and physical beings, this approach was imperative in interpreting the spiritual side of society and how this motivates people in the way they behave and in the decisions they make. However, the criticism of this school is that it down plays the focus of medieval society on material wealth and the power drives of medieval life which saw the debate on what the true nature of Christian Society should be, all but ignored. However, since this research study focussed mainly on the devotional side of medieval society i.e. their spiritual life, this approach became more practical to use in order to interpret the sources in this study.

Leedy (1985:119) also states that to arrive at historical meaning and to accurately evaluate what has happened in the past it is important to use primary sources. These sources, be they a record of the actual words of the personage, important events during their life time or contemporary accounts related by friends etc. become relevant in order to have a better understanding of the past.

The researcher gathered most of the data from the library and the internet was used on occasion. The index at the library was used to determine which materials would be necessary for the research. Ultimately a primary source (papal documents) and mostly secondary sources were discovered and evaluated as to their relevance for the research topic. Using a deductive approach the necessary data were discovered and the thesis began to take shape.

Research design

The current research project thus investigates the extent of Pope Innocent's influence on spiritual renewal in the Catholic Church and how far he influenced the great changes of his time. The core objective is to find out how important good leadership is in the church and how the church ultimately addressed the many challenges faced during a very turbulent period. The research will also aim at discovering the extent to which the Catholic Church influenced the advancement of western culture in South Western Europe. In order to answer these questions the historical method and a perspective of history that draws closer to sociology is used.

The demarcated headings for each chapter were decided upon due to the idea behind the research. Therefore due to the fact that the underlying theme flowing throughout the thesis is spiritual renewal, it tended to be the linking factor between the chapters. Here then follows a brief outline and research design of the introduction, each chapter and the conclusion.

The introduction will deal with the rationale behind the thesis, the methodology used in the research will be explained, the justification for the chapter division will be given and each chapter will be briefly introduced.

Chapter one will provide a brief survey of the background to the early Thirteenth Century. The main idea being, to place the period within its historical setting, and to have a deeper understanding of why and how renewal occurred. This chapter will give an understanding of Pope Innocent III's social background and the factors that influenced his formation and world view. It covers the historical, political, economic, social and cultural background of this period.

Chapter two will be a review of the papacy under Pope Innocent III. This chapter will focus on who he was as a person, his early life, elevation to the papacy, his role as chief shepherd of the Catholic Church and the impact he had on his generation. In addition to this the focus will be on the difficulties and challenges faced by the pope and will evaluate how he dealt with them.

In chapter three the Fourth Lateran Council will be analysed and reviewed. This was one of the most important councils in the history of the Catholic Church. It was convened by Pope Innocent III. One of the main issues addressed was the political, social and economic corruption of some of the clergy. The objective of this chapter will be to find out what issues were actually addressed, what reforms were brought about and how these influenced the church. The main objective being to investigate how effective this council was and the extent to which it affected spiritual renewal in the church.

In chapter four the analysis focus on the role played by the two mendicant orders viz. the Franciscans and Dominicans, in spiritual renewal among the laity. These were at this time two new religious orders in the Catholic Church and were given ecclesiastical recognition by Pope Innocent III. Therefore this chapter will investigate the importance of this decision by the pope in the life of the church. The objective of this chapter then would be to give an overview of the life of St. Francis and St. Dominic, to investigate how their respective orders began, to evaluate the extent to which they brought about spiritual renewal and how this influenced the life of the church. A brief comparison of the two orders will be looked at as well as their respective ideals and contribution to theological study.

In chapter five the focus will be on the contribution made by the Catholic Church to the area of higher learning in Western Europe. This period was the apex of the thought and culture of the Middle Ages. This began in the eleventh century with the founding of cathedral and urban schools. This chapter will discuss how the universities emerged from these schools and the role played or the contribution made by the mendicant orders in these new institutions. The objective being to investigate the role played by Pope Innocent III in the establishment of universities and how this contributed to spiritual renewal.

Chapter six will analyse the effect of spiritual renewal on the laity and how this influenced their participation and contribution to the life of the church. The objective of this chapter will be to investigate how the spirituality of the time, and especially the spiritual renewal that was occurring, influenced the advance of western culture and the role played by the Catholic Church in music, art, poetry, architecture, etc. Was this period truly the height of western culture in the Middle Ages? This chapter will attempt to answer this question.

The conclusion of the thesis will provide an overview of the chapters, present the findings of the research, and give additional research questions for future research.

Literature Review

An intensive study was made of the literature relating to the topic and period in question. A few articles covering this topic were discovered. The purpose of the literature study was to become more familiar with current views on the topic in question. The literature was grouped into various sections due to the authors approach or style and their relevance to each chapter.

The works of Sayers 1994, Tillman 1980 and Watson 2006 were all critical of the period and positive in their view of the historical events of the time. The works of Tout 1941 and Walsh 1913 were very pro Catholic in their approach. These works all gave an overall view of church history except those of Tillman 1980 and Sayers 1994 which focussed on the papacy of Innocent III.

The works of Southern 1993, Hollister 1978, Daniel-Rops 1957 and Constable 1995 were just some of those that focussed on the social issues of the period. The data gave valuable information on the social and economic conditions of the people and how spirituality was influenced by this.

The works of Downey 1993, Karrer 1947 and Lawrence 1989 are those that focus on the spirituality of the time and on the life of St. Francis and St. Dominic. These were invaluable in the process of painting a picture of the spirituality of the time and how various influences affected the people as to their spiritual growth.

The works of Jedin 1960, Neuner & Dupuis 1983 and Watkin are some of the literature sourced that dealt with the Fourth Lateran Council and the doctrinal documents issued here. Basically the information gathered here was of Pope Innocent III's decrees at the council and the bold way he addressed corruption in the church.

The works of Huyghe 1981 and Leclercq 1968 are those that focus on the culture of the period and the advances made in various areas like art by the laity and how they were influenced by their spiritual belief system.

According to Cushing (2001:1) Pope Innocent III was seen as a man of great vision, a theologian and a canon lawyer but who at the same time drew criticism for various reasons. This was the case during his life time and it is the same today. This article explores current scholarship on Pope Innocent III. It is an article that reassesses who Pope Innocent III was and his tenure as pope on the 800th anniversary of his election to the papacy. It highlights the debate surrounding the pope and that he is still a very interesting person to research.

According to Arch (2009:1) the fact that Pope Innocent III allowed St. Dominic and St. Francis to evangelise and preach was a stroke of genius. Therefore he states that from a religious standpoint Innocent III's tenure as pope revitalised the papacy. The article gives important insights into the legacy of Pope Innocent III especially as regards the Fourth Lateran Council and the decrees which would influence the

church for a long time. It is also very critical as to many of his decisions especially his call for crusades.

According to Grigaitis (2009:1) not long before the Fourth Lateran Council, Pope Innocent III had commissioned St. Francis' Order. This article deals with Franciscan spirituality. It also provided interesting information on the relationship between the pope and the Franciscans. It highlights the role of the laity as part of the Franciscan movement.

Rationale/Relevance

In light of the fact that there currently is a spiritual crisis in the church, especially with some of the clergy, the researcher felt it necessary to investigate this area of church history in order to determine how this issue of spiritual renewal was addressed. There is a decline in vocations to the priesthood and often due to the corruption of some of the clergy the spiritual lives of the laity is affected. The research is undertaken in order to investigate how important good leadership in the church is and why vocations to the priesthood increased during the Thirteenth Century. The objective is also to find out if good leadership in any way influences the laity to become more involved in the church. For the church and historians it will be beneficial to understand that there is always a need for good examples of leadership in the church, and also how the behaviour of the priests and pastors impacts on the laity.

Demarcation of the Scope

The scope of the field of study is limited to South Western Europe and more specifically to the pontificate of Pope Innocent III and the spiritual renewal that occurred in this area. The focus of the study is therefore based on his influence on spiritual renewal in the Catholic Church and how this affected the advancement of culture. However, the following are omitted from this study, the development of the English language and law during the Thirteenth Century, the Crusades and Inquisition, Magna Charta and various other significant popes like Pope Boniface

VIII. This does not negate in anyway the importance of these events and people during the High Middle Ages.

Concepts

This study will make use of a range of concepts in the implementation of the research. A brief definition of each will follow:

Canon Law, the statutes and regulations enacted by the highest church authorities for the government of ecclesiastical affairs (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 163).

Cardinal, at the present day the cardinals constitute the senate of the Roman pontiff, advising and assisting the pope in the government of the church (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 169).

Charism, a theological term designating certain extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, granted to individual Christians, not for their personal sanctification, but for the spiritual advantage of others (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 196).

Decrees, these are largely legislative enactments (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 284).

Ecclesiastical, relating to the Christian Church or its clergy (Soanes 2005 : 234).

Ecumenical Council, an assembly of church dignitaries and scholars to discuss and regulate doctrinal and disciplinary matters (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 261).

Laity, church members not included among the clergy (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 539).

Magna Carta/Charta, the Great Charter of Liberties. Its chief purpose was to protect the feudal rights of the baronage, especially in the matter of dues, service, and the administration of justice (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 584).

Mendicant Orders/Friars, to beg, ask alms, members of those religious orders which originally, by vow of poverty renounced all proprietorship individually and in common, relying for support on their own work and on charity (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 622).

Papacy, denotes the ecclesiastical system in which the pope as successor of St. Peter and Vicar of Jesus Christ governs the Catholic Church as its supreme head (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 724).

Pontificate, in the Roman Catholic Church the office of pope or bishop (Soanes 2005 : 579).

Religious Orders, a body of men or women abiding by common religious, moral or social regulations (Editors of the Catholic Encyclopaedia 1941 : 701).

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUND TO THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

1.1   INTRODUCTION

About 100 years ago many viewed the Middle Ages as a period of stagnation. The Dark Ages, as it came to be known, was seen to be a thousand years of poverty, superstition and gloom. This was the era that divided the old golden age of the Roman Empire from the new golden age of the Italian Renaissance. Today historians, such as Bokenkotter (1990:114) and Schreck (2004:56), have discarded this theory, as research has proven otherwise. Great transformation took place during this period and especially in what has come to be known as the High Middle Ages, i.e. from 1050 to 1300. This process was not rapid, but happened over a period of time, especially since the invasions by the Vikings, Hungarians and Saracens, which had disrupted European society, had come to an end many decades before 1050. This allowed Europe to develop, progress and to become a major civilization, which in later years would influence the entire globe. The political stability enabled trade to grow between various nations, thus increasing their economic viability. The ripple effect was that as their financial situation changed, so did their society. This chapter will highlight the economic, cultural, social and political aspects of the High Middle Ages as the Thirteenth Century falls into this period.

1.2   ECONOMIC GROWTH – TOWNS AND COMMERCE

According to Hollister (1978:126), the population of Europe during the eleventh century was growing rapidly, and more food was being produced. It is not certain whether increased population affected productivity or vice versa, but the technological developments in agriculture changed European society. This enabled production of food to increase at an enormous rate. Some of the examples of technology in agriculture were:

"the three-field system, which was spreading across much of northern Europe; the windmill; the water mill (by 1086 there were over five thousand water mills in England alone); the heavy wheeled plough; the horseshoe and improved horse collar that transformed horses into efficient draught animals; and the tandem harness that made it possible to employ horses and oxen in large teams to draw ploughs or to pull heavy wagons" (Hollister 1978:126).

These inventions happened over a period of time but collectively contributed significantly to the economic boom of the High Middle Ages and to the social well being of many.

Hollister (1978:126) states that together with increased food production and population growth there was a general commercial revival and urban life was stimulated as new energy flowed through towns. Due to the constant mingling of people in these towns the culture of Europe was reinvigorated. Consequently European thought and art were stimulated due to this human contact of different peoples. From this arose two of the greatest monuments of high medieval culture viz. the cathedral and the university. Both were urban phenomena and bear testimony to the creative spirit of humanity during this period (Hollister 1978:126). According to Hollister (1978:126) towns became the centre of commercial and industrial activity. Although the European economy had remained agrarian it was the towns that provided the impetus for economic growth and cultural stimulation.

The growth and development of towns had a marked influence on the overall well being of many throughout Europe.

"There had been towns in Europe ever since antiquity. The administrative-military town of the Roman Empire gave way in time to the far humbler cathedral town of the early Middle Ages. But both had one crucial thing in common: both were economic parasites living off the blood, labour, and taxes of the countryside; like modern government-cities such as Washington D.C. and Sacramento, California, they consumed more than they produced" (Hollister 1978:126).

According to Hollister (1978:126) the towns of the High Middle Ages presented something new to European society. Commercially they proved successful because they could sustain themselves as people could live off the fruit of their merchant and industrial activities. These new entities were ideally suited for the spiritual revival that happened as more and more people became concentrated in one area. Although small, foul smelling, disease ridden and often cramped, these towns were Europe's first cities in the modern sense (Hollister 1978:126). Due to the population explosion the demand for agrarian products increased and therefore these commercial towns developed rapidly due to this upsurge in international commerce. These towns developed mainly from the existing suburbs of the older cathedral towns and outside the walls of some of the many fortresses that had been built during the ninth and tenth centuries (Hollister 1978:126). The invasion of marauding barbarians had forced many of the European nations to build these fortresses to protect themselves.

> *"These fortresses were generally known by some form of the Germanic word burgh, and in time the term came to apply to the town itself rather than the fortress that spawned it. By the twelfth century a burgh, or borough, was an urban commercial centre inhabited by burghers or burgesses, who constituted a new class known later as the bourgeoisie"* (Hollister 1978:127).

This strong middle-class contributed dramatically to the economic growth of Europe and substantially in the area of politics.

Hollister (1978:127), states that in the later eleventh century these towns had developed all over Europe especially in northern Italy which had first exploited these new economic and commercial opportunities. The Venetians in Italy had for a long time been trading with Constantinople and Islam. The opening up of trade had occurred due to the crusades, as merchants came into contact with Moslem traders. Other Italian ports like Genoa, Pisa and Amalfi soon followed the example of Venice by trading in the lucrative markets of the eastern Mediterranean. The spinoff from this explosion of trade and the financial growth of these port towns was that interior Italian towns like Milan and Florence grew accordingly as they in turn benefited from the economic revival in Italy. The Moslems were driven from the seas during the

High Middle Ages as Italians dominated and took control of the Mediterranean Sea (Hollister 1978:127).

The opening up of trade links between various countries enabled participating nations to become more and more economically stable. Thus the economy flourished everywhere.

> *"Meanwhile the towns of Flanders were growing wealthy from the commerce of the north – from trade with northern France and the British Isles, the Rhineland and the shores of the Baltic sea. Flanders itself was a great sheep-growing district, and its towns became centres of woollen textile production. In time, the towns were processing more wool than Flemish sheep could supply, so that from the twelfth century onward Flemish merchants began to import wool on a large scale from England. By then Flanders was the industrial centre of northern Europe, and its textile industry the supreme enterprise of the ages"* (Hollister 1978:127).

This economic boom enabled many European countries to eventually become more powerful as they were able to equip their armies substantially and to build more ships for their navies.

As stated before, society had mainly been agrarian but a new urban class arose that would eventually challenge the establishment as to how their countries were being governed. They would later become a major political force. However, this new burgher class was drawn from vagabonds, runaway serfs, avaricious minor noblemen and, in general, the surplus of the mushrooming population who needed a means to survive and the new towns provided ample opportunity for this (Hollister 1978:127). The aristocracy who were the landowners were not satisfied with what they had and in this new system they saw a means of increasing their financial situation by putting in place new taxes and tolls for these merchants to pay. Therefore at an early stage the burghers began to form merchant guilds in order to protect themselves. Since these towns were almost always situated on the land of the aristocracy they found that only collective action would enable them to overcome the landowners unreasonable demands and to survive. In this way they won

privileges such as: personal freedom from servile status, freedom of movement, freedom from inordinate tolls at every bridge or feudal boundary, and the rights to own property, to be judged by the town court, to execute commercial contracts, and to buy and sell freely. Thus one sees dramatic progress being made in the area of free enterprise and human rights for people other than the privileged aristocracy (Hollister 1978:127). "By the twelfth century a number of lords, recognising the economic advantages of having flourishing commercial centres on their lands, were issuing town charters that guaranteed many of these rights. Indeed, some farsighted lords began founding and chartering new towns on their own initiative" (Hollister 1978:127). Therefore the nobility were partly responsible for the development of European towns.

In effect these charters enabled merchants to have a major say in the handling of their own affairs and well being. Eventually some form of standard was set as charters were modelled along the lines of those in England granted by King Henry I and in France by King Louis VI. What followed was that local governments were formed in the towns as the merchants became dominant figures. They introduced their own courts, tax-collecting agencies and own customs. However, these political entities continued to pay taxes to their lords but were free from the harassments of their lords agents (Hollister 1978:128). "These towns people enforced their own law in their own courts, collected their own taxes and paid their dues to their lord in a lump sum. In short, they had won the invaluable privilege of handling their own affairs" (Hollister 1978:128). This was a major development in the political arena and history of Europe as people had been dominated for centuries by the aristocracy and had no means to improve their social and financial status. Now this had all changed as a strong middle-class was in the making.

One should not imagine that the towns were governed democratically. On the contrary it was the merchants who had the power as they became more wealthy and thus a major gap was created between the very prosperous merchants and the very poor labourers who worked for them. Because of these charters the merchants eventually gained control of the towns. It has been stated that the medieval town was the birthplace of European capitalism. The system implemented by the merchants in the production process was called the "putting-out system". As there

were no factories yet, the merchants sent their raw materials out to their workers instead of letting them come to their premises. Workers would in turn produce goods in their own shops and send these back to the merchant. Therefore the towns became centres of industry as well as commerce. Some businessmen employed a large number of labourers to produce goods, especially textiles on a large scale. This was a major phase in the early history of capitalism as later factories would be built and would provide employment for many, often in unsuitable conditions (Hollister 1978:128).

The boom in trade enabled many manufacturers to become more independent and as their businesses grew they were able to provide more work opportunities for others.

"The more typical medieval manufacturer worked for himself in his own shop, producing his own goods and selling them directly to the public. As early as the eleventh century, these craftsmen were organising themselves into craft guilds, as distinct from merchant guilds. In an effort to limit competition and protect their market the craft guilds established strict admission requirements and stringent rules on prices, wages, standards of quality, and operating procedures" (Hollister 1978:128).

This organisation enabled the markets to flourish and it allowed merchants to become financially secure, as craftsmen were not allowed to dominate individually by lowering prices. It was a system that worked well and which spread throughout Europe.

As the economy boomed so did the fortunes of many through commercial and manufacturing enterprises. There was ample opportunity for an enterprising individual to make a living in a continent that was astir with new life (Hollister 1978:129).

"In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, merchants were moving continuously along the roads and rivers of Europe. Italians crossed the Alps bringing spices and luxury goods from the Near East and the Orient to the aristocracy of

France and Germany. French, Flemish and German merchants carried goods far and wide across the continent, buying cheap and selling dear" (Hollister 1978:129).

In this commercial situation it was clear that the merchants provided a well-needed service, especially providing goods to the aristocracy who had the means to purchase expensive items. Throughout the year fairs were held all over Europe which enabled merchants to display their goods and to sell items which many had never seen before. With the growing commercial situation in Europe banking and credit services grew as well, especially in Italy during the Thirteenth Century (Hollister 1978:129). This in turn allowed merchants to take out loans in order to start up a business and to become more independent.

Because of the creation of new markets and the domination of the Mediterranean Sea by European powers, trade grew and this in turn affected the lifestyle of many people.

"Directly, it meant that the pervading flavour of pepper, cinnamon and ginger could cover a multitude of shortcomings in the kitchen; it meant that great men on their deaths could be embalmed in spice instead of being rudely preserved in salt; it brought a host of private luxuries for the rich – clothes and ornaments for the person, hangings and rugs for the house" (Southern 1993:42).

Thus even the simple housewife benefited from commercial trade.

"Indirectly, it brought into existence commercial powers which could rival in wealth and influence the old-established powers of land and church; it brought new forms of industrial and financial activity, and in districts quite remote from the stir of commerce it meant that the peasant with three or four sheep in the open fields could find a ready market and receive a cash payment for his wool" (Southern 1993:42).

According to Southern (1993:42), this whole complex situation occurred due to the demand for spices and the allure of luxuries of which many had been deprived. It was because of this taste for spices and luxury goods that merchants travelled, sailors perished, bankers created credit and peasants raised the number of their sheep. This period marks a dramatic change in the fortunes of many throughout Europe.

"In the course of the next two centuries, the volume of international trade was multiplied many times. In the first place, there was an increase in Europe's productivity. In all probability this increase was taking place in every branch of production between the tenth and thirteenth centuries: new land was being taken into cultivation; there were improvements in agriculture which increased the yield from land already cultivated; great land-holders developed the art of estate management, and began a process of planning and improvement which was to have a long history; finally, the conditions of relative peace brought stability and confidence" (Southern 1993:44-45).

For any economy to flourish these factors are always important and it is a known fact that economic growth contributes to the social well being of many.

"But just as it was England's coal that made this country an industrial area in the nineteenth century, so it was the large scale production of wool and manufacture of cloth which made western Europe an important export area in the Middle Ages. There were other objects for export which accumulated at the Mediterranean ports – timber and arms, for instance – but the cloth industry was the basic industry of the Middle Ages" (Southern 1993:45).

Two of the main contributing factors to increased productivity was the availability of land and labour.

As stated before there was an inter-linking between the political stability in Europe and the social and economic conditions that followed.

"The new social and economic conditions of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries gave rise to an immense expansion of arable land, which transformed the north-European countryside. The vast primeval forest that had once blanketed northern Europe was reduced to patches. Swamps and marshes were drained, and in the Low Countries dikes were built to reclaim land from the sea" (Hollister 1978:140).

These projects were undertaken due to the growing population and financial boom. The production surplus from the agricultural sector was then sold to townspeople and converted into cash. Therefore peasants were given the impetus to work harder in order to produce more. They were able to make a profit from every new field that was cultivated. (Hollister 1978:140)

According to Hollister (1978:140), the situation of many peasants changed drastically as their income increased and their legal status changed. By the eleventh century the slave trade which had dominated society and on which the economy was virtually based due to the free labour induced by it, was on the way out. During the twelfth century it had basically disappeared. Those who worked the land were mainly freemen and serfs. What was common was that the freeman owned a small farm and thus could establish himself as an independent businessman while the serf worked for a lord by his manor.

"Normally, it will be remembered, the manor included the peasants' fields intermixed with the lord's fields (demesne), the produce of which went directly to the lord. Among the obligations that the serf usually owed his lord was labour service for a stipulated number of days per week on the lord's demesne. In Carolingian times, manorial lords had augmented the part-time serf labour by using slaves. But in the twelfth century, with slavery dying out, the lord was faced with a labour shortage on his demesne" (Hollister 1978:140).

This would prove to be a major advantage for peasants as their services would be in demand in the future.

According to Hollister (1978:140), due to the problem of labour shortages and because they had to pay cash for services rendered, some lords gave up demesne farming altogether. The social and legal status of peasants changed as lords leased out their farms to them in exchange for money payments. Thus these peasants in actual fact became tenant farmers. They became more self-sufficient and independent as their financial situation changed. This tended to have a considerable impact on the economy.

Working conditions of peasants changed dramatically during the eleventh and twelfth centuries as lords were put under pressure to retain their services, for many of them were moving to the towns or to newly cleared lands. Because of the competition for the services of peasants by lords, the twelfth century saw many of them gaining their freedom (Hollister 1978:140-141).

"One of the clearest expressions of this trend was the emergence of rural communes – communities of peasants whose lord had granted them a charter freeing them from servile obligations and permitting them to pay their dues collectively, on the pattern of the chartered town. But even in the booming twelfth century, the reduction of demesne farming and the freeing of serfs occurred slowly and unevenly. And by the thirteenth century these trends were beginning to reverse. For population growth was outstripping the increase in arable lands, creating a rise in land values and a surplus in peasant labour. As land became more valuable than labourers, lords throughout much of northern Europe began farming their demesnes more intensively than before, often employing landless peasants at low wages or strictly enforcing the labour services of their remaining serfs" (Hollister 1978:141).

Therefore the improved social status of peasants was short lived.

Unfortunately the situation of the peasants deteriorated as during the Thirteenth Century it became even more difficult for them to gain their freedom. This happened mainly due to two reasons. A growth of legal consciousness during this period and a hardening of custom that gave rise to stricter class divisions (Hollister 1978:141).

"On the other hand, a freeman might all too easily sink back into serfdom. It was the custom of some districts, for example, that a free peasant forfeited his freedom by marrying a servile woman, and a free woman suffered the same descent if she married a serf. In thirteenth century England there are even instances of landless free peasants submitting to serfdom in return for a plot of land. And quite apart from the matter of legal status, peasants of the thirteenth century, lacking the leverage they had enjoyed in the earlier generations of land clearance and labour shortage, were subjected to heavy economic exploitation by their lords" (Hollister 1978:141).

The law began to play an ever increasing and important role in the daily lives of people, as it affected their economic and social condition. "They were burdened with higher rents and taxes, higher fines at the lords court, higher charges for the use of his mill, winepress, and ovens. If a peasant refused to pay he could be replaced by someone else from among the growing body of landless labourers that the high-medieval population explosion produced" (Hollister 1978:141). However, these practices varied from place to place.

Poverty was part and parcel of a peasant's life and it took a great deal of effort to survive on their meagre earnings.

"But generally speaking the combined effects of population growth and land clearance profited lords and peasants alike throughout the later eleventh century and much of the twelfth, but worked to the peasants disadvantage during the thirteenth when land clearances and advances in farming techniques failed to keep pace with a continually rising population. Western Europe remained prosperous throughout most of the thirteenth century but the easy years of limitless land were passing, and there was trouble ahead" (Hollister 1978:141).

However the economic boom and the expansion of trade with the east affected European culture dramatically.

1.3   CULTURAL GROWTH

Europeans were constantly learning new things. As goods and wares from the east flowed through the markets, people were enriched by the cultural aspects of this newfound trade. Because people had more money their social life changed and their cultural awareness improved. It was the financial situation that contributed to the building of the universities and Gothic Cathedrals, supported the crusades, financed the pious charities of St Louis and gave substance to the splendid religious culture of the Thirteenth Century. Therefore commercial awakening was linked to Christian culture and for many it was their deep faith that made them support the church financially (Hollister 1978:129).

"For townspeople, by and large, exhibited a piety that was more vibrant and intense than that of the peasantry and aristocracy. The surge of urban piety became a crucial factor in the evolution of medieval Christianity, spawning cathedrals and hospitals, saints and heretics. In the electric atmosphere of the new cities, Christianity acquired an emotional content unknown to the farms and villages" (Hollister 1978:129).

The close proximity of cathedrals and clergy to the people enabled them to grow spiritually as they were able to attend liturgical celebrations on a regular basis.

The towns became a hustle and bustle of activity, not just in the markets but also outside the walls, as people competed in games and sport. They were brought closer together and real community was engendered amongst them. Together with positive aspects that were associated with these new towns, there were also many negatives, like crime and disease. Because of the close proximity of the people and the poor sewerage systems many suffered from sicknesses that were often incurable. The wealthy were prey to robbers as there was no police force to protect them. Beggars and prostitutes could be found in most towns especially in London, which was one of the largest and fastest growing of the day. Gambling increased as people had more money to spend. Alcoholism became a problem as taverns sprang up all over. Theatres provided people with a means to be entertained and to socialise. Thus there was a constant mixing of people from all walks of life. The

exchanging of ideas contributed to a change in their worldview and how they saw themselves in relation to the world (Hollister 1978:131).

The daily lives of peasants gives a fair idea of what their social life and culture was like. It was a meagre and simple lifestyle but they made the most of what they had in a society that was very harsh toward those of lower birth. Hollister (1978:142) describes the daily life of a simple peasant or serf as follows:

> *"there would be a pre-dawn breakfast – perhaps of coarse black bread and diluted ale – after which the father would head out with his elder sons into the fields encircling the village to work from daybreak to nightfall – ploughing, sowing, weeding, or harvesting, depending on the season. Or in winter, when the fields were often frozen, the men of the family might stay indoors constructing or repairing their tools. All the year round the women cared for the children and domestic animals, made the family's clothes, and did the milking, cheese making, and cooking. The evening meal might consist of a pot of meatless soup and more coarse black bread (and possibly even an egg). Then it was early to bed, to rest for the toils of the following day"* (Hollister 1978:142).

This routine gives a very dreary picture of a peasant's daily life but often it was even worse than this. Unfortunately many times a family member would be suffering from an illness and thus could not help out around the farm. Medical help was not forthcoming as medicine and doctors were not available (Hollister 1978:142).

> *"Wives had to endure one pregnancy after another; childbirth was hazardous to mother and baby alike, and infant mortality was high. Indeed, women of all classes in medieval lay society were tied down for long periods of their lives by the bearing and nursing of children, many of whom never reached adulthood"* (Hollister 1978:142).

According to Hollister (1978:142-143), there were other hazards faced by everyone especially peasants, like famine and feudal warfare. Warfare between various lords was common and a village would be burnt to the ground or even become a

battleground. Generally this was the experience of people throughout Europe as this culture of continuous war was what they had become accustomed to. Peasants were caught up in this vicious cycle and could do nothing about it, as there was a definite class order to society and they were prey to the whims of their lords.

1.4 THE ORDERING OF SOCIETY

According to Kirchner (1960:222-223), there were four main divisions in society during this period. The nobility, the clergy, the burgher and the peasant. Minority groups like the Jews had very few privileges as they were not Christians. Because of the increase in commercial trade there were shifts in the relative importance of the feudal classes. The nobles and townspeople were mainly affected by these shifts and to a lesser degree the peasant class.

As stated by Daniel-Rops (1957:18), the division among the nobility was as follows: firstly the King, then viscounts, earls, marquises and dukes, then lords or barons and finally knights. During the Middle Ages the nobility continued to be the privileged class.

> *"The nobles remained the most important class, but they found this monopoly on arms threatened by the prospering towns and consequently faced a loss of power. Many nobles tried to make up for their losses by increased attention to the administrative prerogatives and duties and by expansion of their commercial activities as producers of agricultural goods and as entrepreneurs in mining and industries"* (Kirchner 1960:222).

Because they became wealthier they tended to spend more, especially on items coming into Europe due to trade with the east. This in turn led many of them into debt, thus increasing the business (and unpopularity) of Jewish lenders. The nobility regarded overspending as a virtue (Hollister 1978:134).

Hollister (1978:135), states that many aristocrats were prone to violence and showed a lack of emotional self-control. They would get carried away and commit violent

acts, even murder, and later be so remorseful that they would make acts of penance or go on a pilgrimage or crusade.

> *"The medieval aristocracy was, above all, a military class, trained from early youth in the practice of mounted combat. Whatever romantic images may surround our conception of the knight, he was essentially, a warrior. Mounted and clad in helmet and chain mail, he might even be regarded as a military "machine" – the medieval equivalent of the modern tank"* (Hollister 1978:135).

Although the barbarian invasions had ended, warfare was common in the High Middle Ages especially among Kings and great princes. However, neighbouring barons and minor lords would also engage in warfare, very often over land disputes. Over time as princes and monarchs grew more powerful and gained more authority, they were able to curb private wars, especially in England. This was a slow process and it only affected countries like France well into the Thirteenth Century (Hollister 1978:135).

> *"Fighting is what aristocrats had been trained for; indeed, it was the chief justification for their existence. They were viewed (ideally) as the protectors of the church and society, but most of them were interested primarily in defending and extending their own estates. And to some nothing was more fulfilling than to do battle with the enemy – any enemy"* (Hollister 1978:135).

War was a constant threat especially to the well being of peasants. Farms and churches would be destroyed in the process but the aristocracy did not suffer so much from the effects, as a knight was well protected by his armour and great battles were rare (Hollister 1978:135).

> *"Most medieval warfare consisted of castle sieges and the harrying of an enemies possessions (including his peasants). The great risk was to be taken captive in battle, which obliged the victim to raise a large ransom in return for his release. On the other hand, a skilful and lucky knight might take many captives in the course of his campaigning and enrich himself from their ransoms"* (Hollister 1978:135).

For knights this was one way of enriching themselves as many of them were not well off. Therefore engaging in warfare had its benefits for them.

To entertain themselves and to test their skills, tournaments were held during peacetime.   However, the Church was totally against these tournaments and legislated against them. The reason being that it became very dangerous, as often combatants would be wounded, killed or taken for ransom. The aristocracy did not mind as the fun aspect of tournaments outweighed the danger (Hollister 1978:135-136).

> *"Magnates had more sober tasks to perform as well: presiding at the castle court giving counsel to their lords, and managing their revenues and estates – a responsibility that they took more and more seriously as the High Middle Ages progressed. And for recreation they went hunting or hawking in their private forests. Besides the sheer enjoyment of it, hunting rid the forests of dangerous beasts – wolves and wild bears – and provided tasty venison for the lords table"* (Hollister 1978:136).

Hunting and falconry were among the main activities engaged in by the aristocracy and during the High Middle Ages were turned into complex arts (Hollister 1978:136).

During the High Middle Ages the aristocracy gradually became more sophisticated and refined.

> *"Indeed, the process of gradual refinement characterised high medieval aristocratic life as a whole, and was much needed. Most baronial castles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were nothing more than square wooden towers of two or three stories. They were usually set atop hills or artificial mounds surrounded by barracks, storehouses, stables, workshops, kitchen gardens, manure heaps, and perhaps a chapel – all enclosed, along with assorted livestock, within a large stockade. The tower (or "keep") was apt to be stuffy, leaky, gloomy, and badly heated"* (Hollister 1978:136).

These castles were built mainly for defence and provided little room for comfort. It was built in a way that would provide room for the lord and lady, his guests and servants.   Those who were really wealthy could afford to put in a private bedchamber. However, this was rare (Hollister 1978:136).

By the late Thirteenth Century castles were being built of stone and mortar and provided a safer and more accommodating haven for the aristocracy.   However, because these wealthier lords had more servants and an extended retinue, privacy remained rare (Hollister 1978:136).

"In much of Christendom war had become less incessant, and the barracks atmosphere was softening. The old military aristocracy was becoming a "high society," increasingly conscious of itself as a separate class – distinguished from others by its good breeding and good taste. And hence only the greatest landholders could afford this way of life, the aristocracy became more exclusive and rigidly defined than in its earlier, less stylish days" (Hollister 1978:136).

Therefore over a period of time the aristocracy had experienced an evolution concerning their way of life and their behaviour became more refined.

There were various views concerning the role of women in society but mainly they were expected to be submissive. "In an aristocracy of warriors, women were relegated to supporting roles" (Hollister 1978:136). However, during high-medieval Christianity this began to change with its emphasis on Mary, the virgin mother of Jesus. (Hollister 1978:137). "As the great symbol of maternal compassion, Mary became the subject of countless miracle stories. Many of Europe's greatest cathedrals were dedicated to Mary under the name of "Notre Dame" – our lady" (Hollister 1978:138).

The idealization of women continued as troubadour songs were dedicated to them and they were placed on pedestals. However, they remained objects and were seen as a threat to male superiority. Many succumbed to rape, knightly seduction and to wife-beating husbands. There still remained a huge gap between the equality of

men and women but there were examples of women assuming authority in the absence or death of their husbands or sons (Hollister 1978:138). "In the Thirteenth Century Blanche of Castile, mother of King Louis IX (St. Louis), ruled France for eight years in her son's name until he came of age and again when he was off crusading" (Hollister 1978:138). Women also played a major role in enlarging a lord's estate or in forming an alliance between nations. A daughter could be married off and bring with her a large dowry, usually in the form of land or a princess would be married off to a king or prince from another country. Therefore many of these aristocrats had extra-marital affairs, as their marriages were not based on love (Hollister 1978:138-139). Law played a major role in marriages.

Women had few rights in feudal law.

"In feudal law, wives were very much under their husband's control. A wife could not plead in court without her husband or make a will without his consent. He had complete authority over her property; only when she reached widowhood did she acquire any degree of legal independence, and even then she might find herself under pressure to remarry. Legally, the husband was boss, but in actual day-by-day functioning of family life, the wife might exercise a great deal of power. She usually ran the castle and the barony when her husband was absent (as husbands often were on wars or crusades). If a castle was attacked while the lord was away, his wife frequently commanded its defence" (Hollister 1978:139).

However, like in most marriages, husbands and wives would relate in various ways. Some husbands would be cruel while others were kind and caring (Hollister 1978:139).

Following the nobility in sound standing were the clergy. Generally speaking many of the upper clergy came from the nobility and were well educated. The lower clergy came from the poorer class and were trained basically to celebrate the mass. However, the Council of Trent would address this later in the sixteenth century by ruling that priests should be trained in a seminary.

"Despite an increase in papal power, the clergy as a whole lost some of its position. Its status was adversely affected by the conflicts between national governments and papacy, by the growth of monarchical strength whereby some of the privileges – and tasks – of the church were absorbed, by a loss of jurisdictional rights in various regions, and by problems arising from the difficulty of reconciling worldly ambition and grasping, competitive economic enterprise with the tenets of Christianity. Only to a limited extent was it possible for these losses to be compensated by the widening of the clergy's educational functions and influence" (Kirchner 1960:222).

The rise of nationalism influenced many as they looked more towards the monarchy for leadership and since some of the clergy were corrupt their influence over the laity was not what it ought to be.

The order in the Catholic Church has always been the same and therefore during the Middle Ages as well as today, were to be found the pope, bishops, priests, deacons and then the laity. The pope being the head of the church on earth. "Boncompagno in the Thirteenth Century wrote that a letter-writer must know 'the custom of men' because one writes differently to a pope, cleric, layman, knight, woman, freeman, or serf" (Constable 1995:328). Thus there seems to be an acceptance of the social order in society and the image of the Trinity was also used to divide society into groups of three especially when referring to the orders within the church. "The image of the Trinity was also applied to the orders of laymen, clerics, and monks by Bonaventura…" (Constable 1995:335). It is interesting to note that according to Bonaventura the laity ranks highest in terms of the Trinity. "Thomas Aquinas likewise compared the orders of society to the triple division of the angels in the Summa Theologica (Systematic Theology), where he followed Denis the pseudo-Areopagite and said that 'three different orders are distinguished in every hierarchy, high, middle, and low, in accordance with the various offices and activities of the angels'…" (Constable 1995:336). Thus various clerics had the idea that it was acceptable to have these divisions in society.

"Varying forms of social tripartition are found in other thirteenth century sources. Pope Gregory IX wrote to St. Louis and his wife Blanche that the

Kingdom of France had long excelled other Kingdoms and imitated the Trinity in strength, wisdom, and benevolence: 'strong in the vigour of its soldiers, wise in its clergy gifted with the knowledge of letters, benevolent in the merciful kindness of its princes'…" (Constable 1995:337).

This social tripartition continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Constable 1995:339).

However, as stated before, a new social class could be seen emerging during the High Middle Ages due to the growth and development of towns viz. the Burgher.

"The townsmen gained more than any other class from the changes which were taking place during the thirteenth century. They amassed wealth which bought them influence, and in exchange for aiding the monarch in his struggles with the nobility and providing the major part of taxes, they were accorded additional rights. Soon they, too, began to occupy important administrative offices. Moreover, in a world where money came to be essential, they had the means to pay for luxury goods and services. Those who profited the most were not producers and artisans, but the merchants. They were the ones who controlled the funds; they employed the artisans and reaped the profits of business" (Kirchner 1960:222).

This class became very powerful and dominant in society in later centuries.

Although peasants were on the lowest end of the social ladder, their condition, during the Thirteenth Century, was much better than before.

"In many regions, the process in liberating the peasant from the obligation of feudal services continued. In other regions where the status of the peasant did not change because lords of manors turned to commercial farming and could not disperse with the serf's labour, the peasant was often better rewarded for his work. Better care was taken of them in order to secure larger harvests and profits" (Kirchner 1960:222-223).

The feudal system promoted inequality as peasants born into a life of serfdom found it difficult to rise above their social situation. However, things were beginning to change although quite slowly.

In a society that was dominantly Catholic Christian, a group not of the faith was bound to find it difficult to fit in and be accepted. Such was the case with Jews in Europe.

> *"The Jews of Christian Europe had always been subjected to legal disabilities and popular bias. And their condition worsened in the High Middle Ages with the growth of Christian self-awareness, militancy, and popular devotion to the suffering Christ. Good Christian theology insists that Christ died for the sins of all humanity, but popular sentiment often held that he was murdered by the Jews"* (Hollister 1978:132).

Unfortunately during this period there were some Christian fanatics who wanted to take revenge for this. Therefore Jews were often persecuted and marginalized (Hollister 1978:132).

However, Jews played an active role in the commercial revival in Europe and some of the nobility and monarchs saw them as an asset to have in ones' kingdom because of their links with other Jewish communities throughout Europe. Therefore in the earlier centuries they were being encouraged to move to various countries.

> *"They were active in the commercial life of Italian cities throughout the early Middle Ages, and in 875 King Charles the Bold brought a community of Jews home with him from a visit to Italy and settled them in his Kingdom. Soon they spread into numerous cities of France and Germany and finally into England in the wake of the Norman Conquest of 1066. Wherever they settled, they stimulated commerce through their mercantile expertise"* (Hollister 1978:132).

The Jews led the commercial activity in the tenth and eleventh century as they were very dynamic and innovative, as they continue to be today in the business sector. It

was only during the eleventh century that north-European Christians got involved in business activities on a large scale (Hollister 1978:132).

As stated before Jews were generally seen to be second-class citizens even though they contributed so much to the economic revival in Europe.

> *"A Church council of 451 had prohibited Christians from marrying Jews, having dinner with them, or even going to Jewish physicians. Jews were not to hold Christian slaves, to take Christian oaths of fealty, or to be lords over Christians . Such rules were not strictly enforced in the early Middle Ages, but by the later twelfth century, Jews were required to wear special badges or hats so that Christians might be warned to keep their appropriate social distance"* (Hollister 1978:132).

It may seem that the church contributed to this social marginalization of Jews. Although not a great friend of the Jews, the popes tried their level best to protect them. When rumours surfaced that Jews desecrated the Holy Eucharist or that they murdered Christian infants, Pope Gregory X decreed in 1272 "that Jews arrested on such an absurd pretext be freed from captivity". Although they were protected by the Church, Kings and Emperors, much was required of them and they were often taken advantage of by the nobility (Hollister 1978:133).

> *"They borrowed heavily from Jewish burghers, milked them through arbitrary taxes, seized the property and loan accounts of Jews who had died without heirs, and charged enormous sums for the right to travel freely, enjoy a fair trial, and pass their property onto their heirs. As the High Middle Ages closed, Jews were being expelled en masse from one Kingdom after another by monarchs who coveted their wealth. By then their services as moneylenders were no longer essential; Italian bankers were providing an alternative source of credit"* (Hollister 1978:133).

This was the unfortunate social aspect of the Middle Ages and although they would be invited back in later centuries, they would be placed in ghettos (Hollister

1978:133). This social order existed everywhere although some critics of the Middle Ages found it unacceptable.

According to Constable (1995:340) some late medieval reformers, in particular Peter Chelacky, condemned the concept of the orders of society. "Chelacky held that the corporate concept of Christ's body was used to justify a division of society which led to the oppression of the workers by the rulers and clergy" (Constable 1995:340). He stated that it was unacceptable to divide society in this way and equate it to the body of Christ. For him this could not be reconciled to Christian faith as Christ's order was and should be based on love.   Therefore everyone should be treated equally according to Christian Gospel values.   He was seen to be the first revolutionary ideologist. (Constable 1995:340). Unfortunately this social situation will not change for a long time as even in the present there are still distinctions between the rich, middle-class and the poor.

1.5   **POLITICS**

The papacy played a major role in politics and this was nothing new.   Often the power shifted between the papacy and the emperor, depending on who was the stronger personage.   However, during the Thirteenth Century the political world had developed and changed.   Many of the feudal concepts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were done away with (Kirchner 1960:213).

> *"A new age dawned; it was foreshadowed by men like the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II and the French Kings Philip Augustus and Saint Louis; events and institutions such as the Interregnum in Germany and the signing of the Magna Charta in England; and the defeats of the Swedish and German knights in Russia. Law represented by bureaucracies triumphed over vague concepts of "honourable" relationships between the various estates or classes as promoted by a feudal nobility"* (Kirchner 1960:213).

This change in thought aided the growth of government in Europe as class distinctions were continuously being challenged.

The political situation in Europe was continuously changing and the Thirteenth Century saw some of the most dynamic and interesting political and papal leaders the world has ever known.

> *"As so often in the history of Germany, the transition from one stage of development to the next was abrupt. During the last two decades of the twelfth century, the Empire had reached a new apex of its power; it dominated the entire centre of Europe as far south as Sicily. Then, after less than half a century, it declined so rapidly that it became powerless, and for almost twenty years no emperor could gain recognition"* (Kirchner 1960:213).

The situation changed eventually when Frederick II ascended to the throne.

As stated by Kirchner (1960:213), Frederick II, the son of Henry VI, was one of the most remarkable leaders of the Middle Ages. Due to his background he became a very learned ruler who contributed immensely to society and the state. He grew up in Sicily, which was an area of diverse cultures, peoples and languages and he therefore had firsthand knowledge of how to engage with society at large. However, his work was seen to be out of step with the times. He did not spend much time in Germany and allowed the princes and lords to oversee the country. Most of his energy was focused on Italy and Sicily (Kirchner 1960:213-214).

> *"In northern Italy he sought, though with inconclusive results, to revive full imperial authority over the Lombard towns; in southern Italy he successfully built a modern bureaucratic, centralized government with an efficient and well-balanced tax system. His plans were astonishingly modern in their conception, and his achievements were great even though they hardly survived him"* (Kirchner 1960:214).

Unfortunately for most of his reign he was in constant conflict with the Church and was excommunicated five times. His successors failed to continue his work and the House of Hohenstaufen eventually died out. This, however, did not take anything away from the fact that he was a brilliant political leader (Kirchner 1960:215).

France was the largest Catholic country and had always been dominant in European political affairs. This would eventually be seen in the role it played in the Avignon exile when during the fourteenth century the popes would reside in France for about seventy years. This would be the first time they would ever be away from Rome and most of the popes during these seventy years would be French.

"During the thirteenth century, as in the twelfth, political developments in France took a course very different from that in the Empire. While both areas gradually abandoned feudal institutions, Germany and Italy moved in the direction of a multiplicity of independent units dominated by great lords or oligarchies of rich burghers, and France moved in the direction of a centralized state under the authority of the King" (Kirchner 1960:215).

Thus nationalism was on the rise in Europe and France led the way.

When Philip Augustus ascended the throne in 1180, he centralized authority even more. He strengthened his position by curbing the forces of disruption which had prevailed during the reign of his father, Louis VII. He withdrew many of the privileges his father had given to the nobles and required them to support his cause against England. He waged a war against England because King John and Richard the Lion-Hearted refused to accept his jurisdiction over English areas in France. He therefore occupied Normandy, Anjou and Artois and stated that England had now forfeited these possessions. He was a shrewd diplomatist and used the support of the Church to gain the upper hand against his foes. He was thus able to defeat England and Germany, its ally, at Bouvines in 1214 (Kirchner 1960:215-216).

"Philip's work was continued by his grandson Louis IX (1226-1270), who was canonized because of his kind, chivalrous, and deeply religious character. He prevented the great nobles, who had begun to use the same effective political strategy as the king himself, from again becoming too powerful. Louis secured peace within his realms by promulgating a "Truce of God," which forbade all feuds for certain periods during the year. In the same spirit of moderation, he also promoted peace with England, giving up some of the territorial gains which Philip Augustus had won" (Kirchner 1960:216).

It was King Louis IX who led the Seventh Crusade in 1248 and the Eighth in 1270. King Louis died while undertaking the Eighth Crusade which got no further than Tunis (Kirchner 1960:216).

We have a very romantic and adventurous image of King Richard the Lion-Hearted due to movies like Robin Hood, but according to Kirchner (1960:216), he was incapable as ruler of England. He was followed by his brother, King John, who Kirchner (1960:216), believes was more capable but arrogant and disliked for his cruelty. King John was a very forceful and domineering figure but his power was weakened when he was defeated in France. He also met with opposition from the Church when he tried to interfere in its affairs in England. It was during his reign that the "Magna Charta" came into effect in England (Kirchner 1960:217).

"This document (which the pope later declared as not binding) stipulated that the barons should not be tried except by their peers, that they should not be arrested arbitrarily, and that they should not be subjected to any levies, excepting the customary ones, without their consent. The Charta in no way replaced the feudal concepts with modern democratic ideas – indeed, it enhanced and reaffirmed the barons' feudal rights. Its significance lies in the fact that it subsequently enabled various groups and classes of the population to appeal to the principles it embodied – especially those of "due process of law" (Kirchner 1960:217).

This eventually led to new problems as under Henry III the middle class used the Magna Charta to their advantage by becoming more involved in politics and fighting for their rights (Kirchner 1960:216).

There were various political problems throughout Europe. Spain was still suffering occupation by the Moslems during the Thirteenth Century and was thus limited in its political activity until Pope Innocent III pushed for a re-conquest of Spain to drive the Moslems out for good. The Baltic lands were Christianised and colonized by the Danes, Germans and Swedes. This policy found support from Rome as the papacy

wanted to consolidate its influence in these areas and to reunite the Greek Orthodox Church (Kirchner 1960:217-218).

In the Byzantine Empire relations with the west deteriorated even more when the 'Fourth Crusade' was diverted to Constantinople instead of being directed towards the Holy Land as agreed upon (Tout 1941:343).

> *"Alexius III was the first ruler of Constantinople who had to defend his capital, without having the command of the sea. With next to no resistance, the Venetians and Franks passed through the Dardanelles, and encamped at Scutari. The Crusaders had made an easy conquest, but their main feeling was one of disgust that the premature surrender of the city had deprived them of a chance of a richer plunder than their imagination had ever conceived before they saw the wonders of the New Rome"* (Tout 1941:345).

The crusaders behaved atrociously and plundered the churches in Constantinople. Pope Innocent III was disgusted at their behaviour but was powerless to stop them, as it was too late. However, the people in Constantinople eventually rose up in revolt and murdered every Latin in sight (Tout 1941:345-346). The rift between the Latin West and the Greek East grew even further apart and has never been mended. Although Pope Paul VI did try to mend this rift in the 1960's when he met with the Greek patriarch to solve the problems between the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church.

1.6   CONCLUSION

Writing medieval secular history without referring to the Church and the clergy is impossible. "Without them history would become almost blank, for the church was incomparably the most important institution of the time, and its officers were the soul of nearly every enterprise" (Robinson 1944:181). The constant struggle between Church and State had always existed. During the High Middle Ages Europe was in a constant mode of revival and renewal. As has been stated reform was occurring in almost every area of life. The English language of today was born during this period. There were great strides made in the formation of government and European culture.

There was constant and dynamic development in the areas of politics and economics. The legal system began to take shape especially with the promulgation of the "Magna Charta" in England which opened up new possibilities for the ordinary citizen as far as human rights issues were concerned. There were strong political leaders on the scene, many of whom were very dominating and who had to be checked time and again. The threat of Islam and heresy also existed and had to be dealt with. People had become very materialistic with newfound wealth due to trade links with the east, and the rise of the universities enabled many Europeans to become more knowledgeable and critical. However, the Catholic Church stands out during this period, as she always does, constantly guiding people back to God. Not just with reforms brought about through her councils but through her outstanding leaders. During the twelfth century, the papacy lost much of its former zealous reform spirit as it evolved into a huge complex administrative institution. However, all this changed with the arrival of Pope Innocent III, a lawyer pope who was a diplomat, self-confident and genuinely pious. He had the insight and humility to support the Franciscans and the tenacity to mount the Albigensian Crusade. The world stage was set for one of history's most powerful popes. Here then follows an account of the pontificate of Pope Innocent III.

CHAPTER 2

POPE INNOCENT III (1198 – 1216)

2.1   INTRODUCTION

The political struggles between the church and state in the twelfth century continued in the thirteenth and eventually led to the Avignon exile in the fourteenth century. However, the reform and renewal within the church during the Thirteenth Century enabled it to influence every area of life. Spiritually the church was given new life through the rise of the new Mendicant Orders and advancement took place in areas of culture and learning that Europe had never experienced before. This renewal had a lasting impact on the church and European society which illumines the Catholic Church even today. One of the outstanding figures during this century was Pope Innocent III. "More than any Roman Pontiff apart perhaps from Gregory VII, Innocent III had an immediate, profound and lasting impact on the Church and society of his time" (Cushing 2009:1). In the annals of history he has been viewed by many as being the most influential and greatest of Popes of the medieval period. Some, such as Bokenkotter (1990:114) and Schreck (2004:56), would even go as far as to intimate that he was one of the greatest popes in the history of the Catholic Church. On what does this reputation rest and was he as dominant a figure as is believed? In the following pages an attempt will be made to answer these questions by giving an overview of his life and his pontificate. Therefore this chapter will highlight the role and function of the pope, his early life, his service in the church, his election to the papacy, his reign as pope, European conflict, conflict in Germany, English Church conflict, the reforming of Rome's civil service, spiritual renewal amongst the laity and clergy, his impact on the church and on Christian Europe, his combat of heresy, the circumstances surrounding his death and a brief conclusion. Further aspects of his pontificate will be discussed in various chapters.

2.2   <u>THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF THE POPE</u>

Firstly, however, it is important to have an understanding of what Catholics believe the role and function of the Pope to be. Catholic belief is that the Pope, every Pope, without a single exception, from Peter to Benedict XVI has been blessed, protected and chosen by Almighty God to be the spiritual leader of the Catholic Church. God has placed the Pope over the whole Church to be its spiritual guide and to be its chief custodian of Divine truth and Divine revelation. How has this come about? The words which must be given close, careful and prayerful attention were spoken on two separate occasions.

The first was when Jesus met Simon, a fisherman of Bethsaida in Galilee. Straightaway our Lord promised him a new name. "Jesus looked at him and said: 'You are Simon the son of John; you will be called Cephas' (which is translated Peter)" (John 1:42).

The second was approximately two years later, only a short while before the death of Jesus. He and the disciples were then near Caesarea Philippi in North Galilee. After asking them: "Who do people say that the Son of Man is?" and listening to their replies, He asked them another more searching and more vital question: "But who do you say that I am?" This question Peter alone answered, saying: "You are the Messiah, the son of the living God". Jesus replied: "Blessed are you, Simon, son of Jonah. For flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my heavenly Father. And so I say to you, you are Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of the netherworld shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys to the kingdom of heaven. Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt 16:15-19). From the symbolic gesture of handing over the keys to Peter it was clear to the Apostles that Jesus had chosen him to be their leader, as this was a sign of giving someone authority.

In considering these incidents it is to be noted that there was a long interval between them – one of at least two years. Yet they were very closely connected in the mind of Christ. The first was a promise and a prophecy. "You will be called Cephas" (John 1:42); the second their fulfilment: "You are Peter" (Matthew 16:18). Plainly they were not trifles but were important and significant. The Evangelist did not record mere pleasantries. Nor did our Lord make a promise and a prophecy just to whet the curiosity of bystanders. There was a deep meaning and serious purpose in what He said. He had chosen this poor fisherman to play a leading, vital and decisive part in the execution of His divine plan to set up on earth a spiritual kingdom, whose members were first to be tested and purified by many trials, and then, after their worth had been proved, were to be welcomed into His heavenly kingdom where God lives and reigns in majesty and glory.

However, it is important to remember that although some of the popes were by nature weak and inconstant, Christ who had given them this tremendous responsibility would also give them the strength, the fidelity and the knowledge of which they would always stand in need. The popes would have forever the light, the wisdom, and the strength to fulfil their appointed task.

In order to understand why many popes of the Thirteenth Century reacted the way they did, especially in the area of politics, it is necessary to go back in time to the eleventh century. Pope Gregory the Great, Pope towards the end of the sixth century, believed that the pope was responsible for the spread and renewal of the faith throughout the world. This was due to the fact that he was the supreme bishop in all Christendom. Leo IX, elected pope in 1049, together with his subsequent successors viewed the papacy in the same way. Subsequently they viewed the role the emperors had wrested from the Church to select bishops and popes, as well as owning church land, to be an infringement upon the freedom of the Church. To them, the emperors were subject to the spiritual authority of the Catholic hierarchy. This was fine to a certain point, but there was at the time no pope with a firm enough character to carry this out in practice until the advent of

Cardinal Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII in 1073. He was a pope who stood up to secular rulers like an Old Testament prophet. He published a document on the primacy of Peter, entitled *Dictatus Papae* (1075) (Command of the Pope). Here he stressed that through Christ, St Peter had been given supreme authority and therefore had the power to remove emperors from their position or to change laws that contravened those of God or Church authority. All the work he did greatly advanced the reform which the Church so desperately needed and this enabled it to attain its freedom from control of civil rulers who wanted to use the Church for their own purposes (Schreck 2004:48-49). Lay investiture was a problem that had been with the church for a while, as secular rulers tried their best to control the church by appointing clergy who they could influence.

However, the struggle over who had the right to select bishops and abbots continued in the twelfth century until a compromise was reached at the Concordat of Worms in 1122. According to Church laws, bishops and abbots would be elected, with the civil ruler investing them with civil authority if he wished. The Church would consecrate them for their spiritual office. The popes, bishops and abbots therefore found themselves with a twofold role of being spiritual as well as political leaders. This would pose many problems and difficulties for the Church as will be shown later (Schreck 2004:51).

2.3   <u>EARLY LIFE</u>

In order to understand who Pope Innocent III was, it is necessary to focus on some relevant areas of his life, especially the early years, as it was an important period in the formation of his character. Lotario de' Conti di Segni was born in 1160/61 in Gavignano, near Anagni, in Italy. He came from a famous noble family, as his father, Trasimund of Segni, was a count. This family produced nine popes, one of whom he served under, viz. Clement III. Claricia, his mother, belonged to the house of Scotti, another famous noble Roman family (Sayers 1994:16-17). Thus he came from a wealthy family which could aid him in his formative years, especially academically.

Sayers (1994:17) states that "Lothar received his earliest education in Rome, probably at the Benedictine Abbey of St Andrea al Celio, where his teacher was Peter Ismael. This suggests that he was already intended for a career in the church". This was a common practice where nobles would allow either one or more of their sons to enter the service of the Church, as the eldest son would always inherit the title and land from the father. According to Sayers (1994:17), "A son who might rise in the Roman priestly hierarchy was essential to family and dynastic interests". Therefore a father would ensure that his son received the best possible education. Early on in his career, because of his family connections, Lothar enjoyed special favour from some of the most influential clergy, like Paul Scolari, the future Clement III (Tillman 1980:2).

> *"During Lothar's years of study in Rome, the curia was not resident in the city, since after the disaster suffered by the imperial army in the fever-heat of August 1167, the ruling faction in the city still supported the emperor and his anti-popes, Paschal III and Calixtus III. Thus the antagonism between pope and emperor was already imprinted on the mind and feelings of the boy or adolescent young man" (Tillman 1980:2).*

Therefore he had first hand experience from an early age of the on-going struggle between Church and State. Like most young nobles at the time, he was attracted to Paris, which was regarded as the intellectual capital of Europe. He may have been the first pope to study in Paris. The excellent reputation the Paris schools had in the areas of philosophy and theology drew many young men there from all over Europe, who were eager to pursue careers in the curia (Tillman 1980:3). This enabled him to develop as one of the leading academics in the Church at the time. He eventually studied canon law in Bologna under Uguccio, and was regarded as a great canon lawyer. "It is to the University of Bologna that Lothar owes his excellent knowledge of jurisprudence, in which field, though not the centre of his interests, his supreme talent came into its own" (Tillman 1980:5). Uguccio's teaching on the relationship between spiritual and lay authorities would

influence the work of the future pope (Tillman 1980:5). Uguccio, in opposition to what was taught at the time, stated that both powers, i.e. temporal and spiritual, though equally from God, were independent of each other as regards their institution (Tillman 1980:5). This idea would have a lasting impact on the ideas of the pope as regards the policy of the Church.

2.4   SERVICE IN THE CHURCH

It is not clear when, but possibly during his early studies in Bologna, he was ordained Sub deacon by Pope Gregory VIII. Gregory VIII had been elected pope in 1187 and the fact that Lothar's patron, Paul Scolari, was not, showed that a more spiritual approach, rooted in the Roman civic clergy, had gained the ascendancy over a more worldly-directed movement (Tillman 1980:5). The papacy of Gregory VIII did not last long, as in the very same year Paul Scolari was elected pope, and chose the name Clement III. Due to his special relationship with Pope Clement III, and possibly because of his reputation as an intellectual, Lothar was elected to the College of Cardinals by the pope at the age of twenty-eight. The pope then invested him with the deaconship of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, which Clement III had himself held as cardinal-deacon (Tillman 1980:5). Today when a family member is elevated to an office of authority like this it may be frowned upon and looked at sceptically, but because of close family ties and the clan mentality at the time it made sense to surround oneself with trustworthy supporters.

In his evaluation of the papacy under Clement III and his successor Celestine, Tillman (1980:7) states that they were seen as weak popes and this consequently proved to be detrimental to the reputation of the papacy. Under these circumstances it must have been difficult for the young cardinal to work as auditor under Pope Celestine in many legal proceedings, as the pope proved to be erratic and unreliable in his papal policy. Lothar, as Pope Innocent III, later writes that he suffered during his cardinalcy due to the inconsistency of papal policy. During his years as cardinal he wrote three books, namely: the book on the

misery of the human condition (*De misera condicione hominis*), the book on the 'fourfold species' of marriage (*De quadripartite specie nuptiarum*), and the book on the mysteries of Mass (*De missarum mysteriis*) (Tillman 1980:7). Based on this information, it proves that he was someone of profound knowledge and intellect, who contributed to the spirituality and education of Christians by his literary works. It could not have been easy for him to find the time to write, because of his service in the curia.

2.5   ELECTION TO THE PAPACY

During the last years of Pope Celestine's life, the College of Cardinals became responsible for papal policy, and Tillman (1980:8) believes that it was probably here that Lothar assumed more responsibility and where he had shaken off his guarded approach. "Lothar of Segni was elected pope on 8 January 1198. He succeeded two Roman popes and a long line of Italians. Only Calixtus II, who was French, and Adrian IV, who was English, broke the sequence of Italians during the twelfth century" (Sayers 1994:23). Thus the tradition of the majority of popes being Italian continued. However, he was one of the most suitable candidates for election, due to his experience in the curia, his knowledge and intellect, and because of his determination. Because of the political situation in Rome, the election took place in the Septizonium, an ancient Roman temple, which was safe from outside interference and imperial troops, who were known to attempt to influence papal elections by order of the emperor (Sayers 1994:24). It is amazing that the papacy has survived over the centuries with all this turmoil surrounding it. It takes a brave man to accept this leadership role and maybe this is the reason for the short reign of many of the popes. "Apparently Lothar received a majority on the first ballot, but not the two-thirds majority made necessary by the constitution *Licet de vitanda* of the Third Lateran Council of 1179" (Sayers 1994:24). Even today a two-third majority is still required for a legitimate election to the papacy. Based on Roman law, the constitution makes no distinction among the ranks of the cardinals (i.e. whether a bishop, priest or deacon) as to voting rights, and allows an election even if only a small number of

the whole college is present, provided there is the necessary majority (Sayers 1994:24). Therefore this new ruling has saved the Church from the double elections and schisms which had proved to be so disastrous for Pope Alexander III's and previous popes reigns (Sayers 1994:24). It is a common belief that the Church, through the centuries, learns, grows and becomes stronger, once she addresses pertinent issues and engages with the world for the good of all. This is just one example of the ability and nature of the Church to adapt to a particular situation. Watson (2006:484) related that the pope on his ordination day, made plain what was to come. He said: "I am he to whom Jesus said, "I will give to you the keys to the kingdom of heaven, and everything that you shall bind up on earth shall be bound up in heaven" (Matt 16:19). He went on to say, "see then this servant who rules over the entire family; he is the vicar of Jesus Christ and the successor of Saint Peter. He stands halfway between God and man, smaller than God, greater than man" (Watson 2006:484). This statement may paint a picture of the pope as someone who was arrogant and proud. However, this is far from the truth. He was confident of his ability to lead the Church as the person who had been entrusted with the authority by God over the people. Often he had to contend with unscrupulous kings who also believed that they had been given authority by God to rule over the people.

As cited by Watson (2006:484) "Innocent believed that 'everything in the world was the province of the pope', that St Peter had been ordained by Jesus 'to govern not only the universal Church, but all the secular world', and he, Innocent, was intent on establishing, or re-establishing, a new equilibrium on earth, one that would bring a new political, intellectual and religious order to Europe".

This was reminiscent of the Golden Age of the Church during the time of the Emperor Constantine the Great, when Christianity was legalised for the first time. Perhaps Pope Innocent III hankered after this and remembered that, due to the 'Donation of Constantine', it was believed that the emperor in the fourth century had given the papal lands to Pope Sylvester I. Therefore many of the popes

entered into political alliances with various kings to protect the Papal States or to regain control over them. Immediately after his election, three doves flew into the area where the cardinals had gathered, and when Lothar was singled out from everyone else, the whitest one settled on his shoulder. People experienced visions of the pope taking the Church as his wife, but he did not like these to be reported (Sayers 1994:26). These incidents were a testimony of the reputation he was developing of being a deeply spiritual and holy man.

2.6 <u>REIGN AS POPE</u>

As one of the youngest popes ever to be elected, he made his conception of the papacy clear from the outset of his reign. Fisher (1935:276) explains that, "It was the view of Innocent that the pope was the Vicar of Christ, that he was as Melchisedec, prince and king in one, that he had the "plenitudo potestatis" (fullness of power), and that he had the right, seeing that a pope had transferred the Empire from the Greeks to the Franks, to exercise his own discretion in the choice of emperors". Today, many may find this view to be strange, but to his contemporaries there was nothing outrageous about this claim. It was common knowledge and belief that the spiritual was above the temporal power and the pope, as supreme Head of the Church, had the ultimate authority on all matters of faith and ecclesiastical discipline. He could excommunicate a sovereign, release citizens from their allegiance to a state, thus shaking the social order, or impose an interdict on someone or a state. This power was not denied, as, in the Thirteenth Century, it was agreed on the principle of a seat of authority in religion, that a supreme spiritual judge in temporal affairs, an institution that professed sanctity and justice in its rule, and where recourse to social injustices was available, was necessary. According to Fisher (1935:276) "The great multiplication of appeals to the Papal Curia under Innocent III is proof that the Roman Court met the needs of the time. Against all manner of local tyrannies and oppressions, there was in the last resort an appeal to Rome". This was an age when states were constantly at war with one another, often for very trivial reasons. The faithful needed a strong leader to guide them, especially during

these trying times, as serfs did not have any rights. Pope Innocent III regarded the jurisdictional powers of the bishops as deriving from his own fullness of power; hence, too, his vigorous and wide-ranging judicial activity, his extension of papal rights over Episcopal appointments, and his frequent efforts to make the force of his authority felt in the national churches by means of Cardinal legates, endowed with the broadest of powers. He believed that the pope could exercise his authority in both spiritual and temporal affairs, and because of his academic background, was able to implement many of his policies successfully (Fisher 1935:276). "Thus the new pope brought to the Roman question the steadfast resolution to uphold the rights of the papacy" (Poulet & Raemers 1949:489).

2.7   **EUROPEAN CONFLICT**

Pope Innocent III envisioned a united Christendom and this would only be possible once emperors altered their pursuit of dominating Europe. He realised that at first, peace would have to be re-established in Italy and Germany (Poulet & Raemers 1949:489). According to Poulet & Raemers (1949:489) this was one of the reasons for the pope calling for a crusade. He would thus change the focus of these nations and give them a common goal of uniting under one banner to win back the Holy Land for Christendom. At the outset of his pontificate, his involvement in politics was quite prolific. By a stroke of luck he was able to control Sicily since the future Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, was too young to fulfil his role as king. Pope Innocent III accepted Frederick as his ward on the death of Constance, the king's mother. The Empress Constance had earlier given up certain ecclesiastical privileges and had accepted papal protection over Sicily and therefore the pope accepted as King of Sicily her young son, Frederick. The pope was a shrewd diplomat and was already proving to be an exceptional leader in the political melting pot of Europe. Due to Pope Innocent III's strong character, he was able to wrest provinces of the church from the hands of ambitious magistracy and vassals. Poulet & Raemers (1949:490) point out that German margraves were acting on behalf of Henry VI by ruling these areas and that Innocent III implemented fast and radical changes in this state of affairs. He

constrained many of the factions that were tearing Italy apart by despatching messengers to the barons, giving them an ultimatum to either swear allegiance to him or be removed from their offices. Since many of the Italian provinces were in the hands of the Germans, he considered himself the head of the anti-Germanic movement (Poulet & Raemers 1949:490). "In this manner the entire peninsula was returned to the Italians and entrusted to the care of the papacy" (Poulet & Raemers 1949:490). He thus proved to be very persuasive locally and internationally in his policy, by subduing the power-hungry nobility.

2.8   CONFLICT IN GERMANY

Pope Innocent III was in constant conflict with foreign rulers, as can be attested to especially in relation to Germany, England and France. In Germany there were two nobles vying for the throne, namely the Hohenstaufen Philip of Swabia, brother of Henry VI, and Otto of Brunswick, of the House of Saxony. Both appealed to the pope, who decided in favour of Otto. One of the reasons for the pope's choice was that he did not want to give the impression that he favoured a hereditary empire. This would be the case if Philip, Henry's brother, was chosen. When Philip was assassinated in 1208, Otto finally gained the ascendancy he needed. However, Otto proved to be deceitful and overbearing (Poulet & Raemers 1949:490-491). "He set out to conquer the entire Italian peninsula, seized the states bequeathed to the papacy by the Margravine Matilda, claimed that all the states of the Church belonged to him, and prepared to take over also the possessions of the pope's ward, Frederick II, in the two Sicilies" (Poulet & Raemers 1949:491). The pope had to contend with one of the worst tyrants in Europe and was forced to deal with this situation swiftly. It was for these reasons that Pope Innocent III finally excommunicated him. The pope gained the support of Philip Augustus of France, who defeated Otto and his army at Bouvines in 1214. Pope Innocent III had persuaded Philip Augustus to enter into this war by stating that an alliance between Otto and John Lackland of England would prove disastrous to the French King (Poulet & Raemers 1949:491). Once again he proved to be an astute diplomatist who was able to sum up a situation that was

threatening not only to Rome but also to Europe and bring about dramatic changes to the leadership structure of the region.

2.9   ENGLISH CHURCH CONFLICT

A similar state of affairs could be found in England. Conflict arose because King John insisted that Bishop John Gray of Norwich replace the late Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of the kingdom. However, the monks of the cathedral had already elected their sub-prior Reginald as a replacement and there were thus two candidates for the Archbishopric. To maintain peace, Pope Innocent III chose Stephen Langton, professor at the University of Paris. Stephen Langton had been a contemporary of Lothar while he was a student in Paris and had recently been appointed a cardinal. The king felt that this was an encroachment by the Church of Rome in the internal affairs of England and because his despotic plans were spoiled, he confiscated the goods of the cathedral and evicted the monks. He went even further by introducing a heavy tax on the clergy against the protests of the Archbishop of York, whom he later exiled (Poulet & Raemers 1949:491-492). Pope Innocent III was thus forced to place England under interdict and when King John threatened to exile any of the clergy who obeyed the sentence, Pope Innocent III had him excommunicated. Threatened by an invasion by the pope's ally, Philip Augustus of France, King John finally capitulated and agreed to all the demands of Rome (Poulet & Raemers 1949:492). It was these events which later led to the formulation of the Great Charter or Magna Charta Libertatum (Liberties) of England. In the first article, the liberties of the Church were stipulated i.e. "Let the Church in England be free and let her rights be complete and her liberties unhampered" (Poulet & Raemers 1949:492). Because of this, the kings of England that followed refrained from interfering in ecclesiastical elections. However, the involvement of Rome in this dispute was to be cited later by King Henry VIII in the sixteenth century when he sought to break ties with the universal Church and to establish an independent Church of England. After the death of Innocent III, Pope Honorius reaffirmed his acceptance of the Great Charter after several

amendments had been made (Poulet & Raemers 1949:492). Therefore the role played by Pope Innocent III in the affairs of the Church in England cannot be underestimated. As has been stated, he was directly involved in the struggle for liberty of the Church, especially in the appointment of clergy, as the state had no right to interfere.

2.10 <u>CONFLICT IN FRANCE</u>

Pope Innocent III's influential leadership extended to the Church in France as well. "In August, 1193, Philip Augustus had married, as his second wife, Ingeborg, a sister of King Canute III of Denmark. Almost immediately, however, he conceived a strange aversion towards her and sought to repudiate her. A council of bishops and barons convened at Amiens and annulled the marriage" (Poulet & Raemers 1949:492). The pope at the time was Celestine III who sent representatives to France after Ingeborg had appealed to him. However, these legates were placed against their will in the monastery at Clairvaux and in open defiance of the pope, Philip married Agnes of Meran, daughter of a Bavarian nobleman. Once Pope Innocent III was elected, he showed his sensitivity toward women by sending letters of protest to the king. The French Kingdom was placed under interdict and although the king was enraged by this, he eventually had to give in due to the indignation of his subjects (Poulet & Raemers 1949:493). It becomes apparent that the popes wielded a considerable amount of influence over kings, largely in part due to the Catholic faithful. Many Catholics were loyal to the pope and therefore because of their dissatisfaction with a particular ruler, the kings were quick to relent and seek reconciliation with Rome. Either that or rulers would invade the Papal States.

2.11 <u>REFORMING OF ROME'S CIVIL SERVICE</u>

Pope Innocent III was a great reformer and proved this in many ways. The Pope believed that it was better to have a few good servants than many bad ones. "Innocent III took office with this intention and he started by reforming his own

household" (Gontard 1964:261). Always leading from the front when corruption was rife even among the clergy who had become worldly, he exchanged the gold and silver vessels that were being used in his residence for vessels of glass and wood. Unlike many bishops who did favours for the nobility by employing members from their families, he instead chose helpers from the monastic orders. He thus made a bold statement by doing this, which was to show simply that he would not be influenced by any nobles. After his home he changed the entire administrative and civil operation of Rome. He implemented the practice of Leo the Great by once again taking the role of Father to the Romans. This was a positive move because of the many factions within Rome itself. The prefect who was a representative of the Romans was removed and replaced with a commandant responsible and answerable to the pope only. He brought about further sweeping reforms by replacing the city's officials on land with papal officials. He thus strengthened his position of authority within Rome itself. Everyone i.e. nobles and commoners, had to swear allegiance to the pope. Many felt that this was an infringement on their liberty and an attempt was made on his life. However, once people became acquainted with his views and resistance subsided, the pope gained full control of Rome in 1205 (Gontard 1964:262). Once his house was in order, so to speak, he was able to focus on more pertinent issues within the church. Two of the most important were the lack of spiritual growth amongst the people and a corrupt clergy. Due to these reasons, and the fact that some of the older, more established orders had become worldly, many of the laity were searching for a deeper meaning to life.

2.12 <u>SPIRITUAL RENEWAL AMONGST THE LAITY AND CLERGY</u>

There was a spiritual hunger among the people and many had become worldly due to the fact that they had become more prosperous. Pope Innocent III therefore had to address this in some way. Many people had become disillusioned and needed strong leadership to guide them.

"The problem before the papacy in the thirteenth century was how best to control a society greatly enriched in its experience through the crusades, more travelled, more acquisitive, more pleasure-loving, but also, partly by reason of this opening-out of the near eastern world and the tumultuous development of lay interests which followed in its train, and partly owing to the revival of intellectual life, more disturbed in its beliefs" (Fisher 1935:277).

The earlier crusades had inadvertently brought about an effect on the west that was unforeseen. Although the Moslems were seen to be pagans and barbarians, the crusaders gradually became impressed with their valour and courtesy. They were influenced by the seductive nature of the east, the climate, the dignity of the women and their intellectual prowess.

"The enlargement through the crusades of western experience and material wealth was immense. Arts and crafts of the Orient, rich, intricate, and costly, strange lands and peoples were made familiar to a society, limited and largely barbarised by a long series of public calamities and only just emerging from the dominion of anarchy and fear" (Fisher 1935:249).

The Crusaders worldview had changed and many of the crusaders returned with a perception of the world holding an opportunity for adventure and advancement as towns grew in Europe due to the wealth that flooded in from the east. People became very materialistic as certain places like Venice grew as commercial empires, thus leading many across Europe spiritually further from God. However, Christians learnt something of Arab medicine, chemistry and accountancy, which would later aid Europe in its development and growth in these various fields of study (Fisher 1935:249).

A people who had become more worldly, more knowledgeable and more experienced in life, due to contact with Moslems and people in the Byzantine East, needed something to fill their spiritual void. Into this milieu arose the new

mendicant orders that drew people back to God through their strict observance of poverty and their wonderful example of charity towards the poorest of the poor and the sick. "The decline of the Cistercian Order coincided with the passing of the importance of cloistered monasteries" (Dowley 1977:260). This was mainly due to the fact that although it had been the most influential of the new orders founded in the eleventh century, towards the end of the twelfth century the Cistercians had become lax and ineffective. They had grown prosperous and were known more for their agricultural exploits than their spiritual life (Dowley 1977:259-260). Therefore the new orders were received like a breath of fresh air throughout Europe. Due in large part to the Franciscans, founded by St Francis, and the Dominicans, founded by St Dominic, the church was able to renew itself spiritually from within. It was, many believed, very insightful of Pope Innocent III to approve the Franciscan order albeit verbally in 1210, simply because it was very difficult for new orders to get recognition and be canonically established. The reason for this was that there were already many religious orders in existence and some were causing division in the Church due to their heretical views. Therefore the Church became very weary of anyone wanting to start a new order. Because of their simplistic lifestyle and faithfulness, especially to their vow of celibacy, they were able to win over many people and their orders grew rapidly. This enabled them to send preachers far and wide, and to establish communities throughout Europe. Therefore during the Pontificate of Innocent III two of the greatest and influential saints the world has ever known lived and contributed immensely to re-christianising Europe.

2.13 <u>IMPACT ON THE CHURCH, ON CHRISTIAN EUROPE AND COMBAT OF HERESY</u>

The impact Innocent III has had on the Church, and on Christian Europe, redefined the role of the pope. He was able, due to his theories of the papal monarchy, to enhance the development of the papacy. He was the first to take the title Vicar of Christ, unlike previous popes who chose the title Vicar of Peter.

This reiterates the fact that the pope had received his authority directly from Jesus, our God. He thus reminded everyone that Christ Himself had appointed Peter, of whom the pope was the legitimate successor. His bold outlook and stance enabled him to withstand the negative response he received at the beginning of his pontificate due, to his policies. He lived in an interesting and turbulent period but responded to the crises by suppressing heresies that threatened to split the Church. Some may feel that the response was harsh but people were being led astray by false doctrine.

The Albigensian heresy in France was subdued after the pope had exhausted every possible means of negotiation. Unfortunately the nobles involved committed atrocities, which the pope had no way of controlling. The pope provided strong leadership, which gave Europe a sense of unity and purpose, especially when the national leaders joined forces for a crusade to free the Holy Land from Moslem domination.

One of Pope Innocent III's greatest achievements would be convening the Fourth Lateran Council. Here the strong legal side of his pontificate could be seen especially in the area of canon law, where he defined certain sacraments like marriage. This is regarded as one of the greatest of councils in the history of the church because of the effects and reforms brought about.

According to Walsh (1913:337) "It is to Pope Innocent III that we owe the modern city hospital as we have it today". He recognised the need for a city hospital to care for the sick and injured. It was built near St Peter's and was named the 'Hospital of the Holy Spirit'. People coming to Rome admired it and used the hospital as a model for their own cities. Thus his great humanitarian work could be seen here as well. Walsh (1913:338) states that "Virchow in his 'History of the Foundations of the German Hospitals', has a list of over one hundred towns in Germany in which hospitals of the Holy Spirit, or medical institutions modelled on this hospital at Rome were founded". His work did not stop here as his

successors took up this ideal and after his death did much to bring about the fulfilment of his intentions in the area of medical care for everyone.

Pope Innocent III raised the papacy to new heights and won back the loyalty and respect of the Christian faithful. His legacy could also be seen by many of the popes who followed his lead during this period. One such pope was Pope Boniface VIII who was pope at the end of the Thirteenth Century. He wrote one of the most important encyclicals/letters dealing with the authority of the pope viz. 'Unam Sanctam' (One Holy). He also introduced the Jubilee or Holy Year which drew thousands to Rome for a time of prayer.

The Holy or Jubilee Year inaugurated by Boniface VIII in 1300 is especially significant in the history of the church. Therefore it is important to try and understand it more fully. The whole idea of the Holy Year goes back to the Old Testament.

> *"The word "jubilee" is derived from the Hebrew word Jobel which means "a ram's horn". The celebration was proclaimed in fact in Old Testament times by this loud speaker of those days. This idea is taken up in the book of Leviticus when it is stated as follows: "You shall sanctify the fiftieth year and shall proclaim remission to all the inhabitants of your land: for it is the year of Jubilee" (Lev 25:10). Therefore this was to be a time of peace, forgiveness and joy. It was meant to be for everyone and the Latin word "Jubilatio", from which the church derives the word "jubilee", conveys this whole understanding of good tidings" (Wheeler 1974:3-4).*

Everyone is aware of the importance for Jews and Christians of the Sabbath day, which is a day of rest. For the Jews, God was seen to be a part of every area of their lives and therefore in agricultural communities they had a similar practice where the seventh year was one in which there was no ploughing or reaping. This concept then developed into the fiftieth year which follows the seven times seven times seven (Wheeler 1974:4).

This idea continued in the New Testament with a proclamation by Jesus. "The spirit of the Lord is upon me; he has sent me to announce good news to the poor, to proclaim release for prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind; to let the broken victims go free, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour" (Luke 4:18-21). This is the account taken from St Luke's gospel where Jesus on his return to Nazareth goes into the synagogue and reads from Isaiah. The last part of this important phrase refers explicitly to the Jubilee. After Jesus had read this passage he continued by telling those present that this had today been realised. In actual fact it could be said that the first Christian Jubilee had been proclaimed (Wheeler 1974:4).

According to Oestereich (1907:7) 200,000 pilgrims were constantly in the city of Rome during the Holy year. They came from all over Europe and even from Asia to pay their respects to the Vicar of Christ. As future popes realised the importance of celebrating the Holy Year the time period was shortened between each. *"Pope Urban thought that as man's life-span was short the Holy Year should be every 33 years: corresponding with the length of Our Lord's Life. For the same reason Pope Paul II made it every 25 years. And so it has remained ever since with some slight variants due to historical circumstances"* (Wheeler 1974:15).

The most recent Jubilee Year celebration was inaugurated by the late Pope John Paul II in 2000 and drew millions of pilgrims to Rome. Thus the enduring attraction of the Holy Year has remained and Pope Boniface VIII will always be remembered for the major role he played in giving to the church this beautiful celebration.

2.14 <u>CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING HIS DEATH</u>

Gontard (1964:270-271) describes the events surrounding the popes demise by stating that Pope Innocent III died at the age of fifty-six, only eight months after the close of the Fourth Lateran Council. He had been pope for 18 years. The pope, who had not travelled much, was on his way to Pisa and Genoa to facilitate a peace treaty between these two seaport cities. Throughout his pontificate, Pope Innocent III had suffered from a recurring fever. He finally succumbed to this sickness and passed away on Saturday, 16th July 1216. Legend has it that

on his deathbed the pope asked for his friend St Francis of Assisi, who arrived in time to pray for him.   While he was lying in the Cathedral of Perugia his vestments were stolen and thus he lay in poverty until he was buried. Only seven hundred years later were his remains returned to Rome.

2.15   **CONCLUSION**

Pope Innocent III proved to be a leader of exceptional ability and a man of strong character.

> *"From a religious standpoint Innocent's rule was transformed and revitalized the papacy. His organizational genius, as well as his exceptional abilities in canon law must still place him as one of the greatest popes of all time. Innocent's farsightedness in dealing with the Waldenses, and his employment of St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assisi was a stroke of genius for a Church that had rarely ever sought to debate what was in its opinion "orthodox""* (Arch 2009 : 4).

As a final point it can be stated that as pope, Innocent III did his level best to maintain unity among Christians, to aid in spiritual renewal by acknowledging the new Mendicant Orders, and allowing them to spread the faith, teaching by clarifying aspects of doctrine and ultimately being a holy man who, through his humanitarian efforts, has left a legacy for all Christians. Further aspects of his pontificate will be discussed and assessed in more detail under various chapters.   The following chapter deals with one of the most important councils of the Thirteenth Century viz. the Fourth Lateran Council.

CHAPTER 3

REFORM THROUGH COUNCILS: THE FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL

3.1   INTRODUCTION

Various factors contributed to renewal in the Thirteenth Century and the councils convened were a major source of guidance for the Catholic Church during an often-turbulent period. Jesus Christ commissioned the Church to teach all nations and this is the main function of the councils. The bishops together with the pope issue documents and legislation, which continue the task of proclaiming the revealed word to the world. Often because of heresy, the church takes a pro-active stance by defining its teaching in the doctrinal documents of the various councils throughout its two thousand year history. Thus the Catholic Church remained true to its tradition by convening, during the Thirteenth Century, three important councils. This chapter highlights what an ecumenical council is, the Fourth Lateran Council and it's Constitutions.

3.2   THE DEFINITION OF AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

The word Catholic means universal and is therefore inclusive. Bishops from all over the world are summoned to a council so that it can be representative of all Catholics. According to Watkin (1960:5), the Catholic interpretation of an ecumenical Council is a universal or general Council. *"The word ecumenical derives from a Greek word meaning the habitable world, but in practice often restricted to the Roman Empire. As understood by Roman Catholic theology, it is a council to which all diocesan bishops of the church are invited"* (Watkin 1960:5). A diocese is an area assigned to a particular bishop in which he is the shepherd and legal representative of the Catholic Church.

"Cardinals, whether bishops or not, are also members of an ecumenical council. Indeed at some of the earlier Latin councils abbots were numerous, sometimes even outnumbering the bishops. Moreover it became customary in

the Middle Ages to invite representatives of secular governments, though they had no voice in framing or enacting councillor decrees" (Watkin 1960:5-6).

Therefore because of the importance of councils in the life of the Church the laity were invited as well to some of the councils but strictly as observers.

However, the bishops together with the pope comprise the teaching authority of the Church and are therefore the most important people at any council.

"According to present Canon Law, the law of the Church, it must be convened by the pope and its decrees sanctioned and promulgated by him. Only then is it accepted as ecumenical and its doctrinal decrees as invested with the infallibility claimed by the church as depository and interpreter of Divine Revelation" (Watkin 1960:6).

Therefore the pope as the Head of the Catholic Church, according to its law, has the final decision. However, no new doctrine is ever given, as whatever is promulgated at any council has to be consistent with scripture and the tradition of the Church. Doctrine is always clarified and unfolded for the Church in order for Catholics to have a deeper understanding of their faith.

The gift of infallibility has been given to the church by God and is exercised on her behalf by the pope. As Jesus promised, the Holy Spirit would guide the Church in Truth, and therefore on matters of faith and morals the Church can never err when the pope speaks from the chair of Peter (ex Cathedra) (from the throne).

"Since the solemn definitions of doctrine by the pope, for example Pope Pius IX's definition of Mary's Immaculate Conception, Pope Pius XII's of her bodily Assumption are infallible without any confirmation by the Church, councils may appear superfluous. Certainly they are not indispensable. For the first three hundred years of the Church's existence there were none – they were indeed in practice impossible when the Christian religion was proscribed by the State. Between 869 and 1123 no general council was summoned. Nor

was there any during the three centuries which separated the council of Trent from the Vatican Council" (Watkin 1960:6).

Therefore it was a stroke of genius that Pope Innocent III decided to take matters into his own hands by calling a council. He proved that he was proactive and wanted to address important critical issues facing the Church with his fellow bishops.

3.3   THE FOURTH LATERAN COUNCIL (1215)

Pope Innocent III was a man of vision and knew that faced with the current situation in Europe, it was important to come together with church leaders to discuss and define certain church matters. According to Watkin (1960:111), Pope Innocent III was the greatest medieval pope. There was a constant struggle between church and state over the question of secular authority. Innocent III claimed authority over both the spiritual and temporal spheres.

"The practical weakness of the imperial claim to supremacy over Catholic Christendom as contrasted with the papal was the fact that whereas the supreme ecclesiastical authority of the Pope was accepted everywhere, imperial authority was confined to a portion of the area. Elsewhere supreme temporal jurisdiction devolved upon a national monarch. Under such circumstances belief in one head of the Christian society must operate in favour of the papacy against the empire. On the other hand the national monarch because he confines his claim to jurisdiction to the area where it is effectively exercised, will succeed, when the emperor had failed, and not only assert his independence of the papacy in the temporal sphere but restrict in many ways the pope's ecclesiastical government" (Watkin 1960:114).

It was the constant interference by secular rulers in the affairs of the Church that proved to be one of the main reasons for the convening of this particular council, together with the spiritual challenges faced.

Watkin (1960:114), states that it was because of these circumstances and to aid his endeavour, a papal government and organization of Christendom, that Pope Innocent III convened the Fourth Lateran Council.

> *"It was a far more important and imposing assembly than the previous papal councils. And it was marked by two innovations. The Council was prepared for two years before it met. Preliminary invitations were despatched. And the membership was no longer confined to the clergy"* (Watkin 1960:114-115).

Pope Innocent III proved to be a man of vision and a real innovator.

> *"In addition to 19 cardinals (the medieval college was very small) and some 400 archbishops and 800 religious superiors there were representatives of the laity in large numbers. All the secular governments from empires and kingdoms down to municipalities and feudal rulers were represented. It was not that the layman would have a share in framing or discussing the Councils decrees – that was very far from the Pope's intention"* (Watkin 1960:115).

The pope wanted the whole church to be represented and not just the clergy. In particular he wanted the laity there simply because some of the decrees would be focused on them. (Watkin 1960:115).

> *"The bishops came from Italy, a majority of course, France, the British Isles, Germany (a few), and Latin prelates from the East. The Maronite patriarch, ruler of the Syrian Community in the Lebanon (to this day united to the Holy See) attended, also two bishops from Livonia and Estoria"* (Watkin 1960:115).

The universal church was well represented at this council which was a good sign of support shown for the pope by the bishops and laity.

According to Watson (2006:488), this was one of the three most important councils in the history of the Catholic Church, together with the Council of Nicaea in AD 325, and the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. As stated before, preparation for the council took two years, which goes to show that the pope wanted to be well

prepared and organized for the bishops and laity when the issues he wanted addressed would be brought forward. However, before they met for the first sessions, private meetings were held to discuss various issues (Watkin 1960:115).

Therefore decisions concerning the faith were not made on the spur of the moment but happened after a long process of dialogue.

> *"The Church will teach the truth, though it can never exhaust that truth and can always state it more fully and clearly. To claim this was to make a statement not about the fidelity of the Church but about the faithfulness of God Himself to His saving work. This preservation from error is assured above all at those crucial moments when the bishops in Council solemnly and formally commit the Church to a point of teaching concerning its belief and practice"* (Stewart 1982:10).

Thus it becomes clear that the church has to take care, through consultation and study, to present the faith accurately so as to remain faithful to God. According to Harney (1948:23), it is pre-eminently the pope's duty to guard the Church against errors or false teaching. Therefore whatever is put forward at any Council has to have his approval. The same ruling applied at the Fourth Lateran Council.

Pope Innocent III tried in vain to convince the Greeks to attend but they refused. This was unfortunate as two of the seventy canons or laws prepared by the pope and accepted by the Council, dealt with the affairs of the Greek Church (Dvornick 1961:54). "With desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you before I suffer" (Luke 22:15). It was with these words of our Lord, and as if he had a feeling that he would die soon, that Pope Innocent III opened the great Council of the Lateran on November 11, 1215. As stated before, the Church was well represented as everyone knew that this would be an important council which would have far reaching consequences for the life of the entire church and for Europe (Jedin 1960:78). Thus from the outset Pope Innocent III made it clear that the church was facing many dangers which could not be ignored and which had to be addressed.

Thus when Pope Innocent III opened the council he addressed the assembly by speaking firstly about the dangerous position of the Holy Land and of the Albigenses in Southern France. The Holy Land was being occupied by the Moslems and it was therefore unsafe for Christian pilgrims to travel there. In Southern France the Albigensian heresy was spreading and these two international issues seem to have been foremost on the pope's agenda. Reports made to the council by the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Bishop of Agde in South Western France gave substance to the pope's fears of this situation (Watkin 1960:115).

Jedin (1960:78), states that only three sessions were held at the Fourth Lateran Council and they were held on the 11, 20 and 30 of November 1215.

> *"At the second session (20th November) the Pope as suzerain of England excommunicated the barons who had risen against John and Archbishop Langton who had supported them, nullified, as extorted by force, John's oath to observe Magna Carta. Innocent no doubt saw the Charter, not without reason, as an attempt by the barons to weaken the royal authority established by Henry II and return to the baronial anarchy of Stephen's reign. The session, however, was principally occupied with rival claims to the empire, of Otto of Brunswick and Frederick II still a minor and Innocent's ward. When the discussion led to a brawl between the representatives of Milan and the Court of Montferrat, Innocent dissolved the session"* (Watkin 1960:115-116).

Thus political affairs were brought forth at the council simply because they affected peace in Europe and ultimately had consequences for the Church which had to co-exist with heads of state in these various regions.

The final and third meeting was held on the 30th November. Therefore there were not many sessions held at the council simply because there was so much preparation involved and thus very little time wasting.

> *"Innocent peremptorily declared Frederick Emperor and conferred part of the possessions of Count Raymond of Toulouse on the Catholic leader Simon de Montfort. The doctrine of the Trinity propounded by Abbot Joachim of Flora in*

which he would seem to have distinguished insufficiently between the Godhead and the Persons, was condemned but, in welcome contrast to the anathemas of some earlier councils, his orthodoxy of intention and holy life were recognised. No less than 70 decrees were passed" (Watkin 1960:116).

With this kind of decision making the pope was proving to be a real father figure to the clergy and he thus became renowned for his patience and understanding.

However, not all the schemes tabled by the Pope were accepted by the council. "The Council rejected a scheme put forward by the Pope to finance the curia by a system of regular contributions levied universally" (Watkin 1960: 116). This showed that the council's role was not superferlous, as in certain situations the bishops could reject a proposal put forward by the Pope. This showed that the governing nature of the Church was not one of a dictatorship.

Inevitably the majority of the decrees of the Council focused on the faith.

"Two canons are Professions of Faith directed repeatedly against the Cathars and Joachims' Trinatarian error. In the former, which affirms the sacraments against Catharist denial, the term 'transubstantiation' was officially used for the first time to denote the change at consecration of bread and wine into Our Lords' Body and Blood. This, however, was not a doctrinal development. It was purely a matter of terminology" (Watkin 1960:116).

The Church had always accepted the Real Presence of Our Lord in the Eucharist and this term just allowed her to unfold this doctrine in a manner that would be easier for people to understand if they wanted to explain what happens during the consecration at Holy Mass.

Many decrees were passed concerning the governance of the Church.

"Decrees were passed on the rights of patriarchal sees, on provincial councils, on the procedure of Church courts trying criminal charges. Since, for the time being, the See of Constantinople was in Latin hands, the decree of Chalcedon

which accorded it second place before the other Eastern patriarchates, was at last accepted by the papacy. Every church sufficiently wealthy must provide a teacher for poor clerics, every metropolitan church in addition a teacher of theology" (Watkin 1960:116).

Thus Pope Innocent III showed his intention of improving the education of the clergy, as at this time there were no seminaries to train and educate priests. He also tried to improve their way of living and the example they were giving to the faithful. Therefore he passed canons against clerical incontinence, drunkenness, gambling, hunting and the wearing of secular dress. Clerics were also forbidden to take part in trials involving a capital sentence, participate in executions, fight, or even act as surgeon, since this involved bloodshed. The corruption of the clergy was therefore addressed as well as their spiritual way of living (Watkin 1960:117). "The clergy must attend the divine office, say or hear Mass regularly. For there are priests, even bishops who say Mass hardly four times a year, neglect even to hear it and when they do chatter with lay folk and pay no attention to the Mass" (Watkin 1960:117). The pope knew that if the clergy reformed they would be able to draw people back to God. He was therefore a pope who would not back down, and who demanded of the clergy that they live holy lives in accord with their divine calling. These reforms have been instrumental in helping many of the clergy to change as they challenged their way of living. Even today the clergy are still required to attend the divine office every day and to celebrate Mass regularly. So these reforms introduced by Pope Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council have had a far-reaching impact on the church.

The spiritual wellbeing of the laity was also addressed. "Every Catholic of either sex must confess at least once a year to his/her Parish priest and receive Holy Communion" (Watkin 1960:117). This reform has also remained the same, as it is still today, binding on all Catholics. The sacrament of baptism regarding infants was also addressed.

"The sacrament of baptism (which is celebrated in water at the invocation of God and of the undivided Trinity, viz. the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit) conduces to the salvation of children as well as adults when duly conferred by anyone according to the church's form. If, after receiving baptism, anyone

shall have lapsed into sin, he can always be restored through true penance" (Neuner & Dupuis 1983:17).

Therefore this council just affirmed what had been believed before, that baptism was necessary for salvation and that afterward if someone sinned they at least could go to confession where their sins would be forgiven.

Another issue that was addressed by the Council was the teaching of the Waldensians, who had a belief similar to that of the Albigensians in Southern France. Pope Innocent III had already stipulated what Catholic belief was in 1208 when writing against the Waldensians. The Fourth Lateran Council affirmed the Church's belief that "… the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one God … Creator, maker, ruler and provider of all things, corporeal and spiritual, visible and invisible. We believe that one and the same God is author of the Old and the New Testaments" (Neuner & Dupuis 1983:115). The Albigensian and Waldensian heresy was rejected and condemned as their dualistic teaching of matter being evil and of the spirit being good was unacceptable. This heresy had resurfaced, as in early centuries in the history of the Church it went under another name, that of Manichaeism. Sometimes decrees were passed at previous councils but often were not implemented by some clergy.

The lack of discipline and disobedience by some of the clergy proved to be very problematic. "Once more pluralism was condemned. Its prohibition by the Third Lateran Council had produced little effect" (Watkin 1960:117). Pluralism was the holding of more than one ecclesiastical position at the same time by one person. Canons were also introduced that regulated legal procedure.

"Patrons must respect the rights of the clergy they appoint to a benefice. For good cause and with papal sanction, the clergy may offer voluntary contributions to their rulers. The matriarchal impediment of consanguinity, relationship by blood, and affinity, relationship by marriage, was restricted to the fourth degree, third cousins" (Watkin 1960:117).

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The Pope's strong legal sense as a canon lawyer is clearly seen here, as this reform was long overdue.

"For in a population comparatively small and composed of communities mainly stationery, the impediments of consanguinity and affinity, hitherto imposed to the seventh degree, sixth cousins, the latter moreover contracted by any sexual relationship however casual, must have made marriage extremely difficult and extremely uncertain. The canon, moreover, pointed out that the fourth degree is recommended by the fact that the body is composed of four humours, the world composed of four elements! Clandestine marriages, that is marriages not solemnised publicly in church, were forbidden. They were not, however, declared invalid until the Council of Trent" (Watkin 1960:117-118).

Therefore this canon made it easier for people to get married and this reform aided the church in its development and understanding of the sacrament of marriage.

As stated previously, there was a strong legal content to the decrees promulgated at the Fourth Lateran Council. "Tithes were to have a priority over any other tax. During an interdict bishops might say an occasional Mass in private. Itinerant preachers in quest of alms must be authorised by the Pope or diocesan bishop" (Watkin 1960:118). This reform enabled the church to better control those clergy who were abusing the function of requesting money for the church and those less fortunate. "Several Canons were passed against simony. Though voluntary offerings at marriages and funerals were to be encouraged, they must not be demanded" (Watkin 1960:118). Simony was the buying or selling of church privileges such as pardons and were rightfully condemned. The giving of a Mass stipend or offering to the priest is still encouraged today but the same rule applies, that it is not to be demanded. The Council made various pronouncements concerning different aspects in the life of the Church.

The two-year preparatory period for the Fourth Lateran Council proved to be an excellent innovation by Pope Innocent III as enough time was given to dealing with problematic areas in the life of the Church.

> *"Besides its doctrinal pronouncements on the Catholic faith (cf. nn. 19-21) and on the mystery of the Trinity (cf. nn. 317-320), the council also promulgated other "Constitutions" mostly concerned with practical matters, for instance liturgical (cf. nn. 1201-1202). Among these is found a chapter forbidding converts from Judaism to retain their Jewish practices"* (Neuner & Dupuis 1983:289).

This pronouncement may seem harsh but has to be understood in its historical context. The Church was trying to free the Holy Land from the Moslems and therefore anyone converting to Catholicism had to break completely with past practices. However, the church failed to give attention to the religious tradition inherited by the Jews from Judaism (Neuner & Dupuis 1983:289).

The pronouncements of the Council covered a wide range. As stated before the laity were now required to go to confession once a year.

> *"The Council is a landmark in the history of ecclesiastical penance. In its Symbol it re-asserts the power of the Church to forgive sins, against the anti-clerical sects of the Albigensians and the Waldensians (cf. n. 21). Concerning the discipline of penance it prescribes as a minimum the annual confession in connection with the rule of the annual reception of the Eucharist"* (Neuner & Dupuis 1983:428).

According to Neuner & Dupuis (1983:428), this rule put an end to the uncertainty of the past about how often one needed confession or penance. Therefore this reform enabled the Church to serve the laity more adequately in this all important area of Catholic life. This rule is still applied today. However, Catholics are encouraged to go more often than once a year. "The Council also exhorts the priests to fulfil the spiritual and pastoral office in the administration of sacramental penance (cf. DS 813); finally it puts strict sanctions on the breach of the seal of sacramental confession" (Neuner & Dupuis 1983:428). Thus the Council states that if any priest breaks the seal of confession he is to be deposed from the priestly office and to be placed in a closed monastery to do perpetual penance (Neuner & Dupuis 1983:429).

From this statement it is clear how seriously the Church regarded the privacy and confidentiality that is incumbent upon the sacrament of penance.

Like the early councils of the twelfth century, the councils of the Thirteenth Century reveal a similar trend. There is a tendency to focus on legal decisions concerned with the procedure of Church courts, elections, and property rights. This was a period when Canon Law i.e. the law of the church, was being codified and formulated. This is why someone who was a Canon Lawyer, like Pope Innocent III, could advance as far as they did. However, as stated before, the reforms brought about through the pronouncements of the Fourth Lateran Council touched on various aspects of the faith, like the Trinity, Baptism, Marriage, and Penance. Many of the canons had a direct bearing on the ministry and life of the clergy. These included Canon 10, which called on each bishop to establish a corps of competent men to assist in the ministry of preaching; Canon 11, which reasserted earlier decrees calling for a theologian at each cathedral to ensure the education of the clergy and canon 21, which decreed an annual confession by the laity to the priest and the penalty for a priest who breaks the seal of confession. Therefore this was one of the great reforming councils in the history of the church and proved to have a major impact on the renewal that followed in the life of the Catholic Church (Watkin 1960:118-119).

The Council also made decisions which enabled the church to control the political development of Europe and thus showed the height and prestige that the papacy had attained under Pope Innocent III. "The Council closed with the papal proclamation of a Crusade to save the Holy Land, the Fifth Crusade. It would leave two years later and prove a failure". (Watkin 1960:118). Following in the footsteps of Pope Innocent III one of the following popes, Innocent IV, a former professor of canon law at Bologna, also convened an ecumenical council viz. the First Council of Lyon.

3.4   CONCLUSION

Theology must be taught under the guidance of the Church's teaching authority and must be anchored in the word of God (Neuner & Dupuis 1983:23). However, the interpretation of the divine revelation is not entrusted to individuals but to the Church by Jesus Christ. The Church has to remain faithful and vigilant in performing this task. Over time the Church has grown in her understanding of this deposit of faith handed down from the Apostles to the Church. Therefore one of the main functions of the teaching authority i.e. the Pope and Bishops, is to authentically teach the faith in accordance with the Tradition of the Church. Thus the function of issuing the doctrinal documents is to maintain the task of proclaiming the revealed word to the world throughout the ages. Through ecumenical councils reform and renewal occurs which enable the Church to engage with the world and at the same time to always remain consistent with what has gone before. The Fourth Lateran council was an excellent example of this. The following chapter examines in depth the two Mendicant Orders that stimulated a spiritual revival in Europe and brought about renewal in the Church, due mainly to their founders, St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic Guzman.

CHAPTER 4

THE POVERTY MOVEMENT AND MENDICANT ORDERS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Two of the most popular and well-known saints in the Catholic Church are St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic. Through the religious orders they founded and established the Church was able to reform and renew itself spiritually from within. When compared with the monastic traditions of the past, the mendicant or begging orders were a radical breakaway. They broke with the cloistered lifestyle which was such a great part and parcel of monastic life and went out into the community to do pastoral work and evangelism. The impact they had on the spirituality of European society during the Thirteenth Century was incalculable. This chapter will highlight the social context out of which these orders arose, the life of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic Guzman, a comparison of Franciscan and Dominican spirituality, the mission of the friars and their contribution to theological study.

4.2   THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

According to Lawrence (1989:239), Western Europe had undergone a continuous period of economic and demographic growth in the two centuries preceding 1250. This ultimately had a stimulating effect on the religious life of people. As discussed in chapter one, the main contributing factor to the growth of towns was the commercial wealth and industrial activity in these urban areas (Lawrence 1989:239).

> *"Rapid urban growth, the expansion of international trade, the rise of a new bourgeoisie deriving its wealth from commerce, and the creation of an international community of learning, all tended to break down the isolation of local communities and to produce a society that was more mobile, more critical, and, at the upper levels, more affluent than before"* (Lawrence 1989:239-240).

Compared to the rural areas where people generally tended to conform to the practice and beliefs of their lords, the towns were less restrictive and provided the means for exchanging of ideas. Therefore many urban dwellers tended to be critical, especially of corruption within the church, the lifestyle of the clergy and inevitably, they became anti-clerical (Lawrence 1989:240).

Lawrence (1989:240) states that another aspect of the economic boom was the fact that many of the laity were becoming more literate.

> *"Literacy was ceasing to be a clerical monopoly. Commercial activity demanded of its practitioners at least some degree of formal literacy; and in fact, by the end of the twelfth century, the ability to read and write the vernacular, and to a lesser extent Latin, was quite common in the larger Italian towns. The rise of an articulate town-dwelling laity, critical of the intellectual and moral shortcomings of the clergy, and unsympathetic to the claims and assumptions of monastic spirituality, presented the medieval church with a pastoral challenge it was ill-equipped to meet"* (Lawrence 1989:240).

The impetus of most of the church's activity was directed toward the rural areas as this was where most people lived (Lawrence 1989:240).

> *"It's clergy, apart from an educated elite which was absorbed by the schools and the ecclesiastical bureaucracy, were largely recruited locally from the ranks of the free peasantry, and educationally most of them were only a little above the level of their rustic parishioners"* (Lawrence 1989:240).

Seminaries had not been established as yet for the spiritual formation and education of priests. This would only be implemented at the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, in order to address these issues.

According to Lawrence (1989:240), the problem in the Thirteenth Century was that the structure and system of operation that the church was using reflected the

requirements of an earlier age. The church was therefore, at this particular moment in time, not meeting the needs of many of the people (Lawrence 1989:240).

"In the thirteenth century the majority of the population still resided in the countryside; but the significant growth points were the towns, and thenceforward modes of Christian piety and forms of the ascetical life would be determined by the religious experience of townsmen" (Lawrence 1989:240).

Lawrence (1989:240) states that the mendicant orders would fill this void in the pastoral work of the church with phenomenal success. At the time the church was facing a major attack due to heretical sects like the Albigensians in Southern France.

Due to the increase in trade there was a lot of traffic along various trade routes and many of the preachers of these heretical sects found merchants and artisans here who were ready and eager listeners (Lawrence 1989:240). These preachers used the Bible for their own selfish reasons. There were many translations of the New Testament in the vernacular. These were however not official translations. As people became more literate they began reading these. This posed a new problem for the Church as people became influenced by heretical preachers (Lawrence 1989:240).

Thus, when Pope Innocent III gave his approval to the mendicant orders he was taking a major risk as they could have turned out to be the same as many of the movements already in existence. However, the chance he took paid off as they proved to be loyal to the church and were very orthodox (Lawrence 1989:241).

"Thomas of Celano, the biographer of St Francis, tells that Pope Innocent III had a dream after his first encounter with Francis. In his dream he saw the Lateran Basilica (the mother-church and head of all the churches of the West) crumbling and on the point of collapse when a little man wearing a habit of sackcloth and a cord crossed the piazza and shored up the tottering edifice with his back" (Lawrence 1989:241).

St Francis, as will be indicated, led a very interesting life and had a life-changing conversion experience.

4.3   ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

St. Francis of Assisi was one of the most interesting characters in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. He was born in Assisi at Umbria in 1182. His story was of considerable importance to us due to the circumstances of his time and how the order he founded impacted on the society of his day. He was a man of outstanding virtue and holiness (Butler 1756: 1193).

As Africans and South Africans living in third world countries we can learn a lot from St. Francis and his order about how to reach out to people and be a positive role model. Morality was no higher than it is today but due to St. Francis simplicity and holiness many people were attracted to his lifestyle and listened to him. At a time when some of the clergy were corrupt and vocations to the priesthood and religious life were low he offered the church and the laity an alternative. St. Francis and his followers went about wearing the grey tunic of a peasant with a cord tied around their waist. The grey friars as they came to be known submitted themselves to Pope Innocent III to seek his approval to be a legitimate religious order in the Roman Catholic Church. The Pope had the remarkable vision to see that St. Francis was someone special who God wanted to use and he said yes to their appeal. At a time when no new religious orders were being allowed to be established, due to those orders or groups which had become heretical, it was a stroke of genius on the part of Pope Innocent III. He therefore had a major hand in the remarkable spiritual transformation that took place in Europe due to the Franciscans.

One of the major contributions of the Franciscans to spirituality was their radical lifestyle of total self reliance on God. They insisted on a life of poverty and the total rejection of any ownership of worldly possessions. This was their main contribution to the reform of the church threatened by her wealth (Daniel – Rops (1957:144). Therefore those who followed him gave up everything to live a life of poverty and to beg for food for the love of Christ (Stebbing 1915:361). Some may say that in today's world this is not practical but maybe if we were more attached to Christ and

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less to materialistic things we would attract more vocations to the priesthood and religious life.

The Franciscans were truly an inspiration to many and always helped those who were in need (Karrer 1947-4). St. Francis was such an inspirational figure that a young noble lady of Assisi, Clare, on hearing him preach one day, decided to abandon herself completely to God. She thus left home in 1212 and informed Bishop Guido of her decision (Daniel-Rops 1957: 145-146). This was the origin of the Poor Clares, a religious order of sisters who have spread too many countries around the world including South Africa. This sister order of the Franciscans became inspirational in the spiritual renewal of people during this period as many young women abandoned all to join them in serving God.

Pope Innocent III had a special liking for St. Francis and his order because of the good work they were doing to uplift people. When St. Francis visited Rome in 1215 at the time of the Fourth Lateran Council, the Pope was ecstatic (Daniel-Rops 1957: 146). "Innocent was delighted; and when the Council, alarmed by the mushrooming growth of new religious orders, decreed that all such associations must adopt an existing Rule, he declared that the Penitents of Assisi had already been approved" (Daniel-Rops 1957: 146). Vocations were pouring into the order and became so numerous that St. Francis was able to send them out all over Europe. By 1221 they had extended throughout the Christian world (Daniel-Rops 1957: 146).

By this time a third section had begun to develop and to adopt the Franciscan ideals as people were so attracted to the spirit of St. Francis (Daniel-Rops 1957: 146). This was the Third Order which both men and women lay Catholics could join. They continued to work in the world but adopted a Rule similar to that of the Franciscan religious. Many lay people desired something more, a life of self sacrifice and in the Franciscans they saw this (Hughes 1952: 335:337). "Important consequences flowed from the institution of this 'lay militia'. The Franciscan ideal spread deep among the masses, increasing the effect of the new leaven and raising up sublime figures such as St. Elizabeth of Thuringia and St. Louis, who were both members of the Third Order of St. Francis" (Daniel-Rops 1957: 146-147). The impetus given to this whole movement of spiritual renewal was the yes of Pope Innocent III.

St. Francis died on Saturday 3rd October 1226 (Daniel-Rops 1957: 148). He left the Roman Catholic Church three Orders, viz the Friars, the Poor Clares and the secular or lay Franciscan Order. His contribution to the spiritual renewal within the Church was immense. He is a model for the priests, religious and laity of our time of holiness, humility and obedience. St. Dominic his contemporary dealt with the problems in the church by focussing on the education of the laity as far as the teaching of the church was concerned. He was also instrumental in the movement that saw a more educated clergy emerge during the Thirteenth Century.

4.4 ST. DOMINIC GUZMAN

St. Dominic, together with St. Francis, was one of the most recognisable and dynamic figures in the history of the Roman Catholic Church during the Thirteenth Century. Mainly due to his efforts in France many of those Catholics who had succumbed to the Catharist /Albigensian heresy were won back to the fold of the church. Therefore just like St. Francis he was an instrumental figure in the spiritual renewal that was taking place.

St. Dominic was born in 1170, at Caleruega in Spain (Butler 1756: 881). At an early age St. Dominic was determined to know his religion well. By 1196 he had joined the chapter at Osma and later became a priest (Von Matt & Vicaire 1957: 15). St. Dominic's contribution to renewal and what we can learn from him, is that he recognised that in order to combat ignorance of the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, we needed a well educated clergy. During his lifetime the Church was threatened by a heresy or false teaching, called the Albigensian heresy. Many people were led astray by those who spread this teaching in Provence in France. These people were known as the Catharists. They taught that the body was evil and that the soul was good, that marriage was evil and that it was better to commit suicide so that the soul could be released. They taught many other things but it cannot be covered here. Due to this Pope Innocent III sent St. Dominic to France to convert the Albigensians back to Catholicism (Deanesly 1994: 153).

Because of this masterful stroke on the part of Pope Innocent III many people came back to the Roman Catholic Church. St. Dominic proved to have a gift as a preacher. It was in Toulouse with a group of followers that St. Dominic set about teaching and preaching. Here he realised that the clergy needed to be educated as they were unable to combat this heresy due to their lack of knowledge of the faith. He believed that they needed to be able to preach and this also required an educated clergy (Deanesly 1994: 153-154). When his order or order of Preachers was recognised by the Catholic Church, this was exactly what they focussed on. They contributed to the spiritual renewal in the church by educating the clergy and this enabled them to be better prepared in order to have a major impact on the laity and on the way they were living.

The Dominicans were referred to as the 'watch dogs of the Lord,' as they became recognised for their combat of heresy. Once again Pope Innocent III was instrumental in this whole movement of spiritual renewal as he gave the Dominicans the permission to function in the Church and to move about freely to preach and teach. St. Dominic died in 1221 and was buried at the University of Bologna. (Deanesly 1994: 154).

4.5   A COMPARISON OF FRANCISCAN AND DOMINICAN SPIRITUALITY

When studying these two famous orders, the question arises about why people were so attracted to them. What made them so special or different? So very briefly we will look at the spirituality of the Franciscans and Dominicans, and the lessons we as Church can learn from them in a third world continent and country like Africa and South Africa respectively.

Franciscan spirituality was based on reaching out to the poor and to sick people. This view provided the impetus for their missionary work. Ultimately this led Francis to move out of the comfortable structures of his community life in Assisi to radically follow Christ to work among the social outcasts of his time, just as Jesus did as recorded in the Holy Gospels (Downey 1993: 408).

"The uniqueness and novelty of Franciscan spirituality stem from

> *this fundamental conviction based on Francis' experience. While*
> *Franciscan spirituality was influenced by many of the currents of the*
> *12th Century and the renewed desire for a more authentic*
> *experience of Christian living expressed in the varied historic*
> *attempts at reliving the 'apostolic life', living according to the 'form of*
> *the Holy Gospel' indicated something radically new" (Downey 1993:*
> *408-409).*

Francis believed that as it was expressed in the Gospel by Christ one had to be totally poor in order to follow Jesus effectively. This focus on poverty as it was expressed by the word of God in the Holy Gospels was also a unique feature of Franciscan spirituality, his devotion to a life of poverty according to scripture was what the rule and life of the order was based on (Downey 1993: 409). This view had a major impact on the Church as some clergy were very corrupt and materialistic. They were rich and were seen by the laity as pompous, overbearing and as poor examples to follow. The Franciscans changed all this. In them the people saw wonderful examples of piety, humility, caring and love. They were very approachable and this endeared them to the laity. This was a major reason for the many vocations to the priesthood and religious life they received and for the laity respecting their priests again. Here lies the major lesson for us today as it proves what good leadership can do for any church and how important it is to have positive role models in society.

Franciscan spirituality was also closely linked to nature as St. Francis loved animals and all that the Makers hand had touched. Therefore many people were drawn to this holy and peaceful way of living (Fortini 1981: 517-518).

A comparison with the spirituality of the Dominicans makes it obvious that from the outset they were very different from that of the Franciscans or Friars Minor. "The Order of Preachers differed both in its genesis and its spirit from the early Friars Minor. From the start, it was a clerical and learned order, a stepchild of the canons regular, in which everything was subordinated to the needs of the pastoral mission" (Lawrence 1989: 251).

Because of the abuses taking place in the church, St. Dominic, together with St. Francis were apposed to any form of luxurious living. Therefore they both wanted to live a more perfect life of poverty. However, the Dominican understanding of poverty was not as absolute as the early rule of St. Francis. The Dominicans were more open to discussing what was needed on their travels when they went about preaching. They were therefore more practical. Their main aim was winning souls for God and this they believed had to be done by preaching and study (Leclercq et al 1968: 320-321).

Domincan spirituality was focused on prayer first and they had a great devotion to Mother Mary. They played an important role in the movement that saw the praying of the Rosary become popular among Catholics during this period (Leclercq et al 1968: 323). In the formation of the clergy spiritual direction had always been important but this changed during the Thirteenth Century to include the laity. It was inevitable that after the rise of the lay orders, that they would also need some spiritual guidance. The Dominicans played an important role in this area as they helped the laity in this important part of their spiritual growth. This eventually helped to improve the lives of many people who received spiritual direction so that they could grow closer to God and therefore become better Christians (Leclercq et al 1968: 323-324).

The decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council which was held in 1215, was instrumental in helping the Dominicans in their ministry. It is important to remember that this was the council convened by Pope Innocent III.

> *"Several of the council's canons had direct bearing on Dominic's purpose. There included canon 10, which called on each Bishop to establish a corps of competent men to assist in the ministry of preaching, canon 11 which reasserted earlier decrees calling for a theologian at each Cathedral to ensure the education of the clergy; canon 13, which forbade any new religious orders; and canon 21, which decreed an annual confession by the laity to their pastors (Downey 1993: 287).*

Since many of the clergy were not well educated it fell to the Dominicans to fill these positions. The council also made it possible for the laity to go to confession to another priest besides one's own parish priest. This was clearly meant to point to the Dominicans as they went all over preaching and this gave them the licence to hear confession wherever they were (Leclercq et al 1968: 324). Due to their expertise in theology and their holy example many of the clergy and laity became better informed about their Catholic religion and became better people. This had an effect on the society they lived in. Both orders ultimately focussed on the holy gospels and became two of the most influential religious orders in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the area of spirituality and education.

4.6   THE MISSION OF THE FRIARS

According to Lawrence (1989:256), the focus of the two orders i.e. the Friars Minor and Friars Preacher, was spreading the gospel in urban areas.

> *"In France, Germany, and England, a list of the houses they established before 1300 provides a roll-call of all the significant centres of trade and industry. The harvest was great of those who lacked the doctrine of salvation, wrote Bonaventure, but suitable and faithful labourers were few. He was defending the strategy against clerical critics who suggested the friars confined their preaching to the towns because it was there they had good residences and were well provisioned"* (Lawrence 1989:256).

Unfortunately this was the only way that the begging orders could sustain themselves. People living in the rural areas were very poor themselves and would not welcome priests in their midst who would come to them begging. The urban population had the means to provide for the Mendicant Orders as they were wealthy. However, the places that they resided in were given to them by benefactors and were abandoned buildings often not fit for dwelling (Lawrence 1989:256). Their mission and calling was to live simplistic and holy lives. This kind of example would lead many in the mushrooming urban populations closer to God. They therefore proved to be very effective. *"As Bonaventure said, the friars captured a market that was relatively neglected. The success they had with their urban congregations was*

the result of their effectiveness as preachers and confessors. The homily had long since ceased to be part of the normal experience of the church-going laity" (Lawrence 1989:256).

As stated previously, the parish clergy were not well educated and could therefore not provide adequate instruction to the laity. Their moral and doctrinal education was below par. The Council of Trent would make it obligatory for priests to preach once a week on a Sunday and be properly formed in a seminary system. This was however still a long way in the future (Lawrence 1989:256).

> *"It was the achievement of the Mendicants to lead a revival of popular preaching that was just beginning. In their hands, sermon-making became a new art, which was inculcated in their schools and through their writings. To help the preacher perform his task, they produced a large body of didactic literature. This included the theoretical treatise, like The Instruction of Preachers by the Dominican master-general Humbert de Romans, replete with general observations and such obvious practical advice as 'keep a middling tempo in delivery, so as not to speak too fast or too slowly; for rushing swamps the understanding of your hearers, and slowness generates boredom', and more technical aids, like the Art of Preaching by Thomas Waleys, and collections of model sermons, which began to circulate in large numbers"* (Lawrence 1989:256-257).

This was indicative of the impact these orders were beginning to have on the renewal within the church. As stated by Lawrence (1989:257), the Dominicans also put together Biblical Concordances. These were among the earliest to appear in the history of the church and during the Thirteenth Century allowed priests to have a large number of texts available for use when preparing sermons.

"But the most characteristic sermon-aids were the collections of exempla-moralising anecdotes, drawn from the Lives of the Saints or from the more workaday world, that a preacher could use to touch his audience in the quick of their experience" (Lawrence 1989:257).

Therefore the ordinary person in the pew became more knowledgeable about the teaching of the church on faith and morals. They also became more accustomed to hearing the consistency of the teaching of the church through the wisdom of the saints. Subsequently their faith was renewed by hearing well-prepared sermons, and out of this grew a more Christian and loyal people. Therefore the work entrusted to the Mendicant Orders by the Popes became very important for the spiritual renewal of the Church.

> *"It was not only their methodology that enabled the friars to talk convincingly to city congregations; their message was just as important a factor in their success. There is a sense in which they pioneered the idea of the devout life for the laity; a Christian life, that is, not modelled upon that of monks or dependent upon the vicarious merits acquired by professional ascetics, but one lived fully in the world. They offered a new theology of the secular life, which had its intellectual roots in the discoveries of the schoolmen who were reappraising the relationship between grace and nature – as Aquinas, the Dominican, was to say, grace does not abolish nature, but perfects it"* (Lawrence 1989:257).

This new idea came to the fore in the twelfth century when sermons were prepared for particular groups of people in society. The friars used this same approach when preparing sermons by taking into account the background and social status of their listeners. Therefore the content of their sermons varied as the spiritual needs of various groups were looked at, like knights, merchants, masters, servants, married people, etc. In this area the friars proved to be excellent. They were able to reach people where they were. In their sermons they also developed a more positive approach to married love, which ascetical writers in the past had portrayed as being harmful. During the Middle Ages sexual encounters were seen to be harmful to ones spiritual growth, and women were portrayed in a bad light by many (Lawrence 1989:257).

Together with excellent preaching and well-prepared sermons, the confessional played an important role in the moral rejuvenation of the laity. The obligation brought

in by the Fourth Lateran Council that people go to confession at least once a year enabled the Friars to hear confessions more often.

> *"This was the other side of their pastoral work in which the friars achieved great success. They were much in demand by the laity as confessors and spiritual directors in royal and aristocratic courts as well as in the city market places. This success can be partly explained by superior training: every Dominican priory contained a lector who gave the brethren regular instruction on the theology of penance"* (Lawrence 1989:257-258).

However, their popularity as confessors was also due to the fact that they put into practice what was being taught at the schools in Paris. A new morality was being taught in contrast to the more severe outlook on sin and which previously imposed heavy punishments. This new morality took into account the situation and intention of the penitent (Lawrence 1989:258).

Their other major area of contribution to the renewal within the church and to Europe was the educational system the Friars put in place.

> *"University teaching was only the pinnacle of the academic edifice the friars erected. The Dominican Order was organised as a kind of disseminated university. At the base was the priory school with its own lector. The statutes forbade the foundation of a new priory without a trained theologian, whose business it was to lecture to the brethren on the Bible, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, and the Suma of confession and penance composed by Raymond of Penaforte"* (Lawrence 1989:259).

Strict rules were put in place such as the rule that stipulated that friars could only preach in public after they had spent three years in training with a lector. They also had what was called major schools in every province of their order. Here the courses of the Arts were taught. Aristotelian logic made up a large part of the Arts curriculum and provided the necessary preparation for studying theology (Lawrence 1989:259). The Order of Preachers also had 'general schools' situated at a particular university where their students were sent to study theology after they had

attended the provincial priory schools. These were students who were being trained to teach. After a while the top students would end up at the university in the theology department as Masters in their field (Lawrence 1989:259).

This well put together system had no equal in the Middle Ages and was far better than anything the secular clergy or laity had (Lawrence 1989:259). *"The Franciscans moved into higher education more slowly and at first more reluctantly. There can be little doubt that St Francis never envisaged such a move and that he would have been opposed to it. Both the Mendicant Orders thus created an articulated and international system of advanced education"* (Lawrence 1989:260). Thus many of the intellectuals of the period came from the clergy.

4.7   CONTRIBUTION TO THEOLOGICAL STUDY – BONAVENTURE, ALBERT AND THOMAS AQUINAS

In the education of the clergy and the laity, the Franciscans and Dominicans stand head and shoulders above other orders during this period. This was one of the main areas that needed to be addressed as many of the clergy were uneducated and therefore were unable to defend or teach Catholic Doctrine. The laity were in a similar situation as many succumbed to heresy and left the Roman Catholic Church. It fell to these two orders to rectify this matter. As we know when one understands one's faith people become more convicted in what they believe. When the Dominicans and Franciscans began teaching the clergy and the laity at schools and universities, they did so with amazing success. This in turn had a ripple effect as the clergy were then able to instruct people in their parishes. This inevitability had an influence on their spiritual growth and on the spiritual renewal that was happening. These two orders had a major impact on theological study especially at university level.

> *"In the last years of the lifetime of William of Auvergne a new*
> *epoch began at Paris as a result of a movement that the most*
> *clear–sighted could never have foreseen. This was the appearance*
> *of the two first and most influential of the orders of friars, followed*
> *within a few years by their arrival at the universities of Paris and*

> *Oxford, an event which was itself followed shortly by the transference to their ranks of a number of the most eminent masters, and the steady intake, for almost a century, of the most brilliant minds of north – western Europe. The arrival of the friars, besides the noisy controversies to which it gave rise, resulted in the gradual emergence of definite schools of thought divided from each other with sharpness and jealousy maintained by esprit de corps "(Knowles 1962: 230-231).*

The Franciscans and Dominicans proved to be excellent scholars who were often in opposing schools of thought but who nonetheless provided a new approach to theological study which would endure to the present. The three who stood out above everyone else were St Bonaventure, a Franciscan, St Albert and St Thomas Aquinas, both Dominicans.   The following sections looks very briefly at their theological views and contribution to spiritual renewal of the clergy and laity by education.

4.7.1 ST. BONAVENTURE

According to Leclercq et al (1968: 305), St. Bonaventure was born in Bagnorea near Viterbo in 1221. He studied theology in Paris from 1243 to 1245. In 1248 he received his licence to lecture in public and was appointed to the Franciscan chair. His most important theological works date from this period (Brophy 1961: 9)

St. Bonaventure remained true to the founder of his order viz St. Francis by focussing on love and the goodness of life in general in his philosophy. According to Hughes (1952: 415), St. Bonaventure's teaching was very practical and this was his main aim.

> *"Through theology, through philosophy too, he led man to attain God and to attain Him as the Being who was supremely lovable. It was love of the object which was the motive that urged the assent of Faith. The knowledge of God we had through Faith was surer than any other knowledge that came*

through reasoning. Philosophy was, none the less, most useful to
explain the truths of Faith and to justify our assent to them"
(Hughes 1952: 415).

He therefore stressed the subordination of reason to faith. His focus was always on Faith as a means to know and philosophy as secondary to aid in knowing. In his philosophy, St. Bonaventure made use of Aristotelian terms and information but his mindset was very different as his starting and ending point was always God. St. Bonaventure, due to his capability as an academic was a key figure in the evolution of theological study especially in the area of speculative theology. According to Knowles (1962: 246), St. Bonaventure was one of the first to put the whole body of Christian teaching into a system or world view. This world view of his was theologically Augustinian and philosophically, in large part, Christian Neoplatonism.

He was very successful in presenting a view of theology and of the Christian life which had, and still has, a strong appeal to many people (Knowles 1962: 247). The Dominicans who were focused more on academics had among their ranks many outstanding theologians and one of the finest was St. Albert the Great.

4.7.2 <u>ST. ALBERT THE GREAT</u>

St. Albert was born in about 1206 in the diocese of Augsburg. He was the first great Dominican doctor and one of his many claims to fame was that he was the master of St. Thomas Aquinas (Leclercq 1968: 327). Many of his contemporaries and later historians have often wondered where St. Albert found the time to write so much while still being so active as a lecturer and bishop.

St. Albert attempted to bring together philosophy and theology so that it would be acceptable to the church. He accepted philosophy as an aid to bring about a better understanding of theology as he was a scholar who yearned for knowledge and sought it everywhere. At the time many scholars were sceptical about the philosophy of Aristotle but St. Albert made a significant defence of this being taught at the University of Paris. The eventual acceptance of the philosophy of Aristotle had a major impact on the study of theology. St. Albert had an immense influence

on his contemporaries and his teaching on the soul would be taken further by his pupil St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Thomas would develop and improve on St. Albert's philosophy of life and in so doing would change the study of philosophy and theology for ages to come. St. Thomas Aquinas has come to be recognised as one of the greatest theologians and philosophers the world has ever known.

4.7.3 ST. THOMAS AQUINAS

According to Leclercq et al (1968: 330), St. Thomas was born in the year 1225 at Rocca Secca. From an early age people around him saw that he was destined for greatness. St. Albert did however lay the foundation for St. Thomas to continue and develop a brilliant system of philosophy (Deanesly 1994: 170).

St. Thomas had a very optimistic approach toward the state of humans in this life and this influenced his theology. He analysed the state of man as an individual and this opened up new possibilities for him in his philosophy. "Man, each man, was a world complete in himself, and each man was a thing apart, unique, in the created universe. The theory opened out limitless fields of human rights responsibilities, human possibilities, to the psychologist and the moralist. The study of man must reveal richness and variety of life that was limitless. A deeper optimism must henceforward inspire the study of man. The creative act of God – its wisdom, its ends – were seen in a newer light" (Hughes 1952: 427).

This philosophy invited his contemporaries to be more positive in their approach toward the study of man. St. Thomas was a scholar who always sought the facts and could declare his observation with pinpoint clarity. Therefore he could make this positive statement about man and God's creative act due to a hard rationalist analysis of the facts observed (Hughes 1952: 427).

In his outstanding work the Summa Theologica, St. Thomas looked at all the great questions of philosophy and theology, political theory and morality. This immense work was considered to be one of the finest books ever written.

"The Summa Theologica was divided into three parts, which treat respectively of God, of man, and of Christ as God and man. The first part dealt with God's existence, nature and attributes, and of the Holy Trinity: God was the prime mover, the first cause, from whom all things come, and the final cause to whom they must return. The second dealt with man as fallen and capable of redemption, and of human behaviour, virtues and vices, law and grace. The third dealt with Christ the Redeemer', opening up a way for man's journey back to God" (Deanesly 1994: 171).

This is just an overall view of the Summa Theologica as the work is too immense to cover here. However, what is important to remember, is that his theology was shown through his metaphysics and this was based on Aristotle. St. Thomas's volumes of work were a massive achievement and provide incredible information for philosophers and theologians to study. His influence and effect were to extend to the general public and his popularity to increase over the centuries (Deanesly 1994:171).

4.8   <u>CONCLUSION</u>

Due to the foresight and astuteness of Pope Innocent III these orders were given the licence to function in the church. He had the unbelievable vision and courage to say yes and as the supreme leader of the church to steer it in the right direction. No other Order had such a major impact on the interior life of the Church during the Thirteenth Century as the Mendicants. The fact that they proved to be so successful shows that they met the demands of a society that was in urgent need of spiritual upliftment. The impeccable examples of St. Francis and St. Dominic proved how important it was for the clergy to live humble, poor and chaste lives. They were the driving force behind the spiritual and academic revival among the clergy and laity during the Thirteenth Century. The phenomenal growth rate of their respective orders proved that young people wanted to belong to holy, loyal and orthodox groups that would contribute positively to the life of the church. The statistics given of the numbers that joined the Franciscans and Dominicans after the first half of the Thirteenth Century are amazing. The Franciscans grew so rapidly that they had by this time 25,000 religious and 1,100 houses. By 1316 they had 30,000 friars and

1,400 convents. In contrast to this the Dominicans were not so rapid in their expansion. But by 1256 they numbered 7,000 members. By 1303 they had 10,000 friars and 600 priories. In 1337 they numbered 12,000 friars. The contribution they made to education cannot be measured but the system they set up throughout Europe enabled many top calibre clergy and laity to emerge into society. The following chapter looks at the rise of the universities and how educational upliftment of Europe's society was achieved through these institutions in which many Dominicans and Franciscans taught (Daniel-Rops 1957:158-159). Many of our religious orders in a third world country like South Africa are already doing tremendous work among the poor and sick, but there is always room for improvement. An important area that needs to be addressed is the education of Adult Catholics since many do not know Catholic doctrine and some are leaving the church and joining other Christian communities. Our priests need to follow the example of these orders viz the Dominicans and Franciscans and teach more from the pulpit.

CHAPTER 5

NEW LEARNING: THE EMERGENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY

5.1   INTRODUCTION

In an age in which so much happened in various facets of society it was incredible that it still produced the universities. These institutions bear testimony to the fact that contrary to the view commonly held by people in the past, this was definitely not the 'Dark Ages'. If the Thirteenth Century had nothing else to offer the world but just the universities, that would be enough. The brilliant intellectuals who passed through the hallowed halls of the Universities of Paris, Bologna, Oxford, Cambridge etc, gave Europe, through their achievements, the impetus to streak ahead of the other continents in academics. These institutions produced brilliant scholars like Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Roger Bacon and so forth. In the forefront of the movement that saw these fine institutions of education being established was the Catholic Church. Once again leading from the front to bring about renewal among the laity of Europe as well as the clergy. This time renewal was brought about by stimulating people through academic opportunities offered by the universities. It was also a way for individuals to improve their lives and social standing. This chapter will focus on universities and preparatory schools, what was studied at the universities, the number of students and discipline, post-graduate work at the universities and a brief conclusion.

5.2   UNIVERSITIES AND PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

According to Brooke (1938:424), lay education which took place mostly in Italy was also implemented in the houses of the nobility in other countries. As stated in chapter one, nobles or lords were taking greater interest in the management of their estates and therefore made sure that their sons, who would eventually follow them, were well educated.

> *"The greater nobles, like the King, employed learned clerks to teach their sons, some of whom were destined for the church and so needed Latinity.*

This was the fate of younger sons and daughters in a large family; it has been shown that in Germany in the twelfth century the leading monasteries and nunneries were exclusively recruited from noble families. Some who had begun their training might be recalled to the world by the death of an older brother, and perhaps would not altogether lose their taste for learning" (Brooke 1938:424-425).

Many people of noble blood were thus educated at home or schools before the establishment of the universities. The education of those who would eventually have a secular career was changing as they learned more about the world and became more adept at speaking other languages (Brooke 1938:425). By the time the universities began these young people were thirsting for more knowledge and therefore flocked to these institutions of higher learning. At the same time, towns were flourishing and growing and therefore the time was right, as there were large numbers of people concentrated in the urban areas. Viewing the accomplishments in the area of education during the Thirteenth Century it is easy to see why it could easily have been called the greatest of centuries (Walsh 1913:18). According to Walsh (1913:18) this was in actual fact a testimony to the triumph of what that generation did for intellectual development and social upliftment.

"Though anything like proper appreciation of it has come only in recent times, there is absolutely no period of equal length in the history of mankind in which so much was not only attempted, but successfully accomplished for education, in every sense of the word, as during the thirteenth century. This included, not only the education of the classes but also the education of the masses" (Walsh 1913:18).

But the preparatory period for the eventual establishment of the universities did not begin in the Thirteenth Century. What one generation sows another reaps. This was certainly the case as regards the education of Europeans.

"From the unorganised schools of the twelfth century proceeded the corporate universities of the thirteenth century. The strong instinct for association that about the same period led to the organization of the Lombard League and the

French communes that united England under the Angevins and South Italy under Frederick II, that set up merchant guilds in every urban centre and gave fresh life to both the old and the new ecclesiastical societies, brought about the organization of the masters and scholars into the universities which still remain as the most abiding product of the genius of the Middle Ages" (Tout 1941:428-429).

The institution of Knighthood brought together men from various countries and backgrounds and united them as brothers in arms. Universities had a similar effect as they brought together people from various countries and classes and united them in a common professional and social life (Tout 1941:429).

Inevitably this common brotherhood of scholars from various countries and cultures made possible the exchange of ideas that would eventually lead to a cultural revival in Europe. "It was at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century that the great universities came into being as schools, in which all the ordinary forms of learning were taught" (Walsh 1913:18). According to Tout (1941:429), in the beginning these institutions were, like Paris, groups consisting of teachers, or, like Bologna, clubs of international scholars.

"They had no founders and based their rights on no charters of Kings or Pope, but grew up gradually as a natural outcome of the widespread intellectual pursuits that had followed upon the twelfth-century Renaissance. The accident of the abiding presence of a series of great teachers had made Paris the centre of theological and philosophical study north of the Alps, and had given the schools of Bologna, a prestige that had attracted to them students of the civil and canon laws from every country in Europe" (Tout 1941:429).

As time went by, these institutions, as a natural progression, became better organised. In time the same situation that had occurred at Bologna, where other branches of study besides philosophy and theology were being added to the curriculum, occurred at Paris and a university in the modern sense came into being (Walsh 1913:19).

Walsh (1913:19), states that as early as the first quarter of the Thirteenth Century, the schools at Paris and Bologna had faculties for all the various areas of knowledge.

> *"At Bologna faculties of arts, of philosophy and theology and finally medicine were gradually added, and students flocked in increasing numbers to take advantage of these additional opportunities. At Paris, the school of medicine was established early in the Thirteenth Century and there were graduates in medicine before the year 1220. Law came later, but was limited to Canon law to a great extent, Orleans having a monopoly of civil law for more than a century"* (Walsh 1913:19).

Therefore these two institutions at Paris and Bologna were actual universities in every aspect just as are the present institutions that bear their names (Walsh 1913:19). Thus as stated before, other schools began to model themselves along these lines and this great tool for the training of the human mind took shape. This alone should place the Thirteenth Century among the epoch–making periods of history, as with all the advances in modern education no essential reasons have been found to change this system in which the human mind is formed. As mentioned previously, various other faculties were eventually added to university life but architecture, engineering, bridge-building and similar subjects, in whom the men of this period performed such amazing work, were relegated to the guilds. However, the technical schools provided excellent practical education and could compare to the mechanical departments of any modern university (Walsh 1913:20). The education offered at both the universities and so-called schools was of a very high standard.

In tracing the history of schools and universities it is important to note that the urban revolution of the eleventh and twelfth centuries contributed to the decline of the old monastic schools which had for centuries preserved the culture of Europe. These schools were then replaced by Cathedral schools, north of the Alps, and by semi secular municipal schools. Both the cathedral and municipal schools had been un existence for a long time but it was only in the eleventh century that they gained some prestige (Hollister 1978:253). However, the first school to gain a reputation for

the high standard of its education was that of Salernum, a little town not far from Naples. They had a famous medical school there as early as the ninth century, maybe even earlier than this (Walsh 1913:20).

> *"This never became a university, though its reputation as a great medical school was maintained for several centuries. The first educational opportunity to attract a large body of students from all over the world concerned mainly the needs of the body. The next set of interests which man, in the course of evolution develops, has to do with the acquisition and retention of property and the maintenance of his rights as an individual. It is not surprising, then, to find that the next school of world wide reputation was that of law at Bologna which became the nucleus of a great university"* (Walsh 1913:20).

What followed these two great educational institutions was the third excellent medieval school that offered philosophy and theology. This was the University of Paris which drew scholars there from all over Europe, many of whom were pursuing their calling to serve in the church (Walsh 1913:20). However, in its early history the word university was not used to describe these institutions.

What were these educational institutions called at first and how did this change?

> *"It was sometimes thought that the word university, applied to these institutions after the aggregation of other faculties, was due to the fact that there was a universality of studies, that all branches of knowledge might be followed in them. The word university, however, was not originally applied to the school itself, which, if it had all the faculties of the modern university, was, in the Thirteenth Century, called a studium generale"* (Walsh 1713:20).

In actual fact the word universitas was a Latin word and was used for something different. When a King or Pope wrote a formal letter, it would be addressed to the entire faculty of the studium generale and would always begin with the words, Universitas Vestra. This meant that the greeting was for everyone at the studium generale, universally and without exception. As time went by and with the constant

use of the word at the start of a letter the term universitas stuck and was thus applied to the institution (Walsh 1913:21).

The university as an entity developed around the cathedrals, especially those of Bologna, Paris and Oxford (Walsh 1913:21).

> *"They sprang from the wonderful inquiring spirit of the time and the marvellous desire for knowledge and for the higher intellectual life that came over the people of Europe during the Thirteenth Century. Above all there was no conscious attempt on the part of any supposed better class to stoop down and uplift those presumably below it"* (Walsh 1913:22).

Most of the students attending these universities came from the middle class and became great admirers of their teachers. Many students had particular favourites and even when Abelard retired to the desert, thousands of students followed him there. Therefore in the education of many students what counted was not the particular university but who taught at the institution (Walsh 1913:22).

> *"Nearly all the features of university life during the Thirteenth Century, emphasize the democracy of feeling of the students, and make it clear that the blowing of the wind of the spirit of human liberty and intellectual enthusiasm influencing the minds of the generation, rather than any formal attempt on the part of any class of men deliberately to provide educational opportunities, is the underlying feature of university foundation and development"* (Walsh 1913:22).

Therefore the formation of the university had nothing to do with the educational and social upliftment of the masses put into effect by a king or country. It was solely a sign of students who wanted a higher education and who felt it was their right to get a good grounding in a certain field of study (Walsh 1913:22).

(Walsh 1913:22), relates that there were other institutions besides the main ones like Paris, Bologna and Oxford, that also developed and took on the form of a university during the Thirteenth Century.

> *"In Italy, mainly under the fostering care of ecclesiastics, encouraged by such Popes as Innocent III, Gregory IX and Honorius IV, nearly a dozen other towns and cities saw the rise of Studia Generalia eventually destined, and that within a few decades after their foundation, to have the complete set of faculties, and such a number of teachers and of students as merited for them the name of University"* (Walsh 1913:22).

Through the efforts and inspiration of the Church, universities were founded early on in the Thirteenth Century in the towns of Vicenza, Reggio and Arezzo. Later on places like Padua, Naples and Vercelli also had universities. This all happened in a short space of time during the Thirteenth Century, mainly through the initiative of the Popes (Walsh 1913:23). *"In spite of the troublous times and the great reduction in the population of Rome there was a university founded in connection with the Roman Curia, that is the Papal Court, before the middle of the Century, and Sienna and Piacenza had founded rival university institutions"* (Walsh 1913:22).

Italy was not the only country during this period that made strides in the area of higher education. The Thirteenth Century saw an explosion of universities being founded all over Europe.

> *"Montpelier had, for over a century before the beginning of the thirteenth, rejoiced in a medical school which was the most important rival of that at Salernum. At the beginning this reflected largely the Moorish element in educational affairs in Europe at this time. During the course of the Thirteenth Century Montpelier developed into a full-fledged university, though the medical school still continued to be the most important faculty"* (Walsh 1913:23).

The medical faculty at this institution had such a good reputation that students and patients flocked there from all over the world. Over time the lecturers and writers became famous in medical history (Walsh 1913:23).

Montpelier had an excellent reputation as a medical institution. Therefore when Pope Innocent III wanted to establish a hospital in Rome that would be an example for other European cities, he asked the head of the hospital in Montpelier to assist (Walsh 1913:23).

One of the main contributions made to society by the universities was that due to the many well qualified academics that flowed out of them, social and medical services improved for the general public.

It was not only at Montpelier that events developed in this way as regards the various faculties.

> *"A corresponding state of affairs to that at Montpelier was to be noted at Orleans, only here the central school, around which the university gradually grouped itself, was the Faculty of Civil Law. Canon Law was taught at Paris in connection with the theological course, but there had always been objection to the admission of civil law as a faculty on a basis of equality with the other faculties. There was indeed at this time some rivalry between the civil and the canon law and so the study of civil law was relegated to other universities"* (Walsh 1913:23-24).

Canon Law received more support as a subject to be taught as it was part of the theology course for the clergy and Roman law made up the basis for the Civil Law course. Besides Orleans, French universities were founded at Angers and Toulouse (Walsh 1913:24).

Early on in the Thirteenth Century a university was established in Palencia in Spain by Alfonso XII and received great support from him. Universities were established in the middle and toward the end of the Thirteenth Century in Spain viz. the University of Valladolid and the University of Lerida. However, it was only during the Fourteenth Century that the university movement gained impetus in Spain and many universities were then established (Walsh 1913:24).

According to Daniel-Rops (1957:310), the Dominicans and Franciscans were experiencing great popularity and although they received opposition from the secular clergy early on, they were eventually taken on as teachers at universities. They had the backing of the Pope and turned out to be excellent scholars and teachers. The universities never regretted this move since people like the Dominicans Roland of Cremona, John of St. Gilles, Thomas Aquinas and the Franciscans Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure were added to their illustrious group of members. They became teachers of world renown and contributed immensely to the study and development of Theology (Daniel-Rops 1957:310). Due to many of these excellent lecturers the reputation of the universities was enhanced.

From the beginning the Popes proved to be stalwart supporters of the university movement.

> *"Innocent IV spoke of them as 'rivers of science which water and make fertile the soil of the universal church', and Alexander IV compared them to 'lanterns shining in the house of God'. The University of Paris, renowned above all others for her theological school, was commonly called the 'New Athens' or 'the permanent Council of the Gauls'. She was governed by a rector, elected at first for one month and later for three. His office was of the highest dignity; he was styled 'Amplissime Seigneur'* (most supreme lord)*, and on ceremonial occasions he took precedence of nuncios, of ambassadors, and even of cardinals"* (Daniel-Rops 1957:311).

The universities gained such a good reputation and their rectors were held in such high regard that when a King of France entered his capital, Paris, the rector would greet and read a letter of welcome to him. Rectors were so honoured that if they passed away while still in office they were accorded the praise given to princes and were laid to rest at St Denis. This just goes to show that learning was held in high esteem during the Middle Ages (Daniel-Rops 1957:311). However, the role that preparatory schools played in education during the Middle Ages must not be forgotten. The universities were not the only institutions that contributed to the education of Europeans during the Middle Ages.

It must be noted that preparatory schools existed in numerous university towns. Courses were however only well set out and properly organised late in the Thirteenth Century. Many young people were enrolled there in order to gain the necessary preparation for university work. An important preparatory school was established in Paris by Robert Sorbonne under the name of the College of Calvi (Walsh 1913:26).

This custom has been maintained and preparatory schools have continued to function even in the present. These schools were closely linked to the church in some or other way. Thus the church played an important role in forming students for further higher education. Every cathedral and important monastery had a preparatory school attached to it. In fact a law passed at an earlier church council insisted that schools which were not as important should have some connection with every bishop's church. It was estimated that approximately twenty cathedrals in England during the Thirteenth Century had their own cathedral schools (Walsh 1913:26).

The contribution to education made by the Church cannot be underestimated as it made prolific strides in educating many during the Thirteenth Century. In almost every area of the Church's life the education of people was being implemented and aids were set in place to help them study. The preparatory schools were just one form of help set up by the Church.

> *"Besides these there were at least as many important abbeys, nearly a dozen of them immense institutions, in which there were fine libraries, large writing rooms, in which copies of books were being constantly made, many of the members of the communities of which were university men, and around which, therefore, there clung an atmosphere of bookishness and educational influence that made them preparatory schools of a high type"* (Walsh 1913:26).

The immense support given to education by the Church was at every level, especially the excellent Popes of the Thirteenth Century.

According to Walsh (1913:28), the Fourth Lateran Council, convened in 1215 by Pope Innocent III, decreed that a Chair of Grammar be set up in conjunction with every cathedral in the Christian world.

> *"This chair of grammar included at least three of the so-called liberal arts and provided for what would now be called the education of a school preparatory to a university. Before this, Innocent III, who had himself received the benefit of the best education of the time, having spent some years at Rome and later at Paris and at Bologna, had encouraged the sending of students to these universities in every way. The institution of the schools of grammar in connection with cathedrals was well adapted to bring about a definite increase in the opportunities for book learning for those who desired it"* (Walsh 1913:28-29).

Therefore the clergy were encouraged to educate themselves and to learn more about culture. Subsequently the Cathedrals became the intellectual centres of the surrounding areas (Walsh 1913:29).

A further development in formal education occurred once again due to the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council under the influence of Pope Innocent III. An important regulation was made at the council concerning metropolitan churches (Walsh 1913:29).

> *"These important Archiepiscopal cathedrals were required to maintain professors of three chairs. One of these was to teach grammar, a second philosophy, and a third canon law. Under these designations there was practically included much of what would be studied not only in preparatory schools but also at the beginning of University courses"* (Walsh 1913:29-30).

The problem was that many students had to travel far to go study and often got up to mischief when not under the influence of family. This regulation enabled universities to eventually be formed in the students native cities so students could have their families near them. This shows how far-sighted the Pope was to issue this decree and how practical Pope Innocent III was, since this decree eventually led to the

foundation of about twenty universities during the Thirteenth Century. Many more universities evolved very easily from schools in the Fourteenth Century, also due to the decree of the Lateran Council presided over by Pope Innocent III (Walsh 1913:30).

Pope Innocent III was the driving force behind the important work of establishing preparatory schools in every diocese and many of these institutions became universities. So from the beginning of the Thirteenth Century this outstanding pope led the way for others to follow (Walsh 1913:30).

> *"His successors kept up this good work. Pope Honorious III, his immediate successor, went so far in this matter as to depose a bishop who had not read Donatus, the popular grammarian of the time. The bishop evidently was considered unfit, as far as his mental training went, to occupy the important post of head of a diocese"* (Walsh 1913:30).

Other popes, like Gregory IX, promoted the study of decrees of previous popes as he had encouraged these to be gathered together to be used in court. This pope was famous for defending the University of Paris when problems arose with the city's officials. Through decrees passed by Pope Innocent IV the rights of the University of Paris were increased, and he also gave them many privileges. Innocent IV played a major role in the development of the University of Toulouse and in bringing it up to the standard of the University of Paris (Walsh 1913:30-31).

Subsequent popes did their part as well for education during this century.

> *"Pope Alexander IV supported the cause of the Mendicant Friars against the University of Paris, but this was evidently with the best of intentions. The mendicants came to claim the privilege of having houses in association with the university in which they might have lectures for the members of their orders, and asked for due allowance in the matter of degrees for courses thus taken. The faculty of the University did not want to grant this privilege, though it was acknowledged that some of the best professors in the university were members of the Mendicant orders, and we need only mention such names as*

Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas from the Dominicans, and St. Bonaventure, Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus from the Franciscans, to show the truth of this assertion" (Walsh 1913:31).

The pope intervened and supported the mendicants, but later to show that he still held the University of Paris in high regard, he sent two of his nephews there to study. Many of the universities offered the same courses and operated in the same way (Walsh 1913:32).

5.3 <u>WHAT WAS STUDIED AT THE UNIVERSITIES</u>

According to Daniel-Rops (1957:312), each faculty had a dean and therefore there were four deans for the four faculties viz. Theology, Medicine, Law, and the Arts. The subjects included in the faculty of the Arts were philosophy, elementary mathematics, and higher rhetoric. These subjects were usually taken by the higher classes and ended up with as many as three times the number of students than theology, medicine and law. The Arts degree seemed to be very popular and the dean of this faculty usually ended up becoming the master of the whole university (Daniel-Rops 1957:312).

> *"Teaching methods were identical in all four Faculties: the masters lectured while the students sat (generally on the floor) and took notes, except in cases where the professor entrusted the exemplar manuscript of his courses to copyists for reproduction and sale. Teaching was done in three stages: lectio, in which the text was read; quaestio, a commentary there-upon; and disputatio, when students and masters together criticized the thesis. This final stage became increasingly important, and masters such as Abelard and St. Thomas excelled at it"* (Daniel-Rops 1957:312).

A fourth stage was sometimes added viz. the quodlibet. This was an extension of the disputatio and was a type of open discussion on various topics. These quodlibet discussions were immensely enjoyed by the students (Daniel-Rops 1957:312).

The way students studied was very similar to that of today. There were basically six rules laid down by Robert de Sorbon, in his book De Conscientia (On Conscience) as aids for students to study. He stated that you needed an ordered time-table, concentrated attention, memory-training, note-taking, discussion with one's fellow students, and lastly prayer (Daniel-Rops 1957:312).

"By following his counsel, the student could climb the steps of learning and acquire the three recognized degrees: determinace, which qualified him to undertake more advanced studies, the baccalauréat, which entitled him, after he had reached the age of twenty, to do a little teaching without abandoning his own studies; and lastly the licenciate, which was solemnly conferred and entitled him both to enrolment on the syndicate of masters and to open his own school whenever he desired. The doctorate was rather an honorary and complimentary title" (Daniel-Rops 1957:312).

Many people were under the false impression that only a small part of the population benefited from the opportunities offered at universities for higher education. However, this was far from the truth (Walsh 1913:58).

5.4   THE NUMBERS OF STUDENTS AND DISCIPLINE

During the medieval period the universities were a major draw for those who wanted a solid career that would enable them to improve their standard of living.

"… in proportion to the population of the various countries, there were actually more students taking advantage of the opportunity to acquire university education in the Thirteenth Century, than there were at any time in the Nineteenth Century, or even in the midst of this era of widespread educational opportunities in the Twentieth Century" (Walsh 1913:58).

Many figures have been given of the numbers in attendance at the universities but they have been disputed. However, the closer one gets to this specific period, information becomes available that shows in actual fact that many writers spoke positively about the large numbers at universities (Walsh 1913:58-59).

> *"Most people know the traditions which declared that there were between twenty and thirty thousand students at the University of Paris towards the end of the Thirteenth Century. At the same time there were said to have been between fifteen and twenty thousand students at the University of Bologna. Correspondingly large numbers have been reported for the University of Oxford and many thousands were supposed to be in attendance at the University of Cambridge"* (Walsh 1913:58).

This was not always easy to prove but the writer Gascoigne who attended Oxford about a hundred years after the events he writes about, states that he saw the rolls of the University of Oxford. He further states that during the Thirteenth Century there were about thirty thousand students at Oxford. When one compares this to the general population of the period in Oxford, this was astounding. But many state that to believe there were such large numbers would be a mistake (Walsh 1913:59).

What is certain is that the population at large benefited and took advantage of this great opportunity afforded them. However, as today, discipline was a problem for many students and for the universities who had to deal with them.

According to Daniel-Rops (1957:312), the many young students who attended university often proved very difficult to control.

> *"There was an administrative system which, for convenience, grouped them according to nations. At Paris, for example, they were divided into French, Picards, Normans, and English; but this was a very bad distinction, since Italians and Spaniards were classed with the French, while all Northerners, Germans included, were counted as English. At Bologna the distinction was twofold – Cismontanes* (Gallicans) *and Transmontanes* (Ultramontanists)*"* (Daniel-Rops 1957:312).

The various problems that were prevalent at the time between these nations proved difficult to deal with.

During the Thirteenth Century students were fairly similar to those of today (Daniel-Rops 1957:312-313).

> *"They were critical but warm-hearted, enthusiastic but excitable, devoid of malice but full of mischief. All feast days were occasions of rowdyism by day and even more so by night; to empty a dung-cart over the city militia, or to fire a train of gunpowder under the feet of the night-watch on its rounds were the least of their pleasantries. Among these hundreds of youths there were some of course, who took work seriously; but there was also the vanishing type, upon whom professors seldom set eyes, not to mention those tenth-year students who, under pretext of containing the most improbable studies, wandered from tavern to tavern, more interested in wine and girls than in Latin conjugations"* (Daniel-Rops 1957:313).

Therefore the whole matter of discipline was not easy, especially with the less formal and less complete organization of the universities then. According to Walsh (1913:75) the whole matter of the maintenance of discipline at the universities during the Thirteenth Century was very interesting. At the schools from which the universities developed, there was very little emphasis put on discipline. It was thought that those who wanted an education would take it seriously. Eventually when thousands of students started attending university, some form of discipline was then called for. Discipline developed over a period of time in a very practical way. What was to become later an excellent tool in maintaining discipline merely began as social groups. Those who came from similar countries were drawn to one another because of their culture, language and so forth. Thus when new students arrived they were guided and helped by their fellow countrymen who informed them of the general norms of the university (Walsh 1913:75).

As stated before, these students were then grouped together according to their own nations as they developed friendships with one another (Daniel-Rops 1957:75).

> *"These began to take form just before the beginning of the Thirteenth Century. They made it their duty to find lodgings for their student compatriots, and eventually also to supply food on some co-operative plan for at least the*

poorer students. Whenever students of a particular nationality were injured in any way, their "nation" as a formed organization took up their case and maintained their rights, even to the extent of an appeal to formal process of law before the magistrates, if necessary" (Walsh 1913:75).

These organizations were formally recognized by the universities and acted as mediators between their particular institution and the students. They made it their responsibility to deal with discipline and took this seriously as it was a reflection on their country. However, it is interesting to note that no serious cases of discipline have emerged concerning students during the Thirteenth Century. The majority took their studies seriously. Most of the nobility were interested in other things like hunting, sport, the management of estates and so forth (Walsh 1913:75). There were an exceptional number of students who went on to do post-graduate work at the universities and many became very famous like St. Thomas Aquinas.

5.5   POST-GRADUATE WORK AT THE UNIVERSITIES

The reputation of any University has always rested not only on the quality of her teaching staff but on the research being done there in post-graduate work. It is through this important work of original research that she adds to the existing body of knowledge, thus enabling subsequent generations to benefit from these often-immense volumes of information. The universities were places of serious and profound intellectual activity where some of the greatest minds were at work. The cosmopolitan group of students added to this vibrant life and they stimulated one another as the foundations in many fields of study were laid here during this period or were added to substantially (Walsh 1913:78).

The church was the guardian of schools and universities and therefore gave her own language i.e. Latin, to these institutions. This was an excellent move since it enabled students from various backgrounds and nations to communicate with one another. Due to a common language they could sit down and exchange ideas and therefore much more was accomplished in the various fields of study (Daniel-Rops 1957:314-315). "With the rebirth of intellectual interests there came an intense curiosity to know everything and to investigate every manifestation. Everything that

men touched was novel, and the wonderful advances they made can only be realized from actual consultation of their works" (Walsh 1913:78-79).

Any university today would pride itself on the work done by its professors. They would have it published and made known through announcements, lectures given and so forth. Attention would be drawn to the fact that there has been some major addition to knowledge in whatever field (Walsh 1913:79).

"It must have been immensely more difficult to preserve the writings of the professors of the medieval universities for they had to be copied out laboriously by hand, yet we have an enormous number of large volumes of their works, on nearly every intellectual topic, that has been carefully preserved. There were some twenty closely printed large folio volumes of the writings of Albertus Magnus (St. Albert the Great) *that have come down to us. While mainly devoted to theology, they treat of nearly everything else, and at least one of the folio volumes was taken up almost exclusively with physical science"* (Walsh 1913:79).

Walsh (1913:79) also states that St. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, who died very young at the age of forty, both wrote extensively and their work comprises volumes which have been used extensively.

In the area of philosophy it must always be remembered that this was the period of the growth and development of scholastic philosophy. It remained the basis for education in Catholic Universities and seminaries long after the Thirteenth Century and is still today. It was used in the seminaries when they were established after the Council of Trent in the Sixteenth Century (Walsh 1913:79-80). "Catholic philosophers were well known as conservative thinkers and writers, and yet were perfectly free to confess that they considered themselves the nearer to truth the nearer they were to the great scholastic thinkers of the Thirteenth Century" (Walsh 1913:80).

The same was true of Theology as almost all the great figures and authorities in this field belong to the Thirteenth Century (Walsh 1913:80).

"It is true that men like St. Anselm lived before this time and were leaders in the great movement that culminated in our century. St. Anselm's book, Cur Deus Homo (Why did God become man?)*, was one of the best examples of the combination of scholastic philosophy and theology that could well be cited. The writers of the Thirteenth Century in Theology are beyond even Anselm in their marvellous powers of systematizing thoughts. One need only mention such names as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure, Duns Scotus, and Raymond Lully to make those who are at all acquainted with the history of the time realise, that this was not an idle expression of the enthusiasm of a special votary of the Thirteenth Century"* (Walsh 1913:80).

Their teaching was taught in Catholic seminaries as scholastic theology dominated for centuries (Walsh 1913:80). According to Walsh (1913:81), scholastic theology and philosophy has remained the same as it has been handed down from one generation to the next.

"The huge tomes which represent the indefatigable labours of these ardent scholars were well preserved by the subsequent generation which thought so much of them, and in spite of the absence of printing have come down to us in perfectly clear texts. They represent, however, the post-graduate work and the research in the department of philosophy and theology of those days, and any university of modern time would consider itself honoured by having their authors among its professors and alumni" (Walsh 1913:81).

Another field of interest for post-graduate work was law. Some of the best work in law and its development was done during this period.

"… it was well understood that the foundations of our modern jurisprudence as well as the methods of teaching law, were laid in the Thirteenth Century and the universities were the most active factors, direct and indirect, in this work. The University of Bologna developed from a law school. Toward the end of the Twelfth Century Irnerius received the study of the old Roman law and put the curriculum of modern civil law on a firm basis. A little later Gratian

made his famous collection of decretals, which were the basis of Canon Law. Great popes, during the Thirteenth Century, beginning with Innocent III, and continuing through such worthy emulators as Gregory IX and Boniface VII, made it the special glory of their pontificates to collect the decrees of their predecessors and arrange and publish them, so that they might be readily available for consultation" (Walsh 1913:81-82).

In France the basis of law in its modern form was developed during the Thirteenth Century under Louis IX who asked the Professors of law at the University of Paris to help in this matter. English Common Law was developed due to the study of law at their universities and so was Spain's under similar circumstances (Walsh 1913:82).

However, it was in the area of medicine that the practicality of the teaching at universities was seen, especially as a subject of science (Walsh 1913:82).

"We were so accustomed to think that anything like real progress in medicine, and especially surgery, has only come in very recent years, that it was a source of great surprise to find how much these earnest students of a long distant century anticipated the answers to problems, the solutions of which were usually supposed to be among the most modern advances" (Walsh 1913:82).

William Salicet, an eminent Italian physician, made great strides in discovering the cause of dropsy and his case histories were very instructive, even when read by modern physicians (Walsh 1913:83-84).

"His insistence on his students making careful notes of their cases as the soundest foundation of progress in surgery, was a direct contradiction of nearly everything that had been said in recent years about medieval medicine and especially the teaching of medicine. Some of the doctrines in medicine that William of Salicet stated so clearly, sound surprisingly modern. The connection, for instance, between dropsy and durities renum (hardening of the kidneys) shows how wonderfully observant the old master was" (Walsh 1913:84).

Many others followed in his wake and significant strides were made in medicine especially when one considers the time period and what they had to work with. Most of these accomplishments were due to study in medicine at the universities, and the practicality of having many students around whose opinions were readily available aided development in this field tremendously.

5.6   CONCLUSION

The undeniable fact about the universities was that they developed from an existing structure viz. the cathedral schools. History attests to the fact that the Catholic Church was mainly responsible for the foundation and support of many of today's universities. The role played by the church in the history of education in Europe was phenomenal and through the efforts of many Popes and the decrees of councils that they convened, a large number of Europe's citizens were able to uplift themselves through academic studies. The renewal brought about through the research of students in various fields like medicine, law, theology, etc, enabled Europeans to progress ahead of other continents. The contribution made to the world by many of these scholars has left a legacy for people down through the ages. The testimony of the greatness of this period and the impact the Catholic Church has had on the world lies in this main area of the Thirteenth Century. That is, that a large number of people were educated and it was done with so much success. The following chapter will look at the advance of western culture through art, poetry, music and architecture.

CHAPTER 6

THE ADVANCE OF WESTERN CULTURE

6.1   INTRODUCTION

The spiritual character of the Middle Ages had a remarkable influence on the advance of culture during this period. The spiritual renewal that began with the advent of Pope Innocent III to the papacy also bore fruit through the amazing artistic works of the Catholic laity. The Catholic Church contributed immensely to the upliftment of people through the arts. Arts and crafts schools enabled people to develop skills that helped them to gain a profession. Through the work opportunities they found they were able to sustain themselves and to earn a living. The universities were not the only testimony to the advance of western culture. Gothic cathedrals soared to the heavens, and artists produced great works and magnificent sculptures. Great writers of literature and music emerged, such as, Dante Alighieri. The Thirteenth Century was truly the height of the church's life and the height of Western Culture in the Middle Ages. This chapter, will highlight the spiritual character of the Middle Ages, the Gothic Cathedrals, Medieval Art, Literature and Music.

6.2   THE SPIRITUAL CHARACTER OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The spirituality of people during the Middle Ages influenced the way they viewed the world around them. Inevitably this had an impact on art, music, architecture and literature. But this was not the only influence. There were other elements that worked to form the conscience of people.

> *"The medieval world rose among the ruins of the ancient classical civilisation, the result of the assimilation of the two elements which had worked to destroy it, the invading Celtic, Germanic and Scandinavian barbarians on the one hand, and the Orient on the other. This led to an enormous but confused widening of man's scope and to the more or less violent interaction, over a long period of contradictory forces"* (Huyghe 1981:314).

However, the culture of the west together with the mixing of that of the east through the crusades, led to an explosion of cultural growth.

According to Huyghe (1981:314), the Graeco-Roman tradition continued to be at the centre of this new civilisation. This tended to be one of the dominating features of western culture.

> *"At it's base a direct experience of life supplanted the traditional precise imitation of reality. This was based on the physical pleasures derived from direct contact with the material things from the enjoyment of their riches, their dazzling surfaces, their colours or transparency and the mysterious effects of the play of light. Hence the liking for precious stones, glass and enamels that persisted from the time of the Gauls and the barbarians to the stained glass windows of the Gothic Cathedrals which seem like remote descendants of them. But above all, a disdain for physical likeness, first manifest in a daring stylisation of forms, allowed imagination to soar towards a superhuman world transcending reason and the senses; Christianity made it an approach to the divine that the fathers of the Church had sought along roads opened by Plotinus. Through all the various and even opposing aspects of Romanesque and Gothic art, the dominant spirituality remained the keystone of the middle Ages"* (Huyghe 1981:314).

God was the centre of Christian lives and they used everything at their disposal to enhance their worship of Him. They not only used things that appealed to their senses in their services, like stained glass, incense, etc, but also which could satisfy their intelligence (Huyghe 1981:314).

> *"The former enriched, above all, the arts, the latter theology, but they were to remain united and complimentary. This medieval spirituality explains, even in respect of Gothic realism, the continuity of the symbolic approach that followed Romanesque artists to disregard the reality of nature, and Gothic artists to find a place for this reality in the splendid logic of their Cathedrals"* (Huyghe 1981:314).

The majority of people were illiterate and thus this symbolic approach enabled them to learn more about their faith.   As stated previously, this became an excellent tool to educate the laity.

Huyghe (1981:314), states that Romanesque and Gothic artists had a different approach to the way in which they expressed their view of the visible world. However the spirituality of the time, shown through the symbolic approach, stayed the same, as it remained the enduring basis of Christianity.

> *"The fact is that the concept of man, of the world and of their relation to each other underwent a profound transformation in the course of the Middle Ages. For a long time medieval thought was dominated by St. Augustine who, in the 4th century, had succeeded in reconciling neo-platonism and Christianity. He played in the West a part comparable to that of St. Basil and the other Church fathers in the eastern Church, where Augustine was little known.   The Augustinian doctrine dominated the Middle Ages for eight centuries that is, during the period culminating in the Romanesque and was the main source of neo-platonic thought. Macrobius followed him in the 5th century and Johannes Scotus Erigena in the 9th century; the latter is best known for his translations of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, believed to have been a companion of St. Paul though he was in reality a philosopher of the 5th century imbued with neo-platonic thought and following Plotinius, Porphyry, Proclus, etc."* (Huyghe 1981:314).

St. Augustine was recognised as the authority in theological circles before the advent of St. Thomas Aquinas. His ideas were thus very influential and Christian artists expressed themselves using his ideas on the world, nature and man.

According to Huyghe (1981:314), these ideas of the neo-platonic school were also found in the East and therefore in Byzantine art.

> *"Disdaining physical appearances, questioning their accuracy, medieval man accepted them only as pictorial symbols which could be read even by the*

uneducated; their meaning and their symbolic arrangement were intended to direct and summon the mind to the presence of God. 'Shame on those who love His outward signs instead of loving Him,' said Augustine. Like Plotinus he disapproved of the partiality of observation and preferred the 'eye of contemplation', or the 'mind's eye', which alone is able to penetrate the surface of appearances in order to grasp the spiritual reality, which reflects God, hidden behind it. 'My desire is to experience God and the soul of man' – such was the exclusive goal that man and art should pursue. For this very reason Augustine preferred architecture and music to the figurative arts, as neither presented visible things. Images from the world of the senses were only admitted in so far as they served as vehicles to or symbols for the world of ideas" (Huyghe 1981:314).

Later artists moved away from this approach of St. Augustine to the visible world. People were becoming more open to the idea of representing reality in a symbolic way. When scholasticism was on the rise in the twelfth century, these symbolic approaches of interpreting reality were being used at the school of Chartres. This form of interpretation drew its inspiration from the works of Plato (Huyghe 1981:314).

"John of Salisbury described Bernard of Chartres as 'the most perfect Platonist of our time'. But by the end of the first third of the 12th century, when the first buildings foreshadowing the Gothic period were under construction, the powerful influence of St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, was rising, and the first buildings were being planned in the transitional period which was beginning to take effect. Cluny's power and influence, closely connected with the expansion of Romanesque art, was discredited and superseded by the new spirit preached by the Cistercians. St. Bernard hardly differed from Augustine in his contempt of the physical world; rather he intensified it. He made it a pretext for a violent onslaught on the art of the time" (Huyghe 1981:314).

St. Bernard wanted a return to a more simplistic faith, especially for monks, and was therefore inclined to oppose any art form that took the attention of monks away from their tasks of reading and meditating (Huyghe 1981:314).

"So St. Bernard proscribed the hallowed forms of Romanesque art and insisted that they should not be used. This return to the simple life that he advised, while at the same time he urged men to love God and the Virgin instead of resorting to the subtleties of philosophy, led to a rebirth of sensitivity and perception that became increasingly direct. Man was to reach 'the face of God' by stripping away everything between himself and the divine" (Huyghe 1981:314).

As the Thirteenth Century dawned the mendicant orders began to influence the spirituality of the time and therefore the artists of the period. As stated in chapter four, St. Francis of Assisi was one of the most influential saints in the history of the church and his whole approach toward God's creation had a lasting impact on the life of the church.

"At the beginning of the 13th century St. Francis of Assisi, in his mystic love, recognised the world of concrete reality. If he gave a prodigious new impetus to the yearning of the soul of man, it was because he taught man to love God through his work, creation in all it's forms, the stars, the birds, the trees, where he most felt the presence of God's love" (Huyghe 1981:314-316).

These ideas together with the works of Aristotle on metaphysics and his philosophy of nature had a dramatic impact on people. This inevitably influenced the artists of the time whose understanding of perceiving the visible world through the senses and using this in expressing one's love for God through art began to develop and grow (Huyghe 1981:316). The spirituality of the time also influenced various other areas of Church life. As stated previously, popular piety influenced the arts, literature, music and architecture. The Thirteenth Century was truly an extra-ordinary period of cultural growth and the Catholic Church played a major role in the advance of culture.

"In the twelfth century, popular piety had been characterised by an effort to live the life of the Gospel more fully outside the traditional monastic setting. Christians for whom the old forms of religious life were impracticable, or who

felt that they were called to another kind of work, had sought a new solution. It goes without saying that the same basic characteristics and the same tendencies were seen in the thirteenth century" (Leclercq et al 1968:344).

The clergy sought to use this spiritual aspiration of the laity to improve their lives through practical means (Leclercq et al 1968:344).

"This movement of reform was a fruit of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and the foundations of the mendicant Orders greatly contributed to it. A whole didactic literature appeared, both in Latin and in the vernacular, which sought to incubate more deeply in the faithful and the clergy the dogmatic and moral teachings of Christianity. The truths necessary for salvation were abundantly popularised by sermons, 'mirrors' and 'dialogues'. On a somewhat higher level, the circulation of the conciliar documents also tended to spread the truths of the faith and to aid moral reform" (Leclercq et al 1968:344).

It must be remembered that in an age in which the majority of people were illiterate and in which the printing press was not yet invented, the church provided the academics and literature. These books, documents, etc were handwritten by monks and priests. The laity had to be taught and in this century more focus was given to this important area of educating the people.

According to Daniel-Rops (1957:302), the Catholic Church, in order to protect man's intellect, first of all taught him to respect books. People were taught that the parchments contained God's words and had therefore to be revered. They were also taught that these parchments were rare and costly and therefore had to be handled with care and love.

"These precious works were passed from one religious house to another for re-copying, and in the dark days of the Norman invasion, the loss of libraries was among the most keenly felt of many great disasters. We have all seen pictures of a copyist-monk bent over his desk, engaged through long hours in beautiful lettering, or in illuminating the pages of some liturgical book. There were thousands of such men, of whose names we are ignorant but to whom

we owe our knowledge of Boethius, St. Augustine and St. Jerome no less than of Virgil, Terence and Ovid. Thanks to these scribes of God, the human intellect has kept contact with it's past…." (Daniel-Rops 1957:302).

Copying centres sprang up in various places as well and copyists developed their own style. With the rise of the universities throughout Europe these copyists increased in number (Daniel-Rops 1957:303).

"During the thirteenth century, when culture stepped from the monasteries and cathedral workshops to establish itself in the universities, copyists followed in it's wake. Laymen set up their own studios and worked under the direction of clerics. Paris, the intellectual centre of Europe, did an enormous trade; and we learn from Gilbert of Metz that 60,000 copyists were engaged on this work in or around the capital. But although the production of manuscripts, and therefore also of miniatures, had developed into something like an industry genuine masterpieces could still make their appearance" (Daniel-Rops 1957:303).

The church continued to strive toward the intellectual and moral upliftment of society. These manuscripts aided the church in these pursuits. Slowly the moral standard of living of many lay people and clergy began to change. According to Leclercq et al (1968:345), there were many examples of good lay people whose lives testified to the fact that they had led holy and spiritual lives. One such example was St. Louis of France.

"Christ was always the centre of popular devotion; many were the sermons preached on his kingship, as was seen in the Palm Sunday text Ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus (see, your King comes to you peacefully). The scriptural colouring of these documents was worthy of note. The same was true of the Latin Poems like the Philomena of John Pecham (1292), archbishop of Canterbury, which tells the whole life of Christ in 90 verses. Devotion to the Blessed Virgin was often lyrical in form, as for example in all the compositions inspired by the Byzantine Akathistos. The poem Rossignol (1274), by Jean of

> *Hoveden, extolled the omnipotence of love as shown in the lives of Christ and his Mother, and ended with a long eulogy to our Lady"* (Leclercq et al 1968:346).

Thus the literature of the time expressed the spiritual beliefs of Catholic Christians. People also began to learn more about their faith through plays (Leclercq et al 1968:348).

The lives of the saints gave Christians an excellent example of how to live a moral life devoted to God.

> *"There arose about this time a new devotion to the saints, with pilgrimages to their sanctuaries. Their lives and miracles were the stuff of religious drama. In the twelfth century this had been chiefly liturgical or semi-liturgical, the predominant theme being the mysteries that make up what today is called the temporal cycle. Now, however, the theatre turned to the jeux* (youth) *and to miracle plays drawn from hagiography. But the people were still responsive to the Bible. This attachment to the Bible was noticeable also in works of a more popular nature, such as the Biblia pauperum* (Bible of the poor)*. This book composed in the twelfth or thirteenth century, perhaps in Bavaria, was a sort of summary of the scriptures"* (Leclercq et al 1968:346-347).

Faith inspired these works and prompted people to continue to glorify God through the arts and architecture. Artists were influenced by spirituality, theology and the lives of the saints (Leclercq et al 1968:347).

> *"The visual arts also showed the direction taken by popular piety. As in the twelfth century, they were much influenced by the Bible. Sculpture, painting and stained glass made the churches, especially the Cathedrals, what the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais (1264) called, in his speculum maius, really an historical mirror of the Old and New Testaments from Genesis to the Apocalypse and the end of the world. The churches became 'pictorial Bibles' and, in their way, 'the Bibles of the poor'. Emile Male, in his art religieux du XIII siècle en France* (religion of the Thirteenth Century in France)*, made a*

very happy use of Vincent's treatise to reveal in the art of this century the fourfold mirror-natural, doctrinal, historical and moral-which made the places of worship a kind of pictorial encyclopedia of all the knowledge of the period" (Leclercq et al 1968:347-348).

The cathedrals especially exposed the work of these artists and enabled the faithful to deepen their knowledge of their faith. During the Thirteenth Century many Gothic Cathedrals sprang up all over Europe. They still stand today as a testimony to the creative spirit of man.

6.3   GOTHIC CATHEDRALS

The Gothic Cathedrals that have been built are among the most breathtaking and marvellous architectural structures ever designed. "In order to create the first genuine medieval style, the Romanesque, the builders of Europe made an effective synthesis of the various elements which preceded it. The next step in a highly original creative process was the development of a fundamentally new style, the Gothic" (Huyghe 1981:323). According to Walsh (1913:96), many of the Gothic Cathedrals were built during the Thirteenth Century. During this period the Gothic ideas in architecture were used extremely well to create extra-ordinary structural work.

"The great centre of Gothic influence was the North of France, but it spread from here to every country in Europe, and owing to the intimate relations existing between England and France because of the presence of the Normans in both countries, developed almost as rapidly and with as much beauty and effectiveness as in the mother country" (Walsh 1913:96).

The French therefore had a major influence in the development of this beautiful architectural style. Hollister (1978:246), relates that the first true Gothic church built in this new style was that of the church of Saint-Denis near Paris. This church was built around the year of 1140. Churches built during this period were quickly developing the Gothic style.

"French Gothic Churches of the late twelfth century such as Notre Dame of Paris disclosed the development of vault rib and pointed arch into a powerful, coherent style. During these exciting years, every decade brought new experiments and opened new possibilities in church building; yet Notre Dame of Paris and the churches of it's period and region retained some of the heaviness and solidity of the earlier Romanesque. Not until the 1190s were the full potentialities of Gothic architecture realised. The use of the vault rib and pointed arch, and of a third Gothic structural element-the flying buttress-made it possible to support weights and stresses in a new way. The traditional building, of roof supported by walls, was transformed into a radically new kind of building- a skeleton-in which the stone vault rested not on walls but on slender columns and graceful exterior supports" (Hollister 1978:246).*

This was a major development in the area of architecture and would change the way buildings were built for centuries to come. As places of worship the Gothic cathedrals were unrivalled.

"The Gothic innovations of vault rib, pointed arch, and flying buttress created the breathtaking illusion of stone vaulting resting on walls of glass. The new churches rose upwards in seeming defiance of gravity, losing their earthbound quality and reaching toward the heavens. By about the mid-thirteenth century all the structural possibilities of the Gothic skeleton design were fully realised, and in the towns of central and northern France there rose churches of delicate, soaring stone with walls of lustrous glass. Never before in history had windows been so immense or buildings so lofty; and seldom since has European architecture been at once so daring and so assured" (Hollister 1978:246-247).

According to McHenry (1967:18), stained glass, statues and various art forms all added to the warmth and colour of a church. European cities had never seen anything like this before and these cathedrals dominated the skyline (Gies & Gies 1994:192). Interestingly enough various countries eventually adapted certain features of the Gothic style.

According to Walsh (1913:100), there were varieties of the Gothic architectural style in many countries.

> *"Probably, the most interesting feature of the history of Gothic architecture, at this period, was to be found in the circumstances that, while all of the countries erected Gothic structures along the general lines which had been laid down by it's great inventors in the North and centre of France, none of the architects and builders of the century, in other countries, slavishly followed the French models. English Gothic was quite distinct from it's French ancestor, and while it had defects it had beauties, that were all it's own, and a simplicity and grandeur, well suited to the more rugged character of the people among whom it developed. Italian Gothic had less merits perhaps, than any of the other forms of the art that developed in the different nations. In Italy, with it's bright sunlight, there was less crying need for the window space, Gothic was invented, but, even here the possibilities of decorated architecture along certain lines were exhausted more fully than anywhere else, as might have been expected from the aesthetic spirit of the Italians. German Gothic had less refinement than any of the other national forms, yet it was not lacking in a certain straight forward strength and simplicity of appearance, which recommended it"* (Walsh 1913:100-101).

The French as the inventors of the style had some of the most beautiful designs of Gothic Cathedrals in Europe. According to Walsh (1913:101), it was the French who captured the essence of Gothic with the qualities of harmony and balance in the cathedrals they erected. However, Walsh (1913:101) also states that the Spanish, with their massive and extravagant structures far more encapsulated the medieval spirit, as to him these churches were not as aesthetic but more romantic. Today the Gothic period is regarded as one of the grandest in the history of European art. Many of the Cathedrals, although construction began in the twelfth century, were completed in the Thirteenth Century. Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris was mostly completed by 1250. Considered to be one of the most beautiful Gothic Cathedrals in the world it still had some elements of the Romanesque style (Huyghe 1981:336).

However, the Gothic style did not just develop overnight. There were problems but over time they were resolved by talented and brilliant architects. The difficulties and experiments of the early Gothic period were eventually sorted out when the new Cathedral at Chartres in France was built. The work on this immense structure was begun in 1194. By changing the design the architect of Chartres had developed the major divisions of the interior. This design was to become the basis for all later Gothic churches (Huyghe 1981: 326-336).

According to Huyghe (1981:326-336), the Thirteenth Century was considered to be part of the High Gothic period. The innovations at Chartres reached a high point in the cathedral of Reims in France. The building of this magnificent cathedral began in 1210. Reims Cathedral was considered to be a classic in the development of Gothic Cathedrals. Reims Cathedral does however follow the overall plan of Chartres in its design. Another important development in the interior design of Gothic Cathedrals occurred at Bourges. The work on the cathedral at Bourges was begun in 1195 and was completed in the Thirteenth Century. The architect of the cathedral at Bourges changed the height of the clerestory and designed a tall ground story arcade. This interior design was thus different to that at Chartres Cathedral which had an enlarged clerestory. Experiments were always taking place by architects which proved to be very successful. In the 1220s at Amiens Cathedral a new design to the nave was developed. Here the emphasis resorted back to height and designing supports to sustain this tall structure. Amiens provided a model to the architects who then eventually designed the highest Gothic Cathedral, that of Beauvais. By using the design of the ground story arcade found at Bourges and that of the tall clerestory, the architect of Beauvais was able to design a Cathedral with the amazing interior height of 48m or 157ft. This in itself was an outstanding architectural feat considering the time period. France, as the originator of the Gothic style, also proved to be the leader in the innovation and further development of this type of design (Huyghe 1981:326-336).

Huyghe (1981:326-336), states that what was known as the Rayonnant Gothic period also began in France. The north rose window of Notre dame Cathedral in Paris (1240-1250) was designed and built by Jean de Chelles. This window was designed in the Rayonnant style. This style was so named because of the radiating

spokes in this type of window. The centre circle depicted the Virgin and Child, surrounded by figures of prophets. The second circle showed 32 Old Testament Kings, and the outer circle depicted 32 high priests and patriarchs. These provided the clergy with an excellent tool whereby to educate the mostly illiterate masses (Huyghe 1981:326-336).

According to Huyghe (1981:326-336), it was during the long reign of King Louis IX of France (1226-1270), that this new phase of the Gothic period known as the Rayonnant began. Height was no longer the main concern of architects. Their main focus was on reducing the masonry frame of the churches, expanding the window areas, and to use more glass so that more sunlight could filter into the otherwise gloomy interior. The first huge undertaking to use this style was the royal abbey church of Saint-Denis. The rebuilding of this church began in 1232. From the original building only the ambulatory and the west facade were kept. But the best representation of the Rayonnant Gothic style was that of the palace chapel built by Louis IX, viz. Sainte-Chapelle. The building of this beautiful chapel began in the early 1240s and was blessed in 1248 (Huyghe 1981:326-336).

Huyghe (1981:326-336), states that French Gothic architecture had a major impact on the rest of Europe. In France the innovations at Bourges, with its huge arcade and low clerestory, was received with very little response. However, in Spain this design was used again and again, starting in 1221 with the cathedral of Toledo and proceeding into the early 14th century with the cathedrals of Gerona, Palma de Mallorca and Barcelona. All the developments in the Gothic architectural style were used in Germany starting from the early four-story elevation of the Cathedral of Limburg-an-der-Lahn (1225) to the chair of Cologne Cathedral. The construction of Cologne Cathedral began in 1248 and was modelled on the Rayonnant choir of Amiens. Cologne Cathedral was considered to be the largest Gothic structure in the world (Huyghe 1981:326-336). These impressive structures required a lot of money and hard labour to build.

Robinson (1944:216), relates that these churches continued to fill people with astonishment at the amazing way they were built.

"It seems impossible that the cities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which were neither very large nor very rich, could possibly find money enough to pay for them. It has been estimated that the bishop's church at Paris (Notre Dame) would cost at least five million dollars to reproduce, and there are a number of other cathedrals in France, England, Spain and Germany, which must have been almost as costly. No modern buildings equal them in beauty and grandeur, and they were the most striking memorial of the religious spirit and the town pride of the Middle Ages. The construction of a cathedral sometimes extended over two or three centuries, and much of the money for it must have been gathered penny by penny. It should be remembered that every one belonged in those days to the one great Catholic Church, so that the building of a new church was a matter of interest to the whole community-to men of every rank, from the bishop himself to the workman and peasant" (Robinson 1944:216-217).

These building projects brought the community closer together and renewed their faith as they were learning all the time. People went to great lengths to build a church that would make their city proud and that could symbolise their adoration of God. Broderick (1964:14), states that in Pisa for the Campo Santo, fifty-three shiploads of earth were brought from Jerusalem. The Campo Santo was a burial ground but was an example of the religious fervour of Catholic Christians who would go to extreme lengths so that they could feel closer to God. The Gothic Cathedrals with their soaring spires pointing heavenward helped them in this regard. The devotion of the architects, masons, carpenters, labourers and artists to their work and a spirit of sacredness which guided them have left a lasting expression in the masterpieces of the Gothic Cathedrals (Kirchner 1960:227). In the towns or cities these cathedrals stood out as beacons of worship for the faithful. What motivated the artists, sculptors, carpenters and so forth was their love for God and their deep sense of religious fervour. This religious fervour ultimately inspired medieval art.

6.4   MEDIEVAL ART

According to Kung (1981:10), the visual arts, architecture, music and literature all contributed to make worship of God more meaningful. The reality of art was that it

had to have function and meaning. This was true of the art that came to the fore during the Thirteenth Century.

"It was the great body of legends which grew up about St. Francis particularly, all of them bound up with supreme charity for one's neighbour, with love for all living creatures even the lowliest, with the tenderest feelings for every aspect of external nature, which appealed to the painters as a veritable light in the darkness of the times. It was especially in the churches founded by the disciples of 'the poor little man of Assisi', that the world saw burst forth before the end of the century, the first grand flowers of that renewal of art which was to prove the beginning of modern art history. It was hard to understand what would have happened to the painters of the time without the spirit that was brought into the world by St. Francis' beautifully simple love for all and every phase of nature around him. It was but due compensation that the greatest works of the early modern painters should have been done in St. Francis' honour. Besides this the most important factor in art was the revival of the thirst for knowledge, which arose among the more intellectual portions of the communities and developed an enthusiasm for antiquity, which was only a little later to become a veritable passion" (Walsh 1913:139-140).

Just as the French led the way with Gothic architecture, so did the Italians in this beautiful period of artistic expression. It was not surprising that Italy led the way in art as this was the birthplace of St. Francis who proved to be so inspirational for many painters.

"The most important phase of Italian art during the thirteenth century was that which developed at Florence. It was with this that the world was most familiar. It began with Cimabue, who commenced painter, in the quaint old English phrase, not long before the middle of the century and whose great work occupies the second half of it. There were not wanting some interesting traditions of certain other Florentine painters before his time as Marchisello, of the early part of the century, Lapo who painted, in 1261, the façade of the Cathedral at Pistoia, and Fino di Tibaldi who painted a vast picture on the walls of the Municipal Palace about the middle of the century, but they were

so much in the shadow of the later masters' work as to be scarcely known" (Walsh 1913:140).

Because of the influence of St. Francis, nature became more important during this phase in art. This expression of nature in art and its development proved to be a wonderful stimulus for many painters.

"The workers in Mosaic even, who were occupied in the famous baptistery at Florence about the middle of the century, though they followed the Byzantine rules of their art, introduced certain innovations which brought the composition and the subjects closer to nature. These were enough to show that there was a school of painting and decoration at Florence quite sufficient to account for Cimabue's development, without the necessity of appealing to the influence over him of wandering Greek artists as has sometimes been done" (Walsh 1913:140).

Like most great artists Cimabue's talent developed over a period of time. Cimabue's work was some of the finest art during the Thirteenth Century.

"Though he was not the absolute inventor of all the new art modes as he was sometimes supposed to be, Cimabue was undoubtedly a great original genius. Like so many others who have been acclaimed as the very first in a particular line of thought or effort, his was only the culminating intelligence which grasped all that had been done before, assimilated it and made it his own. As a distinct exception to the usual history of such great initiators, this father of Italian painting was rich, born of a noble family, but of a character that was eager for work and with ambition to succeed in his chosen art as the mainspring of life. At his death, as the result of his influence, artists had acquired a much better social position than had been theirs before, and one that it was comparatively easy for his successors to maintain. His famous Madonna which was subsequently borne in Triumph from his studio to the church of Santa Maria Novella (Holy Mary of Novella)*, placed the seal of popular approval on the new art, and the enthusiasm it evoked raised the*

artist for all time from the plane of a mere worker in colours to that of a member of a liberal profession" (Walsh 1913:140-141).

Cimabue became an artist of renown who even attracted the attention of the French King, Charles of Anjou (Walsh 1913:141).

According to Walsh (1913:141), Cimabue's Madonna was such a beautiful painting because it was different from the expressionless Madonnas that were painted before.

"Two other Madonnas painted by him, one at Florence in the Academy, the other in Paris in the Louvre, besides his great Mosaic in the apse of the Cathedral at Pisa, serve to show with what prudence Cimabue introduced naturalistic qualities into art, while always respecting the tradition of the older art and preserving the solemn graces and the majestic style of monumental painting. The old frescoes of the upper church at Assisi, which represent episodes in the life of St. Francis have also been attributed to Cimabue, but evidently were done by a number of artists probably under his direction. It was easy to see from them what an important role the Florentine artist played in directing the gropings of his assistant artists" (Walsh 1913:141-142).

Florence was a hotbed for great artists, and as a contemporary of Cimabue, Gaddo Gaddi, became just as popular and famous a painter (Walsh 1913:142). Gaddo Gaddi was a Florentine with exceptional talent just like his friend Cimabue (Walsh 1913:142).

"After Cimabue the most important name at Floretine in the thirteenth century was that of his friend, Gaddo Gaddi, whose years of life correspond almost exactly with those of his great contemporary. His famous Coronation of the Virgin at Santa Maria de Fiore (Holy Mary of the Flower) *in Florence shows that he was greatly influenced by the new ideas that had come into art. Greater than either of these well-known predecessors, however, was Giotto the friend of Dante, whose work was still considered worthy of study by artists*

because of certain qualities in which it never has been surpassed nor quite outgrown" (Walsh 1913:142).

There were other areas in Italy that also produced fine artists. The new art methods that developed were used elsewhere in Italy as well (Walsh 1913:142).

"Even before the phenomenal rise of modern art in Florence, at Pisa, at Lucca and especially in Siena, the new wind of the spirit was felt blowing and some fine inspirations were realised in spite of hampering difficulties of all kinds. The Madonna of Guido in the Church of St. Dominic at Siena was the proof of his emancipation. Besides him Uglino, Segna and Duccio made up the Siena school and enabled this other Tuscan city to dispute even with Florence the priority of the new influence in art.   At Lucca Bonaventure Berlinghieri flourished and there was a famous St. Francis by him only recently found, which proves his right to a place among the great founders of modern art. Giunta of Pisa was one of those called to Assisi to paint some of the frescoes in the upper church. He was noted as having striven to make his figures more exact and his colours more natural. He did much to help his generation move away from the conventional expression of the preceding time and he must for this reason be counted among the great original painters in the history of art. The greatest name in the art of the thirteenth century was of course that of Giotto" (Walsh 1913:142).

As an artist he was unrivalled during the Thirteenth Century. According to Walsh (1913:143), the talent of Giotto was noticed at an early age.

"The wonderful precocity of his genius may be best realised from the fact that at the age of twenty he was given the commission of painting the decorations of the upper church at Assisi, and in fulfilling it broke so completely with Byzantine formalism of the preceding millennium, that he must be considered the liberator of art and it's deliverer from the chains of conventionalism into the freedom of nature. And from the point of view of his age, Giotto's advance towards nature, considered relatively to his predecessors, was in truth enormous. What he sought was not merely the external truth of sense, but

also inward truth of the spirit. Instead of solemn images of devotion, he painted pictures in which the spectator beheld the likeness of human beings in the exercise of activity and intelligence. His merit lies, as has been well said in 'an entirely new conception of character and facts.' None of his predecessors accomplished anything like the revolution that he worked. He fixed the destinies of art in Italy at the moment when Dante fixed those of literature. After his work at Assisi some of the best of Giotto's pictures are to be found in the Chapel of the Arena at Padua" (Walsh 1913:143-144).

Sculpture was another form of art that captivated peoples' attention and as an educational tool was of an exceptional quality. Contrary to some common held beliefs gothic sculpture was not morose or as bleak as some people have said.

"The gothic revolution was no less apparent in sculpture than in architecture. Capitals representing scenes from Holy Scripture, fabulous beasts and geometric patterns-the whole antiquated vocabulary, so to speak, of Romanesque-were more or less abandoned, whatever was retained underwent modification. Sculpture entered into it's own and made gigantic strides. Figures in the round covered every available surface, varying in size from a few inches to 13 or 16 feet. Although the progress of sculpture did not always keep pace with that of architecture, it was generally true to say that as each cathedral was built technical advances were passed on to the next, and each new achievement served as the starting point of further experiment. Innumerable masterpieces stand as milestones marking the progress of sculpture towards maturity; e.g. The statue of St. Stephen at Sens, the two groups on the transepts at Chartres, the few surviving specimens at Notre Dame (especially the tympanum devoted to the glory of Mary), and the magnificent sculpture at Amiens, including the unforgettable 'Beau Dieu'" (Good God) (Daniel-Rops 1957:375-376).

The sculptors at the various cathedrals around Europe were a living testimony of the artistic achievement of craftsmen during this period and they excelled at observation and in learning the art of perfecting their skills from others (Daniel-Rops 1957:376).

"This progress was accomplished in small details: one sculptor learned how to suggest physical movement; another how to represent a smile, a bowed head, or a bent knee beneath flowing garments. Time and again we are reminded of the fact that it was precisely at the moment when philosophy set man at the centre of knowledge, making him the starting-point of the journey towards God, that sculpture manifested this same humanistic tendency, even striving after individual likeness. The high-water mark of this effort was attained at Rheims – Rheims of the Virgin and Child and of the Smiling Angel – where art achieved unsurpassed freedom and truth, beyond which lay nothing but the risk of mere virtuosity. Gothic carving, with its manifold variety, was perhaps the sole European rival of Greek sculpture in it's heyday. Sacred art never again reached the same level; Christendom in the thirteenth century gave many a Phidias to the west" (Daniel-Rops 1957:376).

The visual arts as a tool for educating the laity was exceptional. Everything connected with the cathedrals, besides serving to beautify these magnificent Gothic structures, proved to be a source of upliftment for those who came to worship there.

"In times when only the small minority could read, and when the services of the church were in a tongue unintelligible to the masses, religious instruction had largely to be given and the quickening of the devotional attitude had chiefly to be stimulated through the arts. The elaborate sculptures, especially on the Gothic churches, and the mosaics, particularly in structures influenced by the Byzantine tradition, must decidedly have supplemented sermons, miracle plays, and processions. The dominant subjects in sculpture and painting were associated with the Christian faith. In general, through the earlier part of the period, the major interest of the artist and of those who directed him was in the religious aspects of his theme. The human form was not loved for it's own sake, but as an instrument for conveying ideas and feelings. The contrast was striking between the art of Greece and Rome, with it's emphasis upon the physical beauty of the human body and the visible, and that of the Middle Ages which sought to express through the visible the invisible power and grace of God" (Latourette 1971:382).

Many of the beautiful sculptures can still be seen today in Gothic churches. The Thirteenth Century also provided the faithful with beautiful and exceptional literature and music as food for the soul. People were renewed spiritually through these wonderful art forms.

6.5   LITERATURE AND MUSIC

The literary works of the Thirteenth Century, together with the music written, enabled people to become more knowledgeable about and in tune with, their faith.

"Thirteenth century Paris has been described as the Athens of medieval Europe. And despite all the obvious and fundamental differences that separate the golden age of Pericles from the golden age of St. Louis, these two epochs did have something in common. Both developed within the framework of traditional beliefs and customs that had long existed but were being challenged and transformed by powerful new forces-a new rationalism, a new art, a burgeoning commerce, an expression of frontiers, and an influx of ideas from other cultures. The socio-religious world of the early Middle Ages, like the socio-religious world of the early Greek polis, was parochial and tradition bound. As the two cultures passed into their golden ages, the values of the past were assailed by new intellectual currents, and the old economic patterns were expanded and transformed. Yet for a time, these dynamic new forces resulted in a heightened cultural expression of the old values. The Parthenon, dedicated to the venerable civic goddess Athena, and the Gothic Cathedrals of Notre Dame (Our Lady) that were rising in Paris, Chartres, Reims, Amiens and elsewhere, were all products of a new creativity harnessed to the service of an older ideology" (Hollister 1978:229).

There was an unbelievable volume of artistic achievements made during this period as artists expressed their talent so magnificently through various means. Paris, with its excellent university was one of the main centres in which the creative spirit of Europe was harnessed.

"In the long run, the new creative pulses would subvert the old ideologies, but for a time, both ancient Greece and medieval Europe achieved an elusive equilibrium between old and new. The results, in both cases, were spectacular. Twelfth and thirteenth-century Europe succeeded, by and large, in keeping it's vibrant culture within the bounds of traditional Catholic Christianity. And the Christian worldview gave form and orientation to the new creativity. Despite the intense dynamism of the period, it can still be called, with some semblance of accuracy, an Age of Faith. Europe in the High Middle Ages underwent an artistic and intellectual awakening that affected every imaginable form of expression. Significant creative work was done in literature, architecture, sculpture, law, philosophy, political theory, even science. By the close of the period, the foundations of the Western cultural tradition were firmly established" (Hollister 1978:229-230).

Some of the finest literature was written during this period and people like Dante and Marco Polo have become world-renowned. Most of the literature was written in Latin since this was the language of the Church.

"The literature of the High Middle Ages was abundant and mildly varied. Poetry was written both in the traditional Latin-the universal scholarly language of medieval Europe-and in the vernacular languages of ordinary speech that had long been evolving in the various districts of Christendom. Traditional Christian piety found expression in a series of sombre and majestic Latin hymns…" (Hollister 1978:230).

However, the vernacular languages were becoming ever more popular. Latin seems to have been the language of scholars as many people were drawn to their own common languages.

"For all its originality, the Latin poetry of the High Middle Ages was outstripped both in quantity and in variety of expression by vernacular poetry. The drift towards emotionalism, which we have already noted in medieval piety, was closely paralleled by the evolution of vernacular literature from the martial epics of the eleventh century to the delicate and sensitive romances of the

thirteenth. Influenced by the sophisticated romanticism of the southern troubadour tradition, the bellicose spirit of northern France gradually softened. In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, heroic epics known as chansons de geste (songs of great deeds) were enormously popular among the northern French aristocracy. These chansons arose out of the earlier heroic traditions of the Teutonic north that had produced moody and violent masterpieces such as Beowolf. Like old-fashioned Westerns, the chansons de geste were packed with action, and their heroes tended to steer clear of sentimental entanglements with women. In short, the chansons de geste mirror the bellicose spirit and sense of military brotherhood that characterised the feudal knight-hood…" (Hollister 1978:231-232).

These poetic songs were a prime example of the literary style of the times. France played a major role in the cultural revival in Europe.

"During the middle and later twelfth century the martial spirit of northern French literature was gradually transformed by the influx of the romantic troubadour tradition of southern France. In Provence, Toulouse and Aquitaine a rich, colourful culture had been developing in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and out of it came a lyric poetry of remarkable sensitivity and enduring value. The lyric poets of the south were known as troubadours. Their poems were far more intimate and personal than the chansons de geste and placed much greater emphasis upon romantic love. The wit, delicacy and romanticism of the troubadour lyrics disclose a more genteel and sophisticated nobility than that of the feudal north - a nobility that preferred songs of love to songs of war. Midway through the twelfth century, the Southern troubadour tradition began to filter into northern France, England and Germany. As its influence grew, the northern knights discovered that more was expected of them than loyalty to their lords and a life of carefree slaughter. They were now expected to be gentlemen as well - to be courtly in manner and urbane in speech, to exhibit delicate, refined behaviour in feminine company, and to idolise some noble women" (Hollister 1978:233-237).

The troubadour tradition was very popular and even St Francis of Assisi in his youth was a troubadour. But when speaking about poetry one has to mention Dante.

Dante Alighieri was one of the finest poets the world has ever known. He was also a very outspoken lay person and this often got him into deep water with the church. However, in the history of the Thirteenth Century, Dante stands out as a genius in the area of literature.

> *"Vernacular poetry matured late in Italy, but in the works of Dante (1265-1321) it achieved it's loftiest expression. Dante wrote on a wide variety of subjects, sometimes in Latin, more often in the Tuscan vernacular. He composed a series of lyric poems celebrating his love for the lady Beatrice, which were assembled, with prose commentaries, in his Vista Nuova (the New Life). Firmly convinced of the literary potential of the Tuscan vernacular, Dante urged its use in his De Vulgari Eloquentia* (concerning eloquence in the vernacular tongue)*, which he wrote in Latin so as to appeal to scholars and writers who scorned the vulgar tongue. And he filled his own vernacular works with such grace and beauty as to convince by example those whom he could not persuade by argument. In his hands the Tuscan vernacular became the literary language of Italy"* (Hollister 1978:239-240).

One of Dante's most famous works was the 'Divine Comedy'. In his 'Divine Comedy' Dante gave an interesting view of the medieval mind and also of their thoughts on death, judgement, heaven and hell.

> *"Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) was born into a noble Florentine family in a city torn apart by rival class. The Divine Comedy, the first book to be written in the Italian vulgare instead of Latin, was begun in 1308 and contained three cantiche* (canticles) – *Inferno (Hell), Purgatorio (Purgatory) and Paradiso (Paradise). Dante's influences included the classics, the neo-Platonists, Aristotle, natural philosophy and theology. The Inferno's opening canto was a microcosm of the entire work and it's topography prefigures the three realms of the soul's afterlife: the dark wood (Hell), the barren slope (Mount Purgatory) and the blissful mountain (Paradise). The epic poem juxtaposes human*

privation, injustice and imperfection with divine freedom, justice and perfection. Dante's allegorical theme of God's gradual revelation to an unsuspecting, unprepared pilgrim beautifully illustrates the concept of the rational human soul choosing salvation of it's own free will. The use of real-life characters, autobiographical detail, personal failures and triumphs, sophisticated eschatological discourse and the denunciation of contemporary politics rendered the poem unique. The images remain unsurpassed galloping centaurs, devils, chained giants, cannibalism, dazzling angels, supernatural rivers and trees, configurations of light and a heavenly stadium" (Alighieri 2006:7).

The Divine Comedy, as an epic poem, was considered to be a masterpiece. This epic poem, i.e. The Divine Comedy, gives us an intimate view of Dante's theological ideas as well as his own personal problems.

"In the Divine Comedy, Dante imagines himself as a lost pilgrim who is taken on a guided pilgrimage through the three realms of the dead: Hell, Purgatory and Paradise. On his travels, he is given the challenge of exploring the darkest recesses of the human soul in an effort to understand the root of evil, sin and, ultimately, forgiveness. Accompanied through Hell and Purgatory by the author of the Aeneid, the Roman poet Virgil, the pair encounter grim and often shocking landscapes, punishments and sinners as they venture deeper into the throat of Hell. When they finally resurface, the two travellers find themselves on the island of Purgatory where dwell those sinners awaiting Heaven's graceful pardon. Pilgrim and guide begin their ascent up the mountain to the gates of Paradise. Dante and Virgil part company at the summit of the mountain because as a pre-Christian pagan tied to Limbo, Virgil cannot be granted access to Paradise. Beatrice, who first appeared to Dante in Purgatory, takes the pilgrim into her care and transports him through space and time towards Paradise, and the ineffable mystery of God and creation" (Alighieri 2006:1).

This masterpiece of literature continued to be studied and was one of Dante's finest achievements. He also wrote on politics, as he was a strong opponent of the abuse of power whether temporal or spiritual.

According to Hughes (1947:108-111), Dante was a firm believer in the separation of the temporal and spiritual powers, although he did believe that emperors were in some way subject to the pope. However, he did not explain how this should actually work. Inevitably Dante will always be remembered as a genius who left a literary legacy for the world.

The wonderful hymns and music of the Thirteenth Century bear testimony to the deep spiritual growth of the people during this period.

"One of the most precious bequests of the Thirteenth Century to all the succeeding centuries was undoubtedly the great Latin hymns. These sublime religious poems, comparable only to the Hebrew psalms for their wondrous expression of the awe and devotion of religious feeling, presented the beginnings of rhymed poetry, yet they have been acclaimed by competent modern critics as among the greatest poems that ever came from the mind of man. They came to us from this period and were composed, most of them at least, during the Thirteenth Century itself, a few, shortly before it, though all of them received during this century the stamp of ecclesiastical and popular approval, which made them for many centuries afterward the principal medium of the expression of congregational devotion and the exemplar and incentive for vernacular poetry. It was from these latter standpoints that they deserved the attention of all students of literature quite apart from their significance as great expressions of the mind of these wondrous generations" (Walsh 1913:194).

This music proved to be very uplifting for people and aided them in their devotional life.

6.6   <u>CONCLUSION</u>

Not much thought is usually given to how the design of a worship space both shapes worship and reflects a theology; yet throughout history theology has been embodied in church architecture and art. During the Thirteenth Century this was beautifully illustrated through the magnificent Gothic Cathedrals, the sculptures and paintings that were on display for people. The deep devotion and love that Christians had for God was revealed through art and the towering Gothic structures that they erected. The church's worship is musical by its very nature and the music composed during the Thirteenth Century was a sure sign of how seriously people took their faith. Many of the hymns composed continued to inspire the faithful throughout the centuries that followed. This was truly a century that produced some of the most amazing and talented architects, artists, poets and composers the world has ever known.

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to answer pertinent questions pertaining to the pontificate of Pope Innocent III. The researcher discovered that this was definitely one of the more interesting periods in the history of the Church to study and that this pope in particular stood out as an outstanding leader when the Church required one. This research has covered the areas of the methodology used in the research, the background to the early Thirteenth Century, the pontificate of Pope Innocent III, the Fourth Lateran Council, the role of the Mendicant Orders in spiritual renewal, the universities and lastly the advance of Western culture. The objective was to discover the extent to which Pope Innocent III influenced spiritual renewal and the role played by the Catholic Church in the advancement of culture in South Western Europe. Therefore the historical method was used and a perspective that would draw closer to sociology.

The opinion and the findings drawn from this thesis show that Pope Innocent III was the right man, at the right place and at the right time. The Church was in dire need of someone who could bring about change. There were many challenges to be faced at the time and for a while some of the clergy had been corrupt. The laity were also not well educated and therefore were easily swayed by false teaching.

Pope Innocent III was a formidable person. His formation shows that he was well educated and that he had a stable upbringing. A man of principle who was astute, humble and very holy. He was therefore well equipped to tackle these challenges.

It is believed that Pope Innocent III was the pope of the century as he knew exactly how to address the problems in the Church. It was a blessing that his pontificate began just before the start of the Thirteenth Century as the popes who came after him followed his lead. It can be categorically stated that more than any other single individual he was responsible for the great movement of spiritual renewal and the development of the intellectual life that occurred. The spiritual renewal began with his wonderful insight in recognising the humility and holiness of St. Francis of Assisi. At a time when the Church was not allowing the formation of new religious orders, he trusted in God and gave the Franciscans approval. This act turned out to be one of

the single most important decisions taken by a pope in the history of the Catholic Church. In addition to this, Pope Innocent III employed St. Dominic Guzman to combat heresy in Southern France. These two orders viz. the Franciscans and Dominicans, were perfect for the situation the Church was facing. Both orders were responsible to a large extent for drawing people back to the Church by their example of poverty, chastity and obedience. The laity needed holy priests who were not corrupt and who were true men of God. In an age when violence was a way of life and many were suffering hardship, it became more important for church leaders to be a guiding light for people. They needed to meet Christ in their priests and this is exactly what happened. These two orders eventually spread throughout Europe.

The Franciscans and Dominicans were successful because they returned to an apostolic way of life; a renaissance occurred. They went back to what is old is good. They lived a life of poverty and were not worldly like some priests. They reached out to the poor and sick. They were visible and approachable to the laity. The fact that they begged for their food proved to the people how humble they were and in this way they could relate to those who were starving. The interesting point is that many of these Mendicant priests came from wealthy families and gave up everything to follow God. This in itself won over many people in their specific home towns. In the early church people were drawn to Christ through the wonderful example of the Apostles and here it was the same.

Pope Innocent III, being a brilliant canon lawyer, knew that one of the ways forward for the Church in addressing the current crisis was to call a council. The decrees issued at the council would make it legal and binding for all Roman Catholic priests and those concerned with the laity would be the same. The Fourth Lateran Council proved to be one of the most important ever held in the history of the Church. It was a bold move by a pope who was a brilliant strategist. What the council actually did was to bring things to a head. Whatever was happening in the Church and causing harm not only to the reputation of the Church but to its members was not allowed to continue. Therefore Pope Innocent III made certain that during his tenure as chief shepherd of the Catholic Church he would try his level best to stamp out corruption of the clergy. It is important to note that not all popes in office call a council. This pope could have left these problems for the next pope to tackle but he did not.

Pope Innocent III was a man who loved God and the Church. He knew his role as a servant to God's people and he set a wonderful example, not only for the priests, but for the laity as well. For this reason and also because of his stature as a pope, the bishops made sure that the decrees of the council which addressed corruption of the clergy were implemented in their areas. This did wonders for the laity who witnessed a dramatic change in their leaders, the clergy, over time. This influenced the spirituality of the laity as did the decrees of the council which focussed on them. These concerned the sacraments of the Eucharist, Confession and Marriage. The laity became more aware of the importance of going to confession on a regular basis and the need for making peace with God i.e. asking for forgiveness. They realised that the gift of the Eucharist was something they needed more often. Pope Innocent III made certain that the laity understood the importance of the sacraments in their spiritual lives. With a strong pope at the helm, the Church was bound to grow. Ultimately the popes who would follow also focussed on these issues and made dramatic strides in aiding the Church in its renewal. Thus the researcher found that spiritual renewal was occurring on many fronts and that Pope Innocent III was a major influence in this area of the Church's life.

The Catholic Church was solely responsible for the establishment of universities, as they developed from the cathedral schools. What was found was that Pope Innocent III during his pontificate insisted on the establishment of universities and required that priests obtain a good university education. What this actually did was to create a situation where priests were well trained in order to teach their religion. This inevitably had a ripple effect as priests and the laity became more enthusiastic as they began to understand their religion better. They therefore appreciated it more. The universities and preparatory schools offered many an opportunity they never had before to improve their lot in life. For those who were not academically inclined the technical schools offered them the opportunity to develop or learn skills necessary to help them find work. The contribution made by the Franciscans and Dominicans at universities was immense. They helped these universities to reach new heights as educational institutions by improving the standard of education. Huge strides were made in the development of Theology as a subject which was regarded as the queen of the sciences. Their work and example inspired many

young men to enter the priesthood, which is a testimony to their courageous efforts in teaching the faith. When many were being led astray by false teaching these orders taught the faith with fidelity to God and the Church and therefore many returned. Many young people flocked to their lectures as they became very popular. It is important to acknowledge the fact that due to the legislation of Pope Innocent III at the councils called by him, laws were passed which stipulated that schools, colleges and universities be developed. Another important point to note is that no alternative has ever been found to equal the university as an educational institution. It has come down to the present virtually unchanged.

Pope Innocent III did not just focus on the spiritual needs of the people. He was also instrumental in the foundation of hospitals, especially in Italy. He was an outstanding figure as a humanitarian and a man of charity. His formation as a young man played a major role in his development to become the person he was. When some Bishops and priests of his time were worldly and selfish he led by example and was truly a Father to those people entrusted to his care by God. Due to his efforts, as God used him as an instrument, many were drawn closer to the Almighty and were inspired to do great deeds for the Lord. These deeds were made manifest in the unbelievable advance in culture.

The laity were given an unbelievable opportunity at the schools to develop their skills as artisans. Due to the leadership in the Church and the building of universities and cathedrals, they were provided with work opportunities. In this way they were able to make their wonderful talent visible to the world. Religious art was the order of the day and artists, sculptors and musicians would deem it an honour to receive a contract to do work at a particular cathedral. Many of them built up their reputations because of the opportunity afforded them by the Church. Perhaps if this had not happened many of them would have been lost to history. The unbelievable quality of the cathedrals and works of art and sculptures they contain is a testimony to the people of this period and their deep faith in God. The social aspect of a group of people coming together in a specific town to build a cathedral is a study on its own. Poor people inspired by their bishop to design and develop a magnificent edifice in honour of God must have been amazing to witness. There was an intense rivalry between towns or cities to see who could build the grandest cathedrals. This did

wonders in building bonds of unity among particular city dwellers. The art and sculptures were an amazing educational tool as many were still illiterate. They were able to understand biblical stories by seeing them portrayed before them. The musical compositions inspired Christians with their beautiful lyrics, as many wonderful hymns were written during this period. The laity were encouraged by their leaders in the Church viz. the Pope, bishops and priests, to express themselves through these various art forms. Many of these cathedrals are still standing today and their stained glass windows depicting a saint or biblical scene are a delight to the eye. One can truly understand how people were inspired to pray and were drawn closer to God when in this type of religious atmosphere. Therefore the contribution made by the Catholic Church i.e. the clergy and laity, to the advance of western culture was a brilliant testimony to a period that was far from being the Dark Ages. The Church and its members were like a bright light illuminating their time even when there were dark moments.

Pope Innocent III did engage too much in the political affairs of Europe. Due to his intervention in England they became anti Rome. The English never forgot this and the seeds were sown here for the eventual breakaway of the English Church. Over time various other nations became very nationalistic due to the interference of the pope in their political affairs. France was one of the main leaders in this area of nationalism. This would eventually culminate in the oppression of the Church during the French Revolution in France. One of the major failures of his papacy was that the Eastern Church was never truly re-united with Rome. Pope Innocent III, as many popes before him, never realised this goal as the Eastern Church distrusted the Western Church due to the sacking of Constantinople by the Crusaders.

However, the influence of Pope Innocent III could be seen and felt throughout the period as he was such a dominant and inspirational figure. The role he played in spiritual renewal by addressing corruption of the clergy, influencing the laity through the mendicant orders, his role in education, social welfare and cultural aspects was immense. No other pope or person of his time did as much for spiritual renewal and he gave the impetus for this to continue after his tenure as pope.

Today in the Roman Catholic Church there seems to be a crisis among some of the priests and laity. The recent sex scandals have brought this to light. Many are disillusioned and feel let down by the leadership in the Church. The main point of concern is the moral corruption of some of the clergy and the fact that they are very disloyal to the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. The late Pope John Paul II even went so far as to say that there seems to be two teaching authorities in the Church. One that is faithful to the teaching of Christ and the other that is determined to undermine it and to sow discord. This inevitably affects and influences the laity. So what then is the way forward and how can these challenges be addressed? The lesson learnt from this thesis for the Roman Catholic Church is that a stand must be made and issues faced. Vatican II, as a council, was good enough and the current Pope Benedict XVI is an exceptional leader. However, the laity need holy priests who are going to be good role models in a world that offers very few. It is suggested that the Roman Catholic Church, readdress the important area of screening of candidates for the priesthood, and their formation. Another aspect is the education of the laity, as quite a number of them do not know their religion because many priests are not teaching doctrine from the pulpit. The world is becoming more secular and there is a need to inculcate once again in members a sense of community and of Catholic culture.

A practical way of addressing these challenges would be firstly to re-evaluate the screening process of candidates for the priesthood. Often students come from other countries, trying to escape poverty and war there, so they apply for the priesthood in order to have easy entry into South Africa. Many of them are not sincere and use South Africa as a stepping stone to obtain the education provided for them by the Church, then they leave for America, Canada or Australia. Bishops should not be desperate because of the shortage of priests but should make sure they know and investigate the background of these men. For the time being more people should be encouraged to become deacons and if every Catholic in South Africa prays everyday for holy priests, God will answer. But accepting just anyone is not the way forward.

The seminary system used for the training and formation of priests has also to be re-evaluated. The current system is at times unbearable. Students are placed in a seminary for seven years of formation and academic studies. They are placed with

priests who are often there although they don't want to be. These priests are not trained properly in formation and therefore do not have the necessary skills required to form future priests. Some of these students come with their own psychological baggage and often due to the environment they leave and do not come back. Besides this the students are living in community for seven years but once they are ordained to the priesthood they are placed in a parish/church all on their own. They often end up with depression or become alcoholics. Another issue is the various cultures found in the seminary which students fail to understand, therefore they struggle to relate to one another. This is just another legacy of apartheid, but this can be addressed by having workshops on culture.

It is suggested that as regards the seminary system students for the Port Elizabeth diocese remain here and not be sent to Cape Town or Pretoria for studies in the seminaries there. That each student be placed with a priest in a church/parish. Here he will receive spiritual formation for the priesthood and learn the practical skills necessary to perform the tasks of priesthood. The laity will also have an opportunity to get to know their future priests on a personal level. This at the moment is not possible since they are studying in other cities and are away for seven years. Many priests are old and these student priests would be of great help to them. The priest will also be able to deal with any problem that arises as regards the student, whether of a moral or psychological nature. In the seminary this is not always possible since there are so many students and they can get lost in the system and not get noticed. The Port Elizabeth diocese could have a central point where academic studies can take place and students travel to this venue daily but do not reside there permanently, just like the university system. A few priests or lay people who have the necessary qualifications should be chosen to teach here. This would also alleviate the heavy financial burden on the Church as it is very costly to train a student for the priesthood. The bishop would also be able to visit his students on a regular basis and get to know them better, as they would be in his area. Ultimately students for the priesthood need good examples to follow. Just as in the Thirteenth Century with the wonderful examples of the pope, Franciscans and Dominicans, today's students would end up being holy, dedicated and loyal.

Further research questions which could arise from this topic are the effect that heresy had on the Church in Southern Europe or the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the development of law. These would be interesting areas to research and would provide one with a perspective of just how involved the Church was in various other areas. In retrospect this thesis answered all the questions which were posed at the beginning and much more. What emerges from this study is that one should never underestimate the power of God, and that the laity have unbelievable faith, even when some of their leaders behave atrociously. When inspired by God they can achieve amazing feats and produce unbelievably aesthetic works. Many of these have never been equalled in current times. One man can make a difference. Where would society be without education? Due to Pope Innocent III's efforts many today can enjoy studying at universities and schools and this system has its roots back in the Thirteenth Century. More importantly a spiritual revival occurred due to Pope Innocent III's influence but ultimately he and those around him, like St. Francis, were inspired by God.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

## CHRONOLOGY OF INNOCENT III'S PONTIFICATE

1160 or 1161	Innocent born Lothar dei Conti, probably at Gavignano near Segni, Italy. Educated at school in Rome; Paris before mid-1187; Bologna (?) 1187-9
1187	Made papal subdeacon
1189	Created cardinal deacon of SS. Sergio and Bacco by his uncle, Pope Clement III. Writes 'De Contemptu Mundi'
1197	September. Emperor Henry VI dies; his heir Frederick aged 2 years and nine months
1198	January. Pope Celestine III dies. Election of Lothar dei Conti of Segni as POPE INNOCENT III February. Enthronement as Pope Innocent III
	March 8. Philip of Swabia, brother of Henry VI (from the Hohenstaufen family) elected king of Germany
	June 8. Otto of Brunswick, youngest son of Henry the Lion (a Welf), elected as king of Germany
	Dispute for crown of Germany and imperial title begins
	July 12. Archbishop of Cologne anoints and crowns Otto in Cologne
	September 8. Archbishop of Tarentaise anoints and crowns Philip in Mainz
	November 27. Empress Constance, mother of Frederick, dies
1199	April 6. King Richard I of England dies. Accession of King John
1200	'Proposita' of the Humiliati
	Christmastide. Secret consistory of Pope and Cardinals to decide the Imperial Schism

1201	March. Pope decides in favour of Otto
	May. King Philip Augustus of France takes back Ingeborg of Denmark as his lawful wife
	June. Papal bull for the Humiliati
	August. Pope legitimizes children of Philip Augustus and Agnes of Meran
1202	Fourth Crusade commences
1203	August (?). Pope falls ill; rumours of his death
1204	Constantinople taken by Christian crusaders
	King Peter of Aragon becomes a papal vassal
1205	Pope threatens excommunication and deposition of Archbishop Adolf of Cologne for changing sides in the imperial dispute
	Count Palatine and other princes desert Otto's cause
	July. Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury dies
1205-6	Disputed Canterbury election
1207	June 17. Pope consecrates Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury after election in the papal curia
1207-8	Peace negotiations between Stauffer and Welfs arranged by pope
1208	January. Murder of papal legate in Toulouse
	Albigensian Crusade against heretics in Southern France begins
	March 23. Papal interdict pronounced on England; bishops leave
	June 21. Murder of Philip of Swabia
1209	January 12. Declaration of Speyer. Otto recognizes right of pope over Sicily
	October 4. Coronation of Otto (IV) as Emperor at Rome
1210	Pope verbally approves Francis of Assisi's rule of the Friars Minor
	Otto invades Sicily
	November 18. Otto excommunicated by the pope
	December 28. Pope publishes official law collection addressed to Masters and Scholars of Bologna

1212   Children's Crusade

July. Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa: frontiers of Christian kingdoms extended against Muslims in Southern Spain

1213   April 19. Summons of General Council of Church for November 1215

May 13. King John becomes Vassal of the Pope and holds England as a Papal Fief

1214   Battle of Bouvines. King Philip Augustus of France defeats King John and the Emperor Otto IV

1215   November 11. Meeting of the General Council at the Lateran (known as the Fourth Lateran Council)

1216   July 16. Innocent dies at Perugia.

(Sayers 1994 : 198-200)

APPENDIX B
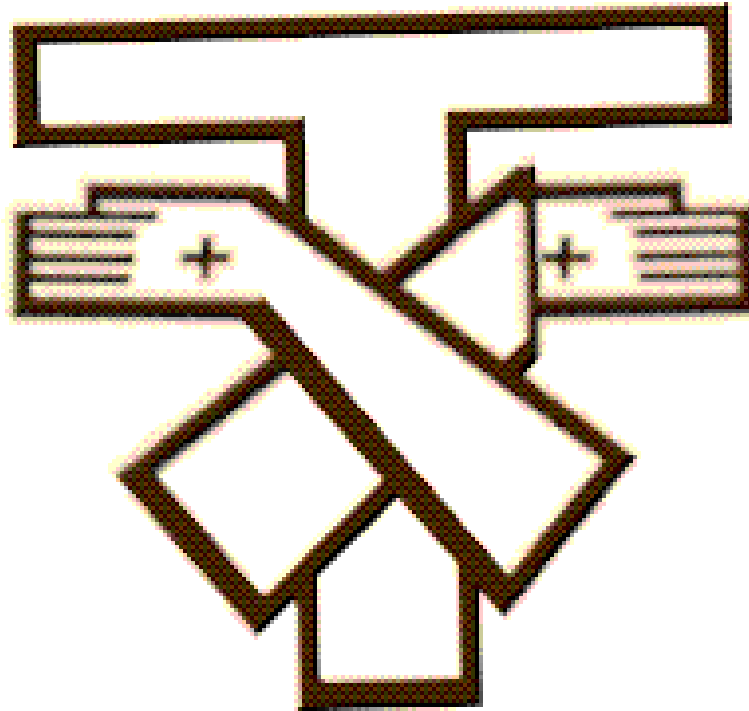
THE TAU CROSS

The religious order founded by St. Francis uses this cross. It is called the 'tau' cross and the symbolism of the wounds in Christ's hands is obvious. This has a twofold significance since St. Francis as well during his life time received the stigmata i.e. the wounds of Christ in his hands.

Pope Innocent III used this tau symbol in his opening sermon of the Fourth Lateran Council which was held in 1215. This became the symbol for the council and for the spiritual renewal in the church. It was only five years before the council that Pope Innocent III had given the Franciscans recognition as a religious order in the Church (Grigaitis 2009 : 1).

APPENDIX C

MAPS:

Map 1: Italy

(Sayers 1994 : 207)

Map 2: The Papal State

(Sayers 1994 : 208)

Map 3: Medieval Europe 13th Century

http://www.emersonkent.com/map_archive/europe_13th_century.htm