

Studies in Church History

49

THE CHURCH ON ITS PAST



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PAPERS READ AT
THE 2011 SUMMER MEETING AND
THE 2012 WINTER MEETING OF
THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY

EDITED BY

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and

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PUBLISHED FOR
THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY SOCIETY
BY
THE BOYDELL PRESS
2013

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First published 2013

A publication of the Ecclesiastical History Society
in association with The Boydell Press
an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DE, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620-2731, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

ISBN 978-0-95468-101-2

ISSN 0424-2084

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Details of previous volumes are available from Boydell & Brewer Ltd

Produced by Toynbee Editorial Services Ltd
Typeset in Bembo Std

Papers used by Boydell & Brewer Ltd are natural, recyclable products made from wood grown in sustainable forests



Printed in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham and Eastbourne

CONTENTS

Preface	ix
List of Contributors	xi
List of Abbreviations	xiv
Introduction	xvii
Has Ecclesiastical History Lost the Plot? <i>(Presidential Address)</i>	1
SARAH FOOT	
<i>Part I: The Churches' Use of the Past</i>	
Intimations of a Massacre: Thessalonica, Theodosius I and Self-Ironization in Socrates Scholasticus's <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	29
LUKE GARDINER	
Constructing the Apostolic Past: The Case of Dionysius the Areopagite	42
ANDREW LOUTH	
Biblical History and the End of Times: Seventh-Century Christian Accounts of the Rise of Islam	52
JESSICA LEE EHINGER	
Bede on the Jewish Church	63
CONOR O'BRIEN	
The Deposit of Monastic Faith: The Carolingians on the Essence of Monasticism	74
RENIE CHOY	
Remembering Pope Gregory VII: Cardinal Boso and Alexander III	87
†JOHN DORAN	
Honorius III and the Crusade: Responsive Papal Government versus the Memory of his Predecessors	99
THOMAS W. SMITH	
Carmelites and Crusading in the Later Middle Ages	110
ANDREW JOTISCHKY	

CONTENTS

An Anglican View of the Crusades: Thomas Fuller's <i>The Historie of the Holy Warre</i> BERNARD HAMILTON	121
Using the Past against the Papacy: Luther's Appeal to Church History in his Anti-Papal Writings CHARLOTTE METHUEN	132
Polydore Vergil and Ecclesiastical Historiography in his <i>De Inventoribus Rerum</i> IV–VIII JONATHAN ARNOLD	144
Historian or Prophet? John Bale's Perception of the Past SUSAN ROYAL	156
'Holding up a lamp to the sun': Hiberno-Papal Relations and the Construction of Irish Orthodoxy in John Lynch's <i>Cambrensis Eversus</i> (1662) SALVADOR RYAN	168
Gilbert Burnet: An Ecclesiastical Historian and the Invention of the English Restoration Era TONY CLAYDON	181
The Medieval Church in Early Methodism and Anti-Methodism CHRIS WILSON	192
Representing and Misrepresenting the History of Puritanism in Eighteenth-Century England ROBERT G. INGRAM	205
Archbishop Tait, the Huguenots and the French Church at Canterbury ANDREW SPICER	219
Memorializing 1662: Hampshire Congregationalists and the 250th Anniversary of the Great Ejection ROSALIND JOHNSON AND ROGER OTTEWILL	236
The Church of England in the Diocese of London: What does History have to Offer to the Present-Day Church? JOHN WOLFFE	248

CONTENTS

Part II: Changing Perspectives on Church History

- What did Women do for the Early Church? The Recent History of a Question 261
JUDITH M. LIEU
- Changing Historical Perspectives on the English Reformation: The Last Fifty Years 282
DIARMAID MACCULLOCH
- Historiography of the Scottish Reformation: The Catholics fight back? 303
STEPHEN MARK HOLMES
- Patrick Boyle, the Irish Colleges and the Historiography of Irish Catholicism 317
LIAM CHAMBERS
- The Evangelical Discovery of History 330
DAVID W. BEBBINGTON
- Insider and Outsider History: Theories of Quaker Origins from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries 365
ROSEMARY MOORE
- Histories of Heterodoxy: Shifting Approaches to a Millenarian Tradition in Modern Church History 377
PHILIP LOCKLEY
- Re-visioning the Past and Re-sourcing the Future: The unresolved Historiographical Struggle in Roman Catholic Scholarship and Authoritative Teaching 389
KENNETH L. PARKER
- The Development of G. G. Coulton's Critique of a Roman Catholic School of History 417
ALEC CORIO
- Money Matters: The Neglect of Finance in the Historiography of Modern Christianity 430
SARAH FLEW

Part III: Church and State in History

- Church and State, Religion and Power in Late Antique and Byzantine Scholarship of the last Five Decades 447
CLAUDIA RAPP

Church and State in Early Modern Ecclesiastical Historiography	468
ANTHONY MILTON	
The Fall and Rise of Church and State? Religious History, Politics and the State in Britain, 1961–2011	491
MATTHEW GRIMLEY	

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ActaSS</i>	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> , ed. J. Bolland and G. Henschen (Antwerp, etc., 1643–)
<i>AFP</i>	<i>Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum</i> (1931–)
<i>AH</i>	<i>Archivium Hibernicum</i> (1911–)
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i> (1895–)
<i>AHRC</i>	Arts and Humanities Research Council
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (1903–)
<i>BAV</i>	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i> , vols 1–50; <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester</i> , vols 51–4; <i>Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i> , vol. 55 on (1903–)
 BL	 British Library
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
<i>CathHR</i>	<i>Catholic Historical Review</i> (1915–)
CChr	Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout, 1953–)
CChr.CM	Corpus Christianorum, continuatio medievalis (1966–)
 CCM	 <i>Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum</i> (Siegburg, 1963–)
 CHC	 <i>Cambridge History of Christianity</i> , 9 vols (Cambridge, 2005–9)
 ChH	 <i>Church History</i> (1932–)
CQR	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i> (1875–1968)
CR	<i>Corpus Reformatorum</i> (Berlin, Leipzig, Zürich, 1834–)
 CUL	 Cambridge University Library
CYS	Canterbury and York Society
DBI	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i> (Rome, 1960–)
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i> (Paris, 1912–)
 DOP	 <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> (1941–)
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i> (1886–)
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i> (1992–)

ABBREVIATIONS

ET	English translation
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
<i>HistJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i> (1958–)
HR	<i>Historical Research</i> (1986–)
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i> (1908–)
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i> (1859–)
IER	<i>Irish Ecclesiastical Record</i> (1864–)
<i>InR</i>	<i>Innes Review</i> (1950–)
JBS	<i>Journal of British Studies</i> (1961–)
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> (1950–)
JFHS	<i>Journal of the Friends Historical Society</i> (1903–)
JHI	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i> (1940–)
JMedH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i> (1975–)
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i> (1929–)
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i> (1960–)
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> (1911–)
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i> (1978–)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
LW	<i>Luther's Works</i> , ed. J. Pelikan and H. Lehmann, 55 vols (St Louis, MO, 1955–75)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab a. c. 500 usque ad a. 1500, ed. G. H. Pertz et al. (Hanover / Berlin, etc., 1826–)
MGH LdL	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum, Saeculis XI et XII conscripti (1891–7)
MGH SRG	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum seperatum editi (1871–)
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio) (1826–)
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , ed. F. L. Cross (Oxford, 1957; 2nd edn 1974; 3rd edn 1997; 3rd edn revised 2005); 2nd edn onwards with E. A. Livingstone
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols + index vol. (Oxford, 2004)
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
OHCC	Oxford History of the Christian Church
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present: A Journal of Scientific History</i> (1952–)
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> (1904–)
<i>PH</i>	<i>Parliamentary History</i> (1982–)
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 217 vols + 4 index vols (Paris, 1844–65)
RQ	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (1967–)
RSCHS	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i> (1923–)
s.a.	<i>sub anno</i> (under the year)
SCH	Studies in Church History
SCH S	Studies in Church History: Subsidia
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (1970–2006)
SEHT	Studies in Evangelical History and Thought
s.n.	<i>sub nomine</i> ('under the name')
SNTS	Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas / Society for New Testament Studies
<i>Speculum</i>	<i>Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies</i> (1925–)
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> ('under the word')
TNA	The National Archives
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> (1871–)
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
WA	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe</i> , ed. J. K. F. Knaake, G. Kawerau et al. (Weimar, 1883–)
WABr	<i>D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Briefwechsel</i> , 18 vols (1930–85)
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

HONORIUS III AND THE CRUSADE:
RESPONSIVE PAPAL GOVERNMENT VERSUS
THE MEMORY OF HIS PREDECESSORS*

by THOMAS W. SMITH

The medieval papacy was an institution steeped in its own history and traditions, but how far did the popes' recollection of their predecessors' 'blessed memory' influence their own political decision-making? Through access to earlier letter registers, combined with their memories of experiences at the curia before election to the papal throne, popes could potentially delve into their own institutional history when making contemporary political decisions. In 1977 James Powell suggested that, in negotiations with Emperor Frederick II (1220–50) over his Holy Land crusade vow, Pope Honorius III (1216–27) had reached decisions based on his memory of the negotiations between Pope Clement III (1187–91) and Frederick II's grandfather, Emperor Frederick I (1155–90).¹

Powell's argument poses the question: how far was Honorius's decision-making regarding the Holy Land crusades influenced by the memory of his predecessors? Honorius, it will be remembered, was involved in preparations not only for the Crusade of Frederick II (1228–9) but also for the Fifth Crusade (1217–21). This question addresses the papacy's use and perception of the importance of its own past, and also forms part of a wider historiographical debate on whether the popes formulated policies or whether they were primarily responsive, even reactive, in their decision-making. Traditionally the medieval papacy has been interpreted as a policy-making (and policy-following) body, with a few notable exceptions, but the discourse has recently been reinvigorated by several important studies whose authors have begun to consider more critically how the curia operated, and to question the status of

* I wish to thank Brenda Bolton, Bernard Hamilton, Jonathan Phillips and the editors of *Studies in Church History* for commenting on this essay, and Barbara Bombi for several references.

¹ James M. Powell, 'Honorius III and the Leadership of the Crusade', *CathHR* 63 (1977), 521–36, at 528–9.

the popes as policy-makers.² This essay aims to contribute to that discussion by arguing that whilst Honorius was certainly aware of his predecessors' actions, and positive evidence of the influence of these recollections occurs in a small number of crusade letters from his first pontifical year, the subsequent memory of his predecessors exerted no discernible effect on his crusade decision-making. Instead, Honorius's letters were issued primarily in response to the initiative and will of the lay powers. Hence, he was neither making papal 'policy' nor following the 'policies' of his predecessors.

Before his election as Pope Honorius III on 18 July 1216 (consecrated 24 July), Cencius³ served at the curia of Clement III, where he obtained a canonry in S. Maria Maggiore, and in 1188 was appointed as papal chamberlain. By 1192, he had compiled the *Liber censuum*, an administrative work detailing payments to the papacy.⁴ Cencius's promising career continued to flourish under Celestine III (1191–8): in 1193 he became cardinal deacon of S. Lucia in Orthea, possibly in recognition of the completion of the *Liber*

² Geoffrey Barraclough criticized the search for 'high policy' in ecclesiastical history, yet it has persisted to the present day: see his *Papal Provisions: Aspects of Church History Constitutional, Legal and Administrative in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1935), 128–30. For an early view of responsive papal government, see Ernst Pitz, *Papstreskript und Kaiserreskript im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1971), 135–6; for a more balanced view, see Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, OHCC (Oxford, 1989), 212–13, 217–19, 571. More recently, in favour of papal policy-making, see Rebecca Rist, 'Papal Policy and the Albigensian Crusades: Continuity or Change?', *Crusades* 2 (2003), 99–108; eadem, *The Papacy and Crusading in Europe, 1198–1245* (London, 2009), 3, 19, 84, 119. For similar views, although with a greater emphasis on petitioning, see Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* (Leiden, 2007), 1, 2, 12, 16, 21, 149–51, 247–8. For an argument against policy-making, see Barbara Bombi, *Novella plantatio fidei: Missione e crociata nel nord Europa tra la fine del XII e i primi decenni del XIII secolo* (Rome, 2007), 24. Also on responsive papal government, although excluding crusades, see Patrick Zutshi, 'Petitioners, Popes, Proctors: The Development of Curial Institutions, c.1150–1250', in Giancarlo Andenna, ed., *Pensiero e sperimentazioni istituzionali nella 'Societas Christiana' (1046–1250)* (Milan, 2007), 265–93, at 268, 293. See also D. L. D'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: A Weberian Analysis* (Cambridge, 2010), 143. On the importance of outside initiative on decretal law, see Anne J. Duggan, 'Making Law or Not? The Function of Papal Decretals in the Twelfth Century', in *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Esztergom, 3–8 August 2008*, ed. Peter Erdö and Sz. Anzelm Szurumi (Vatican City, 2010), 41–70, at 41.

³ Cencius is no longer thought to have belonged to the Savelli family; his origins are obscure: Sandro Carocci and Marco Vendittelli, 'Onorio III.', in Manlio Simonetti et al., eds, *Enciclopedia dei papi*, 3 vols (Rome, 2000), 2: 350–62, at 350–1.

⁴ Jane E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* (Cambridge, 1984), 2.

Honorius III and the Crusade

censuum. He was further elevated as head of the chancery in 1194, combining this office with that of chamberlain. Cencius served frequently as an auditor hearing litigation at the curia throughout Celestine's reign; however, following Innocent III's accession in 1198 the combined position of chamberlain and chancellor was abolished. Although created cardinal priest of SS Giovanni e Paolo in 1200, Cencius's career under the new pontiff was somewhat unremarkable.⁵ Nevertheless, by the time of his own election, he had a wealth of experience on which to draw, accumulated at the curia under no fewer than three noteworthy predecessors.

In addition to the memory of his predecessors, Honorius had access to their letter registers. Though no longer extant, the existence of papal registers from the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, and their survival down to his day, has been demonstrated by Uta-Renate Blumenthal, who noted the survival of 'registers' of Urban II (1088–99), Paschal II (1099–1118), Gelasius II (1118–19), Lucius II (1144–5), Eugenius III (1145–53), Anastasius IV (1153–4), Hadrian IV (1154–9) and Alexander III (1159–81), all of which we know were used at Honorius's curia because he had letters transcribed from them.⁶ Furthermore, there is evidence that similar registers were kept under Clement III and Celestine III.⁷ The registers were also being consulted for the compilation of thirteenth-century decretal collections, and Othmar Hageneder has drawn attention to the marks made in the margins adjacent to letters in Innocent III's registers which denote that they were being checked for inclusion in these collections.⁸

Anecdotes from the autobiography of Gerald of Wales (c.1146–c.1223) provide evidence not only for the survival of

⁵ Werner Maleczek, *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216: Die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III.* (Vienna, 1984), 111–13.

⁶ Uta-Renate Blumenthal, 'Papal Registers in the Twelfth Century', in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Cambridge 23–27 July 1984*, ed. Peter Linehan (Vatican City, 1988), 135–51, at 135–6.

⁷ For evidence of Clement III's register, see Volkert Pfaff, 'Analekten zur Geschichte Papst Coelestins III. 1191–1198', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 109 (1989), 191–205, at 193–4. For Celestine III's lost register, see Constance M. Rousseau, 'A Prudent Shepherd and a Pastoral Judge: Celestine III and Marriage', in John Doran and Damian J. Smith, eds, *Pope Celestine III (1191–1198): Diplomat and Pastor* (Farnham, 2008), 287–304, at 288.

⁸ Othmar Hageneder, 'Die Register Innozenz III.', in *Papst Innozenz III.: Weichensteller der Geschichte Europas, Interdisziplinäre Ringvorlesung an der Universität Passau, 5.11.1997–26.5.1998*, ed. Thomas Frenz (Stuttgart, 2000), 91–101, at 99.

twelfth-century registers, but also their common usage as reference works for curial officials during Innocent III's pontificate. Whilst pressing his case at the curia in 1200, Gerald was granted access to Eugenius III's registers. He not only had a letter copied from these but also witnessed Innocent referring to one of his own registers when discussing Gerald's cause in his chamber.⁹

It is clear, then, that the papal registers were in common use at the curia as important reference works serving a multitude of purposes. If Honorius desired to refer to the decisions of his predecessors, he could always check their registers, as he did on a large number of occasions when dealing with petitions on legal disputes and the renewal of privileges. Indeed, Honorius's letters on these matters explicitly refer to the decisions of previous pontiffs.¹⁰

Honorius certainly knew about the history of the papacy's involvement in crusading, something made clear by Eugenius III, his predecessor, in the famous letter *Quantum praedecessores* to the kingdom of France, which launched the Second Crusade on 1 December 1145.¹¹ The opening section of the letter reveals that Eugenius possessed a keen understanding of the efforts of his predecessors in their attempts to recover the Holy Land:

We have learned from what men of old have said and we have found written in their histories how greatly our predecessors the Roman pontiffs have worked for the liberation of the eastern Church. Indeed our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Urban, sounding forth like a heavenly trumpet, took care to induce the sons of the Holy Roman Church from several parts of the world to free it.¹²

⁹ *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and transl. H. E. Butler, new edn (Woodbridge, 2005), 192–4, 182–3 respectively.

¹⁰ Innocent III is explicitly cited in over two hundred letters issued throughout Honorius's reign, and dozens of letters cite Clement III, Celestine III and Honorius's other predecessors. For a small sample, see *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, 2 vols (Rome, 1888–95; repr. Hildesheim, 1978), nos 336, 428, 549, 661, 866, 1887, 2247, 2296, 2497, 3633, 4223, 4772, 5066, 5178, 5190, 6186.

¹¹ The translation used here is from the reissue dated March 1146: Latin text in Peter Rassow, 'Der Text der Kreuzzugsbulle Eugens III. vom 1. März 1146, Trastevere (J.-L. 8796)', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 45 (1924), 300–5; ET in Louise and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London, 1981), 57–9. See Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, CT, 2007), 37 and n. 1.

¹² Riley-Smith and Riley-Smith, *Crusades*, 57.

Honorius III and the Crusade

In a similar vein Honorius not only drew on, but was in fact to an extent bound by, *Ad liberandam*, the constitution appended to the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (November 1215) which outlined Innocent III's plan to launch the Fifth Crusade, setting a muster deadline of 1 June 1217 and specifying Brindisi and Messina as the ports to be used.¹³

With such a distinguished history of papal involvement in crusading, with written documents in the registers and *Ad liberandam* to which to refer, it might be expected, then, that Honorius's crusade letters would make regular mention of his predecessors. However, of the large number of crusade letters issued during his pontificate, only a handful cite his predecessors' decisions using the same style of formulae as were employed in the plethora of papal documents on privileges and disputes. This by no means rules out the possibility that Honorius drew on his predecessors' memory for inspiration, or that he checked their registers without citing them in his letters, but the striking dearth of positive evidence for such behaviour suggests that most often when making decisions regarding the crusade, Honorius was attempting neither to imitate his forebears nor to continue a papal 'policy', but was responding as he saw fit at the time.

It is perhaps not surprising that, of the small number of letters that do provide positive evidence of the memory of his predecessors, most come from the first year of Honorius's pontificate – at precisely that time when he was assuming control over crusade business at the curia following the death of Innocent III. After consecration, Honorius's priority was the crusade: the first letter enregistered by his chancery was sent to John, king of Jerusalem (d. 1237), on 25 July 1216, with copies also being despatched to the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch, the Hospitallers and Templars, and the Christians of the Holy Land. The letter reassured the recipients that despite Innocent's death, they were not to fear for the state of the Holy Land on account of his passing; 'his' crusade was still coming.¹⁴

¹³ Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London, 1990), 1: 267.

¹⁴ 'Non ergo propter obitum prefati predecessoris nostri consternatur cor tuum neque formidet, quasi propter hoc Terre Sancte impediatur succursus': Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Vaticana [hereafter: Reg. Vat.] 9, fol. 1r; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 1.

THOMAS W. SMITH

In several other letters Honorius cited Innocent III's departure deadline of 1 June 1217. One letter, despatched to Odo, duke of Burgundy, and the other French crusaders on 7 August 1216, urged the recipients to leave on crusade by the deadline, hoping that their compliance might inspire others to follow their example.¹⁵ Honorius sent a similar letter to the crusaders of Cologne on 27 January 1217, urging them not only to leave by the deadline, but also to set sail from the ports designated by Innocent so that the crusaders might receive the papacy's advice and support.¹⁶ The letter also reverently noted the efforts that Innocent had invested in preparing for the Fifth Crusade, and Honorius spoke of his hope of bringing the crusade to fruition.¹⁷

Obviously Honorius intended to follow Innocent III's proposal, announced at the Fourth Lateran Council, to accompany the crusade armies in person to the ports of embarkation, and to appoint there a legate to represent the pope for the rest of the expedition. In the event this never came to pass (although Honorius did appoint Pelagius, cardinal bishop of Albano, as legate in July 1217), perhaps on account of the poorly coordinated passages of contingents leaving for the Holy Land, few of whom chose to use the ports designated by Innocent, and because even the more punctual crusade contingents missed the June deadline by several months.¹⁸ But because *Ad liberandam* had been issued at Lateran IV, Honorius could hardly avoid following its instructions. Once the deadline of 1 June 1217 had passed, however, Honorius was released from Innocent's timetable for the crusade and the expectation that the pope should abide by the memory of his predecessor diminished.

¹⁵ 'miramur quam plurimum quod neque bone memorie Innocentium Papam predecessorem nostrum, neque nos ipsos super passagio et apparatu navium requisisti, nec curasti exponere quod super hiis tue sedeat voluntati, cum in generali concilio ad transfretandum determinatum fuerit tempus certum': Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 2r; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 14.

¹⁶ 'ut cum eis Domino deducente in prefixo tempore perveniatis ad portus in concilio prefinito, ubi ad stabilendum vestrum propositum recipere possitis a nobis consilium et auxilium oportunum': Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 49v; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 284.

¹⁷ 'Quia licet ad palmam vos precesserit beate memorie Innocentus [*sic*] Papa predecessor noster huius sancti operis ferventissimus inchoator nos tamen licet indignos unxit Dominus et pastorem constituit super suam familiam universam qui totis medullis totisque affectibus aspiramus, ad hoc excellentissimum ministerium consummandum': Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 49; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 284.

¹⁸ James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, PA, 1986), 111.

Honorius III and the Crusade

Another letter of January 1217 provides positive evidence of Honorius checking one of Innocent III's lost registers when making a decision on the crusade, albeit brought about through outside initiative in the form of a petition. On 25 January, Honorius wrote in response to a petition from Albert of Orlamünde, count of Holstein, informing him that permission was being granted to the bishop of Schleswig to allow ten of Albert's knights to commute their Holy Land crusade vows and to fight with him instead against pagans in Livonia.¹⁹ Study of the letter's *narratio* – the section detailing the petitioner's version of the events prompting the issue of the papal letter – reveals that Albert was originally granted permission by Innocent to crusade in Livonia while on campaign there, a fact of which his unsuspecting vassals were unaware when they took vows to crusade in the Holy Land during his absence, thus creating a feudal tension.²⁰

Although a fortunate coincidence meant that, in allowing this diversion of crusaders, Honorius was in effect supporting Innocent III's original decision which permitted Albert himself to fight in Livonia, it was by no means necessary for his decision to correspond with Innocent's. Despite considering the Livonian crusade a worthy cause, it is unlikely that Honorius would have chosen to divert crusaders away from the Holy Land when preparations for the fledgling Fifth Crusade were in full swing. In fact, the driving force in the issue of this document was not a supposed need to abide by Innocent's decision, but rather the influence of Albert's supplication, which epitomizes the responsive character of papal government and the power of petition over papal decisions.

Jane Sayers observes of Honorius that 'no pope by the early

¹⁹ 'Verum quia sicut tuis nobis litteris intimasti, te pro expeditione regia in remotis agente cum ad bone memorie Innocentium predecessorem nostrum litteras destinasses ut tibi liceret caracterem crucis accipere volenti contra paganos Livonicos proficisci, medio tempore multi de familia tua tuum propositum nescientes pro subventionem terre Ierusalimitane crucis signaculum receperunt': Reg. Vat. 9, fol. 50r; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 276. See also Angelo Forte, Richard Oram and Frederik Pedersen, *Viking Empires* (Cambridge, 2005), 388.

²⁰ At some time in the mid-thirteenth century, Innocent III's registers for most of year 3, and the entirety of years 4, 17, 18 and 19 were lost: Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, rev. edn (Leiden, 2008), 8. Innocent probably wrote to Albert in 1215, see Rudolf Usinger, *Deutsch-dänische Geschichte, 1189–1227* (Berlin, 1863), 440 (no. 19). Honorius's reference implies that Innocent's letter was copied into the now-lost registers at the end of Innocent's pontificate.

THOMAS W. SMITH

thirteenth century could divorce himself entirely from the effect of his predecessor's rule'.²¹ Whilst this rings true for Honorius's general curial business, it is possible to nuance this view slightly for the crusade by distinguishing between Honorius's first year in office and the rest of his reign. Once he had finished dealing with the immediate takeover of business from the preceding pontificate, when it proved impossible not to deal with Innocent's legacy on the crusade, Honorius clearly did not consider himself further bound by his predecessors' actions. His crusade correspondence with the lay powers after his first pontifical year (roughly demarcated by the departure deadline laid down in *Ad liberandam*) is almost devoid of citations of their decisions.

Even a close examination of the later evidence from 1219, cited by Powell in favour of the assertion that Honorius acted in the light of the memory of Clement III and Frederick I, reveals that although Honorius valued the motivational impact of invoking the memory of Frederick I, he appeared patently uninterested in his predecessor Clement, who received no mention whatsoever in Honorius's letter, issued on 1 October 1219 in response to Frederick II's request for yet another extension of his own crusade deadline. While granting him an extension until 21 March 1220, Honorius invoked the renowned memory of Frederick Barbarossa's crusade in an attempt to inspire the young emperor-elect at a time when previous papal exhortations were having little effect.²²

Powell interpreted this invocation of the memory of Frederick I as explaining Honorius's approach to his entire negotiations with Frederick II, which he suggested was drawn from Honorius's experience at the curia under Clement III.²³ However, to try to interpret Honorius's approach to papal-imperial negotiations

²¹ Sayers, *Government*, 194.

²² 'festina si forte Dominus tanti consummationem negotii tue glorie reservavit, ut in dextera tua perficiat multorum manibus inchoatum. Certe clare memorie avus tuus Fredericus ad id se viribus totis accinxit, et quis scit si et tu Fredericus nepos ipsius illius memoriam non solum presentibus renovabis in nomine, sed etiam ad posteros prorogabis in opere, si quod ille ferventer in affectum assumpserat, tu salubriter produxeris ad effectum': Reg. Vat. 10, fol. 132v; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 2207. For this passage, Powell relied on the edition in *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, ed. J.-L.-A. Huillard-Bréholles, 6 vols (Paris, 1852-61), 1: 692-3. Huillard-Bréholles's edition contains a number of transcriptional errors, although they do not alter the sense greatly.

²³ Powell, 'Leadership', 528-9.

Honorius III and the Crusade

on the basis of this section of a single papal letter, which makes no mention of Clement, is perhaps to push the evidence too far. Holding up Barbarossa as a role model to his grandson was meant to inspire him to fulfil his vow rather than signalling Honorius's desire to copy Clement.

Honorius's attempts at motivation were not sufficient to move the emperor-elect to action, and Frederick continued to delay until the Fifth Crusade failed in 1221. In the aftermath of this disaster Frederick and Honorius began organizing a new expedition, and in March 1223 a papal-imperial conference was held at Ferentino, at which Frederick pledged to crusade by 24 June 1225. In response to this, in April 1223 Honorius issued letters calling the kings of Europe to crusade, offering the traditional remission of sins and papal protection to those who took the cross.²⁴ Honorius's register contains a transcript of the letter despatched to Philip Augustus of France (1180–1223) on 11 April, and records the customized wording that was included in the copy sent to Henry III (1216–72) on 27 April, which held out the prospect of the king of England being seen as a new Richard I (1189–99).²⁵ Powell suggested that in calling on Henry III and Philip II to join Frederick's crusade, Honorius was striving to replicate the triumvirate of royal crusade leadership witnessed in Clement III's time, on the Third Crusade (1189–92).²⁶

However, it is important that these letters are not analysed in isolation. When those addressed to Henry III and Philip II are placed in the context of the rest of the batch issued on the same topic to lay powers across Europe, then they begin to lose their significance as evidence of Honorius's supposed aim to repeat the Third Crusade. Honorius's register records that a personalized copy was sent to King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–35), another

²⁴ 'Ecce ipsius inspiratione ut firmiter credimus karissimus in Christo filius noster Fridericus illustris Romanorum Imperator semper augustus et Rex Sicilie omissis multis arduisque negotiis quorum onus honorem Imperialis celsitudinis sequebatur, venit ad nos in Campaniam nobiscum de predictae Terre subsidio tractaturus': Reg. Vat. 12, fol. 52v; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 4262.

²⁵ 'Sensit enim quis qualis et quantus ei fuerit illustris memorie Rex Riccardus cuius nomen sic in terrorem hostium fidei creverat quod exclamatio eius in prelio nonnumquam sufficiebat ad stragem': Reg. Vat. 12, fol. 53v; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 4262. The original letter is preserved: Kew, TNA, SC 7/18/14. See also Simon Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1988), 33.

²⁶ Powell, *Anatomy*, 108–9.

to the faithful of Tarantaise, and (crucially) that letters were also sent to other unnamed kings with customized wording that was personalized to the recipient.²⁷ We can identify two of these unspecified recipients from the original letters despatched to King Erik of Sweden (1222–9, 1234–50) and the faithful of Flanders and Brabant, and it is likely that given the general nature of the *in eundem modum* clause, there must have been more – too many to record in the register.²⁸

Instead of being a unique call to repeat the Third Crusade, the letters appear as part of Honorius's attempt at pan-European crusade recruitment, designed to attract as many potential crusader kings as possible; the curia personalized the letters to increase the chances of success. Nicholas Vincent has written of the use of Henry III's crusading ancestry in papal letters: 'such ties were not unimportant, and would quite naturally be stressed by correspondents ... anxious to recruit Henry's support'.²⁹ It is in this light that Honorius's deployment of the memory of crusading ancestors should be understood. Reviving the memory of Frederick I or Richard I was just a papal tool to stir the lay powers to action.

That Honorius rarely cited his predecessors in his crusade correspondence after his first pontifical year supports the case for responsive papal government that is emerging in the wider historiographical debate on the nature of papal government. Although the papacy had aims and attitudes, and did take the lead in issuing some letters, the overwhelming majority were issued in response

²⁷ 'In eundem modum aliis regibus quibusdam verbis mutandis competenter mutatis': Reg. Vat. 12, fol. 53v; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti no. 4262.

²⁸ The original letter sent to Erik is now lost. First edited in 1623, it was probably destroyed in the fire of 1697 that gutted the Swedish royal archive: see *Vitis Aquilonia*, ed. Johannes Vastovius (Cologne, 1623), 172–4; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 4304. For the letter to Flanders and Brabant, see *Sacrae antiquitatis monumenta historica, dogmatica, diplomatica*, ed. Charles Louis Hugo, 2 vols (Étival, 1725–31), 1: 122–3 (no. 136); *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 4388. The manuscript has since been lost, probably during the French Revolutionary wars: C. R. Cheney, 'Gervase, Abbot of Prémontré: A Medieval Letter-Writer', *BJRL* 33 (1950), 25–56, at 45–6, 46 n. 1. On 27 April 1223 a letter was also despatched calling on Count Thibaut IV of Champagne to crusade – possibly an *in eundem modum* copy, although this cannot be proven without consulting the manuscript: *Histoire des ducs et des comtes de Champagne*, ed. Henri d'Arbois de Jubainville, 7 vols (Paris 1859–69), 5: 197 (no. 1528); *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 4332. On the same day Honorius sent a different – although obviously connected – crusade exhortation to Duke Leopold VI of Austria: Reg. Vat. 12, fols 55v–56r; *Regesta*, ed. Pressutti, no. 4330.

²⁹ Nicholas Vincent, *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic* (Cambridge, 2001), 22.

Honorius III and the Crusade

to someone else's initiative, whether a petitioner or a lay power. That the papacy was much more reactive than proactive elucidates why Honorius's crusade letters do not mention Innocent III with any frequency after the first year of his pontificate. To a great extent it was the lay powers who were setting the agenda of papal crusade diplomacy, while the context in which the crusade was unfolding had changed, and was continuing to change, from that in which Innocent had issued *Ad liberandam*. Generally, letters on the crusade flowing into Honorius's curia were more concerned with contemporary events than with the papacy's past, which explains why in turn Honorius did not mention his predecessors with any regularity in his outgoing crusade letters after mid-1217. Although Honorius was aware of the papacy's involvement in crusading during the previous century, he did not judge this knowledge to be relevant to the planning of either the Fifth Crusade or of Frederick II's crusade, in both of which he was centrally involved.

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