

THE AGES OF FAITH

Popular Religion in
Late Medieval England
and
Western Europe

NORMAN TANNER

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Introduction

From my years at Ampleforth College, Yorkshire, I enjoyed an interest in the late medieval Church, profiting from the excellent teaching of history by Thomas Charles-Edwards, Hugh Aveling, William Price (Headmaster), Basil (subsequently Cardinal) Hume and Anthony Davidson. Having entered the Society of Jesus in 1961, I was privileged to have some fine courses in medieval philosophy, taught mainly by the eminent Frederick Copleston, during three years of Licentiate studies in Philosophy at Heythrop College, then in Oxfordshire. Oxford University, where I took the BA in History and D.Phil in Church History as a member of Campion Hall, was exceptionally strong in the teaching of medieval history. I am particularly grateful for the inspiring teaching of James Campbell and Peter Lewis, who tutored me for various papers on England, France and Europe in the late Middle Ages, and Gillian Lewis and James O'Higgins, who tutored for the subsequent period, and to William Pantin, the supervisor of my D.Phil thesis, which was published, substantially unaltered, as *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370–1532* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984). Three years studying theology, in preparation for ordination to the Roman Catholic priesthood, resulted in the B.Theol. at the Gregorian University in Rome. This time allowed me a precious opportunity to delve deeper into medieval theology and to come to know at first hand the capital city of the medieval Church. These early studies and experiences form an essential background to the essays and articles in the present collection.

For 25 years (1978–2003) I taught medieval history – focusing principally on the late medieval Church – at Oxford University, with the posts of Tutor at Campion Hall and (1997–2003) University Research Lecturer. For most of this time I was also Lecturer (part-time) in Medieval Church History at Heythrop College, University of London, as well as Visiting Lecturer /

Professor – usually teaching medieval Church History or the councils of the Church – in various institutions abroad. It was during this time that most of the articles in the collection were written. In 2003 I was appointed Professor of Church History at the Gregorian University in Rome.

The articles in the book are collected under four headings: Church Councils, Norwich, England and Europe. The first group comprises various articles that grew out of my work as editor of *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (2 vols., 1990), which included the decrees of the ecumenical (or general) councils of the Western Church during the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century. No 1 in the present collection, 'Medieval Crusade Decrees and Ignatius's Meditation on the Kingdom,' examines the possible influence of medieval councils upon the 'Meditation on the Kingdom,' in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola. No. 2, 'Reception of the First Seven Ecumenical Councils by Medieval and Later General Councils of the Western Church,' studies how the Western Church, ever since the schism of 1054, has continued to root itself in the Eastern Councils of the first millennium. No. 3, 'Pastoral Care: The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215', examines the zeal and methodology of the most comprehensive council of the medieval West. Nos. 4 and 5 survey two major councils of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Florence, which is known principally for the attempted reunion between the Catholic and Orthodox churches; and Trent, the council that profoundly influenced the life and thought of Roman Catholicism for four centuries. All five essays fit into the renewed interest in church councils in recent years, stimulated in part by the Roman Catholic Church's surprisingly successful modern council. Vatican II (1962–5).

The second group of articles, on Norwich, develops themes to be found in *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370–1532*. No. 6, 'The Reformation and Regionalism: Further Reflections on the Church in Late Medieval Norwich' looks at two issues. First, the paradox that a city noted for its thriving religious life in the late Middle Ages nevertheless embraced the Reformation with apparent enthusiasm. Secondly, does the case of Norwich suggest that regionalism was more important than nationalism in the English Church during this period? No. 7, 'Religious Practice in Norwich', forms a chapter in the recent *Medieval Norwich* (2004), edited by Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson. It unfolds around the provocative suggestion that Norwich might be considered the 'most religious city' in late medieval Europe. Both essays fit into recent fascination with the late medieval Church, and revisionist tendencies in the relevant studies, whereby a much more sympathetic evaluation has replaced the earlier picture of a decadent Church and of impending

doom that led almost inevitably to the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation.

The third group comprises various other articles on England. No. 8, 'Sources for Popular Religion in Late Medieval England' was originally delivered at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Michigan, in May 1993 and was subsequently published in the Italian journal *Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa*. It surveys the notable developments in our knowledge of this field of study in the course of the twentieth century. No. 9, 'Penance Imposed on Kentish Lollards by Archbishop Warham, 1511–12', looks at a relatively neglected area in recent studies of Lollards: the punishments short of the death penalty that were imposed upon them. The Archbishop of Canterbury devised an array of imaginative penances that were designed to fit the alleged crimes of the miscreants and to deter other people from following their examples. No. 10, 'Crying "God for Harry! England and St George!"', was published as the late medieval contribution to the *Church Times* series on the history of the English church, 'Not Angles, but Anglicans'. The article emphasizes both England's active participation within Western Christendom during the period, and the distinctive national contribution made by the English church. No. 11 'The Study of English Medieval Recluses in the Twentieth Century', which was published in the *Festschrift* for Professor Yasuo Deguchi of Japan, looks at one distinctive and creative dimension of Christianity in late medieval England, the abundance of hermits and anchorites: Julian of Norwich, Richard Rolle and many others. The three parts of No. 12, 'Canon Law in England', 'Hermits and Anchorites' and 'Popular Religion', were articles in *Reader's Guide to British History*, edited by David Loades. They provide bibliographical guides to recent literature on three topics that feature prominently in the present collection. No. 13 'Piety in the Later Middle Ages in England' formed a chapter in *A History of Religion in Britain* (1994), edited by S. Gilley and W.J. Sheils. It provides a generally optimistic survey of the vivacity and creativity of Christianity in late medieval England – an assessment that expands on the positive evaluation already noted for Norwich.

The fourth group comprises various short articles on Europe, most of them originally published in the Jesuit periodical *The Month*. No. 14, 'Private Life and the Middle Ages', which is a review of the English translation of volume 3 of *Histoire de la Vie Privée*, edited by P. Ariès and G. Duby, explores the fundamentally communitarian and public nature of all life in medieval Europe. No. 15, 'Medieval Christendom and the Restoration of a Christian Society', proposes that while there is much to learn from medieval Christendom,

attempts to reproduce it again today represent a fatal temptation. No. 16, 'Do North Americans Understand the Middle Ages Better than Europeans?', which was published in *America* magazine, reflects on the remarkable success of the annual gathering at Kalamazoo, mentioned above. In arguing that the success of 'Kalamazoo' may be attributed to the innate symbiosis of north Americans with the Middle Ages, and that this symbiosis is much less prevalent among Europeans, the article had the undesired affect of irritating both American and British readers: the former for suggesting they were 'medieval' people, the latter for seemingly denying the continuity of their cultural heritage. No. 17, 'Sin in the Middle Ages', argues that medieval people were refreshingly frank about their faults, and that we could do well to learn from their openness. No. 18, 'Making Merry in the Middle Ages', urges the upbeat nature of medieval life, that indeed 'all life was sport, in a sense'. No. 19, 'Christianity *versus* Paganism? Reflections on Medieval Europe', criticizes as exaggerated the attention given to paganism in *The Pagan Middle Ages*, the collection of essays edited by Ludo Milis, on the grounds that the book too quickly labels as paganism what in fact – following the doctrine of the Incarnation – is integral to Christianity. Finally, no. 20, 'Inquisition and Holy Office', offers a brief survey of the Catholic Church's correction of religious dissidence through the centuries.

The articles taken together constitute, it may be hoped, a significant contribution to the study of religion in late medieval England and western Europe, from a variety of angles, and to some other topics of wider geographical and chronological scope. They may be regarded as being both in continuity with a long tradition of scholarship and in contact with more recent developments and reinterpretations. I am very pleased that I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd has undertaken the publication of this book.

The writing of the articles has spanned some 20 years. During this time a number of publications have appeared that would lead to some updates in the articles, though the resulting changes would, I think, be on points of details rather than the main lines of argument. Instead of attempting to indicate the desired updates within the articles themselves, I mention here some of the most relevant recent publications.

The most important is *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H.G.C. Matthew and Brian Harrison, (60 vols., Oxford University Press, 2004). This monumental work provides revised biographies of many people appearing in the present volume. Other major works of reference, published within the last decade, should be mentioned: *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone (3rd edn. revised,

Oxford, 2005); *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (revised 3rd edn., 2006); *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (2nd edn. 2003); *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, (9 vols., completed in 1999); *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, edited by A. Vauchez, B. Dobson and M. Lapidge, (2 vols., Cambridge, 2000). On particular topics: R. Cross, *Duns Scotus* (Oxford, 1999) supplies the ‘major study of Scotus’ mentioned on p. 81; the Lichfield court book (p. 99) has been edited and translated into English: S. McSheffrey and Norman Tanner (eds.), *Lollards of Coventry 1486–1522*, Camden Fifth Series, xxiii (London, 2003); Anne Hudson and Pamela Gradon’s edition of the Lollard/Wycliffite sermon cycle (p. 84) is now complete; David King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich* (Oxford, 2006) supplements note 48 on page 207.

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CHAPTER 1

Medieval Crusade Decrees and Ignatius's Meditation on the Kingdom

In recent years a number of writers have noted the influence of medieval crusades upon the spirituality of Ignatius of Loyola.¹ Undoubtedly they have made an important contribution to our understanding of his medieval background. Nevertheless their remarks have remained at a fairly general level. That is to say, they have found it difficult to specify the precise nature of the connection: to say whether, as Wolter remarks, certain elements in Ignatius's spirituality truly derived from the medieval crusade ideal or rather represent other 'elements . . . in the mainstream of traditional Christian spirituality', reaching him 'through other channels (monastic, Franciscan, or those of the *Devotio Moderna*)',² and secondly to specify, in so far as the influence of the crusades did exist, upon which aspects of this tradition it rested.

Let me begin by outlining briefly their conclusions, and those of other historians, so far. First and most obviously, there is no doubt about the importance of crusades in the medieval West. In the late Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, moreover, the original aim of the expeditions – the recapture of Jerusalem and the Holy Land – remained a strong motive force, even though the realization of this military objective became increasingly unlikely, so that in practice crusades often took on other forms, such as the defence of Christendom from further Muslim advances, or wars against heretics within Christendom, or even were interiorized and spiritualized into pilgrimages to shrines or into 'journeys of the soul'. Secondly there were two factors which gave special significance to crusades in the Spain of Ignatius's lifetime, namely: the centuries-long war to expel Muslims from the Iberian peninsula which reached its culmination with the capture in 1492 of Granada, the last

Muslim stronghold; and 'the spirit of a world-wide crusade' which resulted from Charles V's empire in Europe as well as from Spain's leading role in the discovery of the New World.³ Thirdly, it was not just the element of 'conquest for Christ' that was involved in these various enterprises; there was also the relationship between leader and followers, a particular development of what may loosely be called the feudal relationship between a lord and his vassals.⁴ Finally, there are Ignatius's more personal involvements in crusades. Thus one of his brothers met his death in the Spanish *Conquista* of America, another (or a cousin?) on crusade against the Turks in Hungary.⁵ We know that Ignatius interested himself in the emperor Charles V's campaign in Africa to the extent of offering a plan for the fleet to his viceroy in Sicily, Juan de Vega.⁶ There is his explicit approval of 'Crusade bulls' in his 'Rules for Thinking with the Church' in the *Spiritual Exercises*; his eagerness to visit the Holy Land, especially Jerusalem;⁷ and so on.

It has proved difficult, nevertheless, to make more precise the connection between these background influences and Ignatius's thought, to point to particular sources which may have shaped his ideas. Thus Wolter argued on the one hand that, 'For an understanding of the genesis and nature of Ignatian spirituality a study of crusade spirituality as it existed in the West, especially on the Iberian peninsula, from early days right up to the days of Ignatius, is indispensable.'⁸ But on the other hand he admitted the difficulties in finding documentary proof for his argument⁹ and, as mentioned, in showing that various elements in Ignatius's spirituality derived from the crusade ideal rather than from other sources. So he had to conclude: 'We shall not be able to say any more than that an influence from the crusade spirituality is ascertainable . . . It is, so to speak, an influence from the climate of the times.'¹⁰ It may well be, indeed, that in this matter the general ethos was more important for Ignatius than any written sources. After all, crusades were campaigns undertaken and experiences undergone, not books written, and the memory of them was handed down orally as much as through documentary evidence. Nevertheless it is surely right to look at the written sources, to investigate whether they may have been read by Ignatius or known to various people who influenced him, thus constituting either a direct or an indirect influence upon him.

The purpose of this article is to examine one particular class of documentary evidence relating to the crusades, namely the seven crusade decrees which were issued by the general councils of the Western Church during the Middle Ages,¹¹ in order to see whether they constitute a possible source for Ignatius's spirituality. I have been looking at these conciliar texts rather closely in my

recent work as editor of the English edition of the decrees of the ecumenical councils¹² and it has become clear to me that the parallels – as regards both general ethos and specific concepts and phraseology – between some of the decrees on the one hand and the spiritual vision of Ignatius on the other, especially as expressed in his meditation on the Kingdom in the *Spiritual Exercises*, are sufficiently striking to be worth bringing to public notice. As far as I am aware, these parallels have not been commented upon in detail before. Wolter noted one of the speeches made at Lateran V in 1513,¹³ but he did not go on to examine the decrees of the council, nor did he look in detail at the crusade decrees of other medieval general councils. With other writers the references to conciliar texts are even more general.

There are two obvious gaps in my argument. First, I am unable to say precisely how likely it is that Ignatius read the crusade decrees or knew about them in any detail. Secondly, I find it hard to estimate the likelihood that those who influenced him read or knew about them. In these important matters I have little to add to what other writers on Ignatius's education and formation have already said.

Regarding the first question, there appears to be no particular likelihood that Ignatius would have encountered the decrees as part of his philosophical and theological studies at Paris university between 1528 and 1535, according to the outline of his studies presented to us by Villoslada, Rouquette, Schurhammer, Dalmasas and Farge.¹⁴ Moreover, if the text of the Kingdom meditation was essentially in place by 1528, as seems most probable, this would antedate his studies in Paris, though it remains possible that some of the phraseology of the meditation was finalized during his time in that city.¹⁵ As for his earlier studies in Spain, again there seems no particular likelihood that he would have encountered the decrees as part of the formal curriculum.¹⁶ But the question remains whether he might have looked at them outside his formal studies, either in Spain or in Paris. This possibility should not be discounted too easily, I think, especially since Ignatius evidently possessed an inquiring mind, but it depends to a considerable extent on how widespread among educated people knowledge of the decrees was and whether he knew them from an earlier date.

With regard to Ignatius's earlier life as a courtier, soldier and religious convert, the place of the crusades seems much more obvious as part of the general background of his life, as I mentioned earlier. It may well be that the influence remained at the level of general ethos and of chivalric and pious literature, without ever reaching detailed knowledge of crusade decrees. Thus, as far as I am aware, the decrees were not contained, or even

mentioned, in any of the books which Ignatius is known to have read during these years. Nevertheless it is possible that he came across them at some stage, especially during his dozen years as a member of the household of Juan Velázquez de Cuellar, the chief treasurer of Castile, who possessed a good library and whose position at the Spanish court would have brought him, and therefore to some extent Ignatius, into contact with ecclesiastical affairs both national and international.¹⁷ If Ignatius knew them from this time, it seems likely that he would have looked at them again during his years of study.

The second gap concerns the likelihood that various ecclesiastics, teachers and others who influenced Ignatius may have read or known about the decrees. Extending the points which I have just made about Ignatius's own education, it appears unlikely that they would have encountered them within their official curriculum of studies at a university. Particularly relevant here is the fact that the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, which formed the basis of university teaching in canon law and which contained many decrees of general councils, did not include the crusade decrees.¹⁸ But would such persons have come across them outside the official curriculum? In other words, how well known were these decrees – to what extent did they form part of the general knowledge of educated people of the time? The answer to this question obviously has an important bearing on the likelihood that Ignatius himself knew about them outside his university studies, since he gradually became a well-educated man. The question, however, has not yet been adequately treated by any writer and I can only offer a few indications. As I have just mentioned, the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, which was widely known even by those who were not professional canon lawyers, did not include the crusade decrees. With regard to their appearance in printed collections of conciliar decrees, those of Lateran V (1512–17) first appeared in 1521, in Rome,¹⁹ but the possibly more significant one of Lateran IV (1215) not until 1538,²⁰ and the others at later dates.²¹ As far as I am aware, moreover, they did not appear in other printed works earlier than those dates. Nevertheless we are speaking of texts which, as decrees of general councils, were of major importance and which, for the most part, are known to have had quite a wide circulation in manuscript form.²² For these reasons it does not seem fanciful to suggest that they were probably known to at least some people who influenced Ignatius and quite possibly also to Ignatius himself.

To turn now to the crusade decrees themselves, the first of the seven is canon 10 of Lateran I, which was held in 1123.²³ It is a brief statement of encouragement and protection for those who help towards the defence of

Jerusalem. It does not contain noticeable parallels with Ignatius's thought. The second, and most important, is decree 71 of Lateran IV in 1215.²⁴ This is a long and very full decree in preparation for the Fifth Crusade, which set out in 1217. It is specially significant for our purposes, partly because it contains the most striking similarities with ideas expressed by Ignatius and partly because it had a large influence upon the crusade decrees of subsequent general councils. Thus the next two decrees in question, constitutions II.5 of Lyons I in 1245 and I.1 of Lyons II in 1274,²⁵ borrow extensively from the Lateran IV decree and indeed frequently quote from it word for word. However, they add nothing to the latter as regards specific parallels with Ignatius's ideas. The fifth decree, which comes from the council of Vienne and is dated 1 December 1312,²⁶ is more independent of the Lateran IV decree than are those of Lyons I and II but it too does not provide any further detailed parallels with Ignatius's thought. The last two decrees come from Lateran V. The first was issued at the ninth session on 5 May 1514, and in the final decree of the council, which was passed at the twelfth and last session on 16 March 1517, there was a further substantial passage on the proposed crusade.²⁷ These two decrees are of course contemporaneous with Ignatius's lifetime, a few years before he was wounded at the siege of Pampluna in 1521 and underwent his religious conversion. Their proximity to the composition of the *Spiritual Exercises* makes them of considerable interest, but their specific similarities with Ignatius's thought are less striking than are those of the Lateran IV decree. It should also be noted that Lateran V was a relatively low-key council. It was called largely to outmanoeuvre the French-inspired anti-papal council which assembled at Pisa in 1511. Its results were slender and it never enjoyed the widespread reputation of Lateran IV or Lyons I and II or, later, the council of Trent. For these reasons the Lateran IV decree may well have had more influence upon Ignatius than the two decrees of Lateran V.

At this point I want to substantiate my arguments by quoting at length, in English translation, the relevant sections of the following three texts: (a) Ignatius's meditation on the Kingdom in the *Spiritual Exercises*; (b) Decree 71 of Lateran IV (italicized text, followed by numerals 1–7 in square brackets, indicate the seven); (c) the final decree of Lateran V.

(a) *Ignatius's Meditation on the Kingdom in the Spiritual Exercises*

I imagine a temporal king, chosen by our Lord God, revered and obeyed by the rulers and all the common people of Christendom.

See how this king addresses all his followers, saying: I am determined to bring under my control the entire land of the unbeliever. Anyone, then, who wishes to join me must be satisfied to eat the food I eat, to drink what I drink, to dress as I dress; by day he will have to work alongside me, and take his turn with me at keeping a look-out by night; there will be other such things. But his share in my triumph will be proportionate to his share in my hardships.

Think what response loyal subjects must make to a king so generous and so understanding: equally, were one to refuse the appeal of such a king, how he would incur the reprobation of all people and be regarded as a disgraceful coward.

The second part of this exercise consists in relating this illustration of the earthly king to Christ our Lord, point for point.

If we cannot ignore such a challenge, issued to his followers by an earthly king, how much more worthy of our attention is that of Christ our Lord, the Eternal King, as he confronts the whole world: to each and all He issues His summons in these words: I am determined to bring under my control the whole world and all my enemies, and so to come to the glory of my Father. To anyone, then, who chooses to join me, I offer nothing but a share in my hardships; but if he follows me in suffering he will assuredly follow me in glory.

We realize that anyone possessed of right reason will offer himself totally for the task.²⁸

(b) *Decree 71 of Lateran IV*

Expedition for the Recovery of the Holy Land

It is our [i.e., Pope Innocent III's] ardent desire to liberate the Holy Land from infidel hands [1]. We therefore declare, with the approval of this sacred council and on the advice of prudent men who are fully aware of the circumstances of time and place, that crusaders are to make themselves ready so that all who have arranged to go by sea shall assemble in the kingdom of Sicily on 1 June after next: some as necessary and fitting at Brindisi and others at Messina and places neighbouring it on either side, where we too have arranged to be in person at that time, God willing, so that with our advice and help the Christian army may be in good order to set out with divine and apostolic blessing. Those who have decided to go by land should also take care to be ready by the same date. They shall notify us

meanwhile so that we may grant them a suitable legate 'a latere' for advice and help. *Priests and other clerics who will be in the Christian army, both those under authority and prelates, shall diligently devote themselves to prayer and exhortation, teaching the crusaders by word and example to have the fear and love of God always before their eyes, so that they say or do nothing that might offend the Divine Majesty* [2]. *If they ever fall into sin, let them quickly rise up again through true penitence* [3]. *Let them be humble in heart and in body, keeping to moderation both in food and in dress* [4], *avoiding altogether dissensions and rivalries, and putting aside entirely any bitterness or envy* [5], *so that thus armed with spiritual and material weapons they may the more fearlessly fight against the enemies of the faith, relying not on their own power but rather trusting in the strength of God* [6]. We grant to these clerics that they may receive the fruits of their benefices in full for three years, as if they were resident in the churches, and if necessary they may leave them in pledge for the same time.

To prevent this holy proposal being impeded or delayed, we strictly order all prelates of churches, each in his own locality, diligently to warn and induce those who have abandoned the cross to resume it, and them and others who have taken up the cross, and those who may still do so, to carry out their vows to the Lord. And if necessary they shall compel them to do this without any back-sliding, by sentences of excommunication against their persons and of interdict on their lands, excepting only those persons who find themselves faced with an impediment of such a kind that their vow deservedly ought to be commuted or deferred in accordance with the directives of the Apostolic See. In order that nothing connected with *this business of Jesus Christ* [1] be omitted, we will and order patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots and others who have the care of souls to preach the cross zealously to those entrusted to them. Let them beseech kings, dukes, princes, margraves, counts, barons and other magnates, as well as the communities of cities, vills and towns – in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, the one, only, true and eternal God – that those who do not go in person to the aid of the Holy Land should contribute, according to their means, an appropriate number of fighting men together with their necessary expenses for three years, for the remission of their sins in accordance with what has already been explained in general letters and will be explained below for still greater assurance. We wish to

share in this remission not only those who contribute ships of their own but also those who are zealous enough to build them for this purpose. *To those who refuse, if there happen to be any who are so ungrateful to our Lord God, we firmly declare in the name of the apostle that they should know that they will have to answer to us for this on the last day of final judgment before the fearful judge. Let them consider beforehand, however, with what conscience and with what security it was they were able to confess before the only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, to whom the Father gave all things into his hands, if in this business, which is as it were peculiarly his, they refuse to serve him who was crucified for sinners, by whose beneficence they are sustained and indeed by whose blood they have been redeemed* [7].

Lest we appear to be laying on men's shoulders heavy and unbearable burdens which we are not willing to lighten, like those who say yes but do nothing, behold we, from what we have been able to save over and above necessities and moderate expenses, grant and give thirty thousand pounds to this work, besides the shipping which we are giving to the crusaders of Rome and neighbouring districts. We will assign for this purpose, moreover, three thousand marks of silver, which we have left over from the alms of certain of the faithful, the rest having been faithfully distributed for the needs and benefit of the aforesaid Land by the hands of the abbot patriarch of Jerusalem, of happy memory, and of the masters of the Temple and of the Hospital. We wish, however, that other prelates of churches and all clerics may participate and share both in the merit and in the reward. We therefore decree, with the general approval of the council, that all clerics, both those under authority and prelates, shall give a twentieth of their ecclesiastical revenues for three years to the aid of the Holy Land, by means of the persons appointed by the Apostolic See for this purpose; the only exceptions being certain religious who are rightly to be exempted from this taxation and likewise those persons who have taken or will take the cross and so will go in person. We and our brothers, cardinals of the holy Roman Church, shall pay a full tenth [4]. Let all know, moreover, that they are obliged to observe this faithfully under pain of excommunication, so that those who knowingly deceive in this matter shall incur the sentence of excommunication. Because it is right that those who persevere in the service of the heavenly ruler should in all justice enjoy special privilege, and because the day of departure is somewhat more than a year ahead, crusaders shall therefore be exempt from taxes or levies and other burdens. We take their persons and goods under the

protection of St Peter and ourself once they have taken up the cross. We ordain that they are to be protected by archbishops, bishops and all prelates of the Church, and that protectors of their own are to be specially appointed for this purpose, so that their goods are to remain intact and undisturbed until they are known for certain to be dead or to have returned. If anyone dares to act contrary to this, let him be curbed by ecclesiastical censure.²⁹

The decree continues with passages on the relaxation of debts owed by crusaders, on corsairs and pirates and others who help the enemy, on the suspension of tournaments and the imposition of a general peace among Christians, and finally on the granting of indulgences to those who take part in the expedition or contribute towards it.³⁰

(c) *Final decree of Lateran V*

This concluding decree, after outlining the various achievements of the council, comes to the topic of the crusade which had been proposed earlier in the council:

We [i.e., Pope Leo X] decree, with the approval of the sacred council, that the said campaign against the infidels is to be undertaken and carried through. Zeal for the faith prompts us to this. It has been so often proposed and promised by us and our predecessor Julius in the sessions referred to, when the business of the council was being explained. On several occasions it was communicated to, and discussed with, spokesmen at our court representing kings and princes. Pope Nicholas V, our predecessor of pious memory, summoned a general expedition against the infidels after the disastrous fall of Constantinople in order to crush their fury and to avenge the wounds of Christ. Callistus III and Pius II, of happy memory, our predecessors as Roman pontiffs, urged on by zeal for the faith, followed in the same path with skill and energy. During a subsequent period of three years, we imitated them by means of an authorization from ourself and our said brothers for imposing and exacting a tithe on the revenues of churches, monasteries and other benefices throughout the world and for doing each and every other thing that is necessary and customary in a campaign of this kind. We continually pour forth holy, humble and earnest prayers to

almighty God that the campaign may have a happy outcome. We order the same to be done by all Christ's faithful of either sex. We exhort Maximilian, the emperor elect, and kings, princes and Christian rulers, whose courage God bids us to rouse, beseeching them by the tender mercy of our God, Jesus Christ, and appealing to them by his fearful judgment to remember that they shall have to render an account of their defence and preservation – even by giving their lives – of the Church itself, which has been redeemed by Christ's blood, and to rise up in strength and power for the defence of the Christian faith, as is incumbent on them as a personal and necessary duty, with all mutual hatred being set aside and quarrels and conflicts among themselves being committed to everlasting oblivion. At this time of such great need, let them offer with eagerness their ready assistance in keeping with their resources. We urge with paternal affection and ask them that, at least during the campaign, out of reverence for almighty God and for the Apostolic See, they assure the unbroken observance of the peace into which they have entered, so that such an important good, which we hope and desire will be obtained with the help of the Lord's right hand, may not be impeded by some interruption from discord and dissension.³¹

The decree then ends with the formal closure of the council.³²

There seem to me to be three areas of striking likeness – similarities which go beyond general outline to specific ideas and expressions – between the crusade decrees on the one hand, especially that of Lateran IV, and the Kingdom meditation on the other. These are numbered 1, 4 and 7 in the Lateran IV decree (above, pp.6–9). First, the summons to conquer (or liberate) the land of the unbelievers. The king in the Kingdom meditation proclaims, 'I am determined to bring under my control the entire land of the unbeliever', and Christ declares, 'I am determined to bring under my control the whole world and all my enemies'; the decree of Lateran IV, speaking in the name of Pope Innocent III, states, 'It is our ardent desire to liberate the Holy Land from infidel hands.' Secondly, the combination of restraint in food, dress and behaviour and the motif of followers and leader sharing alike in the toils of the undertaking so that one day they may enjoy together the rewards of victory; strong personal bonds of loyalty springing out of mutual affection and common ideals; a clear distinction of roles but at the same time deep mutual respect. This point is also brought out in the granting of indulgences at the

end of the decree. Thirdly, the theme of, 'Shame upon those who refuse the appeal!' Thus in the Kingdom meditation, 'Think . . . equally, were one to refuse the appeal of such a king, how he would incur the reprobation of all people and be regarded as a disgraceful coward'; and the even stronger words of the Lateran IV decree. In addition, there seems to me to be quite a striking overall similarity of structure between the Kingdom meditation and the Lateran IV decree.

Although the similarities are revealed most strikingly in the Kingdom meditation, they are of course not confined to that meditation but are to be found elsewhere in the *Spiritual Exercises* and in other writings of Ignatius. Equally, there are other elements in the crusade decrees that are not mentioned explicitly in the Kingdom meditation but are nevertheless strong features of Ignatius's spirituality. Among these elements one might note the following four, all of which appear in the Lateran IV decree (they are numbered 5, 6, 2 and 3 respectively above, pp. 6–9). First, there is the need for harmony among the crusaders and peace among Christians generally (this point is treated more extensively in the later section of the decree on the suspension of tournaments and the imposition of a general peace among Christians); this need is paralleled by Ignatius's advocacy of a union of hearts and minds among Christians and especially among Jesuits. Secondly, the recommendation that the crusaders are to be 'armed with spiritual and material weapons . . . relying not on their own power but rather trusting in the strength of God' is paralleled by Ignatius's insistence on making use of human means while at the same time relying solely on the grace of God. Thirdly, the instruction, 'Priests and other clerics . . . shall diligently devote themselves to prayer and exhortation, teaching the crusaders by word and example to have the fear and love of God always before their eyes, so that they say or do nothing that might offend the Divine Majesty', has distinct echoes in the spirituality advocated by Ignatius for both priests and laity. Finally, Ignatius's appreciation of the sacrament of Penance finds support in the words of the decree, 'If they ever fall into sin, let them quickly rise up again through true penitence.' All these elements, and the others mentioned earlier, were of course common to sixteenth-century Roman Catholicism and were not exclusive to Ignatius. Nevertheless they were prominent features of his spirituality and so it may well be that he drew some inspiration regarding them from the crusade decrees.

Admittedly, much of the above involves matters of interpretation, on which readers will form their own judgement. At the least I think it is clear that Ignatius's spirituality must be seen in the context of the medieval crusade tradition; though it should always be remembered that he contributed to a

radical shift in this tradition, moving away from a military expedition to a much more spiritual interpretation of Christ's summons. It is also clear that within the medieval crusade tradition, the crusade decrees of the general councils of the Western Church occupied an important place. Therefore I think these decrees must have had an indirect influence upon Ignatius and quite possibly, in view of the significant similarities that have been remarked upon, a more specific and direct one. Whether more can be claimed must await the further researches of scholars.

CHAPTER 2

Reception of the First Seven Ecumenical Councils by Medieval and Later General Councils of the Western Church

It has been my privilege to be the general editor of *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, the English edition of the decrees of the 21 ecumenical and general councils from Nicaea I to the second Vatican council in 1962–5.¹ My work as editor has given me some familiarity with the said councils, as you can imagine, both as translator of the decrees of some councils and in overseeing the work on others. So in this communication I wish to share with you the fruits regarding just one question: How were the first seven councils received and made use of by the later councils?

By the first seven councils I mean, of course, the councils of Nicaea I (325), Constantinople I (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople II (553), Constantinople III (680–1) and Nicaea II (787). By the later general councils are meant those that have traditionally been included in the lists of the western church, principally those of the Roman Catholic church, namely: the ten medieval councils of Lateran I to IV, Lyons I and II, Vienne, Constance, Basel-Florence and Lateran V, and the three councils of the Roman Catholic church after the Reformation divide: Trent (1545–63), Vatican I (1869–70) and Vatican II (1962–5). The fourth council of Constantinople of 869–70 poses a problem since although it features in the western lists and belongs in time and subject-matter with the early councils, it was never recognised as ecumenical by the Eastern Church. For the sake of convenience it therefore seems best to exclude it from consideration – with minimal loss to the arguments of the paper, I believe. The later councils are called here ‘general’ councils of the Western Church intentionally: more will be said on this point later. I should say, too, that the following remarks are largely confined to the

reception of the first seven councils in the decrees of the later councils, excluding therefore the *acta* and other background aspects of these councils.

As a general statement it would be true to say that on the one hand the first seven councils remained in the background, as a firm pillar you might say, indeed enjoyed a clear priority in the later councils; on the other hand, explicit references to them were relatively rare.

One important expression of the authority accorded to the early councils was the pre-eminence given to the creed of the first council of Constantinople of 381 (the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed). This creed, which was pre-eminent as a symbol of the Christian faith from the council of Chalcedon onwards, retained a favoured place in the later councils, especially from the fifteenth century onwards. Three councils quoted it in full. Florence included it in its decree on the Armenian church.² Trent began its doctrinal decrees by quoting it in full, calling it 'principium illud in quo omnes qui fidem Christi profitentur necessario conveniunt, ac fundamentum firmum et unicum contra quod portae inferi numquam praevalerunt'.³ Similarly, Vatican I placed it at the beginning of its doctrinal statements, though with the less forceful description of 'symbolum fidei quo sancta Romana ecclesia utitur'.⁴ (In all three cases the creed included the Filioque clause.) Only in the first case, that of Florence, was the council of Constantinople mentioned by name: in the other two cases the creed was given alone, without reference to its source. Only two other creeds were quoted in full in the later councils, each of them only once: the Athanasian creed, which was included in the council of Florence's decree on the Coptic church, and the somewhat eclectic creed which forms the first decree of the fourth Lateran council of 1215.⁵

The most explicit recognition of the medieval councils' sense of continuity with the early councils came at session 39 of the council of Constance in 1417. At this session, with the election imminent of a new pope (he was to be Martin V) to heal the papal schism which had lasted since 1378, the council promulgated a profession that the incoming pope would be obliged to make. The profession contained the following promise:

corde et ore confiteor et profiteor . . . me firmiter credere et tenere fidem catholicam, secundum traditiones apostolorum, generalium conciliorum et aliorum sanctorum patrum, maxime autem sacrorum octo conciliorum universalium, videlicet primi Nicaeni, secundi Constantinopolitani, tertii Ephesini, quarti Chalcedonensis, quinti et sexti item Constantinopolitani, septimi item Nicaeni, octavi quoque Constantinopolitani, nec non Lateranensis, Lugdunensis et Viennensis generalium etiam conciliorum.⁶

The profession was repeated at the council of Basel in 1436, with the councils of Constance and Basel being added to the list.⁷ These are the only decrees promulgated by the later councils that contained a list of the early councils (though in the course of the council of Florence's decree on the Armenian church almost all of them were mentioned).⁸ The distinction, too, made between the early and the medieval councils, with priority being given to the former, is remarkable. Thus, the first eight councils (with Constantinople IV included) are described as universal/ecumenical, whereas the medieval ones are simply general councils.

The distinction between ecumenical and general councils was due partly to the uncertainty of the medieval church about the status of its own councils. That is to say, throughout the medieval period and into the sixteenth century theologians and canonists were hesitant to regard as ecumenical any of the councils that took place during this time, preferring instead the term general council – a hesitancy that seems to have been largely on account of the absence from these councils of representatives of the Eastern Church. It was only in the Counter-Reformation period, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, that the Roman Catholic Church attempted definitively to raise to the status of ecumenical the ten general councils of the medieval period.⁹

The uncertainty about the status of councils after Nicaea II has huge and encouraging implications for the present ecumenical movement, implications that perhaps have not been appreciated sufficiently. That is to say, the decrees of these later councils, the 13 general councils from Lateran I in 1123 to Vatican II, which contain almost all the material disputed between the Roman Catholic church on the one hand, and the Orthodox and Reformed churches on the other, do not enjoy the same authority as those of the first seven councils and to this extent are open to discussion and negotiation. But the point is somewhat by the way as regards this paper. The relevant point is the foundational character and full reception accorded to the first seven councils by the lists of Constance and Basle.

Regarding other specific references to the early councils, they are relatively few. There are various possible reasons for the scarcity. One of them follows from what has just been said about the uncertain status of medieval councils. Whereas the early councils from Chalcedon onwards sought to establish their own ecumenicity by listing the previous ecumenical councils and then claiming that they followed in the line of succession,¹⁰ the hesitancy of the medieval councils regarding their own status may have discouraged them from acting in a similar way. Another point is that whereas there was much continuity in the themes running through the first

seven councils, the concerns of later councils were largely different, so there was less reason to hark back. The medieval councils were concerned principally with discipline and church order, much less with doctrine, and the disciplinary issues confronting them had moved on from those of the early church. The council of Trent was concerned with doctrinal matters in debate in the early church, but for the most part with issues that had been discussed outside of the ecumenical councils. The concerns of Vatican I and II were different again.

A third possible reason for the scarcity of references arises from the essentially papal character of all the later councils, from Lateran I in 1123 to Vatican I in 1869–70, with the exceptions of Constance and Basel-Florence in the fifteenth century and to a lesser extent the council of Trent in the sixteenth century. That is to say, they were summoned and largely controlled by the pope of the time, chiefly in order to secure approval for a programme that had been prepared beforehand by the pope and his curia. It might therefore be thought that the papacy wished to distance itself from the decrees of the more democratic councils of the early church. But this consideration should not be stressed much, in my opinion. There may have been some distancing at the subconscious level; on the other hand the papacy throughout this time wished to show the roots in early tradition of its teachings.

A fourth possible reason concerns the level of awareness of the early councils in, particularly, the medieval church. Was there sufficiently detailed knowledge of them to make frequent references to their decrees in the later councils a realistic possibility? The question perhaps merits further investigation, but a quick look at the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* or an index to the works of Thomas Aquinas, for example, reveals plenty of references to the early decrees, so it seems that the medieval councils could have referred to them if they had wanted to.¹¹ Finally, there is the question of the form of conciliar decrees, another subject that may deserve further investigation. The decree of a council, even of the medieval and later general councils, received its authority from the council that promulgated it, so that references to earlier councils may have been considered unnecessary or even contrary to form. Still, some references were made and clearly no absolute prohibition existed, so it remains interesting that more were not made.

Not surprisingly, when individual decrees of the early councils were cited, it was usually because a later council had a particular wish to show the early precedents of its legislation. The council of Nicaea of 325, canon 3, was cited by the first Lateran council of 1123, admittedly with a rather forced interpretation, in its seventh decree on the celibacy of the clergy:

Presbyteris, diaconis vel subdiaconis concubinarum et uxorum contubernia penitus interdicimus et aliarum mulierum cohabitationem, praeter quas synodus Nicaena propter solas necessitudinum causas habitare permisit, videlicet matrem, sororem, amitam vel materteram aut alias huiusmodi, de quibus nulla iuste valeat suspicio oriri.¹²

The same council of Nicaea, canon 6, was cited by the council of Trent in its decree on the reservation of the eucharist: 'Consuetudo asservandi in sacrario sanctam eucharistiam adeo antiqua est, ut eam saeculum etiam Niceni concilii agnoverit'.¹³ Two disciplinary decrees of the council of Chalcedon of 451 were quoted: canon 6, concerning the need for a title in order to be ordained, was cited by the council of Trent; and the prohibition against seizing the property of a bishop upon his death, contained in canon 22, was quoted by the second Lateran council of 1139.¹⁴

In addition, in the council of Florence's decrees on the Armenian and Syriac churches, the definitions of faith of the councils of Chalcedon and Constantinople III were quoted and references were made to the teachings of most other early councils.¹⁵ Florence also mentioned Chalcedon by way of approving Pope Leo's alleged transfer of Ephesus II to Chalcedon, in order to justify Pope Eugenius IV's transfer of the council of Basel to Florence in 1438/9.¹⁶ The teaching of Nicaea II regarding images and the cult of saints was cited by the councils of Trent and Vatican II.¹⁷ Vatican II, in its decree on the Church *Lumen Gentium*, quoted an extract of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed but without naming the council.¹⁸

The above are, so far as I am aware and the elaborate indices (magnificently compiled by Dr F. Magistretti) of *Decrees* indicate, the only explicit quotations from, or references to, the first seven councils that are to be found in the 13 later general councils. Implicitly, no doubt, the work of the early councils underpinned every aspect of Christian life and thought subsequently, the councils included. It is also true that on a few occasions besides those mentioned above, though not many, the decrees of Vatican II refer to the early councils in their official footnotes. Still, explicit dependence on the early ecumenical councils was severely limited, though other, non-ecumenical councils were cited even less. It is noticeable that the clearest statement came from the councils of Constance and Basle, mentioned above, in the middle of the 'conciliar movement' of the fifteenth century, when the Western Church made its most concerted attempt to regain its conciliar tradition.