

The Fourth Lateran Council

Institutional Reform and Spiritual Renewal

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Crusade, Reconquest and the Muslims: The Islamic World at the Fourth Lateran Council

Possibly with the exception of Urban II, no pope of the Middle Ages was more intimately tied to the crusading movement than Innocent III. He was arguably its greatest apostle and the most influential pope for the development of the medieval crusade, a point also stressed by the author of the *Gesta Innocentii Tertii Papae*¹. Seminal studies such as the monographs by Helmut Roscher and James Powell have firmly cemented this attribution². Such assessments are well founded, both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. Not only did around 4 % of the papal writs from the apostolic chancery under Innocent refer to the *negotium crucis*³; his pontificate also saw a particularly large number of military expeditions directed against declared opponents of the Christian faith or of the Church. When Lotario dei Conti di Segni ascended the *cathedra Petri* in 1198, King Henry VI's ill-fated expedition was still underway⁴. More crusades were to follow: Pope Innocent called for war against the Ayyubids of Egypt in defence of the Crusader States of the Levant and was thus instrumental in bringing about the crusade of 1202–1204⁵ and of 1217–1221⁶, and he rallied against the Albigensians in southern

1 Patrologia Latina 214, col. xvi–ccxxviii, here: col. lxxxix–xc1 (cap. 46); J. M. POWELL, *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, Washington/DC 2004, p. 61–62. Many thanks to Viktor Gottesmann, Lukas Raupp, Julian Reichert, Sandra Schieweck and Paul Schweitzer-Martin for assistance and advice.

2 H. ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge*, Göttingen 1969; J. M. POWELL, *Anatomy of a crusade 1213–1221*, Philadelphia 1986; J. M. POWELL, *Innocent III and the crusade*, «Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?», ed. by J. M. POWELL, Washington/DC 1994², p. 121–134.

3 M. MESCHINI, «*Pro negotio cruce signatorum*». *Innocenzo III e il sostegno de la guerra santa*, «Regards croisés sur la guerre saint. Guerre, idéologie et religions dans l'espace méditerranéen latin (XI^e–XIII^e siècle)», ed. by D. BALOUP – P. JOSSE RAND, Toulouse 2006, p. 159–186, here: p. 159.

4 C. NAUMANN, *Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Heinrichs VI.*, Frankfurt am Main 1994; P. CSENDES, *Heinrich VI.*, Darmstadt 1993, p. 197–203.

5 A. J. ANDREA – J. C. MOORE, *A Question of Character: Two Views on Innocent III and the Fourth Crusade*, «Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale (Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998)», ed. by A. SOMMERLECHNER, vol. I, Roma 2003, p. 525–585; M. MESCHINI, *1204: l'incompiuta. La IV crociata e le conquiste di Costantinopoli*, Milano 2004; *La Quarta crociata: Venezia, Bisanzio, Impero Latino*, 2 vols, ed. G. ORTALLI – G. RAVEGNANI – P. SCHREINER, Venezia 2006; *The Fourth Crusade revisited. Atti della Conferenza Internazionale nell'Ottavo Centenario della IV Crociata, 1204–2004*, ed. P. PIATTI, Città del Vaticano 2008.

6 R. RÖHRICHT, *Studien zur Geschichte des fünften Kreuzzuges*, Innsbruck 1891; J. P. DONOVAN, *Pelagius and the fifth crusade*, Philadelphia 1950; POWELL, *Anatomy of a crusade* ... op. cit.

France⁷ and against the Almohads on the Iberian Peninsula⁸. Less known are the indulgences he promised those who took arms against the imperial *ministerialis* Markward of Annweiler, whom he likened to Saladin⁹. There can be no doubt that no Pope of the Middle Ages took resort to the instrument of crusading as often as Innocent III¹⁰.

More importantly, and for us more tellingly: the Pope showed a high degree of personal engagement in initiating and promoting crusades, particularly in the Levant. His fervent activities led to the so-called Fourth Crusade of 1202 to 1204, and only death kept him from personally leading the expedition he had vigorously championed since 1213, the crusade most closely related to the Fourth Lateran Council¹¹. No ecumenical council of the Middle Ages was put under the caption of crusading more glaringly than precisely that of 1215. Right from its beginning, this meeting was intimately tied to crusading¹². The convocation encyclical *Vineam Domini Sabaoth* from spring 1213¹³ left no doubt as to the ultimate aim of this gathering: reform and crusade. Its opening words – *Vineam Domini Sabaoth multiformes*

7 R. FOREVILLE, *Innocent III et la croisade des Albigeois*, «Paix de Dieu et guerre sainte en Languedoc au XIII^e siècle», Toulouse 1969, p. 184–217; E. GRAHAM-LEIGH, *Evil and the Appearance of Evil: Pope Innocent III, Arnould Amaury and the Albigensian Crusade*, «Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis ...» op. cit., vol. II, p. 1031–1048; D. J. SMITH, *Peter II of Aragon, Innocent III and the Albigensian Crusade*, *ibidem*, vol. II, p. 1049–1064; M. MESCHINI, *Evoluzione della normativa antietericale di Innocenzo III dalla «Vergentis in senium» (1199) al IV concilio lateranense (1215)*, «Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo», CVII (2005), p. 207–232; *Id.*, *Innocenzo III e il «negotium pacis et fidei» in linguadoca tra il 1198 e il 1215*, Roma 2007, p. 368–906. Cf. the contribution by Jörg Feuchter to this volume.

8 D. MANSILLA, *Inocencio III y los reinos hispanos*, «Anthologica annua», II (1954), p. 9–49, here: p. 44–49; J. GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de la bula de la Cruzada en España*, Vitoria 1958, p. 110–132; D. W. LOMAX, *The reconquest of Spain*, New York 1978, p. 124–125; J. F. O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and crusade in medieval Spain*, Philadelphia 2002, p. 64–79; D. J. SMITH, *Innocent III and the Crown of Aragon: The Limits of Papal Authority*, Aldershot 2004.

9 M. LAUFS, *Innozenz III. und Markwart von Annweiler*, «Jahrbuch zur Geschichte von Stadt und Landkreis Kaiserslautern», XII/XIII (1974/75), p. 56–68. *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. II: 2. *Pontifikatsjahr, 1199/1200*, ed. O. HAGENEDER et al., Rom-Wien 1979, p. 411–412.

10 See the overviews: ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge ...* op. cit.; POWELL, *Innocent III and the crusade ...* op. cit.; M. MENZEL, *Kreuzzugsideologie unter Innocenz III.*, «Historisches Jahrbuch», CXX (2000), p. 39–79; MESCHINI, «*Pro negotio cruce signatorum ...*» op. cit.; *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, ed. J. BIRD – E. PETERS – J. M. POWELL, Philadelphia 2013, p. 24–130.

11 RÖHRICHT, *Studien zur Geschichte ...* op. cit.; POWELL, *Anatomy of a crusade ...* op. cit.; P. CLAVERIE, *Honorius III et l'Orient (1216–1227): étude et publication de sources inédites des Archives Vaticanes (ASV)*, Leiden 2013, p. 23–78, 282–376.

12 Cf. the chapter fittingly entitled «Council and Crusade» in: J. C. MOORE, *Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1216): To root up and to plant*, Leiden 2003, p. 228–252. On the council see R. FOREVILLE, *Lateran I, II, III et Lateran IV*, Paris 1965, p. 225–324; B. M. BOLTON, *A show with a meaning: Innocent III's approach to the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215*, reprinted in EAD., *Innocent III. Studies on papal authority and pastoral care* (Variorum Collected Studies Series 490), Aldershot 1995, cap. VI, p. 53–67.

13 *Patrologia Latina* 216, col. 823D–825C; G. TANGL, *Studien zum Register Innocenz' III.*, Weimar 1929, p. 84–87; cf. A. MELLONI, «*Vineam Domini*» – 10 April 1213: *New Efforts and traditional Topoi – Summoning Lateran IV*, «Pope Innocent III and his World», ed. by J. C. MOORE – B. BOLTON, Aldershot 1999, p. 63–73; P. H. GÖRG, «*Vineam Domini Sabaoth*». *Die bleibende dogmatische Bedeutung Innozenz' III. und des IV. Laterankonzils, «Signum in bonum*. Festschrift für Wilhelm Imkamp zum 60. Geburtstag», ed. by N. BUHLMANN – P. STYRA, Regensburg 2011, p. 297–312, particularly p. 305–308.

moliuntur bestie demoliri ... – are generally and reasonably taken as referring to the dangers of Albigensian heresy¹⁴. But the reference to Sabaoth, the God in the Jewish Bible, also recalls the simile of the *exercitus Domini Sabaoth* that had already been applied to the army of the First Crusade. Guibert of Nogent's rendering of pope Urban II's call at Clermont¹⁵ or the chronicler Orderic Vitalis, who expressly used the image of Sabaoth's army to describe the crusaders¹⁶, illustrate this association which was arguably still well-known to contemporaries at the times of the Fourth Lateran Council¹⁷. Seen from this perspective, Innocent was both subtle and very explicit in the wording of his encyclical *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, because the text overtly positioned the crusade and reform paramount amongst his goals for the upcoming meeting, whilst the opening words triggered very particular, and indeed violent associations with God's war of the Israelites.

Vineam Domini Sabaoth was flanked by the sophisticated crusading bull *Quia Maior*¹⁸ issued almost simultaneously. This second encyclical is an authentic watershed in the history of crusading bulls, because it combined several elements concerning the management of the crusade while also explaining their specific functions¹⁹. Clearly, the beginning of the Fourth Lateran Council was intimately tied to the crusading cause. So was its end: the final stage of this gathering was dedicated to deliberating on the expedition to the Levant and comprehensively laid the ground for another encyclical – *Ad Liberandam*²⁰ – in which the tentative plans outlined in *Quia Maior* were substantiated and adapted to the actual settings of an upcoming crusade. During the months that followed, Innocent ceaselessly strove to bring this second eastern crusade of his pontificate to fruition.

14 TANGL, *Studien zum Register* ... op. cit., p. 2–4.

15 *Si enim verum constat quod a Domino dicitur, quia videlicet «salus ex Judaeis est», et Dominum Sabaoth semen nobis reliquisse constat, ne sicut Sodoma simus et Gomorrhae similes fiamus, et semen nostrum Christus est, in quo salus et omnium gentium benedictio est: ipsa terra et civitas in qua habitavit et passus est, Scripturarum testimonio sancta vocatur* – GUIBERT OF NOGENT, *Gesta Dei per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. R. B. C. HUYGENS, Turnhout 1996, p. III–III2.

16 *In autumno postquam gentiles summo Rege Sabaoth praeliante prostrati sunt, egregii proceres cum suis commilitonibus redire decreuerunt, et amicis atque consortibus ualedicentes reciprocam callem inierunt* – ORDERICUS VITALIS, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. V: *Books IX and X*, ed. M. CHIBNALL, Oxford 1975, p. 270.

17 Cf. N. JASPERS, *Eleventh-Century Pilgrimage from Catalonia to Jerusalem: New Sources on the Foundations of the First Crusade*, «Crusades», XIV (2015), p. 1–48, particularly p. 23–24.

18 Several versions of this bull have survived, cf. the overview in C. ZEY, *Die päpstlichen Legaten als Kreuzzugswerker im Reich*, «Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)», ed. by N. JASPERS – S. TEBRUCK, Ostfildern 2016, p. 207–233, here p. 226–227. Most often cited is *Patrologia Latina* 216, col. 817A–822B; G. CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam, cattività e liberazione in nome di Dio: il tempo di Innocenzo III dopo «il 1187»*, Roma 2003, num. 44, p. 536–541; a collated edition was presented by: TANGEL, *Studien zum Register* ... op. cit., p. 88–97. Well commented English translation: *Crusade and Christendom* ... op. cit., p. 107–112.

19 U. SCHWERIN, *Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innozenz IV. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kurialen Kreuzzugspropaganda und der päpstlichen Epistolographie*, Berlin 1937, p. 99–102; A. BYSTED, *The crusade indulgence: Spiritual rewards and the theology of the crusades, c. 1095–1216*, Leiden 2015, p. 161, 175, 227, 233, 241, 296.

20 *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis una cum Commentariis glossatorum*, ed. A. GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, Città del Vaticano 1981, num. 71, p. 110–118; well commented English translation: *Crusade and Christendom* ..., op. cit., p. 124–129.

All this is known to historians of the papacy and to historians of the Crusades alike. The undeniable importance of the crusade for pope and council has led to a monolithic and static picture, which in turn raises the question of consistencies and changes within Innocent's ideas on crusading, of the relation between novelty and tradition in his views on meritorious and holy warfare. In the first part of this paper I will review the evidence in order to tackle this question. I will therefore also focus on particular elements that were employed to foster crusading during Innocent's pontificate. Which new arguments were coined, which older ones developed (2.)? The final, ostentatious proclamation which closed the Lateran council in the presence of its participants signals a third focus of this article: the public dimension of the crusades in Rome at the time of the Lateran Council. Activities within the public sphere were highly performative acts that often relied on objects and as such necessarily relate to material culture, space and mentality²¹.

Such discursive elements not only targeted Muslims of the Levant, but also aimed against those of other Mediterranean areas. I will therefore also survey other geographic regions and focus on other forms of interaction than warfare (3.). For Muslims, crusading and the Islamic world was present at the Lateran Council in more than one way. Precisely because the term 'the Islamic World' might conjure monolithic and therefore essentialist images, we need to extend our perspective (4.). My final thoughts – after having dealt with the creation of a crusading ideology and the public dimension of different crusading scenarios –, will be centred on the presence of Islam and Muslims at the Lateran Council including some remarks about the relation between charity and crusading (5.).

1. The Creation of a Crusading Ideology

Several historians see Innocent III as having applied a fixed papal crusading ideology which clearly differed from that of his predecessors. Michael Menzel recently argued that only Innocent III can be credited – or imputed – with a proper crusading 'ideology', that is an aggressive reforming of public opinion, a clearly defined and even centralist concept of crusading which marked his entire pontificate²². Already some years ago Christoph Tyerman

21 C. WULF – J. ZIRFAS, *Performative Welten. Einführung in die historischen, systematischen und methodischen Dimensionen des Rituals*, «Die Kultur des Rituals: Inszenierungen, Praktiken, Symbole», ed. by C. WULF – J. ZIRFAS, München 2004, p. 7–46; *Stadtgestalt und Öffentlichkeit. Die Entstehung politischer Räume in der Stadt der Vormoderne*, ed. S. ALBRECHT, Köln 2010; *Politische Öffentlichkeit im Spätmittelalter*, ed. M. KINTZINGER – B. SCHNEIDMÜLLER, Ostfildern 2011; S. RAU, *Räume: Konzepte, Wahrnehmungen, Nutzungen*, Frankfurt am Main 2013; *Neue alte Sachlichkeit. Studienbuch Materialität des Mittelalters*, ed. J. KEUPP – R. SCHMITZ-ESSER, Ostfildern 2015.

22 MENZEL, *Kreuzzugsideologie ... op. cit.*

attributed the «invention of the Crusades» to those very years²³, and Penny Cole held that «Innocent's rationale for crusading remained virtually unchanged»²⁴. Certain stable elements can indeed be discerned right from the beginning of his pontificate. In comparison to earlier crusading initiatives, Innocent's call was a general one to liberate the Holy Places, not one that reacted immediately to a military disaster as did the so-called Second and Third Crusade. More importantly, the Pope clearly targeted wide strata of society from the very beginning; not only the aristocracy, but everybody was called upon to participate. And most importantly, crusading was described as a moral obligation, one can even speak of a moral imperative, an imperative based on fundamental Christian beliefs combined with contemporary ideals. Innocent did not beg, plead or exhort – he ordered to crusade in the very name of Christ. And he did so by falling back on feudal notions of loyalty and duty. For Innocent too, as for his prominent predecessors, a crusade was God's war and a chance for spiritual perfection and redemption. However, in comparison to earlier popes, he stressed each and every Christian's obligation to assist Christ, whom he depicted as insulted and attacked in the very land He himself had freed by His sacrifice and the spilling of His blood²⁵. Pope Innocent's final great call, *Ad Liberandam*, encapsulates these and other important elements. Ultimately drafted after the conclusion of the Council, probably published after December 14th 1215 and later appended to the canons²⁶, it declared crusaders exempt from taxes and promised protection of their property. The pope himself promised to lead the expedition, and stipulated clearly defined indulgences to all participants²⁷.

If we compare *Ad Liberandam* with *Quia Maior* of 1213, we can indeed discern similarities and differences: most importantly, a new and explicitly regulated income tax on churchmen was introduced in 1215; commissioners were in charge of raising it, the Curia's financial contribution and tentative tax exemptions to laymen were now specified, including a moratorium for debt towards Jews. In addition, a stipulation concerning the redemption of vows was included and an extensive peace program was declared which was supposed to last for four years. Similarly, *Quia Maior* in 1213 had substantially extended Innocent's earlier calls for crusade from 1198/1199. The bull set out the terms of a legally fully developed crusading indulgence and called for a wide, even indiscriminate, acceptance of crusader vows. Everybody, regardless of standing or military abilities, should receive the cross²⁸. *Quia Maior*

23 C. TYERMAN, *The invention of the crusades*, Basingstoke/Hampshire 1998. Cf. similar claims by M. MARKOWSKI, *Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage*, «Journal of Medieval History», X (1984), p. 157–165.

24 P. J. COLE, *The preaching of the crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270*, Cambridge, Mass. 1991, p. 104.

25 These basic elements of Innocent III's approach to crusading are well summarized by MENZEL, *Kreuzzugsideologie* ... op. cit. Thomas Prüg's contribution to this volume shows that the pontiff's call to general participation neatly folded in with the pope's ecclesiology.

26 On the dating see S. KUTTNER – A. GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, *A new eyewitness account of the Fourth Lateran Council*, «Traditio», XX (1964), p. 115–178, particularly p. 133. Roger Wendover provides us with a version which probably predates the final publication of *Ad Liberandam*: *Ibidem*, Appendix C, p. 174–178; *Crusade and Christendom* ... op. cit., p. 121–124.

27 Cf. note 20.

28 Note 18; cf. COLE, *The preaching* ... op. cit., p. 106.

also contains apocalyptic elements missing in the Pope's early encyclicals²⁹. Emotional and liturgical elements were reinforced: public processions and sermons were to be delivered, and the Crusade was to be called for during the liturgy of the Eucharist.³⁰

Clearly then, Innocent developed his crusading ideas over the course of time. He reacted to general innovations in preaching and theology during the years of his reign, most clearly expressed in the writings and actions of the so-called School of Paris, to which he maintained close personal ties, as Jessalynn Bird and others have shown³¹. He was not equally committed to this cause during his entire pontificate, but rather showed two particularly active phases – from 1199 to 1208 and from 1213 to 1216. And he learned from the experience of the alternative crusading scenarios mentioned above: the Albigensian Crusade, the so-called Children's Crusade, and crusading on the Iberian Peninsula all had their effects on Innocent's crusading ideology. The pope evidently possessed a clear concept of crusading right from the beginning of his pontificate, probably influenced by the School of Paris. He was however flexible enough to react to contemporary changes within the field of religious violence. Indeed, and this is an important point that needs to be kept in mind: the crusading movement itself had changed substantially over the course of the 12th century³². Even its very objective had experienced subtle shifts over the decades. There is no need to extensively deal with the relationship between the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, and the Holy Land as related, but not identical goals for crusaders. It might be sufficient to say that an attentive reading of the sources reveals that the attractiveness of one or the other sacred space varied over time³³. Instead of following all of these developments in detail, I would like to single out one change particular to the end of the 12th century: devotion to the so-called True Cross, on which Christ is said to have died, and the reactions to its loss.

29 Patrologia Latina 216, col. 818B: ... *confidimus tamen in Domino, qui jam fecit nobiscum signum in bonum, quod finis hujus bestiae appropinquat, cujus numerus secundum Apocalipsim Joannis intra sexcenta sexaginta sex clauditur, ex quibus jam pene sexcenti sunt anni sompleti; Crusade and Christendom* ... op. cit., p. 108–109.

30 C. T. MAIER, *Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, «The Journal of Ecclesiastical History», XLVIII (1997), p. 628–657, 634–635. Innozenz already introduced public prayers and masses in favor of crusaders in 1199 – ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* ... op. cit. p. 74; MENZEL, *Kreuzzugsideologie* ... op. cit., p. 59.

31 J. W. BALDWIN, *Masters, princes and merchants: The social views of Peter the Chanter his circle*, 2 vols, Princeton 1970; COLE, *The preaching* ... op. cit., p. 80–98, 139; B. BOLTON, «Serpent in the Dust, Sparrow on the Housetop». *Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Circle of Pope Innocent III*, «The Holy Land, holy lands, and Christian history. Papers read at the 1998 summer meeting and the 1999 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society», ed. by R. N. SWANSON, Woodbridge 2000, p. 154–180; J. BIRD, *Innocent III, Peter the Chanter's Circle, and the Crusade Indulgence: Theory, Implementation, and Aftermath*, «Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis ...» op. cit., vol. I, p. 503–524. Cf. Werner Maleczek's contribution to this volume.

32 TYERMAN, *The invention of the crusades* ... op. cit.

33 N. JASPERT, *Das Heilige Grab, das Heilige Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land. Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren*, «Konflikt und Bewältigung vor 1000 Jahren – Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche in Jerusalem im Jahre 1009», ed. by T. PRATSCH, Berlin 2011, p. 67–95, here: p. 74–90; ID., *The True Cross of Jerusalem in the Latin West: Mediterranean Connections and Institutional Agency*, «Visual Constructs of Jerusalem», ed. by B. KUEHNEL – G. NOGA-BANAI – H. VORHOLT, Turnhout 2015, p. 207–223, particularly p. 208–214.

2. The Crusade of the Holy Cross

In 1187, the Latin Christians not only lost dominion of the Holy City but were also bereft of its most famous relic, the Jerusalem fragments of the True Cross. The calls for help sent to the West immediately after the destruction of the army at Hattin related the event, and Pope Gregory VIII also lamented the loss in his famous crusade bull *Audita tremendi*³⁴. Furthermore, a great number of contemporary sources corroborates that the recovery of the *vera crux* became one of the major aims of the so-called Third Crusade. In fact, this objective was of such overriding importance that one might term the Third Crusade a 'Crusade of the Holy Cross' – a 'Heiligkreuzkreuzzug'. The German army led by Frederick Barbarossa for example is repeatedly termed *exercitus sanctae crucis* or *exercitus vivificae crucis* – army of the Holy Cross or army of the life bringing Cross³⁵, and English participants in the campaign, too, particularly emphasized the loss of the Cross as a motivation for their expedition. As the anonymous author of the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* put it «... neither the capture of the Ark nor the captivity of the Kings of the Jews can compare with the disaster in our own time, when the King and the glorious Cross were led away captive together»³⁶. Many preachers at the turn to the 13th century, men such as Henry of Albano, Jacques of Vitry, Alan of Lille or Gilbert of Tournai, brought the message home with the help of highly emotional and imaginative metaphors, as Christoph T. Maier and Christopher Matthew Phillips have convincingly shown³⁷. During the course of the so-called Third Crusade and for some time thereafter, not only military expeditions, but also diplomatic missions were undertaken in order to recover the lost relic³⁸. But when Innocent was elected pope in 1198, the cross had not yet returned, and it never was to.

34 A. CHROUST, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, Berlin 1928, p. 7: ... *capta est crux dominica* ..., cf. SCHWERIN, *Die Aufrufe der Päpste* ... op. cit., p. 81–85; *Der Kreuzzug Friedrich Barbarossas 1187–1190. Bericht eines Augenzeugen*, ed. and trans. A. BÜHLER, Darmstadt 2003, p. 65–70. On calls for help see B. Z. KEDAR, *Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187*, «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», XXXVIII (1982), p. 112–122; N. JASPERS, *Zwei unbekannte Hilfsersuchen des Patriarchen Eraclius vor dem Fall Jerusalems (1187)*, «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», LX (2005), p. 483–516.

35 CHROUST, *Quellen zur Geschichte* ... op. cit., p. 38, 40, 55, 64, 78, 88, 89, 93; *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.*, vol. IV: 1181–1190, ed. H. APPELT, Hannover 1990, p. 301, 303, ...; *Der Kreuzzug Friedrich Barbarossas* ... op. cit., p. 95–98.

36 *Das «Itinerarium peregrinorum»*. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt, ed. H. E. MAYER, Stuttgart 1962, p. 259: ... *nec archa domini, nec reges Iudeorum captivitati nostri casum temporis equiparare possunt, in quo gloriose cruci rex ducitur conceptivatus*; H. J. NICHOLSON, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the «Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi»*, Aldershot 1997, p. 33.

37 C. T. MAIER, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 1994; ID., *Crusade propaganda and ideology: Model sermons for the preaching of the cross*, Cambridge 2000; C. M. PHILLIPS, «O Magnum Crucis Misterium»: *Devotion to the Cross, Crusading and the Imitation of the Crucified Christ in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050–1215* (Diss. Phil. Saint Louis 2006); cf. N. JASPERS, *The True Cross* ... op. cit., particularly p. 210–212.

38 D. JACOBY, *Diplomacy, Trade, Shipping and Espionage between Byzantium and Egypt in the Twelfth Century*, «Polypleuros nous: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag», ed. by C. SCHOLZ – G. MAKRISS, München 2000, p. 83–102, particularly p. 100–102; *Letters from the East: Crusaders, pilgrims and settlers in the 12th–13th centuries*, ed. M. BARBER – A. K. BATE, Farnham 2010, p. 118, 125.

Looking closer at Innocent and his preaching, one can discern a resort to similar arguments, particularly during the first half of his pontificate. The pope's first great crusade encyclical *Post Miserabile* of 1198 began with a lament over «the ignominious removal of the life-giving cross on which the salvation of the world has been hung»³⁹. Similar words can be found in a letter to the clergy from April 24th 1202⁴⁰, and in *Utinam dominus*, written in 1208 to the people of Lombardy and the Marches, Innocent claimed that God has allowed «the sign of the salvific cross, on which our very salvation hung, and the land of his own birth, which he consecrated with his blood, to be captured by the enemies of the Christian faith» as a test for all Christians⁴¹.

Contemporary preachers did likewise: On May 3rd 1200, the feast of the *Inventio Crucis*, the Cistercian abbot Martin from the Alsatian monastery of Pairis called out to his coreligionists that «the venerable cross which has been soaked with Christ's blood [...], the wood of the cross had been lost from Christian sight»⁴². During the so-called Children's Crusade of 1212, its French participants are said to have born a relic of the True Cross, chanting «Lord God, return to us the True Cross», and in the Rhineland people prayed for its «liberation», a concept that held great emotional appeal⁴³. Significantly and possibly due to the contents of his sermons, Oliver of Paderborn (Oliver Scholasticus) was termed «legate of the life bringing cross» (*legatus vivifice crucis*) by the chronicler Reiner of Liège⁴⁴.

Whilst the True Cross did not figure prominently in Innocent's great crusading bulls *Quia Maior* or *Ad Liberandam*, it was dramatically brought to public consciousness in the course of the Fourth Lateran Council in the Roman public sphere. Richard of San Germano relates the

39 *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. I: *Pontifikatsjahr, 1198–1199*, ed. O. HAGENEDER – A. HAIDACHER, Wien 1964, num. 336, p. 498–505: ... *post ignominiosam nobis vivifice crucis translationem, in qua salus mundi pendit ...*; CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 20, p. 493–497, here: p. 493; well commented English translation: *Crusade and Christendom ...* op. cit., p. 28–37.

40 *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. V: 5. *Pontifikatsjahr, 1202/1203*, ed. O. HAGENEDER, Wien 1993, num. 25, p. 47–49, here: p. 47: ... *occisionem gentis nostre et translationem salutifere crucis, in qua salus mundi pendit ...*; CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 33, p. 519.

41 *Die Register Innocenz III.*, vol. XI: 11. *Pontifikatsjahr, 1208/1209*, ed. O. HAGENEDER, Wien 2010, num. 180, p. 296–299, here: 297: *salutifere crucis signum, in quo ipse salus nostra pendit, et terram nativitatis sue, quam proprio sanguine consecravit, capi at inimicis fidei Christiane permisit ...*; CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 37, p. 524–527, here: p. 525.

42 Gunther von Pairis, *«Hystoria Constantinopolitana»*. *Untersuchungen und kritische Ausgabe*, ed. P. ORTH, Hildesheim 1994, p. 112: *Sacrosanctum illud et venerabile crucis lignum, quod Christi sanguine perfusum est, ab his, quibus verbum stulticia est, ita suppressum oculatur, ut nemo christianus, quid de illo actum sit vel unde requiri debeat, scire possit*; C. T. MAIER, *Kirche, Kreuz und Ritual: eine Kreuzzugspredigt in Basel im Jahr 1200*, «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», LX (1999), p. 95–115.

43 *Annalium Rotomagensium continuationes*, ed. O. HOLDER-EGGER (MGH Scriptores 26), Hannover 1882, p. 501–506: *Domine Deus, exalta christianitatem et redde nobis veram crucem* (p. 501); G. DICKSON, *La genèse de la croisade des enfants* (1212), «Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes», CLIII (1995), p. 53–102, p. 97; G. DICKSON, *The Children's Crusade: Medieval history, modern mythistory*, Basingstoke 2008, p. 94, 97–98.

44 Anon., *Reineri Annales, a. 1066–1230* (MGH Scriptores 16), Hannover 1859, p. 651–680, here: p. 673; P. B. PIXTON, *Die Anwerbung des Heeres Christi: Prediger des Fünften Kreuzzuges in Deutschland*, «Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters», XXXIV (1978), p. 166–191, p. 172; cf. C. GRASSO, *La delega papale alla predicazione crociata al tempo del IV concilio Lateranense*, «Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia», LXVII (2013), p. 37–54, particularly p. 38–41 and ZEY, *Die päpstlichen Legaten ...* op. cit., p. 224–233.

pope's opening sermon, in which the pontifex claimed that Muslims were publicly ridiculing the cross: *Insultant michi filii Agareni et impropere lignum crucis, dicentes: Confidabas in ligno, ecce, adiuvat te si potes*⁴⁵, and as the anonymous eyewitness relates, when the meeting ended, Innocent publicly displayed a relic of the True Cross recently brought from Constantinople, with which he blessed the entire assembly before it dispersed⁴⁶. Devotion to the True Cross thus remained a hallmark of Christian spirituality at the turn of the twelfth century. Although it did not figure prominently in Innocent's writings on the crusade, it was employed as a rallying device during the council with the help of public oratory⁴⁷. This reference to the usage of the cross at a venue of mass audience leads us to the third part of this paper: the presence of the Crusades in public space.

3. The Public Dimension

In which way were crusading and the Latin East present in Rome during these years? Some elements have already been mentioned: the prominent role attributed to Jerusalem and the Crusades in the convocation and during the closing of the council as well as the importance of the relic of the True Cross during those performative acts and ceremonies. And then there was the pope's opening speech. Dryly referred to as a sermon by the Gießen Anonymus, in which the pope is said to have spoken strongly in favor of the recovery of the Holy Land (*in eodem sermone inter cetera pro redemptione terre sancta exhortatus est*)⁴⁸, it is more extensively related by Richard of Santo Germano⁴⁹. This sermon picked up ideas already developed in 1198 in the crusading bull *Post miserabilem*, but staged them in a highly emotional fashion. According

⁴⁵ *Ignoti monachi Cisterciensis S. Mariae de Ferraria Chronica et Ryccardi de Sancto Germano chronica priora reperit in codice ms. Bononiensi atque nunc primum edidit Augustus Gaudenzi*, ed. A. GAUDENZI (Monumenti storici. Ser. 1: Cronache 3), Napoli 1888, p. 91B; *Patrologia Latina* 217, col. 675D; *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Chronica*, ed. C. A. GARUFI, Bologna 1938, p. 65A. On the opening sermon and Innocent's preaching see the contribution by Nicole Bériou to this volume.

⁴⁶ KUTTNER – GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, *A new eyewitness account ... op. cit.*, p. 128–129: *Quibus perlectis, cum iam plus quam nona hora diei esset, magnam partem de ligno sancta crucis de Constantinopoli allato omnibus demonstraui. Qua ab uniuersis geniculatim adorata, ipse papa Te Deum laudamus inchoauit. Quo sollempniter ab omnibus decantato hanc collectam papa subiunxit: Omnipotens sempiterna Deus, fac nos et deuotam tibi semper gerere uoluntatem etc et benedictionem per lignum sancte Crucis ad omnes faciendo concilium absoluit et terminauit. A. FROLOW, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte*, Paris 1961, p. 494–495. The inventory of the Treasury of the Holy See at Perugia in 1311 gives the inscription on the reliquary as + *hic continetur lignum uivifice crucis de Constantinopoli translatum ad urbem tempore domini Innocentii pp. tertii* – cf. BOLTON, *A show with a meaning ... op. cit.*, p. 63.*

⁴⁷ Cf. the paper by Johannes Helmuth on oratory in this volume.

⁴⁸ KUTTNER – GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, *A new eyewitness account ... op. cit.*, p. 124; see the contribution by Nicole Bériou to this volume.

⁴⁹ *Ignoti monachi Cisterciensis ... op. cit.*, p. 90A–93B; *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Chronica ... op. cit.*, p. 62A–70A; *Patrologia Latina* 217, col. 673–680. Cf. ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge ... op. cit.*, p. 158–159, 290–291.

to Richard's chronicle, Innocent literally personified Jerusalem and as such dramatically appealed to the audience for help for the liberation of the subdued and ravaged town⁵⁰. Despite his undeniable emphasis on Church reform, the pontiff also presented the crusade as his personal and indeed everyone's earthly sacrificial transit, his *pascha temporale* or *pascha corporale*⁵¹. As convincingly indicated by Stephan Kuttner and Antonio García, a partial draft of the later encyclical *Ad Liberandam* was probably also read in this opening session, and the *negotium sanctae crucis* was also debated during the third and last formal session on November 30th. The final exhortatory crusading sermon at the council's end and the drafting of *Ad Liberandam* were thus only the last steps in a long series of public crusading deliberations that characterized the course of the entire council⁵².

Yet the Latin East was also present in other ways. For example, John of Brienne, factual King of Jerusalem, had sent a delegation to Rome which probably dealt with the turmoil that had broken out in his kingdom after the death of Queen Mary, the heiress to the throne⁵³. More important still was the presence of clergymen from the Latin East at the council: the Patriarch of Jerusalem, a delegate of the Patriarch of Antioche and two representatives of the Maronites⁵⁴. In 1213, Innocent had expressly invited Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem to attend the council, but the head of the Latin Church of the Crusader States was murdered a year later⁵⁵. His successor Radulph of Merencourt was however not only ordained as Patriarch of Jerusalem in Rome at the time of the council, but was also entrusted with delivering a public sermon on the very first day of the meeting immediately after the ceremonious opening by the Pope himself. We

50 *Ignoti monachi Cisterciensis* ... op. cit., p. 91B: *De corporali clamat ad nos Ierosolima dicens: O vos omnes, qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus. Ergo transite ad me omnes que diligitis me, ut a tanta me miseria liberetis. Ego enim, quae solebam esse domina gentium, modo facta sum sub tributo ...* «The most distinctive feature of Innocent's exhortation was not that he spoke about Jerusalem, but that he spoke as Jerusalem» – D. MORRIS, *The Servile Mother: Jerusalem as Woman in the Era of the Crusades*, «Remembering the crusades: Myth, image, and identity», ed. by N. PAUL – S. YEAGER, Baltimore 2012, p. 174–196, here: p. 193.

51 *Ignoti monachi Cisterciensis* ... op. cit., p. 90–93; W. IMKAMP, *Sermo ultimus, quem fecit Dominus Innocentius papa tercius in Lateranensi concilio generali*, «Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte», LXX (1975), p. 149–179, particularly p. 162–166.

52 KUTTNER – GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, *A new eyewitness account* ... op. cit., p. 133–134.

53 L. BÖHM, *Johann von Brienne: König von Jerusalem, Kaiser von Konstantinopel (um 1170–1237)*, Heidelberg 1938, p. 22–65; G. J. M. PERRY, *John of Brienne: King of Jerusalem, emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237*, Cambridge 2013, p. 86–88.

54 J. WERNER, *Nachlese aus Zürcher Handschriften I. Die Teilnehmerliste des Laterankonzils v. J. 1215*, «Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde», XXXI (1906), p. 577–592, particularly p. 585–586; *Acta Innocentii P.P. III. (1198–1216). E registris Vaticanis aliisque eruit, introductione auxit, notisque illustravit*, ed. T. T. HALUŠCYNKYJ, Romae 1944, p. 480–481; cf. also the list of *Litterae ad Latinos in Oriente: Ibidem*, p. 489–543. R. HIESTAND, *Der Klerus des lateinischen Ostens auf den allgemeinen Konzilien von Lateran I bis Vienne*, «Annuario Historiae Conciliorum», XXXVIII (2006), p. 147–182.

55 ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* ... op. cit., p. 141; K. KIRSTEIN, *Die lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem von der Eroberung der Heiligen Stadt durch die Kreuzfahrer 1099 bis zum Ende der Kreuzfahrerstaaten 1291*, Berlin 2002, p. 444–445. On the life of Patriarch Albert see V. MOSCA, *Alberto patriarca di Gerusalemme: tempo, vita, opera*, Roma 1996; C. ANDENNA, «Fidelissimus mediator»: *Alberto patriarca di Gerusalemme e legato papale in Terra Santa. I suoi interventi nelle questioni della successione dei Regni d'Oriente*, «Legati, delegati e l'impresa d'Oltremare (secoli XII–XIII)», ed. by M. P. ALBERZONI – P. MONTAUBIN, Turnhout 2015, p. 161–194.

do not know the wording of his speech, but the patriarch appears to have picked up the pope's exhortation and also called for help for the Holy Land⁵⁶. The fact that both Richard of San Germano and the Anonymous from Gießen relate the Patriarch's sermon, whilst the latter omits any reference to the following address by the Bishop of Agde hints at the impact this exhortation from Jerusalem had upon the audience. Radulph was later designated as papal legate for the crusade and accompanied the crusader army of 1217 to Egypt, where he incidentally raised the troop's morale with the help of a fragment of the True Cross⁵⁷.

Apart from the physical presence of dignitaries from the crusader states, there also were more subtle interfaces between the Eastern Crusades and the council. Most importantly: many seemingly secular issues debated at the council were indirectly but ostentatiously related to a future military expedition. As propagated in *Post miserabile* and *Ad Liberandam*⁵⁸, peace amongst Christian rulers was seen as an indispensable prerequisite for the crusade, which in turn was believed to bring lasting peace to mankind⁵⁹. Innocent's efforts to mediate between different individuals and parties – efforts he had similarly undertaken over a decade before in preparation of the Fourth Crusade⁶⁰ – must also be seen against this backdrop. The conflict between the English and French monarchs, between several Italian city states, but also the dispute over the German throne needed to be resolved. Everyone knew that the success of the so-called Third Crusade had been considerably hampered by political tensions and personal quarrels. But there were also other reasons for establishing peace between rulers: like several pontiffs before him, Innocent was convinced that God's favour could only be brought upon his people if the fighters and their leaders were pure of heart and not divided by petty disputes amongst coreligionists⁶¹. The same holds true for the central issue of reform: it too was a pre-requisite for a successful recovery of Jerusalem. The eastern Crusades were thus both a very visible and a less distinct – though no less important – element in Rome during the weeks of the Lateran Council.

But crusading was not reduced to the Latin East. On the Iberian Peninsula in particular, the years preceding the council had been extremely momentous⁶². On July 16th 1212, an Almohad army had been seriously defeated at Las Navas de Tolosa, on the border between

56 *Quo finito, patriarcha Ierosolimitanus cum licentia faciens in suo sermone de succursu terre sancte principaliter mentionem – Ignoti monachi Cisterciensis*, p. 93B; *Deinde patriarcha Iherosolimitanus sermonem in idipsum* [sc. redemptio terre sancte] *arripuit* – KUTTNER – GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, *A new eyewitness account ...* op. cit., p. 124.

57 *Acta Innocentii P.P. III. (1198–1216)* ... op. cit., p. 54I; POWELL, *Anatomy of a crusade* ... op. cit., p. 143.

58 See note 39 and GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis* ... op. cit., p. 110–118; *Crusade and Christendom* ... op. cit., p. 109.

59 ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* ... op. cit., p. 87; J. T. GILCHRIST, *The Lord's war as the proving ground of faith. Pope Innocent III and the propagation of violence (1198–1216)*, «Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria», ed. by M. SHATZMILLER, Leiden 1993, pp. 65–83; MIESCHINI, «*Pro negotio cruce signatorum* ...» op. cit., pp. 171–172.

60 ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* ... op. cit., p. 84–92, 96–98; W. MALECZEK, *Das friedenstiftende Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, «Träger und Instrumentarien des Friedens im hohen und späten Mittelalter», ed. by J. FRIED, Sigmaringen 1996, p. 249–332, particularly p. 271–272.

61 *Ibidem*, on Innocent III *ibidem*, p. 269–279.

62 See the overview in: O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and crusade* ... op. cit., p. 60–77.

Castile and al-Andalus⁶³. The Christian victory was widely acclaimed, most prominently in Rome itself, where the pope publically read the news to the clergy and people of the town⁶⁴. Indeed, developments on the Iberian Peninsula had been closely followed both by Innocent and the Curia as well as by the Roman population in previous years, and the public spectacles celebrating the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa were only the climax of an important communicative build-up concerning the issue of Iberian Christians' warfare against Muslims during the pontificate of Innocent III.

When the new pope took possession of the *cathedra Petri*, the situation in the Iberian realms was worrying to Christians⁶⁵: shortly before, on June 1st 1195, the Almohads under Ya'qūb al-Mansūr had gained a resounding victory over Castilian forces at Alarcos. In the following years, the situation remained threatening; in 1211, the Almohads took the important stronghold of Salvatierra, the headquarters of the military religious order of Calatrava⁶⁶. Muslim forces seemed on the rise, Ya'qūb al-Mansūr's son Muḥammad an-Nāṣir allegedly even planned an attack on Rome⁶⁷.

Small wonder therefore that the Romans and the pope were closely following events in Iberia. What is however unusual is how strongly the wars against Muslim forces were liturgically present in Roman public space during these years⁶⁸. Foreshadowing what he was going to lay down in *Quia Maior*, Innocent ordered public intercessory processions to be held in the town,

63 D. J. SMITH, *The Papacy, the Spanish Kingdoms and Las Navas de Tolosa*, «Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia», XX (2011), p. 157–178; M. ALVIRA CABRER, *Las Navas de Tolosa 1212: idea, liturgia y memoria de la batalla*, Madrid 2012; *Las Navas de Tolosa: 1212–2012. Miradas cruzadas*, ed. P. CRESSIER – V. SALVATIERRA CUENCA, Jaén 2014.

64 GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de la bula ...* op. cit., p. 130; SMITH, *Innocent III and the Crown ...* op. cit., p. 114; O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and crusade ...* op. cit., p. 72.

65 See the overviews of military developments in: LOMAX, *The reconquest of Spain ...* op. cit., p. 120–123; O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and crusade ...* op. cit., p. 61–64; F. GARCÍA FITZ, *La Reconquista*, Granada 2010. On the problematic notion of «reconquest» see: A. J. KOSTO, *Reconquest, Renaissance, and the Histories of Iberia, ca. 1000–1200*, «European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century», ed. by T. F. NOBLE – J. VAN ENGEN, Notre Dame 2012, p. 93–116; N. JASPERT, *Reconquista: Interdependenzen und Tragfähigkeit eines wertekategorialen Deutungsmusters*, «Christlicher Norden – muslimischer Süden. Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter», ed. by M. M. TISCHLER – A. FIDORA, Frankfurt am Main 2009, p. 445–465.

66 GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de la bula ...* op. cit., p. 97–98, 110–113; LOMAX, *The reconquest of Spain ...* op. cit., p. 122–123; O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and crusade ...* op. cit., p. 61–62; *Alarcos 1195 = al-Arak 592. Actas del Congreso Internacional Conmemorativo del VIII Centenario de la Batalla de Alarcos*, Cuenca 1996; M. ALVIRA CABRER, *Prendiendo el fuego de la guerra. Operaciones militares en las fronteras cristiano-almohades entre 1209 y 1211*, «Iglesia, Guerra y Monarquía en la Edad Media: Miscelánea de estudios medievales», ed. by J. PEÑA GONZÁLEZ – M. A. RODRÍGUEZ DE LA PEÑA, Madrid 2015, p. 139–192.

67 Cf. the words attributed to him in the *Continuatio Lambacensis: Nos tandem non cessabimus debellando terras vestras, ire usque Romam, et trademus dominum Romae contumeliis et miseris* – Anon., *Continuatio Lambacensis* (MGH Scriptores 9), Hannover 1851, p. 556–561, p. 557–558; cf. SMITH, *Innocent III and the Crown ...* op. cit., p. 99; O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and crusade ...* op. cit., p. 68.

68 C. T. MAIER, *Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the relocation of the crusade*, «Pope Innocent III and his world ...» op. cit., p. 351–360.

indeed in all Latin Christendom on behalf of coreligionists in Iberian realms⁶⁹. Fasting and almsgiving were propagated, and in Rome processions of barefooted women, clergymen and laymen were to begin at three highly symbolic places, and then gather at the Lateran – where they met the pontiff bearing a relic of the True Cross. The processions proceeded to the Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, at which special prayers were held in order to call God's grace upon his people. This public act was centred on the symbol of the cross, on mass and on the Eucharist, for just as the «Eucharist was the ritual re-enactment of the redemptive act of Christ, the crusade was the ritual imitation of that same act»⁷⁰. Such processions invited all those who did not actually fight against the Muslims in al-Andalus to express crusading spirituality and assist the enterprise by calling God's help upon the Christian army. Similar processions are known to have been held in other towns, also in France, the birthplace of the so-called Children's Crusade. Arguably, the intercessory processions held in the wake of the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa were attended by some of the later heads of the so-called *pueri*-movement of 1212, thus creating a nexus between Iberia, Rome and the ephemeral [Children's] Crusade⁷¹. All these reflexes of the Iberian scenario within public space must have been remembered by the Romans in 1215. For those whose memory was short, but also for the foreign participants of the council, material objects contributed to underscoring this connection. Booty captured in Las Navas de Tolosa from Muḥammad an-Nāṣir and his army had been sent to Rome in 1212: the caliph's lance, his tent and his standard. These spoils were even hung up in the Church of St. Peter, so they arguably were seen by the council fathers when they celebrated the Feast of the Dedication of Saints Peter and Paul on November 18th 1215⁷².

Without a doubt then, crusading in Iberia was very much present in public space both before and during the Lateran Council. But it was notably absent from the final decrees. Here, too, Innocent had deliberately fulfilled a radical break with papal traditions. Since the First Lateran Council of 1123, crusading in Iberia had often been equated with participating in expeditions

69 Patrologia Latina 216, col. 698C–699C; D. MANSILLA REOYO, *La documentación pontificia hasta Inocencio III (965–1216)*, Roma 1955, num. 473, p. 503–504; *Crusade and Christendom ... op. cit.*, p. 82–85. Compare *Quia Maior*: Patrologia Latina 216, col. 820C–821A.

70 MAIER, *Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross ... op. cit.*, p. 358.

71 DICKSON, *La genèse de la croisade ... op. cit.*, p. 76–82; ID., *Innocent III and the Children's Crusade*, «Innocenzo III. Urbs et Orbis ...» *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 586–597, p. 597: «There are good reasons to suppose that similar processions were held in Chartres, and that from the Chartres processions there sprang the popular crusading enthusiasm which became the Children's Crusade».

72 ... *et rex Arragonie, miles probissimus, qui in signum victoriae lanceam et vexillum ipsius Mummilini Romam misit, que, adhuc in ecclesia beati Pétri in loco eminenti posita, favorem et misericordiam Christi qua suos, licet paucos respecta hostium, in predicto bello victores fecit, in perpetuum representant* – *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe*, vol. I: *Chroniques de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H. F. DELABORDE, Paris 1882, p. 241–242; *idem rex Castelle de tanta christianis principibus celitus concessa victoria dicto Innocentio pape litteras mittit. Mittit etiam de acceptis Sarracenorum spoliis eidem honorabilia xenia, tentorium videlicet totum sericum et vexillum auro contextum. Quod in principis apostolorum basilica in laudem nominis Christi appensum est* – *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano notarii Chronica*, ed. G. H. PERTZ (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* [53]), Hannover 1864, p. 32; *Ryccardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Chronica ... op. cit.* (note 45), p. 35B; Cf. GOÑI GAZTAMBIDE, *Historia de la bula ... op. cit.*, p. 130; KUTTNER – GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, *A new eyewitness account ... op. cit.*, p. 125; O'CALLAGHAN, *Reconquest and crusade ... op. cit.*, p. 72.

to the Levant. The expeditions against Almería, Tortosa and Lleida 1147–1149 at the time of the so-called Second Crusade were only particularly prominent cases⁷³. As late as 1212, during the campaign that ended in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, this had been the case⁷⁴. But now, the pope changed directions: in *Quia Maior*, he firmly established that both scenarios were not on the same level, permitting only Iberians and Provençals to receive the same indulgences for fighting in the West as those conveyed for campaigning in the East⁷⁵.

Novel as this might seem, this change was very much in line with Innocent's thinking. The self-proclaimed successor of Melchizedek had always conveyed special importance to Jerusalem⁷⁶. Looking at his letters one cannot but notice slight differences in wording between the two scenarios. For example, Iberian fighters were referred to as *peregrini* and never as *crucesignati*, the Muslim adversaries were usually termed *inimici nominis christiani* and only sometimes «enemies of the cross» (*inimici crucis*)⁷⁷. In letters referring to the Latin East in contrast, the close connection between the Cross, the Holy land, Christ's life on earth and crusading was underlined again and again. Undoubtedly, the Iberian Peninsula lacked one pristine element: Jerusalem. Tellingly, the only Iberian issue treated in public during the Lateran Council was not Muslim Andalus, but the primacy of Toledo⁷⁸.

4. Islam and Muslims

Crusading in the age of Innocent III was thus more versatile and geographically more widespread than current-day interest in the expeditions to the Levant might suggest. Similarly, the issue of Islam and Muslims at the Lateran Council is far too complex to be limited to the field of crusading and thus to warfare alone. In past and present we need to analytically

73 R. A. FLETCHER, *Reconquest and Crusade in Spain c. 1050–1150*, «Transactions of the Royal Historical Society», XXXVII (1987), p. 31–47; N. JASPERT, «*Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum*»: *Tortosa and the Crusades*, «The Second Crusade. Scope and Consequences», ed. by M. HOCH – J. PHILLIPS, Manchester 2001, p. 90–110, p. 92–93; W. J. PURKIS, *Crusading spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095 – c.1187*, Woodbridge 2008, p. 127–184; BYSTED, *The crusade indulgence ... op. cit.*, p. 158, 169, 203, 283; L. VILLEGAS-ARISTIZABA, *Anglo-Norman involvement in the conquest of Tortosa and Settlement of Tortosa, 1148–1180*, «Crusades», 8 (2009), p. 63–129.

74 LOMAX, *The reconquest of Spain ... op. cit.*, p. 124.

75 *Et propter eandem causam remissiones et indulgentias hactenus a nobis concessas procedentibus in Hispaniam contra Mauros vel contra hereticos in Provinciam revocamus; maxime cum illis concessae fuerint ad tempus quod iam ex toto praeteriit, et istis ob causa quae iam ex majori parte cessavit; utroque negotio per Dei gratiam adeo prosperato ut vehementem instantiam non requirat: et si forte requireret, nos ingruenti necessitati respicere curavimus. Concedimus tamen ut hujusmodi remissiones et indulgentie apud provinciales remaneant et Hispanos* – *Patrologia Latina* 216, col. 820A; *Crusade and Christendom ... op. cit.*, p. 110.

76 ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge ... op. cit.*, p. 23–26; MENZEL, *Kreuzzugsideologie ... op. cit.*, p. 48–50.

77 Cf. SMITH, *Innocent III and the Crown ... op. cit.*, p. 92, 96, 103, 104.

78 KUTTNER – GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, *A new eyewitness account ... op. cit.*, p. 124. The issue was treated on 13 November and possibly also on 8 November. However, the illustrator of the Codex Toledanus included the Patriarch of Jerusalem in his depiction of the Archbishop of Toledo sitting prominently centre stage with the pope: BOLTON, *A show with a meaning ... op. cit.*, p. 60.

differentiate between images of Islam, of its Prophet and of Muslims in general when analysing Christian interpretations of and dealings with Islam. Sifting Innocent III's documents, one hardly encounters any references to Islam as a religion. He did – and this is unusual in a medieval crusading bull – single out and mention Mohammad in *Quia Maior*, terming him a carnal «son of perdition» and a «pseudoprophet» and thus echoing contemporary Christian apocalyptic and Joachimite interpretations of Mohammad⁷⁹. But he did not refer to the foundations of Islamic lore or anything to the effect. This is no surprise, as the concept of «religion» as a collective singular and interest in the theological foundations of Islam would not become elaborate until later periods⁸⁰. Christians, even Christian theologians, spent little thoughts on other religions as such, the time of the mendicant challenge to Islam was still to come.

Muslims in contrast figure repeatedly in Innocent's crusading bulls, where they are depicted as cruel oppressors of Christians who slandered both Jesus and the Cross⁸¹. We also encounter a reference to them in the conciliar decrees. This passing mention is often missed, because it is found in a canon referring to both Muslims and Jews, and the latter generally played a more important role in conciliar rulings⁸². But canon 68 established particular clothing not only for Jews, but also for Muslims, in order to counter confusion which had arisen in some provinces (*in nonnullis provinciis*). This confusion was a result of mixing, or *commixtio*, as the canon puts it. This fear of mingling and thus of contact in general might bring to mind the works on purity and pollution by the English anthropologist Mary Douglas⁸³, and indeed, fear of contagion lies at the heart of the problem of *commixtio* or *permixtio*. Both are recurrent terms in Innocent's conciliar legislation; one can even consider mixing one of the pope's

79 Patrologia Latina 216, col. 818B: *sed ex tunc quidam perditionis filius, Machometus pseudopropheta, surrexit, qui per saeculares illecebras et voluptates carnales multos a veritate seducit; cuius perfidia etsi usque ad haec tempora invaluerit*; CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 44, p. 538; *Crusade and Christendom ...* op. cit., p. 108; cf. G. L. POTESTÀ, *Apocalittica e politica in Gioacchino da Fiore*, «Endzeiten. Eschatologie in den monotheistischen Weltreligionen», ed. by W. BRANDES – F. SCHMIEDER, Berlin-New York 2008, p. 231–248; M. D. CESARE, *Gioacchino orientalista. Il primo secolo di storia islamica nelle opere di Gioacchino da Fiore e le sue fonti*, «Annali di Scienze Religiose», n.s. V (2012), p. 13–41. On Mohammad as Antichrist in the thought of Innocent III see C. JOSTMANN, *Sibilla Erithea Babilonica: Papsttum und Prophetie im 13. Jahrhundert*, Hannover 2006, p. 71–72, 247–249. Richard of San Germano reports on the pope's interest in knowing more about *terram, mores et vires Agarenorum: Rycardi de Sancto Germano Notarii Chronica ...* op. cit. (note 45), p. 56A, with letter of response *ibidem*, p. 56A–59A.

80 P. BILLER, *Words and the Medieval Notion of «Religion»*, «The Journal of Ecclesiastical History», XXXVI (1985), p. 351–369; J. V. TOLAN, *Saracens: Islam in the medieval European imagination*, New York 2002; R. GLEI – S. REICHMUTH, *Religion between Last Judgement, law and faith: Koranic din and its rendering in Latin translations of the Koran*, «Religion», XLII (2012), p. 247–271; M. DI CESARE, *The pseudo-historical image of the Prophet Muhammad in medieval Latin literature: a repertory*, Berlin 2012.

81 *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. I: 1. *Pontifikatsjahr 1198/1199*, ed. O. HAGENEDER – A. HAIDACHER, Graz 1965, num. 336, p. 499–501; Patrologia Latina 216, col. 818B; *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. XI, p. 296–299, here: p. 296–297.

82 H. SCHRECKENBERG, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte (11.–13. Jh.). Mit einer Ikonographie des Judenthums bis zum 4. Laterankonzil*, Frankfurt am Main 1997; L. R. BECKUM, *The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215: Church reform, exclusivity, and the Jews* (Diss. Phil, University of Kentucky 2005). Cf. the contribution by Joseph Goering to this volume.

83 M. DOUGLAS, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Harmondsworth 1970; cf. *Discourses of Purity in Transcultural Perspective (300–1600)*, ed. M. BLEY – N. JASPERT – S. KÖCK, Leiden 2015.

main concerns⁸⁴. Innocent appears to have considered it a more general problem: canon 70 called for action against converts – and this must have included Muslim converts – who still clung to their prior customs, because such *commixtio* harmed Christian faith; canon 8 ordered the strict division of rites in areas marked by several denominations. Such mixed areas also posed problems concerning the tithes, as dealt with in canon 53⁸⁵.

Innocent was keenly aware that intensified interaction between Christian Europe and the *dār al-Islām* was a hallmark of his age. The commercial expansion of Latin Europe into the Eastern and Southern Mediterranean had intensified Christian-Muslim relations. Thereby the threat of apostasy grew, an especially grave danger in the eyes of the pontiff⁸⁶. Everyday dealings between Muslims and Christians, open or underlying interreligious conflicts and the oftentimes volatile political situation in the border-zones of Latin Christianity made the pope particularly susceptible to the issue of conversion⁸⁷. One situation heightened this danger particularly: captivity. It is therefore no wonder that it played an important part in the pope's thoughts both on the *dār al-Islām* and on the renewal of the Church⁸⁸.

5. Captivity

In fact, this issue of captivity clearly ties back to that of crusading and of devotion to the True Cross: in several exhortative letters and sermons, the pope and his preachers created the image that the Cross was itself a captive of the Muslims. Also Christ's inheritance, the Holy Land, was depicted as imprisoned and awaiting its liberators, i. e. Latin Christian crusaders. In *Post Miserabile* from 1198⁸⁹ and even more clearly in his letter to the Byzantine Emperor from November 13th 1199⁹⁰, Innocent went further, claiming that Christ himself was a prisoner due to

84 O. R. CONSTABLE, *Clothing, Iron, and Timber: The Growth of Christian Anxiety about Islam in the Long Twelfth Century*, «European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century», ed. T. F. NOBLE – J. VAN ENGEN, Notre Dame, Ind. 2012, p. 279–313; S. E. MURPHY, *A Minority both Jewish and Christian: The Condemnation of Religious Mixing in European Law, c.1100 – c.1300*, «Religious Minorities, Integration and the State / État, minorités religieuses et intégration», ed. by J. TOLAN – I. JABLONKA – N. JASPERT – J. SCHREIBER, Turnhout 2016, p. 9–34, particularly p. 9–10.

85 GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, *Constitutiones Concilii quarti Lateranensis ...* op. cit., p. 54–57, 94, 107–109.

86 See his fears expressed in a letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem from 1212: CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 40, p. 529–530.

87 For just one example, see the passage from *Quia Maior* cited above, note 79.

88 J. M. POWELL, *Innocent III, the Trinitarians, and the Renewal of the Church, 1198–1200*, «La liberazione dei «cattivi» tra Cristianità e Islam. Oltre la crociata e il Gihād: tolleranza e servizio umanitario», ed. by G. CIPOLLONE, Città del Vaticano 2000, p. 245–254; B. M. BOLTON, *Perhaps you do not know?: Innocent III's approach to the release of captives, ibidem*, p. 457–464; CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit.; on a more general level: B. LEMESLE, *Emprisonnements abusifs et emprisonnements punitifs à travers les lettres pontificales d'Alexandre III (1159–1181) et d'Innocent III (1198–1216)*, «Réalités, images, écritures de la prison au Moyen Âge», ed. by J.-M. FRITZ – G. PASCAULT, Dijon 2012, p. 189–205.

89 *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. I, num. 336, p. 499; CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 20, pp. 493–497, here: p. 494; *Crusade and Christendom ...* op. cit., p. 31–32.

90 CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 27, p. 507–509. Similarly: num. 31, p. 515; num. 32, p. 517.

the loss of Jerusalem and the Cross, and in his letter to Philip II August of France in December 1199 he combined both images by stating that Christ himself in (!) his cross was practically a prisoner to the Ayyubids (*a Sarracenis in salutifere crucis ligno quasi captivo*)⁹¹. Innocent also incited his coreligionists by relating the sad plight of fellow Christians held captive in Palestine: in *Quia Maior*, this argument plays a major role⁹², and indeed, the liberation of those held prisoner in the dār al-Islām was a recurrent theme in the pope's writings.

As Giulio Cipollone, Yvonne Friedman and others have shown and Philippe Goridis has recently underlined, Innocent's pontificate was a true watershed in the history of Christian institutions dedicated to the freeing of captives⁹³. The Trinitarians for example, an order expressly founded to facilitate the liberation of Christians captured by Muslims, enjoyed the pontiff's staunch support from the very beginning of his pontificate: on May 16th 1198 he conferred a privilege on the young institution, singling out its charitable work for those who fell victim to the *inimici crucis Christi*⁹⁴. Many more privileges were to follow⁹⁵. The liberation of imprisoned co-religionists was in fact the main reason for Innocent to establish direct contact with Muslim rulers: on March 8th 1199, he wrote the Almohad sultan Muḥammad an-Nāṣir recommending the newly established Trinitarians⁹⁶, in 1200 he pleaded on behalf of captives in Morocco⁹⁷, and twice in 1213, he suggested an exchange of prisoners to the Ayyubid Sultan al-ʿĀdil⁹⁸.

91 *Ibidem*, num. 30, p. 512–514, here: 513.

92 Patrologia Latina 216, col. 818A; CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 44, p. 536–541; well commented English translation: *Crusade and Christendom ...* op. cit., p. 109. This argument already was voiced by Eugene III and Alexander III, but not as prominently – cf. ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge ...* op. cit., p. 143.

93 CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit.; *La Liberazione dei «cattivi» ...* op. cit.; Y. FRIEDMAN, *Encounter between enemies: Captivity and ransom in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem*, Leiden 2002, p. 87, 156–157, 190–191, 236–237, 243–244; P. GORIDIS, *Gefangen im Heiligen Land. Verarbeitung und Bewältigung christlicher Gefangenschaft zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, Ostfildern 2015, p. 208–215. For the Iberian Peninsula see D. MELO CARRASCO, *Fraterna y cautivos en Al-Andalus: Inocencio III y el rescate de cautivos*, «Intus-Legere Historia», III, 1 (2009), p. 85–95.

94 CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 18, p. 489–490.

95 M. VASILESCU, *Even more special sons?: The importance of the Order of the Holy Trinity to Pope Innocent III*, «La Liberazione dei «cattivi» ...» op. cit., p. 721–733; POWELL, *Innocent III, the Trinitarians*; CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 23, p. 501–503; num. 25, p. 505–506, cf. SMITH, *Innocent III and the Crown ...* op. cit., p. 244–252. Just as similar, but younger institutions like the Mercedarians would receive apostolic favours later on: J. W. BRODMAN, *Ransoming captives in crusader Spain: The Order of Merced on the Christian-Islamic frontier*, Philadelphia 1986; A. MÜLLER, *Gefangenenerlöschung unter der Augustinusregel. Aspekte institutioneller Entwicklung im Mercedarierorden von den Anfängen bis 1317*, «Regula Sancti Augustini. Normative Grundlage differenter Verbände im Mittelalter», ed. by G. MELVILLE – A. MÜLLER, Paring 2002, p. 477–514; N. JASPERT, *Gefangenenerlöschung in der Krone Aragón und die Anfänge des Mercedarierordens. Institutionelle Diversität, religiöse Kontexte, mediterrane Verflechtungen*, «Gefangenenerlöschung im Mittelmeerraum. Ein interreligiöser Vergleich», ed. by H. GRIESER – N. PRIESCHING, Hildesheim 2015, p. 99–121.

96 CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 26, p. 506 and C. MAILLARD, *Les papes et le Maghreb aux XIII^{ème} et XIV^{ème} siècles. Étude des lettres pontificales de 1199 à 1419*, Turnhout 2014, num. 1, p. 430. Cf. the letter to the Ayyubid Sultan Al-Malik az-Zāhir Gāzi of Aleppo – not al-ʿĀdil as in ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge ...* op. cit., p. 137 – from 1211, in which Innocent expressed his hope that the sultan would convert to Christianity: CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 39, p. 528–529.

97 *Ibidem*, num. 2, p. 430.

98 ROSCHER, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge ...* op. cit., p. 143, 148; CIPOLLONE, *Cristianità – islam ...* op. cit., num. 46, p. 543–544.

But the pope not only fostered institutions dedicated to the liberation of Christians imprisoned in the *dār al-Islām*, he also wrote to captives⁹⁹ and to Christian dignitaries on the latter's behalf, for example on January 13th 1212 in a letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem whom he urged to pressure the military religious orders and the secular rulers in favor of the captives¹⁰⁰. The pope's efforts on behalf of imprisoned coreligionists were a specific form of charitable work. As such and in principle, such efforts were the obligation of any Christian¹⁰¹, which in turn brings us back to where we started, to Innocent's particular stand on crusading as a moral imperative. Whilst other images he employed in order to foster crusading – for example feudal ideals of loyalty and duty – might have been unequally spread amongst the population, ideals of charity were in principle valid for all Christians. The extension of Innocent's call to take up the cross – directed at each and every Christian, independent of rank, age or sex – folds in neatly with his concept of a captive Christ, His captive land and His imprisoned followers that each and everybody was obliged to liberate. Captivity and Crusading were intimately tied in pope Innocent's thought.

6. Conclusion

A multi-perspective approach to Muslims, Reconquest and Crusade at the Fourth Lateran Council shows that the field of interfaith relations was much more complex than current images of Innocent III as the 'Crusader Pope' or reductions of the Lateran council to a 'Council of the Crusades' might suggest. The pope's notion of crusading was indeed novel, but not unalterable, as it developed notably during the eighteen years of his pontificate. It has proven helpful to look at other crusading scenarios and at other ways in which the Latin East was present at the council, because this offers important insights into the subject's performative and liturgical dimensions. Moreover, Muslims were present at the Council on several arenas, not only on that of warfare: they were also considered a danger to Christian purity which in turn has drawn our attention to more general concerns of the Pope with regard to mixing, pollution and captivity. For Innocent's notions of a moral imperative to crusading were intimately tied back to his concern for Christian captives and their fate. To sum up: not only was the 'Islamic World' multifaceted at the time of the Fourth Lateran Council, but so were Pope Innocent III's approaches to it.

99 *Ibidem*, num. 42, p. 533–534.

100 *Ibidem*, num. 40, p. 529–530.

101 J. BRODMAN, *Charity religion in medieval Europe*, Washington/DC 2009; *Charity and giving in monotheistic religions*, ed. M. FRENKEL, Berlin 2009; *Aspects of charity: Concern for one's neighbour in medieval vita religiosa*, ed. G. MELVILLE, Berlin 2011; *Caritas: Nächstenliebe von den frühen Christen bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. C. STIEGEMANN, Petersberg 2015.