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THE PAPACY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR CHURCH AUTHORITY IN THE 12TH–13TH CENTURIES

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52340/isj.2024.29.06>

Introduction. The Catholic Church is currently the largest Christian denomination in the world in terms of followers. However, in modern times, its sphere of influence is significantly limited; the Pope can no longer be considered a serious political figure. In the Middle Ages, the Church was a significant socio-political figure in Europe. For a long time, the Popes claimed not only spiritual but also secular dominance in the region. At the beginning of the 13th century, the papacy came as close as possible to realizing these aspirations and created a unique situation in which a religious organization, being an independent participant in the international politics of the region, played a huge role in it. However, the reasons for which such a situation arose are rarely considered, as is the question of the stability of the papacy during its heyday. The main factor that allowed the Popes to compare with the most powerful secular rulers in terms of their influence on European politics was the presence of their own state with all the institutions necessary for it at that time. Since the 8th century, the head of the Catholic Church had in his possession a fairly vast territory by Italian standards, called the Papal States. To govern this territory, the church administration alone was not enough, and therefore secular feudalism developed in the Papal States and urban self-government was preserved. This naturally led to both an increase in the resources of the papacy and the emergence in its lands of a class of warriors and people capable of forming a city militia. Thanks to this, unlike the heads of other Christian denominations, the Pope could defend his political interests not only with the help of exhortations, but also by military means. Incidentally, the pontiffs used this opportunity not only for defense, but also for attack.

Keywords: *Papacy, laws of Christianity, church concept, Pontificate.*

After the final break with the Eastern Orthodox Church, dogmatic unity was achieved in the Catholic Church; for a long time, popular heresies directed against the church hierarchy were based on various currents that deviated from the official church doctrine. Strengthening the unity of the church is not a religious issue, but a church-administrative problem. The guarantor of the unity of the Catholic Church was the Pope. Referring to the supreme authority of the teaching conditioned by dogmas, the Pope also wanted to ensure the exclusivity of his supremacy in the church-administrative sphere. Its goal was to create a centralized absolutist church government, which was hindered by the state-church particular fragmentation of the European feudal states, which had become stronger by the 11th century, and their separation from the central (Roman) government. It became obvious that the rulers of individual states were striving to strengthen their power by relying on their growing national churches, and therefore they were not interested in further strengthening the central church authority. The disintegration into national churches at the same time concealed the danger that these churches, like the Eastern ones, would become independent in dogmatic matters, which led to the liquidation of the universalism of Christianity. Thus, the popes, striving for supremacy, were not guided only by the desire to achieve this limited goal when they demanded for themselves the right to appoint (investiture) the highest clergy, which had previously been the prerogative of the secular power, the rulers. The higher clergy became dependent on their own secular rulers

and were thus forced to serve the ecclesiastical-administrative and ecclesiastical-political goals of the state. This could only be prevented by observing the universal ecclesiastical interests embodied in the papal supreme power as a result of centralized governance. This ensured the unity of the church.

The extension of the ecclesiastical-administrative supreme power of the pope inward (within the church) meant that the national churches were subordinate to Rome, the hierarchs of the church depended on the pope, thus realizing the principle of ecclesiastical universalism. The implementation of primacy outward, in relation to secular power, meant that the unity of the church could only be protected by fighting the particular interests of secular states; the primary means for achieving this goal was the transfer to Rome of the right to appoint the highest ranks of the church. However, the Gregorian papacy took the idea to its logical conclusion: it attempted to extend the primacy of the pope to the political sphere. The primacy of the Holy See in the sphere of dogma had not been questioned for many centuries. And in the church hierarchical administration, although not without resistance, the supremacy of the pope was accepted. Gregory VII and his successors, by rethinking the previous dualism in organic unity with church universalism, and under the leadership of the pope, wanted to implement political universalism. To implement this concept, the pope, who also occupies the place of the emperor, must be at the head of the Christian community. The internal laws of feudal society opened up broad opportunities for the implementation of theocracy. During the period of early feudalism (9th–11th centuries), the leading role in the Christian community was played by the power of the emperor; Along with the reasons already given, a concomitant factor was the fact that individual feudal states had not yet consolidated their position, Christianity had not yet penetrated into the depths of society, ruling only on its surface. In this situation, the primacy of secular, armed power was realized.

The situation changed during the period of mature feudalism (12th–14th centuries). Imperial power over states where feudalism was strengthening proved to be unfeasible, political universalism could not be realized with the help of state-power means, relying on one empire (and only within the framework of the German-Roman Empire). Changes also occurred in the internal structure of society, the development of feudal relations led to the strengthening of the central royal power. During this period, all spheres of society were permeated with Christianity, religion turned into an organic part of society. Universal imperial power proved weaker than particular forces, while the church, and within it the religious and administrative-ecclesiastical universalism of the papacy, strengthened and almost reached absoluteness. Beginning in the middle of the Middle Ages, the papacy in its development turned into the only universal power, and this made it possible to make an attempt to achieve political universalism as well. The political supreme power realized by the Pope was achieved not by means of state power (by means of arms), but in the ideological and political sphere, but with the simultaneous support of the strengthening sovereign Papal State. After the death of Cardinal Humbert, the actual power belonged to Hildebrand, who became an archdeacon in 1059 from a subdeacon. Hildebrand, being a young priest, entered the service of Gregory VI. As the Pope's secretary, he was with him in exile in Cologne. After Gregory's death, which followed in 1054, he retired to the Cluniac monastery, from where he was summoned to Rome by Pope Leo IX. Despite the fact that Hildebrand did not belong to the cardinal corps of presbyters, as the leader of the cardinal deacons, he already had the decisive word in the curia under Pope Alexander II. Having gone through the Cluniac school, having risen from the monks and reached the highest rank of the church, Hildebrand was an intelligent and calculating politician, but at the same time a man as hard as steel and a fanatic. He was not picky about the means. Many of the

cardinal bishops harbored a grudge against him, seeing in him the evil spirit of the popes. No one in the curia doubted that Hildebrand had the greatest chance of becoming the candidate of the reformist party led by Humbert and Peter Damiani.

When in 1073 Cardinal Hildebrand, being a cardinal-hierodeacon, brought the dead body of Alexander II to the Lateran Council, the people present in the council began to spontaneously exclaim: «Hildebrand for pope» - thereby electing him pope.

Without waiting for the end of the obligatory three-day fast, Hildebrand literally demanded to be elected pope in order to avoid resistance from the cardinals. In this sense, his election was not canonical, since since 1059 this had been the exclusive right of the cardinals. Hildebrand succeeded in presenting the cardinals with a *fait accompli* and then forcing them to canonically confirm his election. The second goal of such a seizure of power was the desire to present the German king with a *fait accompli*. Hildebrand did not even send him a report on the election that had taken place, which each of his predecessors considered their duty. However, King Henry IV did not immediately pick up the gauntlet thrown down to him from Rome: he was busy fighting his internal enemies, the rebellious Saxons, trying to pacify them, and therefore soon announced that he accepted and confirmed the election of Hildebrand.

Hildebrand, in choosing his name, Gregory VII, did not in the least attempt to honor the memory of Gregory VI, who died in exile in Cologne, whose secretary he was, but took his name in honor of Pope Gregory I the Great. The successor to Gregory I, a medieval monk, carried out on the papal throne a program of establishing universal ecumenical power, the name of which is the papacy. Gregory VII, following his historical concept, relied on the ideas of St. Augustine, Gregory I and Nicholas I, but went much further than them, captured by the idea of a universal empire ruled by the pope. Gregory's goal was the implementation of «Civitas Dei» («Country

of God»), the creation of a Christian universal empire where the rule over princes and peoples is entrusted to the pope, but where the state also cooperates with the church, and the pope and the emperor act together under the primacy of the pope. The primacy of the papacy under Gregory VII was realized in all respects. His pontificate marked the end of a long historical period in the development of the Catholic Church. At the same time, he laid the foundations for the implementation of the world-power goals of the most outstanding popes of the Middle Ages – Innocent III and Boniface VIII. During his reign, Gregory VII extended the principle of the supreme power of the popes to political life. This practically meant that the pope considered himself the head of the Christian universe, to whom secular princes were also obliged to obey. In the concept of the Gregorian papacy, the place of the imperial idea of Charlemagne was taken by the universal (ecclesiastical and secular) supreme power of the pope. The program of the pontificate of Gregory VII was set out in a document called the «Dictatus papae», drawn up, in all likelihood, in 1075. In essence, this was the Great Charter of the papacy. The «Dictatus of the Pope» based on the «False Isidorian Decretals» not only proclaims that the Pope has universal jurisdiction and infallibility, but also has the right to convene a council, consecrate bishops and depose them. Gregory VII initially tried to obtain unlimited power in church government. The councils that followed one after another adopted strict decrees directed against simony and against priestly marriages. The introduction of celibacy, the celibacy of priests, aimed to interrupt the community of interests that existed between the clergy and secular society. Celibacy of priests is not a so-called command of divine manifestation, but an ecclesiastical law. From the Gospels we know only advice on the observance of virginity, but there is no mention of a ban on clergymen entering into marriage. We encounter the first church regulation at the Council of Elvira (around 300): Canon 33 forbids bishops, priests and deacons to live with their wives

under threat of expulsion from the clergy. This is not a ban on marriage, but a ban on family life. During the period of strengthening of the church hierarchy, for example at the Council of Nicaea, the universal church had not yet succeeded in making a decision on celibacy. In the East, this situation remained unchanged; in the Latin church, Popes Leo I and Gregory I gave the decision of the Council of Elvira legal force, extending it to the entire church. However, during the era of migration and then in the early Middle Ages, this decision could not be implemented, and clergy marriages became commonplace. Gregory VII and the reform movement restored the principle of celibacy, striving to implement it in the practical activities of the feudal church. Most of the councils held in the 11th and 12th centuries had already spoken out in favor of the abolition of marriage for members of the clergy. The Second Lateran Ecumenical Council in 1139 declared that holders of high rank (bishop, priest) could not marry. This was again stated at the Ecumenical Council of Trent, which declared celibacy a dogma. Despite the fact that celibacy has been subject to massive criticism throughout the history of the church, the decision on celibacy is included in the current church code of laws.

According to the church concept, there is no family between a celibate priest and God, so he can devote himself entirely to serving God, and he is not bound by family interests. Along with this, the adoption of the law on celibacy of the clergy in the Middle Ages was undoubtedly facilitated by existing church-organizational and economic-power interests. The dogma of mandatory celibacy caused great resistance within the church, since in most places priests entered into marital relations. In 1074, at the Council of Paris, the pope's decisions were declared invalid. Bishop Otto of Constance directly called on his priests to marry. Gregory VII sent authorized papal legates to European countries to implement his decision on celibacy. Henry, who found himself in difficult circumstances due to the Saxon uprising, hesitated for some time to act, since

he needed the moral support of the pope. His behavior changed when the Pope decided to challenge the Emperor's right to investiture and he managed to overcome the internal opposition. A clash between the Pope and the Emperor was inevitable, because, according to the essence of Gregory VII's concept, the papacy must be independent of secular power. The primacy of the Pope can only be realized if he exercises his will (investiture) when appointing bishops and thereby prevents simony. Thus, as a result of the introduction of celibacy, the Church decided not only the issue of preserving church property, but also achieving the independence of the Church from secular power. According to the «Dictatus of the Pope», God entrusted the Pope with the preservation of divine order on earth. Therefore, the Pope has the right to judge everything, but no one can judge him, his judgment is immutable and infallible. The Pope must punish anyone who comes into conflict with the Christian world order. Rulers and princes should be especially watched. If the king does not live up to his calling, that is, if he does not follow God and the church, but is guided by his own glory, then he loses the right to power. The Pope, possessing the full power to punish and pardon, can depose secular rulers or give them power again. It was this fundamental postulate that Gregory VII referred to in the fight against Henry, and in his hands such methods of struggle as curses, excommunication of kings from the church, and the release of their subjects from the oath became an effective means. If previously the empire ruled over the papacy (caesaropapism), then in the Christian republic the leading role passes to the church, to the popes (ecclesiastical statehood), in order to organize the empire in accordance with God's laws (theocracy). According to the plan of Gregory VII, kings should be dependent on the Holy See. However, the feudal oath applied only to the Norman dukes, the Croatian and Aragonese kings, who were in fact vassals of the «apostolic prince». The Curia wanted to extend the demands of vassal allegiance to Sardinia and Corsica, and

then to all of Tuscany. However, the pope failed to implement the demands of vassal allegiance to England, France, and Hungary, put forward on various legal grounds. While previous popes had sided with the emperor in the struggle between the Hungarian kings and the German emperors, Gregory's opposition to imperial power led to changes in this area as well. For example, when there was a dispute over the Hungarian royal throne between Solomon and Geza, the pope intervened in this dispute, siding with Geza, and the emperor sided with Solomon. However, Gregory VII referred to his suzerain rights not only in relations with Henry IV, but also with all Christian sovereigns. Thus, when Gregory, referring to the «Dictatus of the Pope», condemned Solomon, who had given an oath of vassalage to the emperor, pointing out that he had no right to do so, since Hungary was the property of St. Peter, then Geza also became more reserved in relation to the pope. (The crown went to Solomon, so in 1075 Geza was crowned with a crown received from the Byzantine emperor Michael Doukas.)

The Pope was unable to exercise his suzerain rights over Hungary. After all, in order to oppose the German Emperor, the Pope needed the support of an independent Hungary. Therefore, Gregory, for example, did not limit the right of King Laszlo I, later canonized, to appoint hierarchs and regulate church-organizational issues (secular investiture). Moreover, in order to ensure support from the King, the Pope canonized King Istvan, Prince Imre, and Bishop Gellert at the Council of Rome in 1083. There is no doubt that the aspirations of Gregory VII represented a threat to the independence of secular sovereigns. The Pope opposed himself not only to the German King, but also to others, for example, the French King Philip I. But if in France they refused to support the Roman supreme power and sided with their king, then in Germany the feudal lords who fought the central government entered into an alliance directed against the king. Henry no longer had to fight the Pope for power over the German Church,

but for his own rights as head of state. Gregory timed his reforms well: King Henry IV had not yet been crowned Emperor and could only receive the crown from the Pope. On the other hand, the Pope also tried to exploit the discord that existed between the Normans, the Saxons and the Emperor. An open struggle between the papacy and the imperial power broke out as a result of the publication of the decrees of the Lateran Council of 1075. They prescribed that church positions obtained through simony would be abolished. Pope Gregory addressed the people, calling on them not to obey the bishops who tolerated priests in office who were married (concubinatus). Thus, the Council aroused the faithful against the clergy using simony and being married. At the same time, the Pope also prohibited secular investiture at the Council of 1075. «If anyone receives a bishopric or an abbot's dignity from the hands of any secular person,» the decision says, «he can in no case be numbered among the bishops, and no honors are due to him as a bishop or as an abbot. In addition, we take away from him the grace of St. Peter and forbid him to enter the church until he, having come to his senses, abandons his office obtained by the sinful way of vanity, ambition and disobedience, which is nothing other than the sin of idolatry. If any of the emperors, kings, princes or representatives of any secular (worldly) authorities or persons appoints a bishop or dares to grant an ecclesiastical office, he will not escape the appropriate punishment.» Henry saw a danger to his own power in the fact that a priest could not accept an appointment to an ecclesiastical office from a layman (the sovereign or feudal overlord), since in this way the right to dispose of ecclesiastical vassal lands slipped out of his hands and he lost influence over the ecclesiastical hierarchy, on which he had to rely in the struggle with secular feudal lords. That is why the emperor now sharply opposed the pope. Henry - contrary to his previous promise - himself was engaged in the appointment to the highest ecclesiastical offices, including in Italy. Because of this, the pope

threatened him with excommunication in 1075. However, the ultimatum led to results that were the exact opposite of what was expected: not only did it not intimidate Henry and the bishops loyal to him, who were already dissatisfied with celibacy, but it even encouraged them to oppose the pope's claims. The higher clergy were Henry's loyal supporters, for they now saw their independence threatened by the pope rather than the king. The bishop's power needed an alliance with the king. At the same time, the secular feudal lords, who were rebelling against Henry, became the pope's number one allies. Henry IV and his bishops convened an imperial council in Worms in January 1076, and here the German bishops - led by Hildebrand's worthy opponent Hugo Candidus - refused to take the oath of allegiance to the pope. In February 1076, Gregory VII listened to the emperor's ambassadors at the council in the Lateran Basilica. After this, he removed the bishops who had broken with him from office, declared Henry excommunicated, deprived him of the Italian and German kingdoms, and freed his subjects from the oath and obedience to him.

«Saint Peter, prince of the apostles, incline your ear to me, I pray you to listen to your servant ...» - such was the beginning of Gregory's verdict containing anathema to the king, - «in the name of the honor of your church and in defense of it, relying on your power and authority, I forbid King Henry, son of the Emperor Henry, who with unheard-of arrogance has attacked your church, to rule Germany and all Italy, and I forbid everyone, whoever he may be, to serve him as king. And he who wants to harm the honor of the church deserves to lose the throne which he believes belongs to him. And since he, being a Christian, does not want to obey ... which threatens excommunication, and neglects my admonitions, then, wishing to cause a schism in the church, he has torn himself away from it; «I, your deputy, anathematize him and, trusting in you, excommunicate him from the church, so that the peoples may know and confirm: you are Peter, and the God who is has

built the church of his son on a rock, and the gates of hell have no power over it.» To this Henry replied: «Come down from the throne of St. Peter.» On Easter 1076, the Bishop of Utrecht excommunicated Pope Gregory from the church. The excommunication of a king was an entirely new phenomenon in history, and this increased the danger that the pope, having freed the monarch's subjects from the feudal oath, would deprive the royal power and the entire system of ecclesiastical sanctity. In March 1076, Gregory VII addressed a special letter to the German feudal lords, in which he dispelled all possible doubts about the legitimacy of the king's excommunication from the church, and again called on them to speak out against Henry. Apparently as a result of this, in the summer of 1076 the feudal lords united against Henry and began to fight him in Saxony. The opposition to Henry IV was formed under the leadership of the king's relative, the Swabian Duke Rudolf. The Saxon and southern German dukes used the crisis to free themselves from Henry, who was using absolutist methods of government. However, a significant number of bishops sided with Henry. The rebellious feudal lords summoned Gregory to the Reichstag, scheduled for early February 1077 in Augsburg, to hold a trial of the king there. Henry realized that he would only be able to save his throne if he got ahead of events and received absolution from the Pope. Therefore, at the end of 1076, he crossed the Alps with his wife, child and his bishops. At this time, Gregory was preparing for a trip to Germany to take part in negotiations with the electors at a meeting of the Reichstag. Henry managed to prevent this by staging a performance of «going to Canossa». In January 1077, Gregory was in the impregnable mountain fortress of Canossa, which belonged to the Tuscan Margravine Matilda. The scene of Henry standing for three days in the clothes of a penitent sinner in front of the fortress gates, mentioned so many times by historians, priests and playwrights, in reality meant the victory of the humiliated king over the Pope: Henry, unarmed, with his wife and child, accompanied

by several bishops, appeared at the walls of the fortress. After three days of penance, which, contrary to popular belief, Henry did not perform barefoot and in rags, but in the clothes of a penitent, thrown over the royal robe, the Pope, mainly at the insistence of the abbot of Cluny, Hugo and Matilda, was forced to absolve Henry of his sins and bring the king and his bishops into the church (January 28, 1077). Gregory really could not fail to recognize the canonical penance and refuse the king absolution. Henry's return to the bosom of the church also meant that he had regained his royal dignity. The Pope was turned against his own weapon, from which Henry had forged his fortune. Gregory was defeated at Canossa.

However, the German dukes did not wait for the pope, they did not care about what happened in Canossa. In March 1077, they elected a new king in the person of the Swabian Duke Rudolf. Rudolf promised to maintain the elective nature of royal power and not make it hereditary. The separatist forces of Germany rallied around the idea of an elective royal power against Henry, who defended absolutism. Henry, who was returned to the bosom of the church, did not care much about the oath in Canossa, immediately attracted the Lombard bishops to his side, quickly overcame the Alps, returned home and began the fight against Rudolf. In Canossa, Henry again received a free hand to deal with internal opposition. Society in Germany and Italy split into two parties: the party of the pope and the party of the emperor. The population of the cities in Germany supported Henry, expecting that he would be able to curb the feudal lords. In Italy, they supported Gregory against the Germans. The higher German clergy were divided over who they feared more: the king or the pope. And the dukes and counts changed their positions depending on where they could gain more land. The struggle between the two camps was carried out with varying success. At first, Pope Gregory did not define his position and did not support either side, for he was interested in weakening the royal power. But when in 1080 it became clear

that Henry was winning, the pope intervened again. At the council, which met during Lent, secular investiture was finally banned. After Henry did not approve this decision, he was again excommunicated.

The German king met with unexpectedly strong support among the bishops of Lombardy, who, like the German bishops, not without reason feared that the Gregorian papacy would reduce them to the level of its ordinary servants. At the same time, the largest secular prince of Northern Italy was again on the side of the pope. The main support of Gregory VII and his successors in Italy was the Tuscan Margravine Matilda (a relative of Henry), whose independence was threatened by the imperial power. Matilda supported the papacy, helping it with money, troops and, finally, by ceding Tuscany. Tuscany at that time constituted almost 1/4 of all of Italy (Modena, Reggio, Ferrara, Mantua, Brescia and Parma). Matilda's father received these possessions as vassals from the emperor. Matilda and Gregory created their own party, and, as many authors claim, their connection was not only political. During the armed struggle in 1080, the anti-king Rudolf was mortally wounded and soon died. Henry again turned his attention to Italy. During 1081-1083, the German king undertook several campaigns against Rome, but the pope managed to successfully defend himself, relying mainly on the armed forces of Matilda. Finally, in 1084, Rome also fell into the king's hands. Gregory fled to the Castel Sant'Angelo with a few of his loyal followers. The victorious king's opponent was again deposed, and the antipope was solemnly elevated to the papal throne, from whose hands Henry accepted the imperial crown. Finally, at the end of May 1084, Robert Guiscard, a not very agile Norman vassal of Pope Gregory, liberated the Castel Sant'Angelo (the Normans wanted to use the papacy to strengthen their position in southern Italy). Henry and the antipope were forced to leave Rome. During the merciless battles, the fierce Norman warriors also plundered Rome. The wrath of the Romans turned against Gregory,

who had called the Normans, and he fled the city with his saviors. He was never able to return there again and died in exile on May 25, 1085, in Salerno, among the Normans. The creator of the great-power positions of the medieval papacy ended his life in exile, apparently with the bitter realization that the work of his life had been completely lost. Indeed, it turned out to be impossible to practically implement the Gregorian theory of the papacy, formulated in the «Dictatus of the Pope», even in later times. For example, Gregory's demand to declare the sanctity of the pope during his lifetime, or rather, the veneration of the pope as a saint during his lifetime, did not become part of canon law. The infallibility of the pope (*infallibilitas*) was almost forgotten in modern times, and only in the 19th century did this position become a dogma. Despite Gregory's tragic fate, he had a fateful influence on Christianity and the church. He formulated and most consistently presented theocratic demands: to create a world on the model of a spiritual state. Christianity owes its survival and flourishing to this, not least of all: Christianity has come out with this demand throughout history, most successfully in the Middle Ages.

It is hardly possible to deny Gregory a great mind - after all, without the usual secular means of power, especially without an army, he played the role of a world conqueror, forced those sitting on thrones to bow before him, challenged the emperor, who considered himself the ruler of the Christian world.

Gregory's actions and policies in the history of the church can be viewed with sympathy or with condemnation, but there is no doubt that his fanatical and unbending pontificate not only restored the authority of the papacy, but also laid the foundation for the political power of the popes for the next two centuries. Since 1947, the Gregorian reform has been closely studied by church historians.

Hildebrand was a monk of small stature and nondescript appearance, but in his unprepossessing body there lived an unusually

strong spirit. He considered himself charismatic and, fulfilling his destiny, was not too picky about the means. Even his contemporaries perceived him with a mixed feeling of fear and surprise, or even hatred. Peter Damiani called the fanatical monk who came to the papal throne Saint Satan, a comparison not very appropriate, but apt. It resurfaced during the times of heretical movements and the Reformation to characterize the pope, but without the definition of «saint».

According to the opinion of some categorical historians, the history of the papacy begins only in the Christian Middle Ages, and we can speak of the papacy in the modern sense only beginning with the pontificate of Gregory VII. This concept clearly proceeds from the fact that the papal supreme power, as a result of a long historical development, really became integral in all respects under Gregory VII, although the pope was able to rise above the emperor only during the time of Gregory VII's successors.

After the death of Gregory VII, Emperor Henry found himself at the height of triumph. Antipope Clement III returned to Rome. The Gregorian bishops, who had fled to the Normans, were only able to elect a bishop from Ostia as pope under the name of Urban II (1088-1099) in 1088. Urban was a Frenchman by birth and from prior of Cluny became Gregory's closest and most trusted collaborator. However, unlike his predecessor, he avoided everything that had led to Gregory's defeat through his intransigence. Emperor Henry sought to unite his southern Italian opponents with the northern Italian supporters of the papacy, an example of which is the fact that he married the son of the Bavarian Duke Welf, who had barely reached the age of 17, to the 43-year-old Tuscan Margravine Matilda, the mainstay of the papacy. In 1090, Henry IV again marched into Italy, but in 1092 he was defeated by Matilda's army. In 1093, his eldest son Conrad also rebelled against the emperor and was crowned king of Italy by the Archbishop of Milan. As a result of negotiations in Cremona in 1095, the Pope won over Lombardy and the Italian king to his side. Henry's position in

Northern Italy was finally undermined when the Pope revived the Patarii movement against the Germans. As a result, Henry left Italy forever in 1097. Although most of the cardinals supported Antipope Clement at the time, Urban managed to force himself to be recognized as the head of the universal church. With the support of the Normans, he returned to Rome in 1093. Pope Urban was the first to see and find support in the rising French monarchy in opposition to the threatening power of the German Emperor and the Norman dukes. Already in 1094, he went to France. During this journey, in 1095, he held a crowded council in Piacenza, where he anathematized Antipope Clement.

The Council convened on November 28, 1095 in Clermont (France) was an important event in the history of the papacy. It was here that Pope Urban proclaimed the first crusade. From the idea of the Gregorian papacy it followed that the pope also considered himself the main person in the further spread of Christianity. It was no coincidence that Gregory VII at one time put forward the idea of a crusade against the infidels, this happened after Jerusalem, which was owned by Byzantium, fell into the hands of the Seljuk Turks in 1071 (Gregory was prevented from implementing this plan by the Investiture Struggle). Since all the peoples of Europe became Christian in connection with the formation of feudalism, the conquests associated with the Christian mission had to be directed towards new territories. But this meant a fight against internal and external enemies of Christianity. The internal enemies were the heretical movements that were assuming an increasingly large scale, against which the popes waged real wars of extermination. The external enemies were the Arab and Turkish conquerors. Pope Urban, relying on France, implemented Gregory's idea. In Clermont, he called on Christian rulers and peoples to reconquer Palestine and liberate the Holy Land from the infidels. The formal reason was to restore the safety of pilgrims seeking the Holy Land. However, the reasons for the return of the

holy places were in reality much more prosaic. The most interested in this from a material point of view were the trading cities of Italy, which for large sums of money undertook to equip the army and transport it by sea. In the course of the conquests, they intended to create new trading bases. Turkish expansion threatened the eastern trading interests of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, which were engaged in intermediary trade. However, the crusades that were repeated many times during the Middle Ages were also caused by another, more general social reason. Ultimately, the conquests served as an outlet, a release of internal social tension that existed in feudal society. The tension in society was highest in France, where feudalism had developed most. That is why it was here that the Crusader movement began, which diverted discontented peasant masses and landless armed knights to participate in wars of conquest, and led to the calming of the most warlike elements of society. The Pope also granted privileges to participants in the holy war, privileges symbolized by a cross sewn onto the left shoulder. Those who wore the cross received complete forgiveness of sins. Remission of sin does not mean its forgiveness, since true forgiveness of sin can only be granted by the Lord God through the Church. Thus, the remission of sin only serves the function of mitigating or canceling the temporary punishment due for sin. Complete forgiveness frees from all temporary punishments, that is, completely cancels all temporary punishments. The person and property of the crusaders setting out on a campaign were inviolable and were under the protection of God's peace (*Treuga Dei*). (The «*Treuga Dei*» of the Council of Clermont aimed to ensure the internal peace of society by prohibiting armed struggle between crusaders from Friday to Sunday evening of the same week.) At the call of Pope Urban, the first to set out on the campaign were fanatical French peasants led by a monk. The army of crusaders soon turned into a rabble, expressing its social dissatisfaction in Jewish pogroms. In the Balkans, the army dispersed,

and after the Byzantines quickly transported these «crusaders» to enemy territory, the Turks inflicted a merciless massacre on them.

The real crusade was led by the French knights. As a result of the first crusade, the knights occupied Jerusalem in 1099 and killed the Muslim population, regardless of gender and age. The decisive reason for the first military successes of the crusader knights is hidden in their method of fighting. At that time, the Turks were still unfamiliar with the rapid, close-order attack of the armored cavalry of the knights, which almost trampled the opposing infantry and light cavalry into the ground. The knights formed the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and then, as a result of further conquests in Palestine and Syria, new counties and principalities. Military conquests were accompanied by the transfer of feudal orders to these lands, including the creation of a Catholic church hierarchy. These territories were under the protectorate of Byzantium before the Turkish conquest. Although the Turks also threatened Byzantium, the Greek Empire feared the new conquerors – the Crusaders – no less than non-Christians.

The Italian merchants, whose calculations were justified, benefited most from these campaigns. Trade routes to the East became more reliable, new settlements were built. The merchants were under the protection of the Crusaders, whose semi-military state created unique organizations, the so-called knightly orders. Military monastic orders were formed to care for sick knights – members of the orders, to protect pilgrims and to carry out church functions. Knights who had taken monastic vows were members of the Templar, Johannite and German (Teutonic) knightly orders. The first knightly order, the Order of the Templars, was founded in Jerusalem in 1118 by eight French knights (their order's name comes from the word «temple» - «temple», due to the fact that the Jerusalem king gave them part of the Temple of Solomon). The charter of the rapidly expanding order was developed in 1128 by the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux. In addition to the

three monastic vows (abstinence, poverty, obedience), the knights took a fourth vow: to consider their life's purpose to be the protection of holy places and the armed protection of pilgrims. Their uniform was a white cloak with a red cross borrowed from the Cistercians. Pope Innocent II, in a bull beginning with the words «Omne datum optimum», approved the knightly order of the Templars, removed it from the jurisdiction of the bishops and made it directly dependent only on the pope. At the head of the knightly order stood the grand master, elected by the main chapter of the order, who, relying on the chapter, almost absolutistically led the order. There were three types of membership in the knightly orders: full knights - nobles (in fact, all power within the order, as well as property, belonged to them), priests and, finally, assistant brothers.

The knightly order was an elite organization, aristocratic in nature (for example, the charter stipulated that members of the order could only hunt lions).

As a result of long and repeated crusades, the knightly order of the Templars turned into an organization that led the crusades and directed the activities of the crusaders in the Holy Land. Members of the order were granted a papal privilege, which consisted in the fact that the Templars had access to huge sums of money, which came through various channels, but mainly in the form of taxes established by the Pope on the Christian population, to wage crusades. The Templars had long used banking houses in Italy to carry out financial transactions, and soon began to engage in purely banking activities themselves. The Templars' interests also extended to trade. Thus, the knightly order, formed for the armed defense of the Holy Land, in less than a hundred years became the first banker of popes and kings.

The Order of the Knights Hospitaller, or Knights Hospitaller, was founded in 1120 in Jerusalem. It was named after the Jerusalem Hospital of St. John, where members of the order cared for the sick. It was created in 1099

as a monastic order and later (in 1120) was transformed into a knightly order. In addition to the triple vow, the Knights Hospitaller took a fourth vow - to care for the sick. Their charter is similar to that of the Templars, it was approved by Popes Eugenius III and Lucius II. They wore black or red cloaks with a white cross. Later, the Knights Hospitaller became the actual armed defenders of the Holy Land and fought stubbornly against the Turks until the fall of Akka (1291). These two knightly orders were organized and led by the French. The inclusion of the Germano-Roman Empire in the Crusades led to the creation of the German Order of Knights²³ (the German knights did not want to lag behind the French). The German Order of Knights was formed in 1198 from German knights who fought in the Holy Land; they used the statutes of the Templars. Members of the order wore a black cross on their white cloaks. The center of gravity of their activities was soon transferred to Europe. At the beginning of the century, the struggle between the pope and the emperor over investiture flared up with renewed vigor. In 1102, at the Lateran Council, the pope renewed the ban on secular investiture. The pope excommunicated Emperor Henry and his entourage, who violated this ban. The defeat of Henry IV was accelerated by the fact that the pope again managed to turn his own sons against the emperor. But since Rome was in the hands of the antipope, Pope Paschal II (1099-1118) left for France. The establishment of good relations with the French was facilitated by the fact that King Philip I refused investiture with a ring and a pastoral staff, without losing his decisive influence on the election of the highest ranks of the church. In 1107, in Saint-Denis, the French king and the pope concluded an alliance that ensured the popes' favor in France for a century. In the clashes between popes and antipopes, the Hungarian kings also took sides, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. King Laszlo I initially supported the legitimate popes, Victor III and Urban II, because he, too, opposed the emperor. However, after the death of Solomon,

the emperor and the Hungarian king reconciled, and Laszlo sided with the antipope. Therefore, he opposed Urban. The Hungarian king, Kalman the Bookslinger, because the emperor supported Duke Almos, who fought against him, joined Urban. In 1106, at a council in the northern Italian city of Guastalla, Kalman renounced his investiture through his ambassadors. The actual reason for his compliance was that it was only possible to hold on to Croatia, which he had recently conquered, with the help of the Catholic Church – after all, the Pope had until recently claimed feudal rights to Croatia and Dalmatia. Now, however, he recognized the supremacy of the Hungarian king. King Stephen III finally renounced the appointment of the highest representatives of the clergy in 1169, and he also refused to grant church benefices to secular persons: the king was forced to rely on the highest church dignitaries and the Pope in the struggle against the power of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel – hence his compliance. The last act of the struggle for investiture occurred during the reign of the German King Henry V. Henry V, being a practical politician, began to regulate relations with the Pope in order to restore peace. The opportunity for this arose due to the fact that a new concept temporarily prevailed in Rome. Pope Paschal II belonged to that new monastic movement which, in opposition to the ideas of the Gregorian Church, which strove for power and political supremacy, once again turned its attention to the deepening of religious life, the inner life of man, his soul. This was a reaction to the hierarchical extremes allowed by such popes as, for example, Gregory; later this movement found its leader in the person of Bernard of Clairvaux. Under the influence of the ideas of this movement, through further improvement of the Benedictine rule, new monastic orders arose in the 12th century, such as the Carthusians, who took a vow of silence, the Cistercians, who were engaged in viticulture and gardening, the Augustinian monks, who devoted themselves to scientific work, and the Premonstratensian monks (or white canons), who followed the life

ideals of St. Augustine. The Cluniac reformist ideas were further developed by the scholastic Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) and the mystical Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153).

Bernard was the abbot of the Cistercian abbey in Clairvaux. The abbey began to fight against manifestations of rationalism, primarily with Peter Abelard (1079–1142). Representatives of the ideas of the church reform movement proclaimed the primacy of the church over the state, and implemented the primacy of theology over secular sciences. Reconciliation with the secular power was also facilitated by the fact that, in accordance with canon law, conditions were developed for the division of church positions and church benefits belonging to the king. Churchmen called the benefits received from the king regalia. The Pope, due to the lack of proper political experience, believed that bishops were capable of giving up their regalia in the interests of church investiture. Henry V, who knew his bishops better, naturally made a deal in a secret treaty concluded in February 1111 in Sutri and renounced the right to investiture in exchange for regalia. The agreement was to be sealed by the resignation of the antipope and the solemn coronation of the emperor. However, the coronation of the emperor did not take place. When the pope announced the preliminary agreement on the return of the regalia in the church, such indignation broke out among the bishops that the pope was forced to retreat. Of course, the king did not want to renounce the investiture either. In order to impose his will on the clergy, Henry resorted to violence. He ordered the arrest of the pope and his entire court. Two months of imprisonment broke the pope's resistance, and in accordance with the agreement signed in Ponte Mammolo on April 11, 1111, he renounced the investiture. The complete renunciation of Gregorian aspirations encountered resistance from the Gregorian party. There was also strong opposition in France and Burgundy: at the Council of Vienne, Pope Paschal was branded a heretic because of his retreat. Under pressure from all sides, the Pope had no choice but to take back the privilege he

had granted to the Emperor in 1116.

Henry V's victory over the Papacy also proved to be only temporary; Rome emerged as the final winner in the struggle. Once again, his well-proven tactic brought him success: in order to fight the German King, who was seeking to strengthen his power, the Popes incited internal opposition and, relying on the dissatisfied, themselves opposed the King. The strengthening position of the Papacy could no longer be shaken by the fact that Henry managed to get his hands on the lands of Matilda, who had died in 1115, which the Papacy had laid claim to. At the same time, Henry V activated the old ally of the Emperors, the Roman aristocracy, to fight the Pope.

In 1117, Pope Paschal was forced to flee Rome; soon the Archbishop of Braga crowned Henry as Emperor in the Eternal City.

Pope Paschal II, who had been hushed up by the history of the Catholic Church until the Second Vatican Council, offered Christianity a truly new historical alternative to the triumphalism that reached its culmination a century later under Innocent III. Paschal II understood the root causes of social ills and the internal church problems that reflected them. He considered attachment to power and wealth to be unworthy, and recognized the self-interest that manifested itself even in the circles of church leaders to be destructive. However, the concept of the pope, who saw the calling of the poor church in being at the service of all humanity, was defeated by the church oligarchy. The concept he presented was soon realized in the poverty movement and, pacified by the mendicant monastic orders, was put to the service of the triumphant church. The Emperor, in his struggle against Gelasius II, a Benedictine monk who became Pope (1118–1119), supported the Antipope Gregory VIII (1118–1121), the protégé of the Roman aristocratic party led by the Frangepans. Once again, only France gave refuge to Gelasius. However, Henry V realized that an agreement had to be reached with the Pope, who enjoyed French support, before he fell completely into the hands of the new

great power. The time for this came during the pontificate of Pope Calixtus II (1119–1124). Unlike his predecessors, Pope Calixtus was not a monk and ascended to the papal throne as Archbishop of Vienne. In 1121, the Pope's supporters managed to seize the Antipope at Sutri and imprison him in a monastery. Henry

V abandoned his protégé to his fate, and thus the obstacles to agreement were removed. After lengthy negotiations, the Concordat of Worms was signed on September 23, 1122, which separated ecclesiastical investiture from secular investiture.

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ПАПСТВО И БОРЬБА ЗА ЦЕРКОВНУЮ ВЛАСТЬ В XII–XIII ВВ.

Резюме

Католическая церковь в наше время является крупнейшей по количеству последователей христианской конфессий в мире. Однако в современности её сфера влияния существенно ограничена, Папа Римский уже не может считаться серьёзной политической величиной. В Средние же века церковь была значительной социально-политической величиной в Европе. Папы Римские долгое время претендовали не только на духовное, но и на светское господство в регионе. В начале XIII века папство максимально приблизилось к воплощению этих стремлений и создало уникальную в своём роде ситуацию, когда религиозная организация, будучи самостоятельным участником в международной политике региона, играла огромную роль в ней. Однако причины, по которым подобная ситуация сложилась, рассматриваются редко, равно как и вопрос об устойчивости положения папства в период его расцвета.

Основным фактором, благодаря которому Папы Римские смогли сравниться с наиболее могущественными светскими государями по степени влияния на европейскую политику, было на-

личие у первых своего государства со всеми необходимыми для него на то время институтами. Глава католической церкви с VIII века имели во владении довольно обширную по итальянским меркам территорию, называемую Папской областью. Чтобы управлять этой территорией одной лишь церковной администрации было недостаточно, а потому на территории Папской области развился светский феодализм и сохранилось городское самоуправление. Это естественным образом приводило как к увеличению ресурсов папства, так и к появлению в его землях сословия воинов и людей, способных сформировать городское ополчение. Благодаря этому, в отличие от глав других христианских конфессий, Папа Римский мог отстаивать свои политические интересы не только с помощью увещаний, но и военным путём. Между прочим, эту возможность понтифика применяли не только для обороны, но и для нападения

После окончательного разрыва с восточной православной церковью в католической церкви было достигнуто догматическое единство; длительное время народные ереси, направленные против церковной иерархии, основывались на различных течениях, отклонившихся от официальной церковной доктрины. Укрепление единства церкви – это не религиозный вопрос, а церковно-административная проблема. Гарантом единства католической церкви стал римский папа. Ссылаясь на высшую власть учения, обусловленного догматами, папа хотел обеспечить также исключительность своего верховенства и в церковно-

административной области. Целью его было создание централизованного абсолютистского церковного правления, которому препятствовала государственно-церковная партикулярная раздробленность европейских феодальных государств, укрепившихся к XI веку, их отрыв от центрального (римского) управления.

Стало очевидным, что правители отдельных государств стремятся укрепить свою власть, опираясь на свои усиливающиеся национальные церкви, следовательно, они не были заинтересованы в дальнейшем упрочении центральной церковной власти. Распадение на национальные церкви в то же время таило в себе опасность того, что эти церкви – подобно восточным – станут самостоятельными и в догматических вопросах, что вело к ликвидации универсализма христианства. Таким образом, папы, стремясь к верховенству, не руководствовались лишь желанием добиться этой ограниченной цели, когда требовали для себя права назначения (инвеституры) высшего духовенства, что прежде было прерогативой светской власти, правителей. Высшее духовенство попадало при этом в зависимость от собственных светских правителей и тем самым вынуждено было обслуживать церковно-административные и церковно-политические цели государства. Этому можно было воспрепятствовать лишь путём соблюдения вселенских церковных интересов, воплощённых в папской верховной власти в результате централизованного управления. Тем самым обеспечивалось единство церкви.