Doctoral Thesis:
Pope Innocent III (1198-1216)
(Summary)

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**INTRODUCTION** ............................................................................................................. 6

Chapter I  
**THE WESTERN CHURCH AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE BEFORE POPE INNOCENT III** ............................................................................................................ 9

| I.1. Preliminaries                              | 9 |
| I.2. Papacy and Empire in The Middle Ages      | 13 |
| I.3. Spirituality and society between the 10th and 13th Century | 21 |
| I.4. Church and Papacy                         | 24 |
| I.5. Byzantium and Occident                    | 27 |
| I.6. The Crusades                              | 30 |
| I.7. Clerics and laics                        | 32 |
| I.8. The Dioceses                              | 34 |
| I.9. Heresy                                    | 36 |
| I.10. The conflict between the two powers       | 37 |
| I.11. The Universities                         | 39 |

Chapter II  
**LOTARIO DEI CONTI DI SEGNI** .................................................................................. 41

| II.1. Dei Conti family                         | 42 |
| II.2. Education in Lateran, Rome              | 44 |
| II.3. Studies in Paris                         | 46 |
| II.4. Higher Education in Bologna              | 49 |
| II.5. Admittance in Clergy and Curia service, deacon and jurist | 51 |
| II.6. Ambitions, visions and writings          | 54 |

Chapter III  
**POPE INNOCENT III (8 January 1198 – 16 July 1216)** .................................................. 67

| III.1. Preliminaries                           | 67 |
III.2. The Context of his election and his consecration in the Apostolic See in Rome .................................................................69

III. 3. First measures as Pontiff .................................................76

III.4. Innocent III, protector of the Church .................................83

III.5. Ecclesial reform .................................................................91

Chapter IV
POPE INNOCENT III AND THE POWERS OF EUROPE (1198-1216) .................95

IV.1. Preliminaries .................................................................95

IV.2. Pope Innocent and The German Empire ..............................97

IV.2.1. The death of Henry VI .................................................98

IV.2.2. Innocent III and the Empress Constance .........................99

IV.2.2.1. Markwald Anweiler, knight of Alsace and the German officer Diephold, count of Accera ........................................102

IV.2.3. Philip of Swabia and Otto IV .........................................106

IV.2.4. Pope Innocent III and the throne of the German Empire ....111

IV.3. Innocent III and France ...................................................121

IV.3.1. Philip Augustus and Ingeborg of Denmark .......................122

IV.3.2. France under interdict .................................................123

IV.3.3. The end of the conflict ...............................................126

IV.4. The Church of Rome and John Lackland ............................128

IV.4.1. John Lackland ...........................................................129

IV.4.2. Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury ....................130

IV.4.3. Magna Carta ...............................................................136

Chapter V
INNOCENT III AND THE BULGARIAN CHURCH .....................................139

V.1. Preliminaries .................................................................139

V.2. Boris I and the Christianization of the Bulgarians ....................140

V.3. The state or empire of the Asânești ....................................144

V.3.1. Ioniță Kaloian ...........................................................152
Chapter VI

INNOCENT III AND THE CRUSADES ..............................................174

VI.1. Preliminaries ..................................................................174

VI.2. Pope Innocent III and his cruciate policy .........................176

VI.2.1. The IVth crusade 1202-1204 ......................................180

a. The phased unfolding of the crusade .........................185

b. First negotiation with Venice ......................................188

c. The papal agreement and the new leader of the expedition ......192

d. Assembly of the crusade army ..................................194

e. The second negotiation .............................................195

f. Alexios’s the IVth plan .............................................198

g. The devastation of Constantinopol ..............................200

VI.2.3. Albigenses crusade ......................................................208

VI.2.4. Children’s Crusade ......................................................213

Chapter VII

FOURTH COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN (1215) ...............................222

VII.1. Preliminaries ...............................................................222

VII.2. The canons of the Fourth Council of the Lateran ..................224

VII.2.1. Division and importance of these decrees ....................227

VII.3. The role of the Fourth Council of the Lateran ....................238

CONCLUSIONS .............................................................................241

BIBLIOGRAPHY ...........................................................................254

DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY .............................................272

CV ............................................................................................273
Introduction

The present work is a biography of Pope Innocent III whose pontificate lasted from 1198 to 1216. It is divided into seven chapters attempting to summarize the main stages and acts of this pope who was notorious by reaching the apogee of papacy.

The motivation that led to the realization of this thesis was that in Romanian specialized literature there is no monograph of this pontificate and neither a biography of Pope Innocent III who is a controversial and complex figure in church history and not just.

Researches and studies that have been made related to this era and pope are often divided into two streams: one that is extremely hard regarding Pope Innocent III and other easily flexible between objectivity and subjectivity. At least in the Romanian language there are no such works about the pontificate of Innocent III or his person, there are only a few related to the Fourth Crusade or the Vlaho-Bulgarians problem. In the Eastern Orthodox the position given to him by historians was and still is extremely tough, he being convicted more than a simple pope of Rome; Fourth Crusade consequences are those that established him as a villain.

Among the most important works there are: Innocent III: Vicar of Christ Or Lord of the World? By James M. Powell, Pope Innocent III and His Times by Joseph Clayton, Pope Innocent III (1160 / 1161-1216) To root up and to plant by John C. Moore, The influence of Pope Innocent III on spiritual and clerical renewal in the Catholic Church during thirteenth century south western Europe by Ralph Steven Ambrose Laing – these being newer as they occurred after 1990; History of Latin Christianity : including that of the popes to the pontificate of Nicolas V., vol. IV, V, VI by Milman Henry, Innocent III by Binns L. Elliot, Europe and the Church under Innocent III by Packard Sidney etc. These works specifically address the pontificate of Pope Innocent III with all its valences; in the Bulgarian Church there is a reference book of Alexander Madgearu called Asăneștilor State.

This research seeks to expose as clearly and objectively as possible the actions and vision of this pope, by calling often at various exercises of imagination in order to stress not only the villain (highly present in the works of specialties and not only) but also the positive part he played in both the evolution of Christian history in medieval Europe and world history.

To better understand what happened in this pontificate and also to perceive as objective as possible the person of Pope Innocent III, I have tried in the first chapter to render the most detailed data about the era in question regarding religion, politics, social life, culture etc.
The second chapter contains information about Pope's family, his education and his studies of theology and law, and his first vision of the society, clergy and empire. Here I also mentioned his early theological works which he wrote after Closure studies and had the first contacts with the papacy.

Chapter III presents the time of his election as head of the Roman Church and also the public affirmation of his beliefs and his views concerning the role of the clergy and the state of society. His pontificate begins under the sign of moral and spiritual reform, both of the society but especially of the clergy which is condemned because of the abuse, luxury and other immoral irregularities. The ceremony of consecration as pope is an impressive one both in attendance and especially in its message to the Church and believers; his choice is regarded as a marriage to the Church of Rome and his mission as pastor of all Christendom is claimed to be universal, to all men. He stresses the idea that he is a vicar of Christ and thus the father of all, the entire Christendom, and declares himself a liberator, as he is seen by Rome and Italy against imperial oppression. He criticizes firmly and roughly the deviations and the mores of the clergy, thus starting the reform with his own house: clergy and papal curia.

In Chapter IV Pope Innocent III is described in terms of its political involvement, specifically he is a political leader in the true sense of the word; After starting internal reform he is moving towards outer space and begins by subjecting secular prefect of Rome and the Senate to the Holy Apostolic See, and here we presented the text of the oath to the Pope of the Rome prefect. It must be said that the prefect and the Senate represented imperial authority and the success of subjecting these two institutions to the papacy in such a short time brought Innocent sympathy from people, which is why he was regarded as a liberator.

Also in Chapter IV it is described the way in which this pope has gradually subjected the entire Europe to the Holy See in Rome and the way in which he was both a leader of the Roman Church and a feared political leader in the same time. The techniques used for this purpose and also to achieve the interests of the Western Church were: diplomacy, effective strategies, interdict, excommunication and other backstage games.

The person of Pope Innocent III is based on two key elements, namely: the theology or his belief and his personal ambition, but also the phrases *Vicarius Christi* and *Dominus Mundi*.

Chapter V presents a situation in the eastern area, namely the assertion of the Vlach-Bulgarian Empire by Ionita Caloian by its appeal to Innocent III. There are presented here a few
letters of the two which describe in a fine, diplomatic and easily understandable way the character and personality of the two: Innocent III and Ionită cel Frumos; strategies and progress of the negotiations and the price they are both willing to offer it to achieve their interests are well seen in this chapter.

The penultimate chapter deals with the concept of crusade and makes reference specifically to those coordinated by Pope Innocent III, the most famous being the Fourth Crusade, but also that against the Cathars; it is also mentioned the Children's crusade but this one did not belong to the pope, it only occurred during his time and there are only a few comments regarding it.

The last chapter lists the perfection of the pontificate and of the pope’s vision regarding the role of the Church and clergy, council IV Lateran in 1215 whose canons, taken by itself, include: the importance of a moral and religious/ Catholic life of the believers as well as the relation between the State and Church. Then we presented the canons titles and the short summaries or comments about the content and their role.

The paper ends with a conclusion that places the personality of Pope Innocent III in the center of the four cardinal points that could define the pontificate and his person: the divine mission - spiritual leader, the profane mission - political leader, the absolute power - binomial Church and Empire, and the power of faith - theological and spiritual reform.

History has recorded him in its tabs both as a pope and as a politician, but especially by what the Fourth Crusade represented and the epitome of the papacy.
Chapter I

The first chapter describes the religious-political atmosphere between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Europe and especially of the Roman Church in relation to society and the imperial authority.

Balance of power between State and Church brings a new spirit to the Middle Ages, a different approach, more or less favorable to the society. Church of Rome believes that in addition to its functions related to the spiritual realm of Christians (morality, spiritual reform, human good, converting heretics, religious services, decency, charity, counseling and finally salvation of men) it has a legitimate right to rule policy decisions and especially the nobles abuses against Christian communities. Thus Pope reclaims both powers: the spiritual and temporal. It arrived, as previously mentioned, to the situation of dismissing a king / prince. Where political decisions (of the leaders) did not serve the good of the Catholic religion, the bishop of Rome had the right to intervene and negotiate provided that he achieved a successful outcome for the Church.¹

We notice as if State is subjected to the Church, but not quite entirely, although Rome’s mark is seen up to the highest level. Given that Pope Innocent III is considered as the one who managed to lead the Church of Rome at the height of her grasp, we may observe that the field was quite fertile for this achievement.

Medieval period can be described in religious terms as a confused time between the Apostolic Church² and the Imperialist Church³, phrases that mark the history of both Western Christianity and the history of the empire. Christianity –by the foundation of the Church at the time of Pentecost, the descent of the Holy Spirit - is based upon the first-century Christian Apostolic Church. The Western Europe - Western Church - knows, until the early Middle Ages, and especially during this time, new values that will lead to the expression Imperium Ecclesia. In the center of the Christian Church stands the person of Jesus Christ, the belief in one God, and

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¹ Gosselin M., op. cit., pp. 3-5
² Referire la Biserica primară și atitudinea Sfinților Apostolilor, viața apostolică.
³ Se face referire la puterea laică (teritorială) a împăratului/regelui asupra tuturor oamenilor. În evul mediu dorința de putere temporală a papei/Bisericii crește atât de mult încât episcopul Romei intervine în spațiul temporal subminând autoritatea împierului.
because of this the Empire is convinced of the existence of a single king, a single imperial law, just as in heaven there is one God, so on the earth there is one king. If the king was crowned or anointed by the Church, he was seen as the first among men "seated directly from God"\(^4\), the one who gives laws to the Christian people and claims the right to engage in the Church, even by appointing bishops and offering privileges, ranks fields etc.

Between the two development models - Apostolic Church and the Imperial Church – there are found a number of contradictions, moreover, due to the ambition that Rome, by being the successor of the Apostle Peter, requires. Immediately after Constantine the Great we are talking about a papal monarchy which reached its climax during the medieval era. The Church had, indeed, a model of management and leadership, the institution of the Holy Roman Empire, so until today one can see a difference in the different approach of the two sister churches, Catholic and Orthodox, namely the sense and vision mainly legal of the Catholicism in opposition to the spiritual, ascetic East. We notice in this period a breakthrough in the papal monarchy, followed by an attitude of the secular space of *imitatio sacerdotii*\(^5\), a reverse process to that of the church of *imitationem imperii*\(^6\). This imitation of the empire is born at the same time with the moving of the capital of the empire in the East, so ancient Rome sees herself wronged by the *New Rome*\(^7\) and is let to live between the Barbarians, the only right before the new Rome was the Apostolic See of St. Peter, but even so, East underlines in this respect a tinge of superiority, namely that both Peter and Paul are Apostles of the Orient.

**Chapter II**

Lotario dei Conti was born in 1160/1161 near Rome, specifically Gavignano castle near the city of Anagni and near Segni. The family in which he was born was one of noble birth with financial potency enough to ensure a bright future for young Lotario. His father was called Trasimundo (Trasmondo dei Conti *de comitibus Signiae*\(^8\) and his mother's name was Claricia Scotti, who was part of an important patrician family in those days. Thanks to the connections and the social position owned by the family Dei Conti, Lotario will benefit from the best schools

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\(^5\) *Imitarea sacerdoțului.*

\(^6\) *Imitarea imperiului.*

\(^7\) Constantinopol.

of the time starting with Rome, and then studying at Paris and Bologna; context of the family relations will take him to the religious space, both in the papal Curia and in the clerical gear having good legal and theological training.

Lotario will enter the service of the Church and the Curia since the time of his law studies in Bologna, in a context in which it appears that once he went to the law school he tends to shine in the Papal Curia circles. The fact that proves he was already known or famous during his training in law, is composed of three moments which occurred in 1187; First is its presence in a papal delegation, more exactly two legates bound to Grandmont with issues of interest to the Holy See; The second moment is the one concerning the monks of Canterbury who seem to curry favor with young Lotario to support them, because of this we may assume that he was a man of influence and perspicacious; The third moment is that in which Pope Gregory VIII, pontiff who led the Roman Church a short period 21 October to 17 December 1187 ordained him as deacon of his at the age of only 27, in the context of a visit to Bologna for a few days.9

At the end of 1189 or early 1190, young Lotario will become cardinal on two important considerations. From the very beginning Lotario had significant support from Cardinal Paul Scolari, his mother's brother, who soon will follow the papal throne after the death of Pope Gregory VIII. On the other hand he created for himself an image by the passion for studying, Paris and Bologna, which has brought notoriety and a big opening for an exceptional career, and especially because he was different from other young people; he was known for being a man and Pope different from others in the Middle Ages, in addition to the historic role that he had, he was also a humanist and a passionate man by definition.10

With the introduction in Cardinals gear by his uncle Pope Clement III in 1189/1190 in Church Sts. Sergio and Bacco in Rome, he takes advantage of the Pope’s plan to form a large number of cardinals instructed to ensure a strong control in the city. He is involved in a series of missions of the Curia and even more, at a time, he occupies the function of a judge or audit in this institution. His work in the Curia is conducted over 7 years while observing a number of aspects regarding the report sacerdotium vs imperium, and begins to sketch a different portrait of the pope, different from that of his predecessors or contemporaries. Realizing that Christian

Europe and the whole world are changing in an alert rhythm, the pope posture should not be that of the enemy, but Rome itself, the Holy See must take over the reins of power, both the spiritual and the temporal, and create a State or rather a union of Christian states that are subordinated to moral precepts, ecclesiastical and finally to the obedience to the Apostolic See of Rome. Secular law must be in harmony with Church law, it appears the idea of the sun and moon, according to which the Church of Rome is the sun shining and the imperium gets its glow, like the moon, from the sun, this idea gets to him so much that he will apply it as soon as he climbs the pontiff seat.

Chapter III

Church’s life between eleventh and twelfth centuries is a continuous reform - ecclesiastical and spiritual - and unfolds under the pressure of a continuous battle between sacerdotium and imperium. This state of conflict was representative for Western Europe where the Apostolic See of Rome, which claimed a position of Mater Ecclesia to all Christian churches of the West, struggled to cope with the power of princes and to preserve the identity and independence. The entire fight of Rome is given in virtue of the divine origin of the Church, namely under the phrases vicarius Petri, vicarius Christi.

Therefore at the age of 37/38 years he had skills and a very complex experience which will recommend him for the position of pontiff. Although his age was a less common one for choice of a pope and somewhat put the pontiff in a light less confident for the future of the Church of Rome, it seems that it was not so, but rather papacy will know, under his reign, the most flowering and strong period in the history of the Holy See.

Luxury, simony, forgery and immorality of the clergy were the first issues addressed by the young Pope Innocent III, being aware of their seriousness and of the need to implement the Gregorian reform system in order to resist imperial and heretical invasion.

Clergy reform was a priority for Innocent III because of his experience in the Curia, but also because of his mentor Pope Gregory VII who sounded the alarm in regard to the conduct of the clergy and their mission. He was aware that his whole plan of reforming and strengthening the papacy, and in particular the Church of Christ, could not be achieved if he does not improve the implementation system of his ideas.
Chapter IV

The thirteenth century Europe was dominated by the two poles of power, namely the Empire and the Church, but also by a spiritualization of the Christian states by the papacy in front of two other ecclesiastical communities: Greek Christianity and Islam. If we only refer to political Europe, imperialist, the situation of the society was in a continuous change, but this change undoubtedly targeted the image and status of the Western Church; as long as most European states were Christian the political spectrum could not exclude the presence and role of the Church in society. This brings to the eternal conflict and war, seen and unseen, between the two entities, imperium and sacerdotium, which is why Latin Christianity represented by the Papacy will be involved in a series of acts, deeds and decisions more or less moral or consistent with the direct or indirect teachings of the Church.

Beyond the battle between the two institutions - State and Church - there was a continuous struggle within the Church and between the three spiritual communities present in medieval Europe: Latin Christianity (papacy / Church of Rome), Christendom Greek (Byzantine / Byzantine Church) and Islam (Islamic East); These three spiritual spaces are strongly linked to political and military forces and therefore will be important pawns and pillars in the life of Christian Europe.

Pope Innocent III had a peculiar vision regarding the empire and the empire-ecclesia relationship, thus did not aimed its destruction, but on the contrary a renewal in a personal formula. This formula was clearly favorable to the pope in regard to the acquisition of control and papal dominance over the Christian states of Europe. In all his public speeches in which he referred to the role of the Church in the life of the empire he mentioned the comparison between the Sun and Moon, the two luminaries of heaven placed by God, which he brought as a model for the State and the Church relationship; Hence the Church's primacy over all kings and Christian states and not only.11

The apple of discord and the eternal conflict between the papacy and the empire flowed from power over territories and people, often understandable for the State and incomprehensible for the Church. The Church of Rome was aware of the benefits that it could offer a good relationship with the empire or even a dominance of him; and the empire was aware that the

Church is a good handling means and a source of social stability, after all Europe being a Christian land, a fact which the sovereigns could not miss. However, we can say that the papacy or the Church needed, as an institution, the state more than the state needed the Church, so the territorial or legislative privileges, acquired from some Christians kings or sovereigns, were a central objective of Rome to maintain because they brought economic strength and not only. As a result everything possible was done so that they are not lost from the heritage of the Church, being a guarantee of its survival;

The starting point of Pope Innocent III in this race to regain the heritage of the Church of Rome and the imposing presence of the papacy in the life of society is the involvement in the choosing of the new sovereign of the empire after the death of Henry VI; he was necessarily in need of an empire successor who would agree to support the causes and interests of Rome, so he takes advantage of the imperial conflict regarding the throne, the conflict between the Otto Duke of Brunswick and Philip of Swabia; he opens a diplomatic conflict with King Philip Augustus of France on his marriage which he saw as being an immoral one as the king sought to eliminate the rightful Queen, Ingeborg; he will use Filip of France in the process of constraining the King John of England, and will be involved in other smaller Christian states such as Hungary, Poland, Portugal and the Eastern Europe, Vlachia, Ionita Caloian or Holy Land.  

Chapter V

The eastern part of Europe and especially the Byzantine Empire was a maximum topic of interest for Innocent III’s politics regarding the process of expansion of the Catholic Church, the Vatican influence and domination. The consequences of The Schism of 1054 were not so serious as to exterminate any chances of reconciliation, which is why the Christian East remains every pontiff’s clear objective to achieve.

The situation of the Byzantine Empire and its relationship with neighboring countries, especially the internal conflicts will generate countless reasons for Pope’s involvement and important opportunities to realize that union of the Latin Church and the lost Eastern; its policy is  

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A history of popery; containing an account of the origin, growth, and progress of papal power; its political influence in the European states-system, and its effects on the progress of civilization. To which is added, an examination of the present state of the Romish church in Ireland; a brief history of the inquisition; and specimens of monkish legends, London, J.W. Parker, 1838, pp. 89-90.
based on the exploitation of any element that could be influenced by the Holy See or even the only way of saving a political-religious situation.

The so-called Bulgarian issue from centuries XI-XIII took shape with the arrival of three Vlach - Petru, Ioan Asan and Ioniță - on the political scene in the Balkans by their revolt against the Byzantine Empire and the struggle for independence, both secular and religious. All three chroniclers of those times saw them as brave men, strong leaders and very good strategists in military and political terms; if during this period since 1198 in the West the new pope, Innocent III, starts a struggle for the liberation of the Church from the influence of the German Empire through various politico-religious strategies and at a high diplomatic level, so does Ioniță in the Byzantine space against Constantinople and the imperial rule. These elements make them have much in common and fate will bring them in the position of allies fighting for the same ideas and even against the same enemy - the Byzantine Empire.

The relationship between the two leaders, Innocent III and Ionita, is nothing but a continuation of those undertaken by their predecessors for political and religious expansion. The Apostolic see aim was to convert as many countries in the East to the Catholic faith and to gain the recognition of papal authority in the whole Christian world; Christian alliance member under obedience to Rome represented a politico-military security for those who were not yet members, it was a force to any unaffiliated state to the papacy and could acquire real and substantial advantages. In this context also appears the intersection between Rome and the Bulgarians kings/ tsars who wanted nothing more than two things: winning independence from the Greeks / the Byzantines and recognition of the Vlach-Bulgarian empire as an independent state equal to other Christian states, of course with an affiliation to Rome’s Church. Thus the new tsar Ionita the Beautiful, wanted at all costs to get past Byzantine rule, both politically and religiously; also he wanted to be recognized by the pope as a Christian emperor and to be given the raising of the the Bulgarian Church at a level of patriarchate, all in exchange for keeping the peace in eastern Europe and the recognition of the Roman Church of Rome by submission and obedience.13

Between the two sides exchange of delegations took place which had the role to mediate negotiations and to keep alive the diplomatic relationship; Pope sent three messengers at the court of Kaloyan: first messenger was Archbishop Dominic Brindisi, the second one was a close

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friend of his from Rome Chaplain John and the third was Cardinal Leo; They were commissioned to convey the message sent by the pontiff and to hold talks with Bulgarian in his name.

Chapter VI

At the beginning of XIII century Christendom’s situation was quite unstable because of two things: internal conflicts of the Christian Church and the Muslim danger that was knocking at Christianity’s door already broken by subjective reasons. The idea of the Christian Church the One was a dream more of Rome than of Constantinople, but takes shape around the Islamic tension which was threatening Oriental Christendom, which led to an attitude of acceptance of the aid of Rome in East’s fight to keep the heritage of the Holy Land under Christian domination.

The crusade phenomenon was very present in Pope Innocent III’s politics, for which historians mention a number of three crusades, all three with a particular image; the Fourth Crusade, The Children's Crusade and the Crusade against the Cathars, each with a special significance for that time. If the Fourth Crusade was intended to liberate the Holy Land from Muslims, this form or strategy is used by Innocent III to combat heresies in the Church of Rome; The Children's Crusade is a very special one seen through the perspective of the thinking that gave rise to its appearance, but it was not approved by the pope, on the contrary, the pope asked to abandon it because of its contents. More about each one we will mention later.

The Albigensian Crusade has had two stages which took place after the pontificate of Innocent III and remain in world history as a great act of cruelty to the extreme, held in the name of God.

A very special event, we might even say unusual, and which shows another facet of medieval society, or rather of religious thought taken to the extreme was the Children's Crusade in 1212. One possible explanation for such an initiative would be the failure of the Fourth crusade, but especially the education of medieval society in the faith of sacrifice for God's holy places or rather God's command to release those places; simple social classes had well assimilated this duty of Christians to realize significant sacrifices, vital to free Christian places from the pagans, a concept implemented by the Church.

If we refer strictly to the policy of Pope Innocent III regarding the crusades, we note that this type of approaching the problematic situations of the Church was very well outlined in the
pope's thinking since the days when he was a cardinal. Proof of this is the quick call that he makes to start a new crusade, especially by identifying the elements that led to the failure of the previous crusade; in this regard he performed a reconfiguration of the entire process of forming a crusade. The review of this Christian jihad is made on three fundamental principles: recruitment of the Crusaders, namely the quality and beliefs of those who enlist in the army of crusaders; then the financial resources, believes that this is essential to be ensured from the very beginning and sufficient; effective coordination of these expeditions by people actually trained and with the most sincere intentions. In his view, the three issues listed above have been neglected until now and because of that the last two crusades were unsuccessful.14

Chapter VII

A central objective of Pope Innocent III was to reform the Church of Rome both administratively and canonically, especially a spiritual reform of the clergy and society. Papal policy of the years 1198-1215 will be found again and completed in the works of the Fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215, a council of a magnitude never seen before.

The twelfth Ecumenical Council or the Fourth Council of the Lateran as it is known was an act of glory or rather the culmination of the pontificate of Pope Innocent III, an event designed in the laboratories of the Apostolic See and to which the pope was the main author of all canons proposed during the council. In order for this council to be one of renown and unquestionable authority, actually it was expected to be so because the personality of Innocent III could be and is included in the phrases vicar of Christ and lord of the world, so the list of participation was targeted to include the whole Christian world and politics. The number of participants is impressive, namely around 70 patriarchs and archbishops, 400 bishops and more than 800 abbots, and representatives of monastic orders, all of them coming from western and eastern Christendom.15

The number of participants from the clergy was in the neighborhood of 1,300 of which were patriarchs and archbishops 70/71, and to this impressive number is added the presence of many heads of state and ambassadors and delegates of Christian states, regions throughout

Europe; countries such as France, England, Cyprus, Aragon, Latin Empire, Kingdom of Sicily, Jerusalem are just a few of the most representative to which we could add others.\footnote{Packard, Sidney R., \textit{Europe and the Church under Innocent III}, New York: Henry Holt, 1927, p. 92}

Also Pope Innocent III came to the council with a work program so well prepared and strategically in order to achieve a success, so there is a presentation of 70 canons made by him which he submits them not to a debate, but rather a validation because no canon has undergone any change to the form proposed by the pontiff.\footnote{Packard, Sidney R., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 93. Logan, F. Donald, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 195.}

A classification of these canons can be done in 15 themes that aim especially the clergy, heresy and Christian society. Thus, the first canon refers only to the Catholic faith, canons 3 and 4 to issue of heresies, canon 4 refers to disputes regarding the superiority of Easterners to Latins, canon 5 is devoted to the positions or the order of the patriarchates in rank, canons 6 to 13 are disciplinary canons, canons 14-22 are for the spiritual reform of the clergy, canons 23-32 clarifies the election of bishops and administering of the sacraments, 33-34 canons are related to the church charges, from the 35-49 the canons concerns the issue of judicial nature, specifically ecclesiastical court, properties, disciplinary actions, legal abuses etc., 50-52 canons refer to the sacrament of marriage, the canons 53-61 are referring to the tithe and clarifies that tax system / legislation under which it must operate, canon 62 is dedicated to the holy relics / sacred relics, canons of 63-66 address the issue of simony, 67-70 canons refer to the Jewish situation and relationship with the Jews, and in the end of the seventy canons one more canon has been added referring the crusades.\footnote{Anne J. Dugan, \textit{Conciliar law 1123-1215 – The legislation of the Four Lateran Councils} in vol. \textit{The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX} by Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington, CUA Press, 2008, pp. 341-352.}