THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS - Curated Transcript of BBC In Our Time podcast
https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0184v2j
Last On Thu 15 Dec 2011 BBC Radio 4

This transcript was created by downloading the podcast from the BBC website and passing it to Assembly AI V2 (https://www.assemblyai.com/) and then manually editing the resulting raw transcript to assign voices, to correct spelling, and to introduce occasional time stamps. Edits have also been made to better communicate the factual content of the podcast, rather than capturing all the details of the audio record. Such edits are indicated in the transcript.

Comments and corrections are welcome, and sincere apologies are made for any substantial inaccuracies in the following transcript.

(Credits from the BBC Website)

In Our Time is hosted by Melvyn Bragg. Melvyn's guests on this podcast are:

Henrietta Leyser, Emeritus Fellow of St Peter's College, University of Oxford,

Kate Cushing, Reader in Medieval History at Keele University

John Gillingham, Emeritus Professor of History at the London School of Economics and Political Science

Producer: Natalia Fernandez.

Transcript:

[Melvyn Bragg] Hello, on the 23 September 1122, in a town on the west bank of the river Rhine known as Worms, an agreement was signed between Pope Calixtus II and the German Emperor Henry V. This treaty, the Concordat of Worms, hoped to mark the end of a long running, bitter and bloody dispute between church and state over who had the right to appoint bishops and even the Pope himself. This right was politically significant and it brought with it enormous wealth and power. The roots of the struggle between the two institutions lay in the Bible, in particular the verse "render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, and render unto God that which is God's". The ensuing dispute saw the imprisonment of a Pope, a king kneeling barefoot in the snow for days, and the destruction of the city of Rome. And its resolution marked the arrival of a new era in the relationship between the rulers of Church and state. With me to discuss the concordad of worms are Henrietta Leyser, Emeritus Fellow of St Peter's College, University of Oxford, Kate Cushing, Reader in Medieval History at Keele University,

and John Gillingham, Emeritus Professor of History at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

[Melvyn Bragg] Henrietta Leyser, before we get to the Concordat (there's a bit of a long run up to the Concordat) can you give us some idea of what north and central Europe looked like in the 11th century?

[Henrietta Leyser] Well, it looks very different from today in that there are no nation states, really. There is a huge empire. This has become what we now call a German empire since 962, when Otto I was crowned as the successor of Charlemagne. His empire is absolutely enormous. It's made up of a number of duchies. Every single duchy is about the same size as the territory that the ruler of France had at the time under his control, or indeed the ruler of England, so it's a pretty tough task. As well as the duchies in Germany, he also claims, in the 11th century, Burgundy and, indeed, northern Italy. So it's a lot of territory and it's very important for him to have control of the Church, because it's basically the Church through which he governs.

[Melvyn Bragg] So what you're saying we've got a German Empire there, and the German Empire consists of a lot of Dutches and city states. How does he hold them together? ...

[Henrietta Leyser] Well, he holds them together through basically his sacral power, through having taken over the title of Emperor from, so to say, the Carolingan. Charlemagne was crowned emperor in 800, Otto I is crowned emperor in 962. He doesn't have a big bureaucracy or anything of that kind, most of the nobility are illiterate, and he governs very much through the Church and through his sacrality. He is seen as God's Appointed on earth, and it's from God that he gets his power. And the sacrality of his rule is emphasized even further by ...Otto III who is emperor in the year 1000, and this is a terrific sort of moment, if you like, in Europe, and Otto, who is a...good friend of the Pope at the time, very much sees himself as introducing a new rule of Christ on Earth, and he is Christ's Deputy on this Earth.

[Melvyn Bragg] So it's a bit of a problem for the Pope in one way... but let's talk... Does the German Emperor have the biggest army in ... Europe?

[Henrietta Leyser] Yes, he does...

[Melvyn Bragg] That counts as well.

[Henrietta Leyser] He's got a very big army, he's got a lot of wealth. He is developing his wealth (and this becomes important in the struggle, really) through the silver mines in Saxony. And one of the problems, if you like, is ... that the power of the German kings to begin with in the 10th century is very much based in Saxony and they have control of the silver there, and subsequently the dynasty moves and Saxony becomes a point of rebellion rather than the power base of the Emperor.

[Melvyn Bragg] In terms of size and power, is there anything else in Europe that can begin to match the power of the German Emperor?

[Henrietta Leyser] No, though of course, they are always looking slightly towards the east. They are aware that there is still a Byzantine Empire. And one of the things they caught - on and off is a relationship with the Eastern Empire as a way of further glorifying their own status and of proving that they really deserve this imperial title and majesty. And they don't rule through the written word, as we might imagine, they rule through relics. It's one of the reasons why it's so important to have access to Italy and to Rome. It's also one of the reasons why their relationship with the Eastern Empire is so important. They get a relic of the true cross - they get a foot of the true cross - and they rule through this possession of a sacred relic, which takes them back to the days of Christ - they are Christ's Deputy on earth.

[Melvyn Bragg] So when we talk about church and state in any modern connotation of the word, it's not...

[Henrietta Leyser] It's really anachronistic.

[Melvyn Bragg] We are talking about time when religion was politics.

[Henrietta Leyser] Yes.

[Melvyn Bragg] Kate Cushing, at the heart of this subject, is something known as the ..."investiture controversy". Can you ... tell us what that is?

[06:19]
[Kate Cushing] Essentially, at the most basic level, it is about a clash of different understandings of the nature of secular and ecclesiastical power and their relationship. I would also suggest, though, that it's very much a contest about perception. Now, in the Early Middle Ages, episcopal office, or abbeycial [?] office, is at once secular and religious because of the rights and properties that the abbott, or bishop, supervises and administers for the king or the emperor.

[Melvyn Bragg] So, as well as being a religious person, [the abbot or bishop] is a huge landowner with a lot of wealth and has duties in that direction too.

[Kate Cushing] Absolutely.

[Melvyn Bragg] This is bishops we are talking about.

[Kate Cushing] These are bishops and also royal abbots in the German Empire. Now, lay investiture is a peculiar ceremony. A bishop elect comes before the king, swears homage to the king, and is then invested with the temporal properties or rights that have been donated to his bishopric. And the king presents or invests the bishop elect by means of the ring, the episcopal ring, and the pastoral staff. And this is a symbol of the transfer of those rights. It is clearly an important indication of the role of the king and emperor as a Christian king involved in the life of the Church. But you can see here there's a problem of perception. Now, a bishop-elect will still need to be consecrated by other bishops, but in a society where gesture and ritual are so important, it clearly looks as if the king is somehow making a priest a bishop, as if the bishopric is in his gift, which, of course, in fact, it was in practice. So there is a very murky blurring here between these separate spheres.

[Melvyn Bragg] And so we're talking not only about (because this is obviously very important to people at that time) what ... the sacred nature of this is, but who gets access to all this wealth and power.

[Kate Cushing] Absolutely.

[Melvyn Bragg] Which is enormous.

[Kate Cushing] This is an enormous problem. And it's interesting that the first real concerns about this practice of lay investiture come relatively late. In the 1050s, Humbert of Silva Candida, a former monk from Lotharingia, writes a treatise called Three Books Against the Simoniacs, and he takes a very rigorous position.

[Melvyn Bragg] Now, the Semoniacs are people who buy offices...They are named after Simon in the Bible who suggested that the Apostles could sell their story, and he was condemned as a dreadful man, and Simony-Simoniac was named after him. A lot of people thought this was corrupt, just as nepotism was corrupt.

[Kate Cushing] [Yes.] It's beyond corrupt. It's also considered a heresy. ... What Humbert does, very interestingly, is his interest is on condemning Simony, but he's led to demand the prohibition of lay investiture because he sees that the practice makes Simony and corruption inevitable among the clergy.

[Melvyn Bragg] So it's bubbling away there. (We're having a long run... It's like a bowler going to the boundary before he comes up to the wicket... but we need it for this...) Now, let's go back to Henry III and his contribution in the investiture controversy. What was significant about that? And can you give us some dates please?

[9:39]
[Kate Cushing] Yes. Henry III is very... pivotal figure in this, ironically. When his father, Conrad II, dies in 1039, Henry has been king, or associated king already for ten years. Now, Henry III clearly aspires to and symbolizes a theocratic style of rule. He sees his role as the representative of God on earth in both secular and ecclesiastical affairs. And we can see Henry III taking a very, very keen interest in regulating, in appointing and supervising his bishops.

[Melvyn Bragg] So the argument is coming to a head again. It ebbs and flows, doesn't it? And this is a flow. They're at each other again...

[Kate Cushing] Absolutely. But what happens here, what Henry III does, is he extends this to the papacy. ... In 1046, Henry makes his first Italian expedition, both from political motives, he wants to be crowned emperor and also to make connections with reformers. Now, there had been some problems in the papacy and there were sort-of three rival claimants... The recognized pope, Gregory VI, meets with Henry on his way south to Rome and Henry II receives him with all due honour. The problem is that rumors reach him that the Pope may have entered the papal office through Simony. Henry III summons all three popes to a synod at Sutri in 1046. He deposes all three, and three days later, his own candidate, the Bishop of Bamberg, is elevated as Pope.

[Melvyn Bragg] So there's no messing, really, is there? To get rid of three popes at a blow...Right, John Gillingham, let's move on a bit to Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII. ...Pope Gregory VII was known as the "Holy Satan", as I understand it. He was ... powerfully bent on some sorts of reform. Henry IV was an extremely determined German emperor. What happened there?

[11:40]
[John Gillingham] Well, I think we have to begin with a contrast between those those two men whose clash was going to dominate the later 11th century as perceived throughout Christendom. And perhaps the most important thing there is the fact that Henry IV was king because he was his father's son and he'd been king since he was a very small boy. Gregory, by contrast, became Pope because for previous 25 years or so, he had been an influential, indeed, many people said a dominating figure in the politics of Rome and the Church. Henry was there simply because of heredity and the accident of birth. Gregory was there because he was a man of great talent, great ambition, of huge determination - [there is a] tremendous contrast between the two men as leaders of their own societies. [But they were] similar, though, I think, in the sense that both were utterly determined. Henry IV was determined to hold on to his ancestral rights as the king and hopefully Emperor, Gregory [was] determined to bring about a revolution in the relationship between empire and papacy, and neither would admit defeat, even though it seemed to ... all contemporaries, that towards the end of their life, both had been defeated. Both died fighting to the last, determined grimly to go on and on.

[Melvyn Bragg] Before they die, let's talk about them a little more. What did [Pope] Gregory want to do that was so radical? ...

[13:23]
[John Gillingham] Well, in the context of a program of reforming the church and churchmen, of making churchmen give up sex and money, as it were, in purifying the Church...

[Melvyn Bragg] Because Chastity wasn't enjoined at that time, it was preferred, but he wanted to make it compulsory?

[John Gillingham] Certainly you can put it like that. He was much, much more hardline on the notion that the priests should be celibate - do away with their wives, their mistresses, things which, on the whole, many of them had taken for granted and people hadn't made a big fuss about. But in the generation of Gregory, this issue became extremely important and went together with the notion...

[Melvyn Bragg] May I interrupt? Was this theologically based on Gregory's part, or was it another power play of his?

[John Gillingham] I don't think it's possible to distinguish that. I mean, I think that it was a dominating thought within the mind of Gregory and many of his contemporaries, and in order to bring it about, it was necessary, they felt it necessary, to insist, that, as Pope, Gregory and one or two of his predecessors had a great deal of authority over other churchmen in particular. That was disconcerting enough for the other churchmen - Bishops were used to being considered figures of great moment and authority, and

when the Pope starts ordering them around in order to make them celibate or their priest celibate, they didn't much like it.

[Melvyn Bragg] When we see [this contest between Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII] most graphically... is when it comes to the election of the Bishop of Milan. And that's the beginning of a stout clash, isn't it?

[15:13]
[John Gillingham] Yes. Well,... as Henrietta said, Henry IV was having trouble with the Saxons. Saxony was now a focus of rebellion within the German Empire. He'd just won a great victory, which was unusual for Henry (he kept going to war and kept losing) but he won a great victory in 1075, felt really confident and thought, "now is the time to sort out the business of Italy. I am the rightful ruler of Italy. ... I must now get round to cleaning up, in my sense, the Italian church, in particular Milan", and he appoints and therefore is willing to invest an Archbishop of Milan. Gregory immediately responds by saying, "no, this is not to be... the appointment of bishops is really a matter for the top churchmen, i.e. me".

[Melvyn Bragg] And this is a very interesting milestone along the way to the Concordat of Worms, which, I must remind our listeners, is what we're going to talk about. So, ... Henrietta Leyser, can you give us some notion to sharpen the political conflict, the religious political conflict, the power conflict, between these two, and how Henry was strapped and what the Pope ... had and had not in terms of forces?

[16:31]
[Henrietta Leyser] Well, it's particularly complicated because a number of different things happen at the same time. As John has said, there's this vacancy in Milan, and Milan is ... on the way to Rome, and, of course, although he can claim to be an emperor, he can't actually be an emperor until he's crowned and the crowning, the coronation, has to happen at Rome, so he's got to have access to Rome. Milan itself is in ferment at the moment because there is a group of very radical reformers - I mean, one of the interesting things about the reform papacy is that they aren't really leading reform, necessarily, or not all the time, sometimes they're being pushed by extremists, and there are some extremists at Milan who really, really want to purify the church, who really, really think all the things that have been going on before to do with sex and money and whatever, are terrible. And so the Pope finds himself ... caught by ..., if he's not careful, there ... being a lot of people almost more radical than he is. So he wants to get control of the sort of revolution that's going on in Milan, which is one of the reasons why it's so important for him that it's his guy and not Henry IV's guy who becomes bishop there. There are further problems in the south of Italy where the Normans have just turned up, and the alliance that there will be between the papacy and the Normans is very interesting and will remain interesting throughout the period we're talking about, because the Normans are potentially people who will cause a lot of trouble for the Pope.

[Melvyn Bragg] Which they do. They sack Rome, don't they?

[18:00]

[Henrietta Leyser] Yeah, but they're also the Pope's allies. And the Pope ends up relying on the Normans rather than relying, as he has done previously on The Emperor for protection and for an army.

[Melvyn Bragg] ... What happens [next]... is one of the best known events in this story - Henry IV's walk to Canossa, which took place in 1077... can you tell us about Henry the force walked to Canossa and what that signified? ...

[18:42]
[Kate Cushing] ...It's a very important event. After the Milan situation, Gregory writes a very sharp letter in December 1075 to the King. Henry responds by summoning a synod at Worms in January 1076, at which he commands the Pope to descend - he doesn't depose him, he tells him to step down. The German bishops renounce their obedience to the Pope. Gregory responds by excommunicating him.

[Melvyn Bragg] ...Presumably there were masses of German bishops. So when you say the German bishops, it isn't ... right over Europe, [all] German bishops, wherever you look?

[Kate Cushing] No, but it's a large gathering of people who had formerly been supporters of the Pope because they've made an oath to the King. Some of them say that they were there and didn't participate - this is their answer. When Henry is excommunicated by Gregory VI, the Lenten Synod of 1076, [Gregory] absolves everyone from their oaths of fidelity [to Henry], and he denies Henry the kingship. This is a tremendous thing. Henry had clearly overestimated the strength of his position, ... and everyone runs for cover. I mean, ... the strength of Gregory's excommunication is such that the German nobles move to the papacy. The bishops come back to seek pardon from Gregory.

[Melvyn Bragg] It's worth the pause, isn't it? But the act of excommunication, he regains tremendous power.

[Kate Cushing] He does,

[Melvyn Bragg] ...Because he has this unique authority to let them through the gates of heaven to eternal life.

[Kate Cushing] And this is a serious matter. ... But because of this, Henry is forced to agree to really ... humiliating terms. He agrees to participate in a synod that will be presided by the Pope at Augsburg in February 1077. Then, in a masterful stroke, Henry slips across the Alps to meet the Pope before he gets to Augsburg, and they meet at Canossa. And Henry, apparently (it's a very legendary story) stands as a penitent, kept waiting three days in the snow, begging the Pope to soften his heart.

[Melvyn Bragg] This is a castle of Matilda, the ... richest landowner in Italy at the time, and a very powerful woman.

[Kate Cushing] Yes. And she is an ardent supporter of the papacy, but also technically a vassal of the King - of Henry IV.

[Melvyn Bragg] So quite tricky.

[Kate Cushing] So, through the intervention of Matilda and Abbot Hugh of Cluny, Gregory is persuaded that he must receive the king back into communion. And so Gregory receives the king back into communion, but he says he does not restore him to the kingship, that the kingship still must be decided by [the] synod at Augsborg. Really, what happens is, Gregory is faced with a moral dilemma - he must absolve a penitent, but Henry IV scores a massive victory at Canossa.

[Melvyn Bragg] You wanted to come in there, John Gillingham?

[John Gillingham] Well, it was to slightly qualify the notion that merely by excommunicating someone, the Pope could, as it were, win the power play. I mean, it made a huge difference in this case, but precisely because Henry already had a great deal of trouble not only with the Saxon nobility, but also with the most powerful magnates in southern Germany. They were already champing at the bit, as it were, to take up arms, to risk taking up arms against Henry IV. So when the Pope excommunicates this man, with whom they have many, many issues, of course, they feel let off the leash, encouraged to risk their lives and limbs. And that is what transforms excommunication [in this case. Excommunication] in a vacuum wouldn't do it; it's because he's already in trouble. And so much in trouble is Henry IV back in Germany, with the princes there, that even though Gregory releases him from this excommunication and wants them to wait before until this conference occurs in Germany, over which he will preside and decide who is going to be the next king, they won't wait. They go ahead straight away, really, and they decide ...that they will elect one of [them], Rudolph, as the real king in Germany. And that is the most decisive event in medieval German history, [and will] determine things for many centuries to come. Perhaps we might return to that?

[Melvyn Bragg] ...Can [you explain] why it's decisive?...

[John Gillingham] It's because Henry IV was king, because he was his father's son. Throughout Europe, monarchy generally means hereditary monarchy - an heir succeeds a predecessor on the throne. By electing someone who was not the heir on the grounds that they were better equipped, more suitable to the task, not at all from the same family [the princes have laid]...a whole new foundation to a monarchy. And in effect, from 1077 onwards, the German monarchy becomes an elective monarchy and remains so until Napoleon's time, whereas every other monarchy in Europe is a hereditary monarchy, except, of course, the Papal monarchy. And for some reason or other, we think it's natural that Pope's papal monarchy should be elected, but we think it's natural, as in our current dear Royal family, that it should be hereditary. So the change introduced into the monarchical system in Germany is to be very profound for Germans.

[Melvyn Bragg] Henrietta Leyser, is this a benefit to the man who succeeded Henry IV, who was Henry V? [Also, wasn't Henry V the son of Henry IV, and doesn't that qualify what John has just been saying?]

[24:45]

[Henrietta Leyser] Well, I think John's absolutely right to point out that this is one of the many strands of the conflict ... about the nature of kingship in Germany. And Henry V realizes that the only way he can possibly save the Salians is actually by deserting his father...

[Melvyn Bragg] ...The Salians being his dynasty - as opposed to the Saxons, who had been the base before in the 10th century?

[Henrietta Leyser] Yes. So he thinks, and he's persuaded, in a way, that the best chance of getting rid of Henry IV is for him to go to his father and say, "oh, I'm terribly sorry, I know I've been in rebellion, but really I'm a good and faithful son", and they embrace and they make up and then he betrays him. But this is seen as I mean, some chronicles even think that the whole thing is a put-up-job and it is a way of preserving the Salian dynasty against this outsider, Rudolph, who otherwise is going to ....Well, actually, by that time, Rudolph's dead... so that the whole elective business is sort of parked, if you like, because there is this continuation of Henry V who's taken part.

[Melvyn Bragg] But it's been established.

[Henrietta Leyser] It's been established

[Melvyn Bragg] Now, we've got our horse now, because Henry V was the Emperor who went to the Concordat of Verms in 1122. So, yes, briskly what sort of emperor was he?

[26:06]
[Henrietta Leyser] Well, as I say, he's he gets a bad press because he betrays his father. But equally, he's also very careful because I think he knows what the game is. So he's very careful, actually, during one of the protracted negotiations with the papacy, which don't work as far as the investiture controversy is concerned, but he nevertheless gets absolution for his father and he manages to get him reburied with considerable dignity at Speyer Cathedral. So, as I said, there are so many different fights going on. So I think Henry V does what he can for imperial dignity.

[Melvyn Bragg] Fine, now we're going to drive towards the Concordat through the investiture controversy, John Gillingham. The Pope at the time of Henry V's coronation was Paschal II, and Henry tries to strike a deal with him over the investiture controversy, which Kate explained earlier in the program. Can you just say what moves they made?

[27:09]
[John Gillingham] Well, because Henry V had managed to rescue his dynasty, the family dynasty, by portraying himself as a man willing to make peace with the Popes, unlike his father, a man very sympathetic to the cause of church reform, it was obviously in order to follow logically with that, he had to come to terms, negotiate with the Pope, Paschal II. And the obvious occasion to do that is when he wants to be Emperor, wants to get crowned in Rome. And so, in the year 1110, he marches south with a huge army, perhaps the biggest army that the German Emperor's ever had, thanks to a lot of money he had got from England because he had been betrothed to Matilda, the daughter of Henry I. And with all that money, he goes south with a huge army and meets the Pope's envoys not very far out of Rome at the beginning of

February 1111. And they come to an extraordinary deal. The the deal is that the Emperor will give up all investiture of all churches and in return, and on the day of the Emperor's coronation in St. Peter's, the Pope will order all bishops to give up their governmental rights, their counties, their rights to mint money, their rights to collect tolls, their rights to rule provinces. What they called in the language of the time, their "regalia". In other words, the bishops will be able to concentrate on pastoral duties, looking after their parishioners, their diocese. They won't be immersed in the whole business of the secular, political world. That's the deal. It's going to happen when the Emperor goes into St. Peter's on the 11 February, 12 February, to be consecrated and crowned. It's an extraordinary deal, because why should many bishops give up all these powers and authorities which bring them in great resources? And we don't really know why that deal was made, but it's possible that Henry V, coming to the throne as a reform candidate, had an inner circle of secular advisers who said, "well, why not? Let's agree with the Pope, let's purify the bishops. We will make this deal".

[Melvyn Bragg] And then what happened, Kate Cushing?

[29:42]
[Kate Cushing] Well, when the agreement is publicized on the 12 February, on Henry's coronation day, there is an uproar in St. Peter's inside ... the basilica. The clergy and magnates are horrified, Henry V then refuses to sign the documents, Paschal refuses then to crown him. In the uproar with his very large army, Henry V seizes as many cardinals, magnates, priests and the Pope as he can. He holds them for two months in prison.... and he wears down his resistance and he extorts from the Pope the Treaty of Ponte Mammolo, which is henceforth known as the " Pravilegium", the "evil agreement" in which the Pope concedes investiture with a ring and staff to the emperor. He promises never to excommunicate him. And we are back at square one. When this news is publicized, the uproar is unbelievable. Very strong ecclesiastical opposition that we're back giving the emperor what he'd always had, and Paschal is forced to revoke the grant in 1112. And we're back at the worst state of the relationship between the papacy and the empire.

[Melvyn Bragg] But we come to Pope Callixtus II after Paschal II, Henrietta Leyser, and he finally managed to come to a compromise, and we finally manage to get to the Concordat of Worms. Now, can you take us there, please?

[31:19]
[Henrietta Leyser] Well, by this time, everybody across Europe, if you like, has sort of realized that this has become a row about nothing. Although there are huge issues behind it all, the actual business of investiture isn't really a big deal. So it's already been sorted out in England ..[where]. Archbishop Anselm and Henry I have made up. In France, the King has again made up, and it's accepted that investiture really is not forgiving anything sacramental. So, really, why not just get on with it and accept that this is not really going to alter relationships between the kingdom and the priesthood? We can do it and it'll all be all right. And in fact, of course, that is eventually what happens, but it has to be negotiated in such a way that it doesn't look as if one side or the other is climbing down. ...So we're back to the negotiating table, but it's a very grudging sort of agreement in the end. It is allegedly just for Henry V in his lifetime and ... this sort of saves the Pope's face, but I think by this time, everybody's really exhausted.

[Melvyn Bragg] Kate Cushing, do you want to comment on that... before I move on to John?

[32:49]
[Kate Cushing] Yeah, I think what's interesting is that the charters are very brief and what's extraordinary are the number of details that are not settled. The Emperor renounces investiture with the ring and staff. He is given the right in Germany to be present at episcopal elections or to have his representatives there.

[Melvyn Bragg] So nobody would dare move much away from his choice.. if he's there?

[Kate Cushing] No. He's there. If there is a contested election, he has the right to intervene. The King is able to invest candidates in Germany with the regalia, not with the ring and staff, but with the scepter. So he's still exercising a very visual ritualistic gesture, and he can do this before consecration. Elsewhere in imperial Germany and Burgundy, the transfer takes place after consecration.

[Melvyn Bragg] John Gillingham, what about the pope? Is there a feeling that he's been roundly defeated?

[John Gillingham] Among enthusiastic and hardline churchmen, he has been roundly defeated. You can certainly argue, if you wish, as many of them did, that everything which ...Pope Paschal had conceded to Henry V in 1111 under extreme duress Callixtus had now [conceded as well]... well, you see, Gregory VII would not have crumbled held in prison. He would have insisted that "if I am martyred, it will be a victory for the Church". Paschal preferred not to be martyred, talked about the damage that was being done in and around Rome, "I must look after my flock. Sadly, against my will, I will concede to the Emperor everything he wanted". Extreme duress. Callixtus was certainly free to negotiate and he came to an arrangement which, in effect, said the same thing. That is to say, the Emperor will be allowed to invest bishops through a symbolic ceremony and, in effect, that will let the Emperor choose his bishops, which is what kings generally throughout Christendom were doing. They held decisive influence in the selection of most bishops in most parts of Christendom.

[Melvyn Bragg] Henrietta?

[Henrietta Leyser] No, I was only going to say that, indeed, at the Lateran and council, when the curia asked to endorse the decision, they all shout out ... "we don't like it", and the Pope has to say "don't worry, it's just for now, it'll be all right".

[Melvyn Bragg] That was the next year, 1123.

[Henrietta Leyser] Yeah. When the when the the deal is read out to all the assembled cardinals, they say, you are caving in. But he says, it's all right, don't worry. And there's already in Rome at the same time the Archbishop Canterbury elect, William of Corbett, who has been elected and invested and chosen with the king being present and very much the king's candidate. So it's a very tricky situation, actually, for the Pope. In a sense, there are always more than one thing going on in this contest. He really has to

stick with the agreement that he's made in 1122, even though many of the cardinals don't like it.

[Melvyn Bragg] Kate Cushing?

[36:15]
[Kate Cushing] ...also he's able to cement agreement, even in spite of the opposition with this first Lateran council, with this very strong program of reform. So he's able to appease the hardliners with that they're taking church reform forward.

[Melvyn Bragg] ...John?

[36:58]
[John Gillingham] Well, I just wanted to draw attention to one aspect of the [Concordat at Worms] which we haven't mentioned at all so far, which we've just focused on the control of bishops, appointment of bishops. But a very important part of the agreement was that the Emperor promised to help the Pope get back control of the Papal Petrimony, the Papal States in central Italy. That had been a recurrent worry of popes from Gregory VII's time onwards. Throughout all these negotiations, people interested in permanent principles of the relations between church and state have focused on appointment senior prelates as much as anything else, the Popes [were] worried about their power, their control, their regalia, as they called it, in Italy...They believes that in order to be independent and free, they should have huge resources in terms of wealth, control over people. They're fighting for that. ...Because the emperor also has authority, he says, and sometimes lands up with a big army in Italy, that's why the Emperor and the Pope are at loggerheads in a much more violent way than say, the Pope and the King of France...

[Henrietta Leyser] Just to go back right to the historical roots of the empire in the west. It's basically set up really to protect the papacy. I mean, that's the whole deal...with the Carolingians...

[Melvyn Bragg] In the 800s?

[Henrietta Leyser] Yes.

[Melvyn Bragg] Charlemangne?

[Henrietta Leyser] And even before Charlemagne, there's this guarantee that the Carolingians, when they take over from the Merovingians in the mid 8th century, that they will be the Pope's allies, that they will protect him, because the Pope always has enemies and the Pope has no legions. And so the Pope desperately needs a secular ruler, he desperately needs good relationship and he looks around and ... he allies with the Normans and he actually gives the ruler of Sicily enormous privileges. So there are very different deals going on with different rulers across Europe about investiture...

[Melvyn Bragg] And about investment...

[Henrietta Leyser] And investment, absolutely, yes. Because the Pope is always, as we've seen, it's very easy, actually, to make the Pope a prisoner. It's very easy to

chase him out of Rome, it's very easy to sack Rome. So the Pope is always a worried man.

[Melvyn Bragg] One slightly unexpected consequence of this, but a very important one for us, is the development, after the investiture controversy of polemical writing of public polemics and into the development of universities, really. Can you just refer to that, Kate Cushing?

[39:37]
[Kate Cushing] Yes. One of the things that we see is while through all this is a war of propaganda and these treaties are spreading across Europe. They're clearly designed mostly to preach to the converted, to ... bolster one's own supporters. But what's interesting is [that] there is internal evidence that different authors are responding to existing treaties. And these "little books of struggle", as they're called, the "libelli de lite", are using the same authorities and trying to argue opposite sides of the cases. ...Their significance is this increasing sophistication in the development of language of disputation that will feed into the law schools, into the emerging schools in Paris, you think of people like Peter Abelard. And what's very interesting is that we know that these treaties are copied throughout the 12th century after the political battles are over, not because of any interest in the content, but as models for how to establish a case.

[Melvyn Bragg] Come back to the Concordat itself, John Gillingham, it's been credited by Francis Fukuyama as having created a unique balance between royal power and religious tradition. Do you agree with that?

[40:54]
[John Gillingham] No, I would say it simply confirmed the usual traditional balance between secular power and papal religion. It does appear to create a balance because people were, as Henrietta said, thoroughly fed up with this endless confrontation between Pope and Emperors, and so a period of peace does follow. But the 30 years or so of peace that follows occurs because on the one hand, the Pope and their lot won't push it to confrontation anymore, and secondly, because the Emperors that follow are too weak within Germany to march into Italy in great strength. And so the root cause of the problem between these powers doesn't emerge again until Frederick Barbarossa takes over in the 1150s and is strong enough. And then at once you get the whole thing breaking out again with papal schism, the Emperor choosing his own Pope and so on.

[Melvyn Bragg] So finally, Henrietta Leyser, despite all the sounds and trumpets and agreements and imprisonments and the sackings of Rome, which you haven't had time to refer to, it didn't change much?

[Henrietta Leyser] No, not really, because it's an insoluble problem in some sense, and that's so, you know, the other text that comes up again and again from the Gospels is, "here are two swords, and the Lord says it is enough". And people worry forever about quite what that means.

[Melvyn Bragg] Well, thank you very much indeed for talking about something that didn't change much, so intriguingly for so long.