

INTRODUCTION — THE PAPACY AS AN «EMERGING REALITY» OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

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Approximately a hundred years ago, Augustin Fliche published the first volume of his monumental work dedicated to the so-called «Gregorian Reform». Fliche's investigation deeply influenced twentieth-century European historiography, making Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) the central figure in the process of transformation of the Roman Church and its supposed liberation from the hands of the laity who controlled ecclesiastical structures in Western Europe during the Early and High Middle Ages. These ideas opened a major debate among historians that is still ongoing. Several scholars have criticised the image of the *Reform* as a unitary project that equally involved all sectors of the Church between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Criticism of Fliche's approach has also focused on the existence of a plurality of *Reforms* in the High Middle Ages and on the fact that this progressive transformation and «verticalisation» of the Roman Church did not begin with Gregory VII and, most importantly, was still very far from being accomplished at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Therefore, the Papacy was not an all-powerful institution, but rather an «emerging reality» of the twelfth century, among the other powers of Europe at the time.

Since the 2000s, scholars such as Jochen Johrendt and Harald Müller have particularly insisted on the importance of investigating the different phases in the spread of Roman primacy over medieval Christendom and the dynamics between the Papacy and local realities. In recent years, this perspective has led to an increase in studies on the so-called «peripheries» of medieval Europe and Christendom. However, these areas are no longer considered passive subjects in their relationship with the Papacy. Following the most recent historiographical developments, the relationship of the «peripheries», or of the new kingdoms of the twelfth century (such as Sicily, Portugal, or Jerusalem), with the Apostolic See is now interpreted more as an interaction between institutions that were mutually seeking acknowledgment in order to strengthen their positions. In other words, popes looked to kingdoms for military, political, and economic support and recognition, while the new kings could benefit from the symbolic and spiritual legitimation provided by the successor of Saint Peter.

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This more dynamic approach has underlined the importance of the «peripheries». By seeking the support of Rome, these political realities helped the Papacy to assert its authority and its ecclesiological and jurisdictional primacy on a larger scale, something that was far from obvious or peacefully accepted by the powers — both civil and ecclesiastical, *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* — of medieval Europe.

During my research activity carried out at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto (FLUP) and at CITCEM (Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória), I had the opportunity to discuss these topics extensively with my colleagues Luís Carlos Amaral, Francesco Renzi, and Luigi Russo. To put our discussions into practice, we decided to organise an international meeting, which was also conceived as part of my research project funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT), entitled *The Pope's Men. Papal Legates, Judges Delegate, and Representatives in the Iberian Peninsula (XI-XIII Centuries)* (FCT 2022.00422. CEECIND). The aim of the conference was precisely to analyse the relations between the Apostolic See and the new political realities emerging in Europe in the first half of the twelfth century, addressing the so-called «peripheries» from the often-overlooked point of view of Rome and considering both the centre (the Apostolic See) and these kingdoms as «works in progress». Thanks to the unceasing support of CITCEM and its Director, Professor Inês Amorim, the conference *A Dialogue between Emerging Realities: the «New Kingdoms» and the Apostolic See in the Twelfth Century* took place at the University of Porto on 26-27 September 2024, bringing together international scholars working in Portugal, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and France. The present volume is based on the proceedings of the September 2024 meeting. Taken together, the contributions illustrate the richness and variety of the themes and geographical areas addressed, which can be organised into the following thematic groups.

First, it is important to highlight the work of Nicolangelo D'Acunto (*The Papacy and the new kingdoms in the 12th century: the mediation of the monks, canons, and bishops*), which offers an important and interesting framework for approaching the connections between «centre and periphery» in the Middle Ages. His paper focused on the relationship between the Papacy and the new European kingdoms in the twelfth century, seen as a reciprocal connection developed through a plurality of networks, actors, and mediators, such as bishops, abbots, and legates. This work emphasised the fact that negotiations, conflicts, and adaptations provide more useful keys to a better understanding of the relations between the Papacy and the kingdoms than the idea of a linear process of centralisation driven by Rome.

A second group of papers is related to the Kingdom of Sicily, founded by the Norman Roger II in 1130. The complexity of the relations between Sicily and the Apostolic See is well represented by the contributions of Glauco Maria Cantarella

(*Forzando a San Pedro: el reyno normando de Sicilia*), Ignazio Alessi (*Papato e regno normanno di Sicilia: una rilettura della questione dell'Apostolica Legazia*), Vincenzo Roberto Imperia (*Papacy and Regnum Siciliae in the 12th century: decretals to the king of Sicily*), and Francesco Battaglini (*I Saraceni nelle lettere dei papi verso le zone di frontiera e i nuovi regni, secoli X-XII*). Cantarella's essay offers an analysis of the relations between the kings of Sicily and the popes, together with a set of very interesting observations on the sources connected with Pope — or *antipope* — Anaclet II and the Treaty of Benevento of 1156. This paper is closely connected to the essays by Alessi and Imperia. The former investigated the problem of the legatine status of the Norman rulers of Sicily, granted by Pope Urban II in 1098. Nonetheless, Alessi went beyond the traditional historical-juridical approach to investigate the concrete functioning of the legation, the level of control, and the ecclesiastical policy pursued by the Norman kings in constant negotiation with Rome. Imperia's paper, by contrast, focuses on the ecclesiological dynamics that shaped relations between the Apostolic See and the Kingdom of Sicily during the Norman period, through the study of the relatively little-known decretals addressed by Popes Alexander III and Clement III to King William II, a series of texts that provide several insights into the relations between the two parties.

These three works might be linked to Damian Smith's paper on Aragon (*The emerging crown: the kings of Aragon and the Papacy in the long twelfth century*), in which the author offers an extensive overview of the political relationship between the kings of Aragon and the Papacy from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, showing how this relationship was strongly shaped by historical context and by the interests of the two parties, which, as in the case of the kings of Aragon, could weaken or dispense with their alliance according to the circumstances of the moment. Finally, Battaglini's work explored the military dimension of the relations between Rome and Sicily, investigating the evolution of papal conceptions of Islam from the tenth century onwards and the role that popes attributed to the fight against the Saracens — as «*hostes ecclesiae*» and «*inimici Christiani nominis*» — in the process of legitimation of the new twelfth-century kingdoms. Battaglini's work also concerns Portugal, a frequent comparison in international historiography, as a new kingdom that shared some relevant points of analysis with the Sicilian case.

Portugal is the core subject of two more contributions. On the one hand, Francesco Renzi and Andrea Mariani's work (*The Papacy and the bishops of Porto between the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries: some preliminary observations*) investigates the case study of the diocese of Porto. The essay aims to offer a first survey of the sources and a description of how the relations between an apparently «*peripheral*» bishopric and the Apostolic See evolved between the twelfth and the thirteenth century, highlighting the complexity of both episcopal and papal agency.

On the other hand, Joana Lencart's paper (*A Sé Apostólica e as ordens militares no emergente reino português: Hospitalários e Templários, século XII*) is dedicated to the analysis of both the papal discourse concerning the Military Orders, and specifically the Hospitallers and Templars, and the impact on the Kingdom of Portugal of these new forms of Christian life that emerged in the Holy Land after the First Crusade, through the study of papal documents. Lencart's work is also very helpful in introducing a further group of papers, all dedicated to the relations between the Apostolic See, the Crusading movement, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Latin East.

Luigi Russo's contribution (*Un laboratorio politico-ecclesiologico: il regno crociato di Gerusalemme nel secolo XII*) focuses, in fact, on the creation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and on the conditions that made Jerusalem a «unique» space from a political and ecclesiological point of view, framing the relations between the kings of Jerusalem and the local patriarchate within the context of the «competitive» Latin East. Reflection on the role of *Sacerdotium* during the Crusades is one of the main themes of Miriam Tessera's contribution («*Spiritual father and supreme pontiff*»: the influence of the Latin East on papal politics and ecclesiology in the twelfth century). Starting from the ideal concept of *Orientalis ecclesia*, the author investigates the influence of the Crusader states on three fundamental areas: the role of *Orientalis ecclesia* in the resolution of schisms; the definition of the concept of the remission of sins within the Crusading framework; and how the model offered by the Kingdom of Jerusalem could be politically employed in Western Europe. Also centred on the Holy Land, Rebecca Rist's contribution (*Paschal II and the crusader states of Outremer, 1099-1118*) offers an innovative study of Paschal II's letters, stressing the importance of the role played by this pope — often neglected by historiography — in the dissemination of the Crusading message and in supporting the newly established crusader principalities during the first quarter of the twelfth century.

Last but not least, Corrado Zedda's essay (*Il Giudicato di Cagliari e i suoi rapporti con la Sede apostolica, XI-XII secolo*) takes us back once again to Italy, this time to the island of Sardinia, to examine the unsuccessful attempts of the *Giudicato* of Cagliari to be recognised as a kingdom by the Apostolic See in the twelfth century. Zedda's work not only introduces the reader to the fascinating reality of medieval Sardinia, but also represents a fitting conclusion to the volume, since it analyses the *Giudicato* of Cagliari within the broader perspective of the relations between the Papacy and other emerging realities of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as Sicily, Portugal, and the Balkan case of Croatia.

In conclusion, my colleagues Francesco Renzi and Luís Carlos Amaral and I believe that the variety and quality of the contributions included in this volume will be of interest to scholars specialised in medieval papal history. We also hope

that, as happened during the 2024 conference at FLUP, this book will provide an opportunity to share and disseminate historical knowledge and to bring different schools of thought and fields of study into contact, in order to build solid research networks for the future. This was our most genuine wish when we started working on this publication.

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