STUDIA UBB THEOL. CATH. LAT., LXXI, 1, 2026, P. 101–113
Doi: 10.24193/theol.cath.latina.2026.LXXI.1.04

CANONICAL COLLECTIONS AND THE SYSTEMATIZATION OF MEDIEVAL CANON LAW IN THE LATIN WEST. FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO THE DECRETALS OF GREGORY IX

Rusu Cătălin[1]

Abstract: This article examines the formation and systematization of medieval canon law in the Latin West between Late Antiquity and the thirteenth century. It analyses the transmission of Roman legal traditions, the role of pre-Gratian canonical collections, and the emergence of episcopal and monastic centres as spaces of legal compilation. Particular attention is given to Gratian's *Decretum*, the work of decretists and decretalists, and the gradual consolidation of papal decretal collections. The study argues that medieval canon law developed through compilation, interpretation, and juridical harmonisation, culminating in the *Liber Extra* of Gregory IX.
Keywords: medieval canon law; canonical collections; *Decretum Gratiani*; decretalists; *Liber Extra*; Latin West.

Introduction

The aim of this article is to analyse the process through which medieval canon law was formed and systematized between Late Antiquity and the thirteenth century, through canonical collections, papal decretals, and the juridical commentaries produced by medieval canonists. The study also examines the way in which the Roman legal tradition was reinterpreted and integrated into the juridical culture of the Latin West, culminating in the emergence of *Decretum Gratiani* and the major decretalist collections.

1 Cătălin Rusu, PhD in History, is a history teacher at "Gheorghe Șincai" National College, Cluj-Napoca. His main field of research is medieval canon law and the ecclesiastical history of the Latin West. E-mail: r_catalin@outlook.com. ORCID: 0009-0005-9259-6984.

Article history: Received 03.05.2026; Revised 05.05.2026; Accepted 15.05.2026.
Available online: 01. 07. 2026. Available print: 31. 07. 2026.

Roman Legal Heritage and the Post-Imperial West

The tradition of compiling documents that regulated the exercise of government by the Holy See has its origins in the early Middle Ages.[2] During the period of the Eastern Roman Empire's apogee – marked by the sixth-century campaigns for the reconquest of Italy and North Africa, under the sign of *renovatio imperii* – the attention of the emperors in Constantinople also turned to the reform of the legislation that organised the political and administrative life of Eastern Romanity.[3] This concern of the Constantinopolitan rulers had a significant effect: the great jurists of the age succeeded in bringing together, in a unified written form, a vast legislative corpus that updated and harmonised existing laws, adapting them to the realities of the time. In other words, under imperial authority, the Eastern Roman Empire would provide a coherent and official body of law, intended to be known and applied by all the citizens of the empire.[4]

Codex Theodosianus, promulgated in the fifth century under Emperor Theodosius II, was used not only in the Eastern Roman Empire but also in the West, before Rome came under the pressure of the migratory invasions.[5] After the dissolution of the Western Empire, fragmented by the presence of the barbarian peoples, the

2 This tradition has been analysed in detail by Christof Rolker, *Canon Law in the Age of Reforms (c. 1000 to c. 1150)*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2023, 1–18; see also Michael H. Hoeflich, Jasonne M. Grabher, "The Establishment of Normative Legal Texts: The Beginnings of the *Ius commune*," Wilfried Hartmann – Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 1–20.

3 On the legislation of the Eastern Roman Empire, as well as on the compilation, transmission, and medieval transformation of Justinianic law into the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, see Charles M. Radding, Antonio Ciaralli, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages: Manuscripts and Transmission from the Sixth Century to the Juristic Revival* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 147), Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2007.

4 The Christian Church itself was included in the legislative framework of the Roman Empire from the fifth century onwards. On the adaptation of the Church to Roman law, see Ennio Cortese, *Il diritto nella storia medievale*, Roma: Il Cigno Galileo Galilei Edizioni di Arte e Scienza, 1995; Francesco Calasso, *Medioevo del diritto*, Milano: Giuffrè, 1954.

5 Jeffrey Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages (476–752)*, Milton Park: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2014, 323.

Episcopate of Rome – one of the few Roman institutions to survive in this part of the continent – adopted Theodosian legislation and integrated it into its own system of government.[6] The code contained norms that protected the properties of places of worship, regulated donations made to the Church – whether sacred objects or property titles – and established clear rules concerning the status of the clergy, including the right of priests to be judged only by ecclesiastical authorities.[7] All these provisions were firmly defended by Rome whenever the new barbarian rulers, settled in the former western Roman provinces, laid claim to Church lands, regarding places of worship as mere buildings erected on their domains.[8] Through *Codex Theodosianus*, therefore, the Church of Rome sought to defend its rights, properties, and clergy, confident that, in time, the barbarian peoples would adapt to the Roman legal model.

On the other hand, the reconquest of the Italian Peninsula in the sixth century by the Eastern Roman Empire exerted additional political and legislative pressure on the Church of Rome. In the reconquered territories, the new Byzantine rulers introduced an updated legal code – the Code of Emperor Justinian (*Codex Justinianus*) - which restricted some of the privileges enjoyed by clerics under the Theodosian Code, bringing them, from a juridical point of view, closer to the status of laymen.[9] In essence, the clergy lost certain rights in favour of the laity – a situation that was understandable in the East, where the emperor was consolidating his authority over the Bishop of Constantinople, but difficult to apply in the West, where the Bishop of Rome concentrated in his own person both administrative authority over the goods and institutions of the Church and spiritual authority over the regulation of religious practices in the dioceses situated south and north of the Alps.[10] The Roman Church,

6 Peter Partner, *The Lands of Saint Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*, Berkeley–Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972, 2–3; Bronwen Neil, Pauline Allen, *The Letters of Gelasius I (492–496): Pastor and Micro-Manager of the Church of Rome*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014, 8.

7 Kristina Sessa, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 45.

8 Jean Gaudemet, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain (IVe–Ve siècles)*, Paris: Sirey, 1989, 305; CALASSO, *Medioevo del diritto*, 235.

9 Jeffrey Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752*, Milton Park: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2014, 323.

10 These aspects are analysed by Gabriel Les Bras, "Le droit romain au service de la domination pontificale", *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 26.4 (1949).

therefore, could hardly renounce a body of law that granted benefits to the clergy in favour of another that restricted them.

Canonical Collections before Gratian

By the eleventh century, the Holy See had managed to confront the two challenges mentioned above and had sought to follow the example of Constantinople in the uniformisation and updating of legislation in accordance with new juridical realities. Yet such a legislative tradition could not fully take shape, although history records several attempts at juridical adaptation between the sixth and ninth centuries, when norms concerning the status and properties of the clergy were incorporated into the new codifications of the barbarian kingdoms. A relevant example is the *Lex Romana Wisigothorum*, compiled by King Alaric II in 506. This collection brought together not only the imperial constitutions contained in the *Codex Theodosianus* – including provisions concerning the clergy and ecclesiastical goods – but also laws of barbarian origin, transmitted through customary tradition and incorporated into the new compilation.[11] After the middle of the sixth century, however, interest in Justinianic legal texts – the *Codex*, the *Digesta*, and the *Institutiones* – gradually began to decline in the West. In the absence of an imperial administration capable of sustaining the study and copying of these works, they ceased to circulate in manuscripts, while the Roman tradition was diluted in the face of the customs of the new Germanic peoples. After the conquest of Italy, the Lombards introduced their own norms, which they codified in writing in the *Edict of Rothari* (643) and, later, in the laws of King Liutprand – texts written in Latin, yet expressing a Germanic juridical tradition. Similar phenomena can be observed among the Visigoths and the Franks, who also committed their own legal traditions to writing, while nevertheless preserving, in Romanised regions, certain elements of Roman law.[12] In this context, between the seventh and tenth centuries, the western juridical landscape became hybrid: Roman norms, barbarian customs, and local traditions coexisted without a unified framework.

The formation of the Carolingian Empire at the beginning of the ninth century, although it brought the long-sought unity of the West, made the Church of Rome

11 Calasso, *Medioevo del diritto*, 87–88.

12 Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Transformation of Frontiers: From Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*, Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2001, 190.

dependent not only on the new "barbarian" emperor, but also on the legislation issued by him. Although the new provisions continued to protect the rights of the clergy, ecclesiastical properties and appointments to ecclesiastical offices came to depend directly on the authority of the Frankish ruler, a situation whose consequences would be felt up to the Gregorian Reform in the eleventh century.[13]

Before the emergence of the great juridical compilations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the episcopal sees and monasteries of the West functioned as genuine "workshops" for the preservation and compilation of canonical norms. Manuscripts were copied there, texts considered useful for the life of the Church were selected, and different juridical sources were brought together into a single collection.[14] In medieval usage, the term *canon* designated, in a broad sense, a "rule" or a norm of Christian conduct. Isidore of Seville explained in the *Etymologies* that the canon was a rule that led the human being along the right path and corrected deviations from it.[15] Over time, the term also acquired a more precise juridical meaning: that of a text possessing normative authority within the Church.

The fundamental problem of the early Middle Ages, however, was that of authority. If numerous canons existed, deriving from different sources and composed in different periods, which of them possessed binding force? In the absence of a unified juridical system, the validity of a collection depended on the authority of the texts it contained and on its recognition by bishops or by Rome. Until the twelfth century, canonical collections brought together highly diverse materials: biblical texts, conciliar canons, papal decretals, writings of the Fathers of the Church, penitential books, fragments of Roman law, royal legislation, as well as acts issued by local bishops for their own jurisdictions.[16] This mixture of sources reflected the still-fluid character of medieval canon law before the systematisation brought about by Gratian. As a rule, the authors of these pre-Gratian collections did not comment on the texts they reproduced. Their interventions were generally limited to prefaces or to the criteria by which the material was selected. Yet this very selection revealed the ecclesiological orientation of the compiler: some collections emphasised the

13 The legislative authority of the Carolingian monarch is discussed by Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power*, London: Methuen & Co., 1962, 110–114.

14 Rolker, *Canon Law in the Age of Reforms*, 1–2.

15 Rolker, *Canon Law in the Age of Reforms,* 2.

16 Rolker, *Canon Law in the Age of Reforms,* 4.

authority of the local bishop, others defended the primacy of Rome, while others assigned particular importance to the canons of the ecumenical councils.[17]

Thus, long before the emergence of medieval universities, the Latin West had already developed a culture of juridical compilation. Gratian did not create this tradition *ex nihilo*; his merit lay in ordering, interpreting, and harmonising juridical material accumulated over centuries in the episcopal and monastic libraries of medieval Europe.

Decretum Gratiani and the Birth of Classical Canon Law

The Western tradition of canonical compilation, gradually developed in episcopal sees and medieval schools, reached a new level of systematisation with the appearance of Gratian's *Decretum* in the twelfth century.[18] His merit lies in the fact that he laid the foundations for a coherent system of compilation and interpretation of the juridical sources available at the time: papal decretals, the works of the Fathers of the Church, the canons of ecumenical synods, sermons, monastic rules, hagiographies, and norms derived from Roman law, especially from the two codices mentioned above, sometimes transmitted fragmentarily or with documentary errors.[19] Thus, *Decretum Gratiani* became the foundational work of the Western juridical tradition concerning the manner in which the canons of the Catholic Church could be interpreted, commented upon, and supplemented. Gratian not only established this method, but also inspired later generations of jurists who, in the great schools and then in the medieval universities of Europe, would adopt his style and rigour in their own works. These jurists subsequently

17 Rolker, *Canon Law in the Age of Reforms,* 2-12.

18 On Gratian and his role in the juridical development of the Holy See, see Paul Fournier, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien. Tome II: De la Réforme grégorienne au Décret de Gratien*, Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1932; Yves Congar, *Droit ancien et structures ecclésiales*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1982; Péter Erdő, *Storia della scienza del diritto canonico. Una introduzione*, Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1999.

19 Michael H. Hoeflich, Jasonne M. Grabher, "The Establishment of Normative Legal Texts: The Beginnings of the *Ius commune*", in Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 1–20 (9).

came to be grouped into several "specialisations": the decretists, who analysed and commented on Gratian's *Decretum*; the decretalists, who compiled and interpreted papal decretals; and the glossators, who interpreted Roman law, influencing through their method the development of canon law as well.[20] In practical terms, these scholastic juridical milieus were intended to produce new interpretations of the canons of the Church, adapted to the needs of the time, starting from older or more recent decretals issued by the Holy See, while also commenting on the Roman legal texts rediscovered in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

A relevant example is provided by the aforementioned Gregorian Reform and the conflict between Church and Empire that followed it. This development was fuelled, among other factors, by the reinterpretation of the famous epistle *Duo sunt*, sent by Pope Gelasius I (492–496) to the Byzantine emperor Anastasius I. In the fifth-century text itself, Gelasius affirmed the existence of "two powers" – the sacred and the temporal – called to cooperate for the common good, while each retained its own sphere of authority.[21] By contrast, in the eleventh century Pope Gregory VII would cite the Gelasian letter, but the interpretation he gave to the text would be different: the spiritual responsibility of clerics and their moral mission became arguments for asserting the primacy of the Church over the lay authority of the emperor.[22]

Starting from this point, the later reading of the canonists of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries consolidated the idea of the superiority of spiritual authority over secular authority. On the basis of this interpretation, the decretists and decretalists – and, through the influence of juridical method, the glossators as well – constructed arguments in favour of the primacy of the Holy See. The Pseudo-Isidorian False Decretals, together with the theory of the "Two Swords", maintained that Rome, rather than the emperor, possessed primacy in the appointment and

20 Hoeflich – Grabher, "The Establishment of Normative Legal Texts: The Beginnings of the *Ius commune*", 10.

21 Cătălin Rusu, "New Interpretations Regarding *Duo sunt* of Pope Gelasius in Romanian Historiography", *Ephemeris Dacoromana. Serie nuova* XXI (2019) 59–80.

22 On the interpretation of the Gelasian text during the Gregorian Reform, see Henri-Xavier Arquillière, *Sur la formation de la théocratie pontificale*, Paris: E. Champion, 1925, 11–13; James A. Watt, "The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century: The Contribution of the Canonists", *Traditio* 20 (1964) 179–317 (191–194); Kenneth Pennington, *The Prince and the Law, 1200–1600: Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–Oxford: University of California Press, 1993, 32–33.

deposition of clerics, as well as in the collection of tithes from churches under royal ownership. Thus, the monopoly of authority was no longer held by lay rulers, but by the Pope.[23]

The Decretalists and the Systematization of Pontifical Law

It may therefore be argued, to a significant extent, that the Roman Pontiff provided the "official" interpretation of the canons, while the jurists had the task of resolving contradictions or clarifying the application of those norms in concrete contexts.[24] In effect, from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, decretalist works evolved in an increasingly analytical and structured register: authors did not limit themselves merely to presenting papal decretals, but began from a *lemma* –

23 Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006, offers a broad analysis of the discrepancy between the normative discourse of the Gregorian reformers and the concrete reality of the relations between lay power and ecclesiastical institutions. Although the Gregorian Reform condemned, in theory, the control exercised by kings and nobles over churches and monasteries, in practice numerous ecclesiastical institutions continued to accept the protection of lay patrons because of the privileges and security they provided. The reform was therefore more firmly expressed at the level of pontifical discourse and major ecclesiastical centres, while its concrete application varied considerably at the local level. Watt, "The Theory of Papal Monarchy", 191–194, complements this picture by showing that medieval jurists developed, at a theoretical level, arguments concerning the primacy of the Holy See in matters of ecclesiastical investiture, canonical jurisdiction, and pontifical taxation.

24 In medieval canon law historiography, the juridical status of canonical collections prior to the thirteenth century remains a matter of debate. Although the great collections of papal decretals—which transmitted the juridical interpretation of the Holy See on various canonical matters—had not yet received a universal official sanction from Rome, they circulated widely in the law schools and ecclesiastical courts of Latin *Christianitas*. Their authority derived primarily from practical reception, the prestige of their compilers, and their constant use in juridical and didactic activity. Only with the promulgation of Gregory IX's collection (*Liber Extra*, 1234) did the Papacy impose an official canonical corpus universally recognised in the Latin Church; Kenneth Pennington, "Decretal Collections 1190–1234", in Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 293–317 (300–301).

a word, a juridical expression, or a canonico-juridical notion – and, on its basis, subjected the text to a detailed analysis. They explained the term, placed it in parallel with other sources – Roman law, patristic texts, Aristotelian or Platonic philosophy – identified possible contradictions or normative gaps, and proposed juridical solutions oriented towards practical application.[25] Thus, in the Italian Peninsula, papal decretals were, in theory, followed with strictness;[26] beyond the Alps, however, clerics combined the interpretations of the Holy See and of the jurists with local customs. In the Kingdom of Hungary, for instance, at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, it was customary that, before the diocesan members proposed a suitable person for the office of bishop or archbishop, the king's consent had to be obtained; only thereafter did the scrutiny proceed according to the canonical norms then in force.[27]

If the works of medieval jurists were becoming increasingly sophisticated and minutely commented upon, it was only natural that the material on which they worked should attain the same level of rigour. From the twelfth century onwards, the decretalists gathered extensive collections of papal letters, intended to serve as the basis for later elaborations. Between 1189 and 1191, Bernard, bishop of Pavia, was the first to compile such a collection, known under the title

25 Rudolf Weigand, "The Development of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Gratian's *Decretum*", in Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 55–97 (65–66). For a broader view of the intellectual mechanism of medieval juridical commentary, the structure of the gloss apparatus, and the way in which a word or expression could become the nucleus of an extended juridical interpretation, see Jean Gaudemet, *La formation du droit canonique médiéval*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1980.

26 Antonio Antonetti, "Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche dell'Italia meridionale nel Duecento tra centralizzazione e resistenze", *Schola Salernitana. Annali* 28 (2023) 219–255.

27 For a general overview of the relations between royal power and the Hungarian clergy, see Péter Erdő, "Ecclesiastical Procedure in Eastern Central Europe", in Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Courts and Procedure in Medieval Canon Law*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016, 426–460; for a more detailed analysis of the relationship between the archbishoprics of Esztergom and Kalocsa and the Hungarian monarchy, see Gergely Kiss, "Mutatis mutandis? Les mutations de la pensée juridictionnelle des prélats hongrois à la fin du XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle", *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* 7 (2013).

Breviarium extravagantium.[28] In later tradition, this collection would be cited by jurists under the name *Compilatio Prima*, and was followed, not long afterwards, by the *Compilatio Secunda* of Johannes Galensis (c. 1201–1210). The basis of these first collections consisted of late synodal canons, the decretals of pontiffs prior to Gratian, as well as the letters of Popes Gregory I (590–604), Gregory VII (1073–1085), Alexander III (1159–1181), and Clement III (1187–1191).[29] The pontificate of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) was remarkable for the abundance of its pontifical correspondence. From this abundance of letters, the canonist Petrus Beneventanus compiled a new collection in 1210, known as *Compilatio Tertia*, which brought together exclusively the decretals issued by Innocent. The pontiff, impressed by the rigour of the work, approved the compilation and sent it for examination to the jurists of the school of Bologna – the principal centre for the study of canon law at the time.[30] The success of *Compilatio Tertia* was considerable: within a short time, it spread from Italy throughout Christian Europe, while French, English, and German jurists began to add their own commentaries and supplements to the Innocentian letters, thereby enriching the initial juridical material and strengthening the legislative prestige of the Roman Church.[31] *Compilatio Quarta*, compiled by the German canonist Johannes Teutonicus, and *Compilatio Quinta*, produced by the glossator Tancred, were the last autonomous collections of decretals. In 1234, Pope Gregory IX entrusted the Dominican jurist Raymond of Penyafort with the task of officially compiling a new collection of pontifical texts, intended to replace all previous compilations. This work, known as the *Liber Extra*, represented the culmination of the tradition of canonical codification: it was approved by the Holy See, disseminated to the principal universities of Europe, and recognised as the official canon law of the Latin Church.[32] Through this work, the thirteenth century consecrated the long-sought legislative unity of western Christendom, achieved

28 Kenneth Pennington, "The Decretalists 1190–1234", in Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 211–245 (218).

29 Pennington, "The Decretalists 1190–1234", 219.

30 Pennington, "The Decretalists 1190–1234", 221.

31 The best-known case was analysed by Kenneth Pennington, "The French Recension of *Compilatio Tertia*", *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 5 (1975) 53–71.

32 Péter Erdő, *Storia della scienza del diritto canonico. Una introduzione*, Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1999, 42–45.

through the efforts of the pontiffs and the meticulous commentaries of the jurists in the great medieval schools.

Therefore, the role of medieval jurists was to contribute to the uniformization and systematisation of the entire juridical patrimony of the Church: the collections of decretals, the commentaries on Gratian's *Decretum*, and the interpretations of rediscovered Roman law. They created not only a coherent corpus of texts, but also a working instrument – a methodology of analysis and interpretation – that opened the way to a true science of canon law. Through this work of synthesis, the Holy See asserted itself in the Middle Ages as the legitimate heir of the Western Roman Empire, continuing and perfecting, in a Latin register, the juridical model born in Byzantium.

Bibliography

Antonetti, Antonio, "Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche dell'Italia meridionale nel Duecento tra centralizzazione e resistenze", *Schola Salernitana. Annali* 28 (2023) 219–255.

Arquillière, Henri-Xavier, *Sur la formation de la théocratie pontificale*, Paris: E. Champion, 1925.

Calasso, Francesco, *Medioevo del diritto*, Milano: Giuffrè, 1954.

Congar, Yves, *Droit ancien et structures ecclésiales*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1982.

Cortese, Ennio, *Il diritto nella storia medievale*, Roma: Il Cigno Galileo Galilei Edizioni di Arte e Scienza, 1995.

Erdő, Péter, "Ecclesiastical Procedure in Eastern Central Europe", in Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Courts and Procedure in Medieval Canon Law*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016, 426–460.

Erdő, Péter, *Storia della scienza del diritto canonico. Una introduzione*, Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1999.

Fournier, Paul, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien. Tome II: De la Réforme grégorienne au Décret de Gratien*, Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1932.

Gaudemet, Jean, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain (IVe–Ve siècles)*, Paris: Sirey, 1989.

Gaudemet, Jean, *La formation du droit canonique médiéval*, London: Variorum Reprints, 1980.

Hoeflich, Michael H. – Grabher, Jasonne M., "The Establishment of Normative Legal Texts: The Beginnings of the *Ius commune*", in Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth

Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 1–20.

Kiss, Gergely, "Mutatis mutandis? Les mutations de la pensée juridictionnelle des prélats hongrois à la fin du XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle", *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis* 7 (2013), 71-101.

Les Bras, Gabriel, "Le droit romain au service de la domination pontificale", *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 26.4 (1949), 377-398.

Neil, Bronwen – Allen, Pauline, *The Letters of Gelasius I (492–496): Pastor and Micro-Manager of the Church of Rome*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014.

Partner, Peter, *The Lands of Saint Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*, Berkeley–Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2022.

Pennington, Kenneth, "Decretal Collections 1190–1234", Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 293–317.

Pennington, Kenneth, "The Decretalists 1190–1234", in Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 211–245.

Pennington, Kenneth, "The French Recension of *Compilatio Tertia*", *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 5 (1975) 53–71.

Pennington, Kenneth, *The Prince and the Law, 1200–1600: Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–Oxford: University of California Press, 1993.

Radding, Charles M. – Ciaralli, Antonio, *The Corpus Iuris Civilis in the Middle Ages: Manuscripts and Transmission from the Sixth Century to the Juristic Revival* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 147), Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2007.

Richards, Jeffrey, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages (476–752)*, Milton Park: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.

Rolker, Christof, *Canon Law in the Age of Reforms (c. 1000 to c. 1150)*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2023.

Rusu, Cătălin, "New Interpretations Regarding *Duo sunt* of Pope Gelasius in Romanian Historiography", *Ephemeris Dacoromana. Serie nuova* 21 (2019) 59–80.

Sessa, Kristina, *The Formation of Papal Authority in Late Antique Italy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Ullmann, Walter, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power*, London: Methuen & Co., 1962.

Walter Pohl, Ian Wood, Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Transformation of Frontiers: From Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*, Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2001.

Watt, James A., "The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century: The Contribution of the Canonists", *Traditio* 20 (1964) 179–317.

Weigand, Rudolf, "The Development of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Gratian's *Decretum*", in Wilfried Hartmann, Kenneth Pennington (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234. From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008, 55–97.

Wood, Susan, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.