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♦ *WOMEN AND FEMININITY*

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CONTENTS

I. Women and Femininity	5
Piotr Górecki	
Women and Gender between Two Worlds.....	5
Sherri Franks Johnson	
Poverty and Property: Ties between Male and Female	
Religious Communities in Late Medieval Bologna	19
Andrzej Radzimiński	
The Woman in Papal Documents of the Late Middle Ages	33
Kimberly LoPrete	
“The Lady Vanishes”: Medieval Texts, Modern Historians	
and Lordly Women	55
Melanie C. Maddox	
Queen or Puppet Lady? Æthelflaed’s Role in the Politics,	
Power and Identity of Mercia	111
Elisabeth van Houts	
Yolanda of Vianden (1231-1283): A Reluctant Bride.....	127
Marie Kelleher	
Witnessing from the Margins: Legal Testimony of Doubly	
Differenced Women in the Later Middle Ages.....	145
Belle Stoddard Tuten	
Lactation and Breast Diseases in Antiquity: Medical Authorities	
on Breast Health and Treatment.....	159
Nancy McLoughlin	
Silencing the Widow with a Prayer for Peace.....	187
Felice Lifshitz	
Ethnicity, Gender and Sexuality in Mid-century Medievalist	
Film: The Example of Becket (1964)	211
II. Kings in Captivity (continuation)	241
Courtney M. Booker	
The Dionysian Mirror of Louis the Pious	241
Yves Sassier	
Louis IV d’Outremer, roi captif, roi déchu (945-946)	265
Francesca Roversi Monaco	
“King of Bologna”: The Captivity of Enzo, King of Sardinia,	
between History and Myth	279

Stanisław A. Sroka	
The Imprisonment of the Hungarian Queens: Elizabeth of Bosnia and Mary (1386-1387)	303
Neil Murphy	
Politics, Honour and Display: The Captivity of John the Good	317
III. Current Research.....	343
Przemysław Tyszka	
Human Body and Corporeality in Provisions of Penitentials (6 th -11 th Century)	343
Jan Videman, Nad'a Profantová	
An der Ostgrenze des Frankenreiches. Ein Hortfund von Denaren von Ludwig dem Frommen bei Jedomělice (Bezirk Kladno), Böhmen	367
Marek Jagodziński	
Scandinavians and West-Balts. Contribution to the Study on the Issue of the Influence of the Scandinavians on the Development of Settlement and Economic-Political Structures in West-Balts during the Viking Age	391
Jerzy Piekalski	
Three Variants of Urban Transformation in Medieval Central Europe: Prague, Wrocław and Kraków	425
Marek Daniel Kowalski	
The Papal Collectorate in the 15 th Century Poland	447
IV. In Memoriam	461
Frau Professor Zofia Hilczer-Kurnatowska (1932-2013).....	461
Jacques Le Goff (1924-2014).....	473
V. Book Notices	479
Authors	507

I. WOMEN AND FEMININITY

(THE SECTION EDITED BY PIOTR GÓRECKI)

PIOTR GÓRECKI
RIVERSIDE, CA

WOMEN AND GENDER BETWEEN TWO WORLDS



The decision by Professor Wojciech Fałkowski and the editorial board of the *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* to assemble a set of contributions on the theme of *Women and Womanhood* (or, alternatively in the Polish original, *Women and Femininity*) in the *Middle Ages*, is most welcome on a number of levels.

First, it continues two practices intrinsic to the *Quaestiones* ever since its renewal in 1994, expressed through the adjective *novae* enhancing the title of the original journal, which ran as a series in 1977-1991. The new series differs from its predecessor in one important respect. In addition to a section entirely open in its subject matter, each annual issue devotes one or two sections to a specialized theme, currently of interest to medieval historians worldwide. Such thematic sections comprise continuous sets of articles, and are comparable in size to the open-subject sections. The specialized section – or, in the case of two, the principal section – furnishes the volume in which it appears with its specific title.

Second, the journal, in both incarnations, is a venue for contact and exchange between communities of medievalists inhabiting different academic cultures, and writing in different vernaculars. One aspect of this role is translation. Like its predecessor, the new series makes work by leading Polish medievalists of a given generation available to our colleagues outside Poland, who, with honorable exceptions, typically do not read Polish¹. In this regard,

¹ The guest editor would like to thank Joan Cadden, Sharon Farmer, Sherri Franks Johnson, Francesca Rochberg, and Barbara Rosenwein for assistance and advice regarding specific aspects of this project.

the “Quaestiones” joined earlier venues of this kind, published in Poland and elsewhere in East Central Europe from the 1950s onward². More recently, the translating mission is being extended by publication of contributions in languages widely used in the international community (called “congress” languages by our Polish colleagues) in a handful of those Polish journals whose editorial language is Polish – one long-established, another new, with this kind of linguistic diversity a deliberate part of its profile³.

While fully continuing in this role, the new series has also moved beyond translation. A few issues into its existence, it has emerged as a site for original publication by our medievalist colleagues worldwide, writing on a wide range of subjects of current interest to all medievalists – subjects which sometimes concern, but typically quite deliberately move outside of Poland or East Central Europe. A galaxy of outstanding authors, recruited from both sides of the Atlantic, now populate the pages of journal, typically but not always in the thematic sections⁴. This aspect of the journal’s mission facilitates scholarly exchange – by proximity of publication, and by facilitating reading across the

The stature of the contributors is well reflected in the first three volumes of the original “Quaestiones”, issued in 1977, 1981, and 1996, with publications by: Antoni Gąsiorowski, Bronisław Geremek, Aleksander Gieysztor, Tadeusz Grudziński, Roman Heck, Jerzy Kłoczowski, Brygida Kürbis, Lech Leciejewicz, Henryk Łowmiański, Marian Małowist, Karol Modzelewski, Jerzy Okulicz, Stanisław Piekarczyk, Stanisław Russocki, Henryk Samsonowicz, Józef Szymański, Jerzy Wyrozumski, Hanna Zaremska and Benedykt Zientara.

2 In Poland, above all “Acta Poloniae Historica” I (1958) et seq., as well as “Quaestiones Medii Aevi” I-IV (1977-1991), “Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae” I (1994) et seq. (henceforth: QMAN); “Ergon” (an occasional supplement to “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”) I (1953) et seq.; “Archaeologia Polona” I (1958) et seq.; in Hungary “Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae” I (1951) et seq.; P. Górecki, *The Early Piasts Imagined. New Work in the Political History of Early Medieval Poland*, “The Mediaeval Journal” I (2011), p. 85 (n. 9).

3 Respectively, “Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka” I (1946) et seq., revised format XIII (1958) et seq., which has begun to intersperse English-language publications with the Polish repertoire about two years ago, and “Hereditas Monasteriorum” I (2012) et seq., which includes such contributions right since the first volume.

4 The examples are too numerous to include in a convenient reference; the contributions in English include: S. Reynolds, *Rationality and Collective Judgement in the Law of Western Europe before the Twelfth Century*, QMAN V (2000), pp. 3-20; J.L. Nelson, *Charlemagne. “Father of Europe”?*, QMAN VII (2002), pp. 3-20; F. Curta, *Linear Frontiers in the 9th Century. Bulgaria and Wessex*, QMAN XVI (2011), pp. 15-32; J. Muldoon, *From Frontiers to Borders. The Medieval Papacy and the Conversion of Those along the Frontiers of Christendom*, QMAN XVI (2011), pp. 101-122; N. Berend, *The Medieval Imagery of Frontiers in Hungary*, QMAN XVI (2011), pp. 171-178; J.Y. Malegam, *Love between Peace and Violence. Not a Crisis but a Critique of Fidelity after 1000*, QMAN XVI (2011), pp. 321-335; B. Rosenwein, *Christianizing Cicero’s “Perturbationes”*, QMAN XVII (2012), pp. 29-47; B. Effros, *Looking for Christians among the Barbarians. Merovingian-Era Cemeteries and the Origins of Medieval France*, QMAN XVII (2012), pp. 57-68; I. Moreira, *Hector of Marseilles is Purged. Political Rehabilitation and the Guilt by Association in the 7th Century Passion of Saint Leudegar of Autun*, QMAN XVII (2012), pp. 191-210; J. Arnold, *The Containment of Angels*.

cultural distance between the heterogeneous academic communities whose work appears in its pages. This latter type of contact is especially important because, despite an enormous and successful effort on all sides to bridge that distance during the past quarter-century, these academic communities are still relatively unfamiliar with one another – regarding their respective historical pasts, and the conceptual frameworks and discourses through which these pasts are comprehended.

A slight caveat: writing in 2014, I do not wish to exaggerate that distance. Doing so is almost a default trope in the more general reflections upon the history of East Central Europe produced in English by specialists in other regions. Over that past quarter-century, colleagues living and working entirely outside of Poland and nearby countries, have produced an unprecedented amount of work about this region, conceived in varied vernaculars, discourses, and conceptual frameworks, and that output has had an impact on general medieval historiography⁵. And yet, the distance persists. An area of scholarship where it remains especially visible is the theme of the present volume, expressed by the editors as “Women and Womanhood”, and encompassing, in its English variants, the study of women, gender, and several subjects which have emerged from the two over nearly half a century of luxuriantly varied production.

Over the same decades, comparable work produced in and near Poland overlaps with one strand of that subject: women’s history. Much of the important work produced on this subject in Poland is noted in a reference by Andrzej Radziwiński⁶. In contrast, the history of gender, and the distinction between the histories of gender and of women, remain relatively absent⁷.

Boniface, Aldebert, and the Roman Synod of 745, QMAN XVII (2012), pp. 211-242; D. Ziemann, *Between Constantinople and Rome – the Christianisation of Bulgaria in 9th Century*, QMAN XVII (2012), pp. 243-264.

⁵ An excellent example of that kind of impact, and an entrée into that literature, is N. Berend, P. Urbańczyk, P. Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages. Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900 - c. 1300*, Cambridge 2013.

⁶ See his contribution, nn. 10-11; in particular: A. Radziwiński, *Kobieta w średniowiecznej Europie*, Toruń 2012; M. Bogucka, *Women in the History of Europe. From Antiquity until the Beginning of the 21st Century*, Warsaw 2008; G. Pac, *Kobiety w dynastii Piastów. Rola społeczna piastowskich żon i córek do połowy XII w. – studium porównawcze*, Toruń 2013. Apart from the work produced in those decades, older, specialized, and today still useful literature includes: B. Lesiński, *Stanowisko kobiety w polskim prawie ziemskim do połowy XV wieku*, Wrocław 1956; W. Abraham, *Zawarcie małżeństwa w pierwotnem prawie polkiem*, Lwów 1925.

⁷ An important exception to this generalization is J. Banaszkiewicz, *Wątek “ujarzmienia kobiet” jako składnik tradycji o narodzinach społeczności cywilizowanej. Przekazy “słowiańskie” wcześniejszego średniowiecza*, in: *Człowiek w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym*, ed. R. Michałowski, Warszawa 1997, pp. 27-44; idem, *Dąbrówka “christianissima” i Mieszko poganin (Thietmar, IV, 55-56, Gall I, 5-6)*, in: *Nihil superfluum esse. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza ofiarowane profesor Jadwidze Krzyżaniakowej*, eds. J. Strzelczyk, J. Dobosz, Poznań 2000, pp. 85-93.

As recently as fifteen years ago, gender history simply did not exist in Poland⁸. Thus, the editors' choice of this subject is an occasion for closure of one conspicuous remaining gap in several historiographies. Although the contributors to this collection are based in several countries of Europe and North America, this encounter, as it has shaped up in this collection of articles, concerns primarily the two academic worlds of Poland and the United States.

An ironically symptomatic example of the historiographical distance is the challenge in the search for the best English expression for the title of this volume, as that title was presented to me by the editors in its Polish original. In that original, the second substantive word of the title, *kobiecość*, means seamlessly both "womanhood" and "femininity". Thus, the whole project began with a translation dilemma. In ordinary English, the meaning of the former word centers on the fact, and the identity, of being a woman – that is, the sex and its attributes, both physical and more or less distantly related to the physical – whereas the meaning of the latter concerns that subset of such attributes which encompasses behavior, appearance, or image. My own translation preference is "womanhood", because that word, also in ordinary English, seems to me to subsume whatever may be meant by "femininity".

However, in the context of the present subject, as pursued in English, these two and other key words have long had a life quite distinct from – though not necessarily incompatible with – their plain meanings. They are strongly contested; that contestation has been a crucial dynamic driving this historiography in its Anglophone setting. Of my two possible translations, each option is problematic, in the sense that each may appear to essentialize some aspect of identity, or activity – sex difference in one case, behavior or stereotypical attributes in the other. Many years ago, early suspicion toward "woman" among Anglophone feminists in and out of academia was reflected in a search for modes of spelling that word so as to eliminate the male bias supposedly inherent in its second syllable. Today, difference between the sexes itself, and thus "woman-" or "manhood" as a classification, are often viewed as artifacts of human practice or culture, rather than as intrinsic, innate, biological, or natural – one of the many examples of the impact upon the subject of this volume of the turn toward gender. Meanwhile, to complicate matters – if I have correctly understood an important point made in her article by Kimberly LoPrete – "femininity" is currently shifting in its connotations, away from the possibly essentializing implications suggested

8 P. Górecki, *Poland: to the 18th Century*, in: *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, II, ed. K. Boyd, London 1999, p. 931. Regarding that diagnosis of absence of a subject, back then, I am indebted to a spoken comment by Roman Michałowski, made shortly before 1999.

by that word in ordinary English, toward a conceptual and disciplinary counterpart of “masculinity studies”, another development emerging out of our attention to gender.

Examples of such contestations could be multiplied, so instead of resolving my translation problem, I passed it shamelessly on to the authors, with the request that they interpret the ambiguity and put it to creative use entirely as they wish. In addition, in one regard, I took the liberty to interpret expansively the remit expressed by the original Polish title. That remit referred specifically to “women” – *kobiety*. However, precisely because of the continued dearth of works in Poland today on the history of gender, I asked the authors to range, also as they saw fit, within the conceptual continuum connoted to them – again, as they wished – by “women” and “gender”. The resulting articles brilliantly represent that range of choice, and its outcomes.

My own substantive role in this area is modest. Before the later 14th century, the written record pertinent to women and gender in the Polish sources is so exceedingly fragmented, and otherwise difficult to work with, that my work concerning women is sparse and incidental to other subjects, and I have not reached issues of gender at all⁹. Thus, the editors’ placement of this responsibility in my hands presumably reflects my more extensive experience in bridging two vastly different medieval historiographies – the Polish and the Anglophone – regarding a wide range of other subjects¹⁰. I am

9 P. Górecki, *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland, 1100-1250*, New York 1992, pp. 108-111; idem, *Parishes, Tithes, and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland, c. 1100 - c. 1250*, “Transactions of the American Philosophical Society” LXXXIII (1993) 2, pp. 22-23; idem, *Ad Controversiam Reprimendam. Family Groups and Dispute Prevention in Earlier Medieval Poland*, “Law and History Review” XIV (1996) 2, pp. 231-242; idem, *A Historian as a Source of Law. Abbot Peter of Henryków and the Invocation of Norms in Medieval Poland, c. 1200-1270*, “Law and History Review” XVIII (2000) 3, pp. 491-492, 499-504; idem, *A Local Society in Transition. The Henryków Book and Related Documents*, Studies and Texts, CLV, Toronto 2007, pp. 42, 121, 139-140 (n. 142), 149, 161, 201, 206-207 (nn. 15-18), 209 (n. 25).

10 P. Górecki, *Medieval “East Colonization” in Post-War North American and British Historiography*, in: *Historiographical Approaches to Medieval Colonization of East Central Europe. A Comparative Analysis against the Background of Other European Interethnic Colonization Processes in the Middle Ages*, ed. J.M. Piskorski, Boulder-New York 2002, pp. 26-61; idem, “*Tworzenie Europy*” Roberta Bartletta w kontekście anglosaskich badań historycznych nad początkami i kształtowaniem się Europy, in: R. Bartlett, *Tworzenie Europy. Podbój, kolonizacja i przemiany kulturowe, 950-1350*, eds. G. Waluga, J.M. Piskorski, Poznań 2003, pp. 505-515; idem, *Medieval Peasants and Their World in Polish Historiography*, in: *The Rural History of Medieval European Societies. Trends and Perspectives*, ed. I. Alfonso, The Medieval Countryside, I, Turnhout 2007, pp. 253-296; idem, *A Road Well Travelled. Culture, Politics and Learning in the Work of Paul W. Knoll, 1966-2006*, in: *Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. A Cultural History*, eds. P. Górecki, N. van Deusen, London 2009, pp. 1-19; P. Górecki, N. van Deusen, *Toward a New Cultural History of East Central Europe?*, in: *Central and Eastern Europe...*, pp. 192-212; P. Górecki, *The Early Piasts...*

most grateful to the editors, but above all to the authors, for taking part in this type of bridging exercise, in two huge subject areas where it is so obviously needed: women and gender in the Middle Ages.

In English-language scholarship, the earliest – and in a sense the foundational – dimension of the subject of this volume is the history of women. The subject emerged during the second half of the 20th century. Its driving emphasis has been discovery – a search for the heretofore unknown, the sparsely documented, or the systematically unnoticed or overlooked. “Uncovering” was a recurrent verb with which early authors in this field described what they were doing: literally and metaphorically, making visible the circumstances, roles, activities, and (generally) the “position”, of a heretofore understudied, numerically huge, self-evidently important subset of the medieval population. A broader context for this spike in interest was the dramatic political ferment spanning the long post-war period – in the United States, most importantly the long-term impact of the Civil Rights movement – and, in academia, a rise of attention to other traditionally marginalized or unrecognized groups, above all religious and sexual minorities¹¹.

Women’s history means, quite literally, the study of women in the past – the intersection between them, and specific aspects of medieval life and reality – law, labor, economy, religion, literacy, rulership, status, and power – with a range of emphasis upon the roles played by women at that intersection along a continuum of agency, from subjection (often expressed by the metaphor “pawn”) all to meaningful, decisive control¹². The history of gender emerged,

¹¹ M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Prague 1974; M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus*, Oxford 1977; idem, *Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, Oxford 1992; R.I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent*, Oxford 1977; J.E. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality. Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century*, Chicago 1981; R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society. Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250*, Oxford 1987; J.B. Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society. Power, Deviance, and Resistance in Languedoc*, Ithaca 2001.

¹² From the enormous literature, examples most familiar to me include: *Medieval Women. Dedicated and Presented to Professor Rosalind M.T. Hill*, ed. D. Baker, Oxford 1978; P. Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages. A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (d. 203) to Marguerite Porete (d. 1310)*, Cambridge 1984; S.F. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society. Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900*, Philadelphia 1985; P. Shine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin. Image, Attitude, and Experience in Twelfth-century France*, Chicago 1985; C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Holy Dolls. Play and Piety in Quattrocento Florence*, in: *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, ed. L. Cochrane, Chicago 1985, pp. 310-329; *Women of the Medieval World. Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy*, eds. J. Kirshner, S.F. Wemple, Oxford 1985; S. Farmer, *Persuasive Voices. Clerical Images of Medieval Wives*, “*Speculum*” LXI (1986) 3, pp. 517-543; B. Newman, *Sister of Wisdom. St. Hildegard’s Theology of the Feminine*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1987; J. Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside. Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague*, New York 1987; *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. M. Erler, M. Kowaleski, Athens 1988; *Sisters and*

as a distinct subject, from the history of women, most forcefully announced by Joan Scott in 1986¹³. In contrast to “woman”, “gender” has no plain English meaning apart from the grammatical, so the word is conceptually specialized both before and after its adaptation. After that adaptation, gender refers to the cultural significance of the difference between the sexes. Its emergence out of women’s history reflects the realization, by historians of women and historians in general, that a crucial aspect of the past (and present) reality affecting women – the specific material comprising their history, noted above – is the fact that in (apparently) all cultures, the difference between women and men – sex difference – was, and remains, a key determinant, or independent variable, in the history of actual women: those circumstances, roles, activities, “position”, and the like, which make up the lived world of women.

The turn toward gender was also part of a shift affecting several disciplines, above all social anthropology, away from nature toward culture as the preferred paradigmatic explanation for human phenomena – a shift then expressed by a much repeated (and today slightly clichéd) emphasis on their “social construction”, in preference to their innate or otherwise axiomatic origins¹⁴. However, I hasten to add that this emphasis on the culturally

Workers in the Middle Ages, eds. J.M. Bennett, E.A. Clark, J.F. O’Barr, S. Westphal-Wihl, Chicago 1989; E. Ennen, *The Medieval Woman*, ed. E. Jephcott, Oxford 1989; S. Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen. A Visionary Life*, London 1989; *Women in the Church*, eds. W.J. Sheils, D. Wood, *Studies in Church History*, XXVII, Oxford 1990; P. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession. Religious Women in Medieval France*, Chicago 1991; D.F. Noble, *A World without Women. The Christian Clerical Culture of Western Science*, New York 1992; *A History of Women. From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*, eds. P. Schmitt Pantel, A. Goldhammer, Cambridge 1992, pp. 377-477; P. Stafford, *Women and the Norman Conquest*, “*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*”, 6th ser. IV (1994), pp. 221-249; J.L. Nelson, *The Wary Widow*, in: *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. W. Davies, P. Fouracre, Cambridge 1995, pp. 82-113; *Hidden Springs. Cistercian Monastic Women*, eds. J.A. Nichols, L.T. Shank OCSO, *Medieval Religious Women*, I-II, Kalamazoo 1995; H. Leyser, *Medieval Women. A Social History of Women in England, 450-1500*, London 1995; H.M. Jewell, *Women in Medieval England*, Manchester 1996; B. Stoddard Tuten, *Women and Ordeals*, in: *Conflict in Medieval Europe. Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture*, eds. W. Brown, P. Górecki, Aldershot 2003, pp. 163-174; F.L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*, Ithaca 2001; B. Newman, *Liminalities. Literate Women in the Long Twelfth Century*, in: *European Transformations. The Long Twelfth Century*, eds. T.F.X. Noble, J. Van Engen, Notre Dame 2012, pp. 354-402; S. Franks Johnson, *Monastic Women and Religious Orders in Late Medieval Bologna*, Cambridge 2014. I am continuously grateful to Julius Kirshner for introducing me to the earlier portions of this list many years ago, at the University of Chicago.

¹³ J.W. Scott, *Gender. A Useful Category of Historical Analysis*, “*American Historical Review*” XCI (1986) 5, pp. 1053-1075.

¹⁴ I thank Ronald Inden for introducing me to this switch when it was first underway in the last third of the 20th century. Its important source and marker is Inden’s own *Orientalist Constructions of India*, “*Modern Asian Studies*” XX (1986) 3, pp. 401-446. For the much later sense of overuse of the word, see I. Hacking, *Social Construction of What?*, Cambridge 1999.

created, or historically contingent, as an aspect of reality pertaining to women, antedates the emergence of gender as a distinct subject, and has long been present in feminist historiography – including the history of women, whether understood as the myriad interactions between women and their surrounding reality noted above, or as the very large-scale phenomena affecting that reality across time and culture – patriarchy, for example¹⁵.

Over the period spanning the 1980s and today, gender analysis has inspired an extensive analogous treatment of other groups, or classifications, more or less distantly related to the difference between the sexes: men and “masculinity”; physiologically or sexually ambiguous populations (today sometimes grouped as “intersex”); the disabled and “disability”; and, thanks to Robert Ian Moore’s crucially important new book, religious dissenters, specifically “the Cathars”¹⁶. Finally, in at least one strand of gender analysis, the constructivist approach has complicated the difference between the sexes itself – away from its status of an independent variable affecting the history of women, toward, itself, a product of culture, active creation, performance, or – to use again that now slightly overused word – “construction”.

Gender history has ranged among several subjects and approaches. One, pioneered by Joan Cadden, is the explicit processing, or analysis, of the difference between the sexes: attention, by the women and men who have left us the pertinent record, to the fact of woman- or manhood, eliciting some kind of interpretation, analysis, or use¹⁷. The resulting material varies widely. It evaluates; expresses emotion; prescribes, prohibits, or regulates; and describes, along physiological, anatomical, or psychosomatic lines. In addition, our medieval predecessors used the difference between the sexes as source of a rich repertoire of imagery useful for expressing other major areas of reality. An early, now classic example is Caroline Bynum’s treatment of the uses by medieval (usually, but not exclusively, male) ecclesiastics of the imagery of womanhood and femininity as an idiom for important aspects of their world – culminating with Christ Himself¹⁸. Much more recent is Nancy McLoughlin’s analysis, in this collection, of the strongly feminized image of the University of Paris deployed by Jean Gerson and his contemporaries.

Another development in gender history is the study of major phenomena comprising the Middle Ages with a special emphasis upon the presence and role of women. Semantically, “gender” evolved into a transitive verb, so

¹⁵ G. Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy*, New York 1986.

¹⁶ R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy. Faith and Power in Medieval Europe*, London 2012.

¹⁷ J. Cadden, *The Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages. Medicine, Science, and Culture*, Cambridge 1995.

¹⁸ C.W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Berkeley - Los Angeles 1982.

that the resulting analysis becomes, and the phenomena are demonstrated as having been, “gendered”. Examples abound. Among the many currently “gendered” subjects, we have, to use a series of examples: the crusades, memory – especially collective memory, thanks in large part to Elisabeth van Houts in her earlier work, revisited in her essay in the present collection – religion, law, the Norman Conquest, learning, dynasties, and the Middle Ages in its totality¹⁹.

Gender history has also worked as an originating source, or a conceptual benchmark, for a number of related subjects. One is the human body in the Middle Ages, as a subject of analysis, interpretation, imagination, and experience. Relatively early in her prolific output, Bynum has moved from a study centered closely on one type of bodily expression of religiosity, specific to women²⁰, toward a range of studies exploring the body and its aspects – as a physical, living object, locus of relationships, subject of cognition, and source of metaphor or discourse²¹. Closely related is the current interest in medieval sexuality, specifically as related to the body²². Developing a quite different kind of gender analysis, the late Michael Camille described patterns of ideological and visual inversion expressed through erotic and scatological marginal art in medieval manuscripts²³. In the course of her work, Kathleen Biddick has moved from an innovative inquiry into medieval

19 *Gender and Religion. On the Complexity of Symbols*, eds. C.W. Bynum, S. Harrell, P. Richman, Boston 1986; P. Stafford, *Women...*; E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200*, Toronto 1999; *Medieval Memories. Men, Women, and the Past, 700-1300*, ed. eadem, London 2001 (especially eadem, *Introduction. Medieval Memories*, pp. 1-16); J.L. Nelson, *Gender, Memory, and Social Power*, in: *Gendering the Middle Ages*, eds. P. Stafford, A.B. Mulder-Bakker, Oxford 2001, in which see also the following chapters: E.M. Synek, “*Ex utroque sexu fidelium tres ordines*” the Status of Women in Early Medieval Canon Law (pp. 65-91); P. Skinner, “Halt! Be Men!”. *Sikelgaita of Salerno, Gender, and the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy* (pp. 92-111); A.B. Mulder-Bakker, *The Metamorphosis of Woman. Transmission of Knowledge and the Problems of Gender* (pp. 112-134); C. Nolte, *Gendering Princely Dynasties. Some Notes on Family Structure, Social Networks, and Communication at the Courts of the Margraves of Brandenburg-Ansbach around 1500* (pp. 174-191); *Gendering the Crusades*, eds. S.B. Edgington, S. Lambert, New York 2002. For an earlier treatment of women and collective memory, antedating explicitly “gendered” analysis yet, in retrospect, fully consistent with it, see J. Fentress, C. Wickham, *Social Memory*, Oxford 1992, pp. 137-143.

20 C.W. Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast. The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1988.

21 C.W. Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, New York-Cambridge 1991; eadem, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, New York 1995; eadem, *Wonderful Blood. Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond*, Philadelphia 2007; *Last Things. Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds. C.W. Bynum, P. Freedman, Philadelphia 2000.

22 *Framing Medieval Bodies*, eds. S. Kay, M. Rubin, Manchester 1994.

23 M. Camille, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art*, Cambridge 1992.

agrarian history to a reexamination of what she considers the fundamental conceptual categories, affecting that area (an implicitly other areas) of history – sexuality and patriarchy²⁴.

This luxuriant proliferation of subject matter, encompassing women's history, gender history, and their intersections and offshoots, has been a focus of much debate among the protagonists²⁵. Such debates are presumably affected by yet another direction in the study of these subjects, right from its beginnings, which seems to be specific to the United States. This is their bifurcation – in essential terms, or at least as a point of departure – into either the “history” or the “studies” of the relevant field: “women's studies”, “gender studies”, or the “history” of each. To some degree, this bifurcation is institutional, because it works to name, and thus identify, university departments, programs, or faculty positions. In addition, it is substantive. As with other fields conceptualized in the USA as “studies” – “religious”, “American”, “cultural” – this classification of “women” or “gender” tends to deemphasize the historical and chronological in favor of the theoretical aspects of their subjects. This complication, as part of the context for the subject of this issue of the “*Quaestiones*”, relates to yet another contested issue, namely a margin of doubt, articulated by historians of both women and gender, about whether the medieval period in particular is a productive or helpful terrain regarding those subjects²⁶. Surely, the essays in this volume should help put this issue to rest.

In sum, the histories of women and gender have been a terrain of a spectacularly creative fragmentation, specialization, and inspiration in our historical knowledge. That outcome, and that process, are well reflected in the essays assembled here. Consistently with the request by the editors in Warsaw, as passed on to the authors by me, the articles concern women – as actors, or as foci of attention by the creators of the primary sources used by the authors. In addition, all the articles concern gender. There is no tension, disciplinary or conceptual, between the histories of “women” and of “gender”, because of the authors' sustained attention to women as their subject, and because these essays confirm that gender – the cultural significance of sex

²⁴ K. Biddick, *Medieval English Peasants and Market Involvement*, “*Journal of Economic History*” XLV (1985) 4, pp. 823-831; eadem, *The Other Economy. Pastoral Husbandry on a Medieval Estate*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1989; eadem, *The Shock of Medievalism*, Chapel Hill 1998; eadem, *The Typological Imaginary. Circumcision, Technology, History*, Philadelphia 2003.

²⁵ R. Stone, *New Directions for Early Medieval Women's History?*, “*The Heroic Age. A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe*” XV (2012), <http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/15/forumb.php> (accessed 15 April 2014).

²⁶ For the observations of the problem at its important historiographical moment, see: J. Bennett, *History Matters. Patriarchy and the History of Feminism*, Philadelphia 2006, pp. 30-53; R. Stone, *New Directions...*, §2.

difference – was a crucial factor in the lives of – the totality of circumstances pertinent to – actual women. An especially vivid and moving example is the brutal physical punishments inflicted on women by men, as presented by Radzimiński – clearly, self-evidently, a case study in the significance of the difference between men and women. One important trademark of this set of essays and this volume is the presentation of a history of women fully and seamlessly informed by the history of gender.

Along this conceptual spectrum – exactly as requested by me – the authors vary in the relative mix and degree of explicitness. My basis for placing the articles in the sequence in which they appear is the authors' relative emphasis on women and on gender – stressing, however, the word "relative", because these articles deal with both subjects, because readers other than myself – and of course the authors – may interpret this thematic balance differently from me, and because, in any event, I do not mean to overcompartmentalize my colleagues' work. With these caveats, the first six essays are principally about women, the remaining three principally about gender. The first group opens with articles concerning large populations, or categories, of women – and, by a happy coincidence, equally broad areas of activity by women, toward women, and otherwise involving women. These are the contributions by Sherri Franks Johnson, Andrzej Radzimiński, and Kimberly LoPrete.

Johnson examines the population of women religious in later medieval and early modern Bologna. This is, in its size and geographic distribution, a substantial population, active in several equally broad-scale contexts: monasticism and monastic identity; the city; and relations with men, above all bishops, priests, monks, and especially friars²⁷. Johnson zooms in with special attention on one aspect of the coexistence between the women whom she examines and their surrounding universe: the role of the women religious in mediating the flow of revenues to male mendicants, whose ability to receive such revenues directly was limited. Radzimiński inquires into a wide range of subjects concerning women in later medieval Poland, through the lens of their petitions to the papal chancery regarding several areas of personal conduct, including, but not limited to, marriage and circumstances bearing upon its validity. The result is a highly textured panorama of circumstances in which women were actors, and which confronted women: family, status, interactions with men – above all, their husbands (or, in case of questionable unions, putative husbands) and clerics – and their standing implied through the act of petitioning the papacy²⁸. LoPrete gives us a sustained collective

²⁷ Her full study of this subject is S. Franks Johnson, *Monastic Women...*

²⁸ Compare L. Schmutge, *Female Petitioners in the Papal Penitentiary*, in: *Gendering the Middle Ages*, pp. 155-173.

portrait of women lords – very explicitly, not “ladies”, not actors on behalf of their husbands, sons, or other men, but lords – and makes a strong (in my view, absolutely convincing) case for their womanhood (or “femininity”), specifically in that seigneurial capacity. In these pages, LoPrete takes her great case study of one such lord, Adela of Blois²⁹, in new directions: toward a larger population of lordly women, and across the broad, Anglo-Norman-French world in the central Middle Ages.

Of the three subsequent articles, two zoom in on particular women, one on a specific issue to which women were important. Melanie Maddox presents a Mercian queen as a strong agent in the her surrounding political realities – above all, as autonomous of her husband and other men, a queen not a “puppet”. Van Houts introduces us to an exceptionally interesting and well-documented holy woman, active in an unusually thick range of contexts: the aristocracy and royalty; choice (or choices) regarding her spirituality; the constraints and responsibilities confronting her in those choices; other aspects of her biography; memories about her, conveyed by the source material; all of it adding up to an usually rich portrait of one woman in a highly multidimensional setting. In Marie Kelleher’s piece, the population of women is larger, but the issue to which they matter is highly specific: judicial procedure, especially proof. Continuing, in these pages, her work about women and the law in the Middle Ages³⁰, Kelleher focuses on two attributes of legal cases which are especially well illuminated by the presence and role of women: the shift, in the central and later Middle Ages, in the modes of proof; and the specific importance, as a population affected by that shift, of people whose status was complicated by a “double difference” – from the (implicitly male) norm – meaning their membership, simultaneously, in more than one legally problematic, or encumbered, category: specified in terms of status, ethnicity, or sex.

The subsequent articles, concerning principally gender, open with Belle Tuten’s study of one anatomical aspect of difference between the sexes, the breast. Tuten explores the highly specialized attention elicited by that organ from a highly learned (and male) audience in late Antiquity. The result is a study of a highly gendered aspect of bodily space, and an important moment in the history of medicine. Nancy McLoughlin provides us with a case study of the formation and use of a highly gendered image current in the late-medieval political discourse, centered on the French royal court and the University of Paris, of the university as “the king’s daughter” – an image

29 K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord* (c. 1067-1137), Dublin 2007.

30 M.A. Kelleher, *The Measure of Woman. Law and Female Identity in the Crown of Aragon*, Philadelphia 2010.

that, with only apparent paradox, worked to marginalize, or “silence”, actual women in the political world where it was used.

Of the work presented here, Felice Lifshitz’s article is perhaps the farthest departure, chronological and conceptual, from “Women and Womanhood in the Middle Ages”, plainly understood. The author moves, chronologically and conceptually, from the Middle Ages to “medievalism” – the late-modern understanding of the Middle Ages expressed in a variety of media; and, from women toward gays, lesbians, and, implicitly other classifications which today comprise the history of gender. For Lifshitz, one film produced at the mid-20th century, and its contemporary literature, work as an entrée into the long resonances of a number of highly gendered phenomena – sex difference, identity, sexuality, and related emotions, especially homoeroticism – across two very distant historical periods: the medieval and the late-modern, the latter at a time of dramatic cultural transition concerning exactly those areas and issues.

Cultural transition gets me back to Poland. The editors’ decision to dedicate an issue to “Women and Womanhood” is a most important moment in that encounter among academic cultures which the “*Quaestiones*” has so long facilitated. At this point, let me disavow a frequent trap of presenting that kind of encounter as essentially an “eastward” transmission across the historiographies. This moment of scholarly communication may well be fully bilateral. The articles, appearing in Warsaw, reflect and contribute to the current state of the English-language work represented here. Their quality and range ought to assuage Judith Bennett’s concerns about the marginalization of medieval women’s history in the United States during the first years of this century, after the enormously productive work of the last.

No less importantly, the journal’s turn to this subject coincides in its timing with a significant debate presently underway in Poland regarding gender – a debate conducted principally outside the academic setting, in the broader public, through a wide range of media. That debate is specifically about gender – rather than “women” – and is explicitly focused on that word, left untranslated from English, and for that reason now enjoying a curiously autonomous life in the Polish vernacular, and political discourse. That debate is ongoing, and exceedingly polarized. Given that polarization, it may never reach an outcome. As a fully contemporary phenomenon, it deserves a venue for treatment and analysis different from a journal specialized in medieval history. However, despite their chronologically distant specialization, the colleagues who have contributed to this volume may affect that debate for one, highly specific reason.

That reason is implicit in the sheer range of subjects, approaches, frameworks, and assumptions – some of them highly theorized – regarding the difference between the sexes, concepts of woman- and manhood,

sexuality, and other key issues now part of the history of gender. That range tells us that, several generations after its creation, the histories of women and of gender entail an enormous area of choice, intellectual and personal, available to scholars, but also, in the United States, Poland, and elsewhere, to everyone. This is a good example of what it means for my two very different countries to share, across those differences, one trait, namely freedom – of inquiry, research, writing, ideas, personal practice, and identity. It is also yet another level on which this subject matters, and why I am profoundly grateful for the opportunity to mediate its presentation, specifically in Poland and in Warsaw.

ABSTRACT

The articles presented in this section comprise a sample of the most current work on the history of women and gender, commissioned for this issue of the “*Quaestiones*” from a distinguished group of colleagues active in the United States, Canada, Poland, Ireland, Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. The largest single group of participants is North American – reflecting the fact that both areas of history – the history of women, and of gender – arose largely (though by no means solely) among colleagues active in this region, continuously since the 1960s. The introductory chapter contains a very brief and selective survey of the meaning, and the historiography, of women and gender, especially in English; situates the Polish scholarship of those two subjects in that context; and previews the specific contributions of this section’s authors within these contexts.

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**POVERTY AND PROPERTY:
TIES BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE
RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES IN LATE MEDIEVAL BOLOGNA¹**



In 1286, Domenico Poeta resolved to revive a settlement of Franciscan friars at a place called “Caldararia” in Borgo Panigiale, a town in the Bolognese contado. The community of seven friars, which had been established by the Bolognese Guelph leader Baruffaldino Geremei and his granddaughter, Bolnisia, had become deserted because of lack of provisions for continuing support². To provide assistance for the friars, who could not accept property or other sources of revenue, Poeta decided to donate a significant amount of land to the Clarissan sisters of San Francesco, who were required to give the vast majority of the annual revenues the land produced to the friars at Caldararia. A number of similar arrangements, which varied in the division of annual revenues and the complexity of the mandate for distribution of funds, linked houses of men and women in the Franciscan and Dominican orders.

Differences between rules regarding property for male and female communities in the mendicant orders provided a loophole for those wishing to assure friars of a continuous source of income. In some cases, it is clear that the donors meant to provide substantial benefit to both communities, including assuring that nuns would receive spiritual care and some financial resources in return for their temporal care of friars. In other cases, the

¹ Portions of this article are adapted from S.F. Johnson, *Monastic Women in Religious Orders in Late Medieval Italy*, Cambridge 2014, pp. 74-84.

² The Guelph faction in Bologna came to be known as the Geremei, after Baruffaldino. Bolnisia, daughter of Baruffaldino’s son Guidone, was the last surviving member of his lineage, see G. Gozzadini, *Delle torri gentilizie di Bologna e delle famiglie alle quali prima appartengono*, Bologna 1880, pp. 289-291.

convents receiving and managing the property seem to have derived rather meager benefits in return for their efforts.

In this paper, I will examine donations to religious women's communities that linked these convents financially and in some cases spiritually to houses of Dominican and Franciscan friars, requiring that the nuns manage resources for their mendicant brothers. These donations have implications for our practical knowledge of interactions between religious women and men in mendicant orders, contributing to a reassessment of our understanding of these relationships. In recent years, scholars have begun to revise the older historiographic narrative of the decline of women's monasticism in the later Middle Ages, including the marginalization of nuns in religious orders. Elements of this narrative include the attempts of the General Chapters of orders such as the Franciscans, Dominicans and Cistercians in the mid-13th century to reject the obligation to care for nuns affiliated with their orders, along with a sense of the poor financial and spiritual state of nuns' communities in this era³. Though in some cases the cause of men's reluctance was concern about the temptation that was likely to occur when men and women were in close contact, another significant issue was the administrative burden of accepting spiritual and temporal care for enclosed religious women. As Jo Ann McNamara characterized the men's concerns, both monks and bishops complained that this care "drained their energies and resources"⁴. This also included worry about the financial implications of the care of nuns. McNamara summarizes a prevalent opinion regarding religious women:

The incompetence of nuns at running their financial affairs was a standard complaint in the Middle Ages, and until recently, modern authors have also believed it⁵.

In scholarship on religious women, discussions of spiritual and financial wellbeing of communities of religious women often overlap. Earlier historians of monastic life often surmised that donors had substantial preference for male communities due to the lack of spiritual merit and declining position of religious⁶.

³ Lezlie Knox and Anne Lester, in their respective studies of Franciscan and Cistercian women, have highlighted the problem of too much focus on these attempted expulsions, showing how women came to be an integral part of these religious orders, see L. Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi. Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy*, Leiden 2008; A. Lester, *Creating Cistercian Nuns*, Ithaca 2011.

⁴ J.A. McNamara, *Sisters in Arms. Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia*, Cambridge 1996, p. 290.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 273.

⁶ For a historiographic overview of these issues, see E. Jordan, *Gender Concerns. Monks, Nuns, and Patronage of the Cistercian Order in Thirteenth-century Flanders and Hainaut*, "Speculum" LXXXVII (2012), pp. 62-67.

As scholars of women's monasticism look deeper into the workings and experience of women's communities, we have begun to get a better understanding of the complexity of the relationships between religious men and women and between convents and patrons of religious communities. Though it is difficult to draw extensive conclusions from examining a relatively small number of monastic donations, analysis of gifts that required religious women to administer property on behalf of friars contributes to a growing body of knowledge regarding religious women's lives in their communities. The donations suggest that those who made them trusted the leaders of these convents to manage the resources for themselves and for the religious men who also benefited from the gifts. Despite earlier attempts of some friars (especially in the leadership of the orders) to distance themselves from religious women, the donors also perceived a relatively close relationship between the nuns in these houses and friars of the order with which they were associated. Nevertheless, in some cases, the gifts included arrangements to ascertain that the friars provide spiritual care for the nuns, suggesting that these donors might have understood that the friars could require incentive to accept the obligation to undertake the *cura monialium*.

POVERTY AND PROPERTY

Though poverty was an ideal for monastic houses, especially those in mendicant orders, the continued functioning of a community required resources. Outside of the mendicant orders, it was clear that religious communities – whether male, female or mixed – could possess land and other sources of wealth in common, even if individuals were expected to eschew personal property. Both individual and communal poverty were important principles for communities of men in the Order of Friars Minor and in the Order of Preachers; the ideal (if not always rigorously observed) was that Franciscan and Dominican friars would beg or work for their sustenance, and at the very least reject the ownership of property and other sources of continuing revenue.

This kind of poverty, with its anticipated financial insecurity and need to engage with the world outside the cloister, was rarely permitted to religious women. In both orders, most communities of nuns acquired land in a manner similar to convents outside of mendicant orders. Though Clare of Assisi fought for and gained the Privilege of Poverty for her own house at San Damiano, freeing that house from the requirement of accepting property, this pursuit of not only personal but also communal poverty was exceptional, and permitted to only a very few convents. This circumstance was in part due to the reluctance of popes and cardinal protectors to allow enclosed communities of women to be without a source of income. Another factor was the diversity of

interpretations of poverty among nuns in this movement. Some were inspired by this element of the piety Clare and Francis and sought to emulate them, while others did not place the same importance on communal poverty and did not object to acquiring property that could provide income. For example, the Poor Clares of San Francesco in Bologna acquired extensive property holdings, and in addition to the communal holdings, individual nuns retained rights to particular pieces of land⁷.

These links of property could be interpreted as a sign of falling away from the ideals of mendicancy – by the mid-13th century, both orders were increasingly following the practice of “using” property that others held for them⁸. The issue of property famously led to internal divisions among Franciscans, with some eschewing the building of monasteries and the use of land. Significant disputes arose between spiritual Franciscans who rejected the use of property and preferred a stricter interpretation of poverty and conventuals who believed that friars could establish churches and residences as long as they did not own the property. By the early 14th century, the spirituals had been marginalized from the order⁹. In the Dominican Order, general and provincial chapters repeatedly warned friars that they should not accept property or other sources of revenue, even in common, though they could use property held by others, including property held on their behalf by their Cardinal Protector¹⁰. This practice was the official policy of the order until Sixtus IV granted them the right to hold property in common in 1458¹¹.

FRANCISCAN AND DOMINICAN NUNNERIES IN BOLOGNA

In Bologna, three communities of nuns were recipients of bequests or other donations of money or land that provided resources for both themselves and for a community of friars. Two of them – the Dominican Sant’Agnese and the Clarissan San Francesco – had been affiliated with their order since the convent’s foundation. The third, San Mattia, was closely associated with the Order of Preachers, but was not incorporated into the order until the late 15th century.

7 For inventories of San Francesco’s communal and individual property in 1337 and 1341, see Archivio di Stato Bologna, Fondo Demaniale (henceforth: ASB Dem.) 1/5696, nos. 48, 65.

8 J.K. Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition*, Lanham 2011, p. 126.

9 C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars. The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*, London-New York 1994, pp. 62-64.

10 W. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order*, I, Staten Island 1966, pp. 148-163.

11 *Ibidem*, p. 258.

Sant' Agnese was founded in 1223 by the Blessed Diana d' Andolò, a pious Bolognese noble woman who had gained Dominic's support for founding a house of Dominican nuns in Bologna, and who was a close friend and correspondent of the order's first Master General, Jordan of Saxony¹². Thus, the house was founded with a strong tie to the Order of Preachers, and could be counted among the oldest nunneries of the order. Jordan's letters to Diana demonstrate that the founder was anxious – with reason – regarding the acceptance of her house by the friars. A chronicle of Diana's life and of the convent's early years emphasized that the house was founded with Dominic's blessing and that his early successors considered the house to be part of the order, despite the unsuccessful attempts of some early General Chapters to refuse to accept Sant' Agnese as a Dominican convent¹³.

The origins of San Francesco are not as well documented as those of Sant' Agnese, but the house's tie to the order was clear from its foundation in 1231. Its founder, Giacomo Pizzolo, wanted to establish a "*collegium* of women who are to live according to the order and rule of the enclosed nuns of San Damiano of Assisi"¹⁴. The monastery seems to have been accepted as part of the Franciscan community. In 1247, on the same day that he committed the Order of San Damiano to the Minister General and the prior of the Bolognese province, Pope Innocent IV specifically placed San Francesco in the friars' care, ordering that they should administer the sacraments to the nuns¹⁵. Despite their petition to be relieved of the duty to care for other Clarissan houses in nearby cities such as Imola in the early 1260s (which they considered a *novella plantatio*), the friars of Bologna remained involved with San Francesco, which was grouped with the "ancient monasteries" of the order¹⁶. By contrast, the friars in Bologna remained involved in the governing of San Francesco, both in spiritual and in temporal matters¹⁷. The community grew rapidly in both numbers and endowment, and by 1273 there were over fifty professed nuns in

12 For the history of Sant' Agnese, see M.G. Cambria, *Il monastero Domenicano di S. Agnese in Bologna. Storia e documenti*, Bologna 1973. For Jordan of Saxony's letters, see Jordan of Saxony, *Beati Iordani de Saxonia Epistulae*, ed. A. Walz, *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, XXIII, Romae 1951.

13 A. Roncelli, *Domenico, Diana, Giordano. La Nascità del monastero di Sant' Agnese in Bologna*, in: *Il velo, la penna e la parola*, eds. G. Zarri, G. Festa, Florence 2009, pp. 71-91; M.P. Alberzoni, *Jordan of Saxony and the Monastery of St. Agnese in Bologna*, "Franciscan Studies" LXVIII (2010) 1, pp. 1-19.

14 ASB Dem., Santi Naborre e Felice 1/5696, no. 3: *Collegium mulierum que vivere debeant secundum ordinem et regulam monialium inclusarum apud sanctum damianum de assissio*.

15 *Analecta Franciscana sive chronica allaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum Minorum spectantia*, IX, Rome 1927, p. 9.

16 *Ibidem*, pp. 22-23.

17 *Ibidem*, p. 26.

San Francesco. Some of these nuns came from the most illustrious families in the city, such as the Lamberti and the Gozzadini families¹⁸. With the exception of a short-lived community of hermitesses that seem to have had Franciscan ties, they remained the only house of Clarissan women in Bologna until the early 14th century.

The third house, San Mattia, had a fluid association with the Order of Preachers¹⁹. Though it was not incorporated into the order until the late 15th century and for much of its history followed the Augustinian rule and enjoyed a privilege that placed it under the direct protection of the papacy, in some eras the community sought the religious care of Dominicans friars. Later histories of the convent claim that it had become Dominican around 1280. This era does seem to mark a period of close association with the Dominican Order, but this relationship does seem to have fluctuated until the community's official incorporation into the order in 1496²⁰. The religious status of the three houses in question in Bologna demonstrate that donors could perceive (and perhaps even might want to strengthen) ties between convents of religious women and houses of mendicant friars, regardless of whether they were officially incorporated into a particular religious order. As we will see, similar relationships occurred between Franciscan friars and beguines around Basel.

DONATIONS IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES

Beginning in the 1280s, lay and clerical benefactors gave land to the nuns of San Francesco, Sant' Agnese and San Mattia with the mandate that the nuns use a large percentage of the revenues to support communities of friars. In some cases, the language of the charters (whether wills or donations *inter vivos*) suggests that the donor would have given the gift to the friars if they were allowed to receive land, and that the donation to the sisters was merely a strategy for accomplishing this goal. However, at least one donor, a professor of medicine named Taddeo Alderotti, intended his very large gift to the nuns to establish a community of friars residing near San Francesco who could provide religious care for the nuns. The nuns of Sant' Agnese also used these bequests as a bargaining tool for the provision of the *cura monialium*.

18 ASB Dem., Santi Naborre e Felice 1/5696, no. 22.

19 For more on the history of San Mattia and its sister house, Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia, see S.F. Johnson, *Convents and Change. Autonomy, Marginalization, and Religious Affiliation in Late Medieval Bologna*, "Catholic Historical Review" XCVII (2011) 2, pp. 250-275.

20 ASB Dem., San Mattia 14/5775, not numbered, dated 6 November 1496.

Domenico Poeta's donation to the sisters of San Francesco that was intended to help the friars of Caldararia was comprised of two tracts of land totaling 420 tornatures. He states his intention explicitly in the charter. He has made his donation to the Clarissan nuns

because the goods mentioned below cannot be received, assigned or managed by the Friars Minor, since it has been strongly prohibited by their ordinances or constitutions and rule²¹.

The donation to San Francesco allows him to carry out his wishes

better, more safely and more honestly and by a more secure way and means²².

The nuns could keep 6 lire for their own *pittancia* (or support meant to augment funds for monastic men and women's meals) but otherwise should turn over the revenues from the land to the provincial officials to provide for the friars at Caldararia.

In a similar bequest in 1292, a canon named Bonifacio "de Lauglano" donated 140 tornatures of land to San Francesco, intending that the nuns would use it to support a small community of friars in the diocese of Bologna in a place called "Planorium". In this case, the sisters would each have three lire on the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, turning over the rest of the income from the land to the provincial minister and other officials to distribute to the friars. In both of these cases, the donation is clearly meant to support struggling communities of friars. The sisters who will manage the property must have concluded that the payments they would receive would be worth the cost of administering the property²³.

In contrast to the clear focus on donations to friars in the bequests of Domenico Poeta and Bonifacio "de Lauglano", the 1293 donation of Taddeo Alderotti to San Francesco was intended both to establish and support a community of friars and also to assure that there were daily masses in the nuns' church²⁴. Alderotti, a professor of medicine who came to Bologna from Florence, bequeathed 4 thousand lire to the nuns of San Francesco, with which they were to purchase revenue-producing lands. This income would support a community of thirteen friars and one servant, to be housed near San Francesco on the Strada Santo Stefano. The sisters were also to give 50 lire per year to a Minor Friar studying theology at the University of Paris.

²¹ *Analecta Franciscana...*, p. 134: *Quia per Fratres Minores non possunt infrascripta recipi, fieri vel tractari, forte eorum ordinationibus vel constitutionibus et regula inhihentibus.*

²² *Ibidem*: *Meliori, tuciori et honestiori et securior via et modo.*

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 237-242.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 270-273.

Beyond these continuing gifts, the will stipulated that the nunnery of San Francesco would receive one *solido* for each sister on the seventh, thirtieth and one-hundredth day after Alderotti's death and again on its anniversary. Communities of friars at seven locations, including those at Caldararia and at Planorium, would get ten *solidi* total on each of those days. The professor made a provision in the event that the nuns of San Francesco or the friars of Bologna did not agree to these terms. In that case, the money would go to the Cistercian monks of Santa Maria in Strada or, failing that, would be distributed to the poor and infirm. In 1297, the nuns of San Francesco finalized the agreement to abide by the terms of the will²⁵.

The Dominican nuns of Sant'Agnese were the recipients of similar bequests and gifts. The bishop of Cervia, Teodorico Borgognoni, gave them an *inter vivos* donation of 27 tornatures of land with a *domus* to Sant'Agnese, such that they could keep ten percent of revenues as *pittancia* for themselves and had to give the remaining ninety percent to the Friars Preacher in Bologna. If the Dominican friars and sisters of Bologna did not observe this convention, the land would go to the *conventum Sororum minorum*, who would keep ten percent and ninety percent to the Friars Minor of Bologna²⁶. This was the smaller of at least two bequests by Borgognoni to houses of Dominican nuns. In his 1298 testament, he left 1100 lire to the convent of San Mattia, a house that had been Augustinian but came into the Dominican sphere of influence in the 1270s and 1280s²⁷. With this money, the nuns were charged with purchasing property and with sending ninety percent of the revenues to the Dominican friars in Borgognoni's hometown of Lucca, keeping the remaining ten percent for themselves. Teodorico chose to set up a relationship in which the nuns of San Mattia would have to pay the Dominicans of Lucca annually *in perpetuo*. There is some evidence that the payment to the Dominicans served in part as compensation for masses said on the anniversary of the bishop's death. In this case, however, there is no provision that the sisters would receive any spiritual care from friars.

As was the case with San Francesco, lay donors also used this strategy to provide money to both the nuns of Sant'Agnese and the Dominican friars in Bologna. Two cases from the 1330s provide examples of lay women leaving bequests to Sant'Agnese with the instructions that they should turn over a portion of the revenue from donated lands to the friars of San Domenico. In 1336, among a wide variety of monetary donations for masses and for distribution of charity, Margarita Pizzigotti left 11 tornatures of land to

25 Ibidem, pp. 359-364.

26 Ibidem, p. 680.

27 ASB Dem., San Mattia 1/5762, nos. 3, 12-13.

the sisters of Sant'Agnese. They were instructed to give half of the annual revenues to the Friars Preacher of Bologna, keeping half for themselves for *pittancia* and for an annual mass for Pizzigotti's soul in the nuns' church. Similarly, in 1337, a woman named Briccio Accati left 100 tornatures to Sant'Agnese, also stipulating that half of the income generated by the land should go to the friars of San Domenico. In return, the friars should say masses for Accati²⁸. This form of donation that provided property and some income to nuns and a secure source of income to the friars was employed by clergy and by both male and female lay donors. Though it is difficult to draw broad inferences from this small number of cases, lay women seem to have been more interested in dividing the income from the property equitably.

These kinds of bequests could have a significant influence in the convent's relationship with their Dominican brethren. An example of this is the complex bequest of Cardinal Matteo Orsini, who left significant landholdings – as well as money meant for the purchase of additional land – to Sant'Agnese²⁹. As part of this bequest, the sisters were directed to use the revenues from this land to distribute specific sums of money to all convents of Dominican friars in the Roman province, and also to make payments to the friars of San Domenico in Bologna. In the years following this bequest, the friars of San Domenico become much more involved in the temporal and spiritual care of the nuns of Sant'Agnese.

Sant'Agnese was given over 4 thousand florins' worth of land near Bologna as well as 3 thousand florins for the purchase of additional land. They were to manage this property and use the revenues to pay a series of yearly obligations outlined in the cardinal's will. This included annual payments to twenty-three convents of friars in the Roman province, in amounts from 2 to 8 florins. The cardinal made separate provisions for two communities of friars in the city of Rome, also to be paid from the revenues of the Bolognese property. A gift of 20 florins supported masses at the cardinal's burial place, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, at which the prior and two older brothers were to say masses for the Cardinal's soul. An additional 8 florins would pay for masses in the chapel of Saint Catherine in that church. At Santa Sabina, 24 florins endowed masses in November. This community was also to receive 100 florins each year to distribute through the province for *pittancia cotidiana*. The same amount would go to the community of friars in Florence to distribute for *pittancia* in the month of August³⁰.

28 M.G. Cambria, *Il monastero Domenicano...*, pp. 89-90, 107 (n. 22); the testaments of Margarita Pizzigotti and Briccio Accati are ASB Dem., Sant'Agnese 12/5602, nos. 627, 635, respectively.

29 ASB Dem., San Domenico 117/7451, not numbered, dated 19 April 1340.

30 *Ibidem*, fol. 2v.

In addition to these gifts to individual communities of friars, the nuns of Sant'Agnese were to send 200 florins to the Roman Province in general for the payment of debts, with any remaining amount to be used to endow masses for the cardinal's soul. Beyond to this amount, Sant'Agnese was to send 12 florins to help pay expenses of the Provincial Chapter. 50 florins were to go to the General Chapter of the Order. In the event that no chapter took place in a given year, this sum was to go to the friars of San Domenico in Bologna.

Though the distribution of payments went overwhelmingly to male communities, the cardinal did provide some gifts to Dominican nuns. Beyond specific one-time gifts of liturgical materials to the nuns of Rome, Florence, Foligno, Gubbio and Lucca, the cardinal did provide for an annual payment of 30 florins to be distributed to the nuns of the Roman province, though in contrast to his provisions for communities of friars, he did not specify amounts for any individual houses. Some money supported religious care of Sant'Agnese. 22 florins supported the activities of an *antiquior frater* to hear confessions at Sant'Agnese. This amount was to be paid in three parts – on the first Sunday of Advent, and on Kalends of March and of June³¹. Beyond this, 12 florins endowed masses at Sant'Agnese on the feast of Saint Catherine, to be performed by a friar from San Domenico. An additional 30 florins compensated Sant'Agnese for their efforts in administering the bequest, though the will stipulated that they could only receive this money as long as they accepted this responsibility. They could choose to turn the administrative duties over to another organization, but they would then lose the annual payment of 30 florins³².

In 1358, the nuns of Sant'Agnese ceded to their Bolognese brothers at San Domenico a considerable amount of land, including the land bequeathed to them by Matteo Orsini. Along with Orsini's land, the sisters gave the usufruct of land left to them by at least forty other men and women from illustrious families in Bologna, including from the late *signore* of Bologna, Taddeo Pepoli, and from other members of the Pepoli family. In return, they received assurances of the provision of spiritual care from the friars in perpetuity, including daily masses, the provision of sacraments and burials, and preaching at appropriate times, for which the friars would receive 4 solidi. Another significant component of the agreement was that Sant'Agnese would continue to receive an annual payment of 30 florins from the legacy of Orsini. Two priests would be in residence at the church. This agreement was to be in force in perpetuity³³.

31 Ibidem, fol. 3v.

32 Ibidem, fol. 3r.

33 ASB Dem., Sant'Agnese 17/5607, no. 881.

The combination of the cardinal's bequest in 1340 and this transaction with the friars of San Domenico in 1358 presents a complex picture of the workings of the relationship between Sant' Agnese and the Friars Preacher. The cardinal's choice to leave his property to the Bolognese nunnery and to charge them with providing these payments to Dominican friars suggests that they were well integrated into the order. Nevertheless, the necessity of ceding the lands in question in the 1358 agreement with San Domenico in return for spiritual care from the friars indicates that they felt the need to take significant action in order to receive assurances of care. Though it is not possible to discern from the convent's record who was providing sacraments to the nuns in the era before this transaction, given their wealth it is likely that they were able to pay either parish priests or friars for masses and confessions. The decision to make this agreement with the friars of San Domenico for the provision of spiritual care indicates that they continued to value a close association with the friars, desiring residence of friars at their community, daily masses from the friars and preaching at appropriate occasions.

Where the property is concerned, it appears that in practice the agreement meant that Sant' Agnese retained technical possession of the land while the friars enjoyed its use. Even after 1358, when other communities of friars commissioned representatives to seek payment of the money specified in Orsini's will, the proctors from these communities sought the money from Sant' Agnese rather than from San Domenico. This remained the status quo until 1459, when the friars decided to challenge Sant' Agnese's right to receive the 30 florins that would compensate for administration of the land and distribution of payments. Significantly, they decided to take this action in the year after Sixtus IV gave the order permission to hold property in common. San Domenico sought an opinion from the jurist Antonio di Prato Vecchio regarding the status of the land and payments. The matters to be decided included whether Sant' Agnese or San Domenico had the right to make arrangements with tenants concerning the land, and whether the nuns or the friars had the right to the revenues from the lands, including the 30 florins for administration specified in Orsini's will. The jurist found in favor of the friars on both matters³⁴. In 1537, Pope Paul III gave the friars the right to alienate property in the Orsini legacy, indicating that by this time the right to the property had passed fully to San Domenico³⁵.

It is clear that despite early disputes over the nuns' status in the order, Sant' Agnese's membership in the Dominican order was strong and consistent. The extent to which this meant engagement with Dominican friars may have fluctuated, leading the nuns to make a financial arrangement with the friars

34 ASB Dem., San Domenico 117/7451, no. 4.

35 *Ibidem*, no. 5.

of San Domenico to ensure perpetual access to religious care. Though this was not specified in the agreement, the transaction coincided with greater engagement of the friars in the temporal affairs of the nunnery, with friars being more likely to serve as proctors in economic and legal matters.

SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS OUTSIDE OF ITALY

Donors elsewhere in Latin Christendom made donations to communities of religious women, who managed the resource for their own benefit and for those of mendicant friars. One prominent example is Dartford Priory, the only house of Dominican nuns in England before the Reformation. Dartford was founded primarily for the purpose of holding and administering property for the Dominican friars of Kings Langley. King Edward III arranged the building of Dartford Priory in 1345, following a plan for which his father, King Edward II, had received permission from Pope John XXII earlier in that century. The endowment that Edward III provided to the two communities was meant to support forty sisters and sixty friars. Six friars from Kings Langley would be in residence at Dartford to provide spiritual care to the nuns. The first sisters arrived at Dartford in 1356, probably from Poissy Priory in France, which had been founded by Edward II's grandfather, Philip II Augustus³⁶.

The convent continued to administer land on behalf of the friars of Kings Langley, though the spiritual relationship between the two became strained and was ultimately severed in the 15th century. A three-year conflict between the communities began in 1415, when the sisters resisted visitation from the friars. In 1418, Pope Martin V decreed that the sisters should resume their obedience to the Langley friars. Over the next seventy years, the nuns gained greater autonomy from Kings Langley (though they did not necessarily seek to distance themselves from the Dominican Order as a whole), and by 1481, the friars at Dartford were appointed by the Dominican provincial prior in England rather than being drawn from the community at Langley. Nevertheless, the nuns of Dartford continued in their administrative role for Kings Langley through the dissolution of the monasteries during the English Reformation.

Examples of financial relationships between communities of mendicant men and religious women in the work of Bernard Neidiger suggest that donors in Basel entrusted resources to both communities of mendicant nuns

³⁶ On the history of Dartford Priory, see: P. Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality in Late Medieval English Society*, Suffolk 2001; N.B. Warren, *Spiritual Economies. Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England*, Philadelphia 2001, pp. VII-VIII.

and to beguines who had close ties to mendicant friars, to administer on the friars' behalf. Though he does not go into detail regarding the terms of the arrangements, Neidiger finds that the Dominican nuns in Basel and the Friars Preacher in Klingenthal shared the proceeds from some gifts to the nuns. Donations funding annual payments (including those for anniversary masses) were divided between St. Clara in Basel and the brothers of the *Barfußkloster*, and between the same brothers and the beguines of Gnadental³⁷. As Michael Bailey has found, the relationship between the Franciscan friars and the beguines was part of what made these devout lay women targets of the Observant Dominican friar Johannes Muhlberg, who found the financial role the beguines played on behalf of the friars abhorrent. Muhlberg's activities led to the expulsion of beguines and Franciscan tertiaries from Basel. Later Observant Dominicans leaders in Basel such as Johannes Nider took a more moderate approach to the kinds of financial arrangements that Muhlberg had criticized, emphasizing individual poverty and accommodating the need for some communal resources³⁸.

CONCLUSIONS

The mendicant ideal of communal poverty – particularly important in communities of friars – accompanied by the reality of the need for communal resources created a situation in which both friars and communities of religious women could derive benefit from their association. Bequests and other donations giving houses of nuns responsibility for providing financial support to houses of friars demonstrate that the testators – both lay and clerical – perceived the men and women of religious orders as closely linked. Though they may have violated the spirit of mendicant rules requiring that friars eschew the possession of property both personally and communally, they allowed these communities to maintain the letter of the law while having the security of relatively predictable sources of income.

For nuns, these gifts could be a double-edged sword. Convents inherited the land and received some income from the bequest, and the donations could strengthen ties to their brethren. But the bequests could also be a source of conflict. Perhaps because the lands were not producing sufficient income, or due to the burden of administering a bequest (especially one as complicated as Matteo Orsini's will), or simply because they may have needed the income

37 B. Neidiger, *Mendikanten zwischen Ordensideal und städtischer Realität. Untersuchungen zum wirtschaftlichen Verhalten der Bettelorden in Basel*, Berlin 1981, pp. 95-99.

38 M. Bailey, *Religious Poverty, Mendicancy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages*, "Church History. Studies in Christianity and Culture" LXXII (2003) 3, pp. 457-483.

themselves, convents did not always send the agreed-upon payments to their intended recipients, and houses of friars sent legal representatives to claim the payments outlined in the will. Moreover, the fact that convents sometimes needed to use these financial incentives to secure religious care from their brethren suggests continuing tensions in the relationship between nuns and friars. Greater attention to the relationships that resulted from religious women's management of property on their own behalf and on behalf of the friars has promise for contributing to the continuing reassessment of our understanding of the role of nuns in religious orders.

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THE WOMAN IN PAPAL DOCUMENTS OF THE LATE MIDDLE AGES



In the first chapter of the *Book of Genesis*, we read that God created man in His image, in God's image He created him: He created the man and the woman (Gen. 1:27).

However, a different fragment of *Genesis*:

[a]fter which, from a rib He removed from the man, He made a woman. And when He brought her to the man, the man said: This one is the bone of my bones, and the flesh of my flesh! This one will be called a woman, because she was made from a man (Gen. 2:21-23)

raises the question about the image of woman presented to the medieval society by learned clerics. Is it not true that, drawing upon the latter fragment of the *Book*, they built an image of woman as one who is always, in all respects, subordinate to man? For how else are we to interpret the words of Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604), the outstanding pope and scholar, expressed in his commentary to the *Book of Job*:

For every brave and prudent person is called a man, while a woman implies a weak and unreasonable mind¹?

In descriptions of the late-medieval society, and in a variety of literary works which began to emerge from the 12th century onward, women began, almost without exception, to be portrayed as a distinct estate. In addition, the criterion of distinction among women – a criterion not applied to men – was their family status (single, married, or widowed) – as well as their social origin, of course. We find examples of the latter kind of classification of women, in socio-economic terms, in the book of sermons from the end

¹ Św. Grzegorz Wielki, *Moralia. Komentarz do księgi Hioba*, I, eds. T. Fabiszak, A. Strzelecka, R. Wójcik, Kraków 2006, p. 57.

of the 13th century, titled *About the Erudition of Pious Preachers (De eruditione religiosorum praedicatorum)*, written by the Dominican Humbert of Romans (ca. 1200-1277). He devoted a separate part of this work to sermons for women. We find here sermons directed to nuns and secular women, the latter including – in specific fragments of the work – noblewomen, affluent city women, poor peasant women, servants, and prostitutes². On the other hand, in his mid-12th-century book of customs, *Le livre des manières*, Étienne Fougères (d. 1178), bishop of Rennes, treated women as a distinct group, classified according to family status: single women, married women, and widows³. Classifications of this kind were also vividly expressed, for example, in the 15th-century “dances of death”, painted on walls or described in poems. Among women kidnapped by death, we find a queen, an abbess, a nun, a street huckstress, and a Sister of Mercy. Here, we have a classification according to dignity and profession. Women were also presented here in a variety of situations: as girls, lovers, fiancées, young wives, and expectant mothers⁴.

Because at the time women were treated as a distinct estate, they – much like other groups, similarly defined – were associated with specific faults and sins, some characterizing specific categories of women, others shared by all women. The bad traits of women in general were, above all, vanity, pride, greed, lust, gluttony, drunkenness, and fickleness. Thus, in medieval writings we read that women ought to be kept away from public office, and not to be entrusted with the positions of judge or administrator. They should not take part in public deliberations or meetings, but focus instead on tasks relating to the home. A good woman is one who loves and cares for her husband and rears their children. Likewise in the penitentials we find chapters specially concerned with supposedly womanly sins.

Contrary to the existing inequality between men and women, which arose both within the Church and within the state and society, Christendom recognized the equality of the sexes in light of the grace of salvation. As we read in Paul’s Letter to the Galatians:

There is no longer a Jew or a pagan, there is no longer a slave or a free man, there is no longer a man or a woman, for all of you are one in Christ Jesus (3:28).

Nevertheless, in his early-12th-century work titled *Chronicon Viridumense seu Flaviniacense*, the ecclesiastical author, abbot of Flavigny, Hugh (1065-after

2 For the first edition of his works, see *De eruditione predicatorum*, ed. M. de la Bigne, in: *Bibliotheca maxima veterum Patrum*, XXV, Lyon 1677, pp. 424-567, specifically pp. 424-445.

3 The most recent edition of this work is *Le livre des manières*, ed. J.T.E. Thomas, Paris-Louvain 2013.

4 R. Hammerstein, *Tanz und Musik des Todes. Die mittelalterlichen Totentänze und ihr Nachleben*, Berne 1980.

1111), created his own metaphysical hierarchy, with women as a distinct group at its end. The hierarchy began with Peter and Paul, and continued, in this order, to: John the Baptist, the other Apostles, the holy monks, ordinary monks (who lived in communities), good bishops, good laymen, women⁵.

Even in those cases, unusual in the Middle Ages, when a woman expressed an opinion on the subjects of society and its customs, she, too, presented women as a distinct estate. At the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, Christine de Pisan wrote numerous volumes of poetry and works concerning history and social custom. She devoted two most outstanding works to women: *The Book about the City of Women* (*Le livre de la cité des dames*), and *The Treasury of the City of Women* (*Le trésor de la cité des dames*). In the former, she presented portraits of outstanding women in human history, while in the latter she focused on the duties of women belonging to different estates, and on the appropriate comportment by young girls, married women, and widows. She also exhorted women to resist misogyny⁶.

While some medieval authors emphasized above all the economic differentiation between women from different estates, others stressed more forcefully their family status. It was not without reason that medieval writers supplemented women's personal names with an indicator of their civil state: single, married (with the husband's name indicated), or widow. We do not find such descriptions in reference to men. The fact that, in today's European languages, the mode of addressing single and married women remains different (*Frau* and *Fräulein* in German, *miss* and *mistress* in English, *madame* and *mademoiselle* in French, to use some examples), while in the case of men there is only one expression (*Herr* in German, *mister* in English, *monsieur* in French), shows us clearly that a woman's social position was strongly affected by her civil state – much more so than was the case for men. It is not coincidental that in the accounts recording the guests participating in feasts organized by John von Ast, parish priest of Saint John's church in Toruń, compiled in the first half of the 15th century, only men are noted by their first names and surnames, while women are in every case identified at most with the word *uxor* – “wife”⁷.

5 *Chronicon Hugonis monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis, abbatis Flaviniacensis*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, VIII (*Chronica et gesta aevi Salici*), ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannoverae 1848, pp. 280-503.

6 C.C. Willard, *Christine de Pizan. Her Life and Works*, New York 1984; M. Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority. Christine de Pizan's Cité des Dames*, New York 1991; G. Wojciech-Mastowska, *Między strachem a miłością. Jakich kobiet mężczyźni bali się w średniowieczu*, in: *Scriptura custos memoriae*, ed. D. Zydorek, Poznań 2001, pp. 653-662.

7 A. Radziwiński, *Rachunki plebana kościoła parafialnego Świętych Janów w Starym Mieście Toruniu z lat 1445-1446*, “Roczniki Historyczne” LXIX (2003), p. 185: *et hac die Circumcisionis*

The love songs lauding women in the Middle Ages were at most distantly related to contemporary realities. Thus, courtly poetry cannot serve us as a basis for assessing the position of the woman from the nobility in medieval society. Much closer to contemporary realities is the moral-satirical urban literature – the fabliaux – which more realistically presents the life of women and men in the city⁸. We also need to emphasize strongly that women in the Middle Ages did not create any movement devoted to the improvement of their legal position. Christine de Pisan, who became a widow relatively early and never remarried, wrote that quite often the fate of a married woman was more bitter than imprisonment by the Saracens. Medieval women also often joined heretical movements, which conferred upon them a far higher status than did the Catholic Church, and in which supervision by men was much looser. Thus, it is difficult to be surprised at the inventiveness of the 13th-century Dominican, Nicholas Bayard – author of forty medieval sermons, in Latin – who maintained, in one of them, that a man may chastise his wife, and even beat her as punishment⁹.

This brief introduction to the subject of the medieval woman is necessary for the appreciation of her situation in medieval society¹⁰. It also works as background for the exploration of the realities of everyday lives of women, in medieval Poland and the neighboring countries, which emerge from the papal documents now at the center of our attention¹¹. In the next section of

Domini habui mecum in prandio Gotfridum Bekker cum uxore et magistrum Henricum Aurifabrum cum uxore et Knouff vicinum meum et dominum Wygandum vicarium ecclesie mee parochialis.

⁸ *Powiastrki ucieszne a swawolne. Wybór francuskiej literatury narracyjnej XV i XVI w.*, eds. K. Kasprzyk, A. Tatarkiewicz, Warszawa 1963; in English-language historiography, see, for example: H.R. Bloch, *The Scandal of the Fabliaux*, Chicago 1986; C. Muscatine, *The Old French Fabliaux*, New Haven 1986; N.J. Lacy, S. Dendy, *Reading Fabliaux*, New York 1993.

⁹ See his biogram in: *Dictionary of National Biography*, III, eds. L. Stephen, T.A. Archer, London 1885, p. 438.

¹⁰ Among the more recent, synthetic works, several are notable examples: *Women in Early Medieval Europe 400-1100*, ed. L.M. Bitel, Cambridge 2002; *Women in Medieval Europe 1200-1500*, ed. J. Ward, Cambridge 2002; N. Puszkariewa, *Rusaskaia zhenshchina. Istoriia i sovremennost'*, Moscow 2002; D.L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage. Symbolism and Society*, Oxford 2005; *Fromme Frauen – unbequeme Frauen? Weibliches Religiosentums im Mittelalter*, ed. E. Kluefing, Olms 2006; *Household, Women and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, eds. A. Mulder-Bakker, J. Wogan-Browne, Turnhout 2005; P. Ranft, *Women in Western Intellectual Culture 600-1500*, Houndmills 2002; M. Bogucka, *Women in the History of Europe. From Antiquity until the Beginning of the 21st Century*, Warsaw 2008; A. Radziwiński, *Kobieta w średniowiecznej Europie*, Toruń 2012.

¹¹ The most recent survey of research on the woman in medieval Poland is J. Gilewska-Dubis, *Kobieta w średniowiecznej Polsce w historiografii polskiej od połowy XIX do przełomu XX i XXI w. Zarys problematyki*, in: *Oczekiwania kobiet i wobec kobiet. Stereotypy i wzorce kobiecości w kulturze europejskiej i amerykańskiej*, eds. B. Płoniki-Syroka, J. Radziszewska, A. Szlagowska, Warszawa 2007, pp. 205-250; M. Bogucka, *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce. Kobieta w społeczeństwie polskim XVI-XVIII w. na tle porównawczym*, Warszawa 1998; M. Bogucka, *Gorsza płeć. Kobieta w dziejach Europy od antyku po wiek XXI*, Warszawa 2005; *Kobieta i rodzina w średniowieczu i na progu czasów*

these remarks, I turn to the significance of those documents for our access to various aspects of the life of women in medieval Poland and the neighboring countries – both women known by their name and surname, and very many anonymous women, often enmeshed in complicated matters of personal existence in medieval society.

* * *

The most important type of papal document furnishing us with a great deal of important information about women was the supplication, addressed to the pope by the women themselves, and by men – for example, husbands or clerics – in matters concerning women. Supplications, directed to the Apostolic See from all over Europe, emerged only at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries. Earlier, petitioners must present their desires in person and verbally at the papal court. The oldest supplications were lodged exclusively by people situated high in the social hierarchy and by corporations – universities, for example. The classical form of the supplication emerged in the 14th century and remained obligatory in the 15th, at which time practically all social strata – including noble and urban married couples, high and low clergy, and women – took advantage of its benefits¹².

The first papal document concerning women in medieval Poland known to me was issued sometime between 21 January and 12 March 1193. It contains a response by Celestine III to a request from the bishop of Kraków, Pełka, regarding the allegation of serial bigamy by Deacon Vitus, resulting from his liaison with two women. The question arose because this clergyman was accused of bigamy, which, if proven, would deprive him of the ecclesiastical benefice he possessed in the diocese of Kraków. The papal document shows that Dean Vitus had lived for six years with a certain girl (*puella*) who had not been given to him by her parents or relatives, but entered his house of her own will. He, on his side, protested and objected to this, but – as he asserted – was not able to dismiss her from his house because of her relatives' nobility and power. He lived with her in this way for six years, until her death. Subsequently, he took as wife a certain "virgin" (*virgo*). For these reasons, he maintained that these events did not constitute bigamy. He had received the benefice in question from the previous bishop of Kraków named Gedko, and remained in its possession for twenty years.

nowożytnych, eds. Z.H. Nowak, A. Radziwiński, Toruń 1998; M. Sakowska, *Portret, postać, autorka. Kobieta a literatura europejskiego średniowiecza*, I, Warszawa 2006; G. Pac, *Kobiety w dynastii Piastów. Rola społeczna piastowskich żon i córek do połowy XII w. Studium porównawcze*, Toruń 2013.

¹² T. Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Stuttgart 1986, pp. 34ff; A. Radziwiński, *Obraz kobiety w dokumentach papieskich z okresu pontyfikatu Marcina V (1417-1431)*, in: *Kobieta i rodzina...*, pp. 45-56.

Celestine's decision was favorable to the cleric, since the pope instructed the bishop of Kraków to allow him to retain possession of the benefice¹³. Nevertheless, even though the pope exonerated Dean Vitus from the charge of bigamy, the cleric entered a relationship of concubinage with that certain "virgin" by taking her as wife – because, as early as in 1139, the Second Lateran Council had voided all marriage by clerics in higher orders, and deprived clerics with concubines of ecclesiastical benefices¹⁴. However, we need to remember that the rules of canon law, including those concerned with the suppression of concubinage, appeared in Poland very late. Cardinal John Malabranca visited Poland in 1189, while in 1197 the next papal legate, Peter of Capua, visited and forbade clerics having wives¹⁵. Despite that prohibition, the two women in Deacon Vitus' life, one of them his wife, were a fact, quite independent of the contemporary legal arrangements imposed by the law of the land in Poland and by canon law.

Women in medieval Poland, even those who belonged to the higher social strata, seldom made requests to the pope on their own. They did so above all in requests for indulgences and dispensations. In other cases, they usually acted jointly with their husbands. The former category of requests directed to the popes includes various supplications (all of them approved) for: a full indulgence in the face of death (*in articulo mortis*)¹⁶; an indulgence from the prohibition of eating during a fast foods forbidden at the time of the fast; and an indulgence for the faithful in the course of their visits to specified churches and chapels. Liturgical matters also elicited requests, for example, of the right to hear a mass before dawn or in a territory subject to interdict, and for permission to use a small mobile altar.

Attempts to receive a complete indulgence were lodged by the husbands, as well as in person, by unmarried young women, wives (but this almost

¹³ *Bullarium Poloniae* (henceforth: BP), I-VII, eds. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, H. Wajs, M. Kowalczyk et al., Lublin 1982-2006, I, no. 30; concerning celibacy, see E. Abbott, *History of Celibacy*, Boston 2001. This papal document is thoroughly analyzed by A. Vetulani, *Nowe źródło do historii staropolskiego prawa małżeńskiego*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" IV (1952), pp. 126-163 (repr. A. Vetulani, *Z badań nad kulturą prawniczą w Polsce piastowskiej*, Wrocław 1976, pp. 35-74.

¹⁴ *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych*, II (869-1312), eds. A. Baron, H. Pietras, Kraków 2002, p. 144: *Ut subdiconi uxorati aut concubinarij officio et beneficio careant. Decernimus etiam ut ii, qui in ordine subdiaconatus et supra uxores duxerint aut concubinas habuerint, officio atque ecclesiastico beneficio careant.*

¹⁵ *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, Series Nova, V, Warszawa 1978, pp. 67-68: *MCXCVII Petrus cardinalis venit in Poloniam Sedis Apostolice legatus qui instituit matrimonium contrahere in facie Ecclesie et habere uxores sacerdotibus contradixit.*

¹⁶ Regarding indulgences of this type, see N. Paulus, *Die Anfänge des Sterbeablasses*, "Theologie und Glaube" VI (1914), pp. 8-25.

always meant wives of rulers, never noble or urban women), and widows. An example of a wife who requested a complete indulgence from a pope on her own was the duchess of Brzeg, Catherine, the second wife of Duke Bolesław III. On 30 April 1343, while still in her prime (she died fifteen years later), she issued a supplication to Pope Clement VI, and received an indulgence *in articulo mortis*¹⁷. The noblewoman Dorothy, widow of Nicholas, flag-bearer of Zakroczym, received a complete indulgence during her life and in the face of death, and, in addition, the right to use a small mobile altar, on 17 January 1418¹⁸. Three daughters (out of a total of eight) of the then deceased duke of Masovia, Siemowit IV and Duchess Alexandra, daughter of the Polish king Władysław Jagiełło – Alexandra (who in all likelihood died at a young age); Mary, later wife of the duke of Słupsk, Bogusław IX; and Catherine, later wife of the prince of Lithuania, Michael Bolesław – independently petitioned the pope, and received a complete indulgence in the face of death on 22 January 1427¹⁹. Indulgences *in articulo mortis* were also sought by married urban couples from one of the large cities in Prussia, and from the small towns in Pomerania. An example of the former is the supplication, made on 21 January 1360, by Tydeman Pape and his wife Agnes, townspeople of Toruń²⁰. It is worth noting that at the time, between 1359 and 1365, Tydeman Pape was councillor and mayor of the Old City of Toruń, while, as of today, we have not encountered Agnes in other sources²¹. Gunther Dameraw and his wife Agnes were inhabitants of the small town of Hel, who received this kind of dispensation on 9 March 1422²².

Supplications to the pope also report the interesting phenomenon of women themselves petitioning, or of men petitioning in the women's name, for dispensations allowing the women consumption of meals prohibited during periods of fasting. In this context, the documents sometimes note these women's illnesses. On 18 November 1242, when she was 16, Hedwig, the second daughter of Władysław Jagiełło, obtained papal consent to consume meat and dairy products during times of fasting – however, specifically

17 BP, II, no. 57; for Catherine, see K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, I-III, Wrocław 1973-1977, I, p. 171. See similar supplications concerning indulgences of this type for women: BP, II, nos. 226-228, 487-492.

18 BP, IV, no. 176: *item, ut nob. Dorothea relictæ Nicolai Vexilliferi Sak[r]locimiensis plenariam remissionem semel in vita et semel in articulo mortis etc. et altare portatile etc.*

19 Ibidem, nos. 1859-1861; for the three daughters of Duke Siemowit IV, see K. Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów mazowieckich*, Poznań-Wrocław 1998, pp. 136-138, 141-148.

20 BP, II, no. 974.

21 See his biogram, by P. Oliński, in: *Toruński Słownik Biograficzny*, IV, ed. K. Mikulski, Toruń 2004, p. 181.

22 BP, IV, no. 979; for Hel in the Middle Ages, see E. Rozenkranz, *Dzieje Helu*, Gdańsk 1969, pp. 7-48.

on advice of her physicians. Hedwig the Jagiellon must have been of weak health, as she died in 1431, when she was only 23²³. I have already noted that husbands, too, issued such requests to the pope, sometimes describing their wives' illnesses in the documents. On 27 August 1418, Vytautas, grand prince of Lithuania, received Pope Martin V's consent to several of his requests for several types of dispensation. Among them, we find one concerning his second wife, Anne. The Lithuanian grand prince asked the pope – in view of the fact that eating fish and other non-dairy product may lead to illness – to allow his wife Anne consumption of meat and eggs during times of fasting²⁴. Regrettably, the papal dispensation came too late, because as early as 18 July 1418, at the age of just over 30, Princess Anne died. Likewise, on 11 January 1419, Wojciech Moniwid, palatine and captain of Vilnius together with his wife Juliana, received permission to consume meat during Lent and on the eves of holidays, *ad tempora vitae*²⁵.

Among its other terms, the Fourth Lateran Council introduced in 1215 the principle of an annual confession, given to one's parish priest. This provision was one of the reasons for the efforts by the social élite, including women, directed at the pope, to be allowed a choice of one's confessor²⁶. One example of a supplication concerning this subject was sent to Pope John XXII on 17 June 1325 by Spycimir of Tarnów (of the Leliwa coat of arms), palatine of Kraków, and his wife Stanisława²⁷.

The dispensations discussed thus far were very numerous, and to a large degree concerned women. They were granted by the popes and by papal legates who acquired authority to grant dispensations in the territories encompassed by their missions. As an example of that kind of activity, we

23 BP, IV, no. 1437: *ut diebus quibus ieiunia fuerint per Ecclesiam instituta, ieiunare minime teneamini ac etiam praedictis et aliis diebus, quibus esus carniū est prohibitus de consuetudine, vel de iure, carnis et lacticeis vesci possitis de consilio tamen medicorum, quotiens confessor et medici praedicti hoc tibi viderint expedire.*

24 Ibidem, no. 327: *dicta Anna tenerae compexionis existat et ex piscibus et aliis cibariis non lacticiis plerumque infirmitatem incurrat, ut sibi diebus, quibus esus carniū est interdictus, facultas vescendi carnes et ova concedatur.*

25 Ibidem, no. 355; see the biogram of Wojciech, palatine and captain of Vilnius, by A. Krupska, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXI, pp. 658-660.

26 *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych*, II, p. 258: *De confessione faciēda et non revelanda a sacerdote et saltem in pascha communicando* (ch. 21) and: *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti* (ch. 21.1).

27 BP, I, no. 1287: *Spicimiro comiti palatino Crac. et Stanislauae eius uxori: Facultas eligendi confessores conceditur.* On Spycimir of Tarnów, see J. Kurtyka, *Tęczyńscy. Studium z dziejów polskiej elity możnowładczej w średniowieczu*, Kraków 1997, pp. 93, 141, 143-145, 148-149, 151, 153-154, 156-163, 165-168, 174, 181.

may note the papal nuncio Helias de Vandry who, on 28 April 1372, received a whole series of rights to grant a wide variety of dispensations of the kind that interest us here, including, among others, the right to: absolve from sin twenty persons in the face of death²⁸; grant dispensation to twenty couples married within the fourth degree of consanguinity, contrary to the prohibition of canon law²⁹; and grant dispensation to as many as a hundred people who had been excommunicated because they had shed the blood of the clergy³⁰.

Quite often, women, especially those belonging to the higher social strata, petitioned popes for the issuance of indulgences to other faithful persons, on condition that those persons visit specified churches and chapels³¹. On 16 April 1420, Elisabeth of Pilica, the third wife of the king of Poland, Władysław Jagiełło, received a five-year indulgence for the faithful who visited the parish church in her hometown, Pilcza, and the chapel of the Holy Trinity in the castle of Łańcut³². Quite active in this regard was the fourth wife of the same king, Zofia Holszańska who, a short few months into her marriage (in May 1422), elicited from Pope Martin V indulgences, among others, for those localities in which she attended solemn mass³³.

Papal documents convey a lively picture of women as founders and benefactors of ecclesiastical institutions and holders of patronage over such institutions. On 23 December 1417, Duchess Alexandra, together with her husband, duke of Masovia Siemowit IV, received papal permission to establish a Carmelite monastery in Płońsk³⁴. On 1 August 1425, Anne, a townswoman of Skalbmierz, together with her brother Żegota, received papal confirmation of their grant of a piece of land with a garden facing the church of Saint John the Baptist, in order to enable a hospice for the sick to be built in that location of their native city³⁵. Finally, in her supplication of 27 May 1418, Catherine, duchess of Silesia and lady of Wschowa, solicited papal consent to the transfer of her valuables to unspecified Church institutions, as compensation for what

28 BP, II, no. 1907.

29 Ibidem, no. 1908.

30 Ibidem, no. 1909.

31 In the Polish historiography, the question of indulgences has recently been treated at length by W. Szyborski, *Odpusty w Polsce średniowiecznej*, Kraków 2011. For the European historiography, see for example N. Paulus, *Indulgences as a Social Factor in the Middle Ages*, New York 1922; J. Hrdina, *Papežské odpustkové listiny pro země Středovýchodní Evropy za pontifikátu Bonifáce IX (1389-1404). Pokus o kvantitativní srovnání*, Colloquia Mediaevalia Pragensia, VI: *Zbožnost středověku*, ed. M. Nodl, Praha 2007, pp. 35-58.

32 BP, IV, nos. 651-652; R.N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England. Passports to Paradise*, Cambridge 2007.

33 BP, IV, nos. 1046, 1048-1050.

34 Ibidem, no. 126; T.M. Trajdos, *U zaranja karmelitów w Polsce*, Warszawa 1993, p. 21.

35 BP, IV, no. 1580.

was up to that time her tendency toward sin³⁶. We also have examples of exercise by women of rights of patronage, that is, presentation of ecclesiastics to benefices founded by their relatives. Sometime before 11 October 1430, Cecilia, widow of Heyno Clebo presented the priest Martin Vincke to eternal vicariate of the church in Tuczno in the diocese of Poznań, because she enjoyed the right of patronage with respect to that benefice³⁷. Before 3 July 1425, Świętochna, widow of John, castellan of Kruszwica, together with her sons Peter and John exercised the right of patronage toward the parish church in Krostków in the diocese of Płock³⁸. In addition, women petitioned the pope regarding a variety of financial conflicts. One example is the conflict between Agnes, townswoman of Wrocław and widow of John Stolcz, and John Scaler and his wife Catherine, concerning immovables in Wrocław: wool materials, linen cloths, and money which was part of her dowry. The matter ended up before Pope Martin V who delegated its resolution to Stanisław Nieprowski, canon of Kraków, on 6 July 1330³⁹.

What was quite exceptional were supplications by women concerning the performance of liturgy, especially enabling women to attend mass before dawn (*ante diem*). This is because, as we should recall, the Church treated all nighttime activities by laypeople with disapproval. Apart from the performance of and attendance at mass, this concerned, for example, carolling and entertainment at night, and visiting taverns after sunset⁴⁰. Since the 11th century at the latest, solemn Sunday masses and holiday masses were celebrated at the time of the terce, around nine in the morning. Regardless of the time of year, it was light at this time⁴¹. Consent to attendance at mass, exactly at this time, was obtained by (to give some examples) Queen Zofia

36 Ibidem, no. 287: *Exponitur SV ex parte [...] Catherinae ducissae Slesiae ac dominae in Freyenstadt etc. Wrat. D., quod ipsa olim diversis infirmitatibus et languoribus gravata et saepius causa devotionis certa loca pia, sine tamen termini praefixione in partibus Alemaniae duntaxat, cum diversis clenodiis, orationibus [...] vovit visitare, inter cetera 'unum clenodium in valore 10 sexagenarum in d. Crac., cuius vero nomen loci ignorat. [...] Sup., ut vota, oblationes huius modi in opera pietatis sibi commutari et reparationes evidentes et necessarias ecclesiarum in dominio suo consistentium convertere possit.*

37 Ibidem, no. 2507: [...] *perpetuam vicariam eccl. in Tuc [...] ad quam vicariam qn. Nicolaus Kyczka vicarius in spiritualibus Stanislai episcopi Pozn. Ad praesentationem Cecilliae viduae Heynonis, patronae eiusdem vicariae, dictum Michaelem instituit.*

38 Ibidem, no. 1553, see also no. 1998.

39 Ibidem, no. 2481: *Stanislao Neporwsky canonico Crac.: Mandatur, ut causam relictae Johannis Stolcz Wrat. d. contra Johannem Scaler civem Wrat. et Catherinam eius uxorem super quibusdam possessionibus in civitate Wrat. consistentibus, pannis laneis et lineis, pecuniarum summis et rebus aliis ad dotem suam spectantibus, discernat.*

40 S. Bylina, *Kościół a kultura ludowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, in: *Literatura i kultura późnego średniowiecza w Polsce*, ed. T. Michałowska, Warszawa 1993, p. 211.

41 I. Skierska, *Obowiązek mszalny w średniowiecznej Polsce*, Warszawa 2003, pp. 136-141.

Holszańska (1422)⁴², Anne, daughter of Henry the Sparrow, duke of Żagań (not named in the document), together with her husband Casimir, duke of Oświęcim (1421)⁴³, and the married townspeople of Gdańsk, Catherine and John Lunynk (1246)⁴⁴.

Papal documents quite often mention women requesting, together with their husbands, dispensations intended to legitimate their marriages in light of an excessively close degree of consanguinity or affinity, or of spiritual kinship. Let us recall that Chapter 50th of the 1215 Fourth Lateran Council extended the prohibition on entrance into marriage to the fourth degree of consanguinity in the lateral line⁴⁵. In other words, in the absence of a papal dispensation, marriages within the fourth degree of consanguinity were automatically void by the force of law. Children begotten by such marriages were treated as illegitimate, that is, as born unlawfully. This phenomenon must have been frequent, because we find very many requests for dispensation in these matters, lodged by women and by their husbands. Married couples were able to receive this type of dispensation from the pope or the papal legate. Let us note, as one example, that on 1 March 1392, John, bishop of Massa, received from Pope Boniface IX the right to give dispensation to thirty people who entered, or wished to enter, knowingly or inadvertently, marriage in the fourth degree of consanguinity or affinity⁴⁶.

Such dispensations concerning various degrees of consanguinity were sought by royal, ducal, noble, and urban married couples – including those who had some time earlier entered their marriages inadvertently, and those who were aware of the closeness of their consanguinity and of the necessity to obtain papal dispensation. Especially interesting is the supplication of Sigismund Kiejstutowicz, grand prince of Lithuania, and his future wife Anne, daughter of Ivan Olgimudowicz, prince of Holszań and royal governor of Kiev, and widow of the deceased Bolesław IV, duke of Masovia. On 11 July 1434, Sigismund and Anne petitioned Pope Eugene IV for a dispensation concerning the fact that, in addition to the fact they were related with one

42 BP, IV, no. 1048: *Zophiae reginae Poloniae: Conceditur, ut missam et alia divina officia ante lucem facere celebrari valeat.*

43 Ibidem, no. 814: *Kazimiro duci Oswinczimiensi et eius uxori in praesentiarum existenti: Conceditur, ut missam et alia divina officia ante diem celebrari valeant*; concerning Duchess Anne, see K. Jasiński, *Rodowód...*, II, pp. 138-140; III, pp. 163-165, and table 6.

44 BP, IV, no. 1722.

45 *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych*, II, p. 290 (*De restricta prohibitione matrimonii*); S. Biskupski, *Prawo małżeńskie kościoła rzymskokatolickiego*, Warszawa 1956, pp. 225-241 (consanguinity), 242-250 (affinity), 256-259 (spiritual kinship).

46 BP, III, no. 308: *Eidem nuntio: Facultas dispensandi cum 30 personis, qui IV^o consanguinitatis, vel affinitatis gradibus invicem se contingunt, ut in matrimonio inter eos ignoranter et etiam scienter contracto manere et aliis, qui nondum matrimonium contraxerunt, huius modi matrimonia libere contrahere valeant, conceditur.*

another in the third degree of consanguinity, they were joined by two degrees of affinity⁴⁷. On 22 April 1420, a married couple from the nobility of Masovia asked Pope Martin V for this type of dispensation. Sometime in the past, John, son of John of Płock, and Dorothy, daughter of Świętosław of Miszewo, entered into marriage unaware of their tie in the third degree of consanguinity. Thus, they asked the pope for a dispensation, “ut de novo matrimonium inter se contrahere”⁴⁸. Another interesting example of the need for papal dispensation is Pope Boniface IX’s document of 23 April 1401 for the Polish King Władysław Jagiełło and his future wife, Anne of Cilli. After the death of his first wife, Hedwig of Anjou, Władysław agreed to take as his wife Anne, approximately twenty-years old, daughter of William, count of Cilli. Anne was, however, related to Queen Hedwig in the third degree of consanguinity. The situation called for a papal dispensation, which is the document received by the Polish king and his future spouse in 1401⁴⁹.

Also extraordinarily interesting for the study of women and the family are the relatively numerous supplications for dispensation for those married couples who had entered marriage in the past, sometimes many years in that past, and in the present discovered that they were related by spiritual kinship. This type of relationship usually arose as a result of the holding, at his or her baptism, of one of the two spouses (or one of the two members of the betrothed couple), by one of the parents of the wife, of the husband, or of one of the two members of the betrothed couple. Such issues were governed by the norms of canon law assembled for Poland by the archbishop of Gniezno, Nicholas Trąba in 1420 in the collection known as the Statutes of Wieluń and Kalisz, in the chapter titled *De cognatione spirituali* concerning the prohibition of marriage “[i]nter baptizatum et filios baptizantis”⁵⁰.

In addition to the existing canon-law norms, the documents tell us much about medieval practice, as well as (among other subjects) the fertility of medieval women. Let us examine those documents in light of those subjects.

47 Ibidem, no. 315: *Sigismundo magno duci Lithwaniae et Annae viduae Bolkonis ducis Mazouiae: Cum eisdem, III^o consanguinitatis et II^o in collateralibus affinitatis grandibus’ coniunctis dispensatur, ut matrimonium contrahere valeat.*

48 BP, IV, no. 662.

49 BP, III, no. 753: *Wladislao regi Poloniae et Annae nob. viri Wilhelmi natae: ‘Petitio pro parte vestra [...] continebat, quod vos [...] desideratis invicem matrimonialiter copulari, sed quia tu filia Anna et clarae memoriae Edwigis reginae Poloniae, uxor tua, sibi ex tertio consanguinitatis gradu eratis coniunctae, huius modi vestrum desiderium adimplere nequitis [...] Vobiscum ut impedimento, quod ex praemissis provenit, non obstante matrimonium invicem contrahere [...] licite possitis, auctoritate ap [...] dispensamus.* See also J. Krzyżaniakowa, J. Ochmański, *Władysław II Jagiełło*, Wrocław 1990, pp. 176-177.

50 *Statuta synodalia episcoporum Cracoviensium XIV et XV saeculi [...] additis statutis Vieluni et Calissi a. 1420*, ed. U. Heyzmann, in: *Starodawne Prawo Polskiego Pomniki*, IV, Kraków 1875, pp. 235-236; zob. S. Biskupski, *Prawo małżeńskie...*, pp. 256-259.

From the papal document sent on 3 March 1419 to Andrew Łaskarzewic, bishop of Poznań, we find out that Andrew of Garwolin and his wife Margaret of Unin were forced to acquire the appropriate dispensation because Andrew's mother had held Margaret at Margaret's baptism, and so had become her spiritual mother. It is worth noting that, at the time of the request for dispensation, the couple had been married for twenty years, during which Margaret gave birth to nine children. In its closing section, the pope's document adds a note concerning the legitimation of this offspring⁵¹. Two members of the nobility, Peter of Wierzchosławice and his wife Catherine, received dispensation from the spiritual impediment on 20 March 1419. The document also tells us that in the course of their marriage they begat seven children⁵².

Of a different character were supplications concerning decisions made, at some time in the past, by current spouses – for example, an earlier betrothal of the current wife to another man, closely related to her current husband. In addition to the study of medieval women, documents of this type serve us as an important source for genealogy in medieval society. Here is a handful of examples, which well reflect these phenomena. 16 July 1418 is the date of the dispensation for a noble couple, George of Sarnów and his wife Margaret of Osieczno. We find from this document that Otto, George's brother, had earlier been betrothed to Margaret. This situation required the appropriate dispensation which was granted to the couple by Pope Martin V⁵³. Another supplication, dated 19 November 1419, reports a case of Anne of Karszewy whose first husband had been Nicholas of Koźle. After his death Anne married Francis of Krzyżanów with whom she had offspring. Anne and Francis's efforts at dispensation stemmed from the fact that Francis was related to Nicholas in the third degree of consanguinity⁵⁴. This situation, too, required a papal dispensation.

We also have an unusually interesting, and really quite exceptional, supplication dated 1 July 1420, submitted only by a woman who demanded an annulment of her marriage. This supplication was lodged by Ryngałła

51 BP, IV, no. 377: *Episcopo Pozn.: Andreae Cussonis de Garwolin et [...] Margaretae Novconis de Vnino mulieris tue d. petitionis series continebat, quod olim ipsi ignorantes aliquod impedimentum inter eos existere [...] matrimonium insimul per verba legitime de praesenti contraxerunt illudque, postquam interim ad eorum pervenit notitiam, quod mater dicti Andreae prefatam Margaretam de sacro fonte levaverat, sollempnitate praesumpserunt ac carnali copula consumarunt, ex indeque iam per 20 annos cohabitantes invicem 9 interim pueros procrearunt [...] Mandatur, ut cum eisdem dispenset, quatenus matrimonium de novo contrahere valeant, prolem huius modi legitimam decernendo.*

52 Ibidem, no. 408.

53 Ibidem, no. 300: *quod olim ipsi non ignorantes qn. Ottonem fratrem germanum eiusdem Georgii cum ipsa Margareta sponsalia per verba de futuro contraxise [...] matrimonium insimul contraxerunt per verba legitime de praesenti.*

54 Ibidem, no. 559.

Anne, daughter of Kiejstut, prince of Trotsk, and sister of Grand Duke Vytautas. She lodged a request to Pope Martin V for the annulment of her marriage – the fourth, this time to Alexander the Good, palatine of Moldavia. The supplication emphasizes two grounds for the request: the third degree of consanguinity with to her husband, and the palatine's fall into the errors of paganism⁵⁵. However, research into the genealogical ties between the Moldavian Bogdanovichi and the Lithuanian Gediminids has revealed that the actual petitioner for this annulment was not Ryngała Anne, but Palatine Alexander, who used for this purpose a supplication written in his wife's name. The marriage was indeed annulled by Pope Martin V.

We have one more example of a dispensation annulling a marriage – the supplication for which was, this time without any doubt, lodged by a Lesser-Polish noblewoman, Elizabeth of Oleksów, on 23 December 1428⁵⁶. Current research on the élite of the court officials in Lesser Poland tells us that in 1411 she married Gniewosz the Younger from Dalewice, sub-butler of Kraków, at the age of 12, and thus with the capacity for entrance into marriage required by canon law⁵⁷. From the papal document we note that at the beginning, Elizabeth was loved by her husband, but after a few years Gniewosz fell into madness, which had serious consequences for his wife. Among other acts, he choked her while in bed, forcing her to lock herself away from him in the bedroom. However, it was not the psychological illness that was the basis for Elizabeth's request for dispensation to Pope Martin V. Medieval canon law viewed madness as grounds for termination of marriage only if the madness lasted since its beginning⁵⁸. The formal grounds for annulment of this marriage, as presented in Elizabeth's supplication, was the fourth degree of consanguinity between the spouses – a grounds for annulment potentially very easily legitimated by papal dispensation. Nevertheless, Elizabeth – probably with the assistance of the outstanding Polish canon lawyer Stanisław of Skarbimierz, who represented her interests – did not ask for a dispensation, but requested an annulment of the marriage with a psychologically ill husband. Pope Martin V annulled the marriage, and Elizabeth received the right to remarry, which she later put to use.

55 Ibidem, no. 690; J. Tęgowski, *Powiązania genealogiczne wojewodów mołdawskich Bogdanowiczów z domem litewskich Gedyminowiczów w XIV i XV w.*, in: *Genealogia*, III, Poznań-Wrocław 1993, pp. 47, 54, 64-65.

56 BP, IV, no. 2225.

57 S. Szybowski, *Gniewosz Młodszy z Dalewic i Elżbieta Warszówna. Szkic z życia małopolskiej elity pierwszej połowy XV w.*, in: *Polska, Prusy, Ruś. Gdańskie studia z dziejów średniowiecza*, II, Gdańsk 1995, pp. 163-174.

58 T. Bensch, *Wpływ chorób umysłowych na ważność umowy małżeńskiej*, Lublin 1936, pp. 2-3, 35; S. Biskupski, *Prawo małżeńskie...*, pp. 274-276.

We also have supplications lodged by men, which beautifully describe the world of medieval love, in relation to the real-world principles of marital selection current among the Polish nobility. A medieval unhappy love of this kind is described in a papal bull sent to the nobleman Dobrogost of Szczekociny on 26 October 1429. From the document, we learn of the romance between Dobrogost and the noblewoman Hedwig, at that time still very young, daughter of Thomas of Miłosław. She fell in love with Dobrogost, with reciprocation, before her attainment of the age of consent. At the time she received her father's assurance that in the future, after reaching the appropriate age, she will be allowed to choose a husband suitable to her level of birth. After reaching the age of consent, she married Dobrogost "per verba de praesenti". Unfortunately, her father broke his word and decided to marry her to John Świdwa, son of Dobrogost of Szamotuły. Even though the father knew about his daughter's prior union, he forced her by beatings and threats into a betrothal, and subsequently marriage, to John. He did this even in the face of a prohibition issued by Stanisław Ciołek the bishop of Poznań who fully realized that as a result Hedwig became a bigamist.

Of exceptional interest is the dialogue between the daughter and the father reported in this document. After agreeing with Dobrogost of Szamotuły that he will give his daughter to Dobrogost's son, John of Świdwa, the father returned home and said

Ecce cara filia tu iam es desponsata Swidwa praedicto.

To which Hedwig reportedly answered,

Recordar[e] pater amantissime, quod licentiam concesseras mihi recipiendi in maritum nobilem tamen, quem duxissem eligend[um], ecce nover[is], quod Dobeslaum de Szczekoczini recepi in consortem et cum ipso contraxi per verba legitime de praesenti⁵⁹.

I will return to this, so to speak, peculiar staging of life moments, as expressed thought the papal bulls, later in this article. Meanwhile, from the papal documents, we can also learn a bit more about the local customs relating to entrance into marriage. On 3 November 1363 Pope Urban V sent a bull to the bishop of Olomouc, responding to a supplication by Conrad V, duke of Oleśnica, in a case concerning John, son of John Purnschorp of Głupczyce (in the diocese of Wrocław), cleric of Olomouc and Duke Conrad's secretary.

The bull describes a cohabitation, one night, between John and Dorothy Ceetelonis, a townswoman from the diocese of Wrocław. In the morning, as

⁵⁹ BP, IV, no. 2368; S. Kuraś, *Supliki papieskie jako źródło do historii społecznej Polski średniowiecznej*, in: *Ojczyzna bliższa i dalsza*, eds. J. Chrobaczyński, A. Jureczko, M. Śliwa, Kraków 1993, pp. 51-52.

she was setting out to leave, John demanded that she promise to marry him. He addressed Dorothy with the following words: "Dicas sic: ego do tibi fidem meam". Dorothy answered him in the words, "Sit ita in nomine S[anctae] Mariae", and then seized John's right hand and kissed it. The document also notes that thereafter there was no further cohabitation between them. At a later date, however, Dorothy refused to enter into the marriage, in response to which John brought suit against her in the Wrocław consistory court. The matter dragged on for some time, and ultimately resulted in the freeing of Dorothy from John's demands. As a result, Dorothy married another man. The pope instructed the bishop of Olomouc to inquire whether in that country the cited words, in conjunction with a kiss of that kind, were used in entrance into marriage. If not, then, by the authority of the Apostolic See, the union between John and Dorothy was to be definitively declared void⁶⁰.

Papal documents also reflect various issues related to women concerning interfaith relations, above all relations with the Orthodox and the Jews. We need to remember that the eastern territories of the Polish Kingdom, inhabited by the Orthodox, experienced the significant problem of mixed marriages. Those were prohibited not only by royal power, but above all by canon law and the practice of the Catholic Church⁶¹. As early as 24 February 1233 Pope Gregory IX instructed the prior of the Polish Dominican province and the archdeacon and scholar of the Kraków cathedral to prevent marriages between Orthodox Russians and Catholic women, who, in such cases, were rebaptized in the Orthodox rite⁶². A supplication of 31 August 1418 by Grand Duke Vytautas submitted in the name of John Butrim, knight from the diocese of Vilnius, concerned a slightly different matter. John married an (otherwise unidentified) Orthodox Russian woman, in the belief that she was going to convert to the faith of the Church of Rome. Despite admonitions in that direction, among others by the bishop of Vilnius, the woman did not change her observance. Obedient to ecclesiastical instructions, John left her. Pope Martin V's decision was as follows. Unless the Russian woman changes her faith, her marriage to John may be annulled. In that event, the pope expressed consent to John's remarriage to another woman⁶³.

Relations with the Jews – or, more properly speaking, Jewish women – are also reflected in papal documents. Let us recall that very many Jews moved to Poland during the 13th century, as a result of migration by Germans to

60 BP, II, no. 1246.

61 J. Drabina, *Wierzenia, religie, wspólnoty wyznaniowe w średniowiecznej Polsce i na Litwie i ich koegzystencja*, Kraków 1994, pp. 155-156.

62 BP, I, no. 274: *Cum Rutheni mulieres catholicas, qui sibi in uxores copulaverint, ritu ipsorum denuo baptizari faciant.*

63 BP, IV, no. 328.

Silesia, Greater Poland, Lesser Poland and Masovia. On 16 August 1264 Duke Bolesław the Pious issued the first statute concerning the Jews living in Greater Poland, which he ruled. Subsequently, the statute was confirmed by Casimir the Great after the unification of the kingdom, and by succeeding rulers, thus comprising the fundamental legal regulation in matters related to the Jews⁶⁴. The attitude of the papacy toward the Jews, however, was far from accepting. Three years after the promulgation of the privilege for the Jews just noted, in 1267 the pope imposed, through a bull, a variety of prohibitions upon the Jews. Among other terms, he categorically prohibited the Jewish women from encouraging Christian women to breast-feed the children of the Jewish women – and, in addition, to do so with the approval of the clergy⁶⁵.

Women in medieval Poland played a significant role in the process of obtaining mercy for people condemned to the death penalty. This custom was well known to customary law, and supported by the Church. An example suggesting the widespread acceptance of this custom may be the situation described in the supplication lodged by Nicholas, son of Bogusław of Drzewica, cleric of the diocese of Gniezno and a relative of Stanisław Ciołek, bishop of Poznań at the time. Nicholas sought a supplication “super defectu perfectae lenitatis”⁶⁶. This is because, some time earlier, when Nicholas served as a deputy of the royal captain (*starosta*), a common thief condemned to the death penalty was brought before him. However, on the request of some women – worthy of memory – and of the thief himself, Nicholas absolved the convict of this penalty⁶⁷. The thief was subsequently executed anyway, which is why Nicholas was now seeking papal dispensation.

In addition, papal documents reflect the dramatic fate and position of women – usually anonymous women – who were in marriages, and of women who were surrounded by clerics. As a good example of a possible situation of a married woman in 15th-century Lithuania, we may use the supplication

⁶⁴ *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski*, I, ed. I. Zakrzewski, Poznań 1877, no. 506; see H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 108-171; I. Lewin, *The Historical Background of the Statute of Kalisz*, in: idem, *The Jewish Community in Poland. Historical Essays*, New York 1985, pp. 38-56.

⁶⁵ *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, III, ed. J. Ptaśnik, Kraków 1914, no. 515: *et quibusdam eciam ecclesiarum prelatibus faventibus ad lactandum pueros suos conducunt feminas christianas, que cohabitare conducentibus compellentur in iniuriam Christi et nominis christiani*; BP, I, no. 783.

⁶⁶ A. Radzimiński, *Dispensen super defectu perfectae lenitatis. Die Konflikte des spätmittelalterlichen Klerus und die Methoden ihrer Bewältigung*, in: *Konfliktbewältigung und Friedensstiftung im Mittelalter*, eds. R. Czaja, E. Mühle, A. Radzimiński, Toruń 2012, pp. 277-288.

⁶⁷ BP, IV, no. 2394; S. Estreicher, *Wypraszenie kary śmierci w obyczajowości naszego ludu, “Lud” X (1908)*, pp. 245-249; more on this subject, concerning the modern period, in B. Barwiński, *Wypraszenie od kary śmierci w dawnym prawie polskim w XVI-XIX w.*, Lwów 1925.

“super defectu perfectae lenitatis”, of 21 July 1425, lodged by Theodoric nicknamed Tycza of Obolce, a priest in the diocese of Vilnius. From that supplication, we learn about the treatment of a certain Chomka, who was a thief, by her husband, Alexis Thorathotho, a servant of this priest. The priest accused her of theft, a fact which caused Theodoric – *more patriae* – to whip her husband with rods and to command him to restrain his wife from this activity. Alexis beat his wife very severely with a whip, then pushed her down on the ground and stomped on her; she was freed only through intervention by people observing nearby, and by Theodoric. It turned out that Chomka was pregnant, and that, after two weeks, “secrete unam massam de se emisit quam abortivum esse asseruit”⁶⁸.

We must admit that during the Middle Ages the beating of women by laymen and by clerics was a widely accepted activity. Regarding clerics we have numerous examples. One is Stanisław of Dobrzyń, chaplain of the diocese of Płock. From the dispensation acquired by him on 20 March 1441, we find that in his house he had a concubine, who allegedly uttered some damaging and unjust words against him. The clergyman decided to correct what he thought were her wrongful views, and beat her with a stick. It turned out that, at this time, the concubine was in her third month of pregnancy. After being struck by the clergyman, she departed to a village, situated about one mile away, and there, a few days later, aborted. She herself, however, survived and remained in physical health⁶⁹. Beatings of women by clergymen also took place, among other reasons, because of their failure to perform basic Christian obligations, such as going to confession or taking the Eucharist at Easter. This is well illustrated by the supplication of Stanisław of Głogowiec, priest of the Gniezno diocese, lodged on 24 May 1461. It reports the presence in his parish of an older woman, whom he, as parish priest, punished corporally because she did not confess or take the Eucharist in the Easter season. One day, passing by her house, he said, in anger, “Non venis ad confitendum et te communicandum sicut ceteri Christiani?” To which the woman answered him – offensively – “quod iret vias suas”. At that time the clergyman hit her with (as he wrote) the small stick he had in his hand⁷⁰.

In many cases, women – usually anonymous women – died as a result of beatings by clergymen. We find out from a papal document issued 28 June 1419 that John of Sławęczyno, parish priest in Rogów in the diocese of Gniezno, organized a solemn meeting for several parish priests on the day commemorating the consecration of his church. Also there was a certain

68 BP, IV, no. 1565.

69 BP, V, no. 1064.

70 BP, VI, no. 1620.

woman who began to shout out blasphemies and gesture offensively during the meeting. In response, the parish priest hit her on the head with a stick, and drew blood. The woman was then taken by the priest's vicar to her home, and died there an hour later⁷¹. Another, anonymous servant woman lost her life while working as housekeeper for Clement of Orłowo, rector of the parish church in Radoszki, in the diocese of Chełmno. One night, this churchman caught her in the act of debauchery with some man. As they both tried to run away, Clement took out a knife and wounded her. While wounded, she developed a high fever and died⁷².

Clergymen sometimes also had kidnapped women and had sex with them. This is suggested by the document of 15 December 1391 which reports a conflict concerning a canonical prebend of Kraków, between Paul son of Nanker, canon of Gniezno, and Dzierśław son of Blizbor, cleric of the Gniezno diocese. The document indicates that Blizbor forcibly kidnapped Margaret, wife of the nobleman Byk of Żurawica, knight from the diocese of Kraków, imprisoned her, and had sex with her in a particularly culpable manner⁷³. We need, however, to note that clergymen, too, confronted trouble in their relations with women. As we read in a document issued by Pope John XXIII on 29 March 1410, one day in the evening, Peter of Opoczno, priest from the Gniezno diocese, arrived at a tavern to meet his friend, who supplied him with drink. Also present was a certain layman, unfriendly to Peter. At that moment, turning to this enemy, Peter raised a toast: "Care frater, bibe mecum". Then the layman seized the drink, but without actually drinking it, and said: "Tu scis quid mihi fecisti". And Peter answered: "Et quid feci tibi?" At this point, the enemy lunged toward Peter with a knife, and the layman's wife, in solidarity, struck Peter with stones, so that he was seriously wounded⁷⁴. A far more serious difficulty beset Leonard of Skalbmierz, cleric of the Kraków diocese. A papal document of 17 April 1420 shows that he was accused of theft of a sum of money, and subsequently imprisoned by Elizabeth of Pilica, subsequently the third wife of the king of Poland, Władysław Jagiełło. In prison, he suffered serious health damage from the tortures to which he was subjected⁷⁵.

71 BP, IV, no. 483.

72 Ibidem, no. 1811.

73 BP, III, no. 281: *idem Dirslaus [...] nob. mulierem Margaretam, uxorem [...] nob. viri Byk Parkocossy de Sarawicze! Militis dictae Crac. d. violenter rapuit et illam tenuit aliquandiu et tenet crimen adulterii cum eadem damnabiliter committendo et etiam exinde in Regno Poloniae scandala gravia sunt exorta.*

74 Ibidem, no. 1242: *Tunc laicus in ipsum exponentem cum cultello et uxor ipsius cum lapidibus irruerunt et ipsum fortiter vulnerarunt.*

75 BP, IV, no. 654.

Earlier in this article, I have signaled the existence and given examples of dialogues embedded in the papal documents which include utterances by women. Cited speeches of this kind appear above all in papal dispensations for the clergy “super defectu perfectae lenitatis”, where we find many detailed descriptions of cases requiring such dispensation⁷⁶. Yet another document interesting in this regard is a papal dispensation of 13 July 1399 for Blaise, rector of the parish church in Góra, in the Gniezno diocese. This clergyman kept in his house a certain woman, who fulfilled the roles of a servant, cook, and governess. One day, the woman left the house, and Blaise asked a certain layman who lived with him where this servant was. The layman servant answered: “Exivit domum ad amandum alios”. After returning home, the clergyman asked the servant woman, in the layman’s presence: “Ubi fuisti? Dedisti te aliis carnaliter ad cognoscendum?” She answered: “Qui hoc tibi dixit?” At which point Blaise answered: “Famulus meus”. To which words, the lay domestic answered: “Non est verum quod dixerim”. After which words, the clergyman struck the layman on the nose, drawing blood. Next, he seized a stick and hit him on the head, so that the layman died three days later. We must admit that dialogues of this kind endow the papal documents with a very specific level of expressiveness, and facilitate a staging of the events described in them, through the creation of the scripts by which these events are presented.

The examples of papal documents directed to women from the Kingdom of Poland and nearby countries comprise an exceptionally valuable, until today barely tapped, source concerning everyday life of women, not merely in medieval Poland and the neighboring regions, but in Europe. They show a variety of marital issues, usually inaccessible through other sources, not merely of a legal, but also of a religious, social, and customary nature. They are the specific basis of our knowledge, for example, about the number of children begotten by married couples, the daily treatment of wives by their husbands, and the misfortunes of the – as a rule – nameless women who labored for clergymen. These documents also discuss the norms to which women Catholics were to adhere in their relations with the Jewish women. The (so-called) food-related dispensations sometimes shed light on women’s health – in this case, usually the health of women from the higher social strata. Finally, many papal documents allow us to hear women speaking in their own voice, with their utterances carefully noted in the documents in the form

⁷⁶ A. Radzimiński, *...super irregularitate, si quam propterea incurrit. Dyspensy ex defectu perfectae lenitatis duchowieństwa w okresie pontyfikatu Marcina V*, in: *Venerabiles – nobiles – honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej*, eds. A. Radzimiński, A. Supruniuk, J. Wroniszewski, Toruń 1997, pp. 115-124.

of dialogue. Without a doubt, the papal documents analyzed here comprise superb source material for a wide inquiry in medieval history.

translated by Piotr Górecki

ABSTRACT

The article introduces a range of issues related to the function, role, and significance of women in medieval Poland, based on an analysis of papal documents, above all supplications to the Holy See. The introductory section briefly treats the causes of the position of the subordination by women to men in medieval European society – beginning with the *Book of Genesis*, and culminating with a range of textual examples, drawn from medieval fiction and preaching manuals. The main portion of the article entails the analysis of a rich variety of subjects referring to women, which may be discerned from papal supplications. These include (among others) various types of indulgences available to women; dispensations concerning consumption, which entitled women to disregard fasts, and the reasons for such dispensations; marital dispensations – based, for example, upon the difference between the religion of the wife and that of her husband, or on mental illness of the husband – considered in the context of canon law; otherwise inaccessible customs concerning, and modes for, entering marriage; the range of fortunes experienced by women in their relations with clerics, above all in the context of celibacy and concubinage; relations between Catholic and Jewish women; women’s activity in ecclesiastical foundation, and their exercise of patronage; presentation, by the papal documents, of women in theatrical form, by means of dialogues in which they participated. Finally, the article considers the problem of anonymity of the women who appear in the supplications, and seeks to answer the question: does this material show us “the rule” or “the exception”?

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“THE LADY VANISHES”: MEDIÉVAL TEXTS, MODERN HISTORIANS AND LORDLY WOMEN



This article explores the reasons why there are so many more publicly active women playing politically-significant roles in the medieval sources used by historians than in the narratives of modern scholars, where the actions of the few women who do appear are more often trivialised than deemed historically important. In other words, I am attempting to understand why standard accounts of medieval socio-political history largely fail to integrate into their central plotlines women’s diverse activities and signal contributions, preferring to marginalise or exceptionalise the apparently few women whose deeds cannot be ignored. And this remains largely the case even with the small but steady stream of studies devoted to the women of Europe’s ruling elite that has appeared in the years since I first articulated some of the ideas developed here¹. To open with a brief example, how are we to account for the difference between the cited source and modern reconstruction in this discussion of an indisputably political marriage? In the words of the Anglo-Norman chronicler, Orderic Vitalis:

¹ The origins of this article lie in seminars I presented in various fora from the early 2000s and it has benefitted from the comments of participants. I thank Piotr Górecki for this opportunity publish it. My experience as a manuscript reader suggests that authors of socio-political narratives are up-to-date on the literature concerning the men in their accounts but tend not to cite (and in many cases, evidently, do not know) the scholarship concerning the women, whether as individuals or about methodological approaches to reading medieval sources about lordly women. It is not possible here to acknowledge individually the growing number of studies that delineate women’s official jurisdictional and other seigneurial powers of command, as well as the impact of their deeds in wider political arenas; nonetheless, even some of those studies can be blinkered by some of the misplaced assumptions or interpretative tropes discussed below.

[When no one could recuperate William Clito's paternal inheritance for him] Queen [Adelaide] gave him as wife her uterine sister, the child of Rainer the marquis. Moreover King Louis gave him Pontoise and Chaumont and Mantes and all the Vexin².

In the summary of an eminent historian, we read:

before the month's end Louis [VI] had married his wife's half-sister to Clito and endowed him with the lordship of the French Vexin³.

My charitable side sees merely the editorial eye at work in the historian's article, monitoring the word count and streamlining the narrative line in order to minimise readers' confusion. My uncharitable side sees the blindness that results from routinised gender prejudice, if not unself-conscious sexism. Either way, it is the queen who is deemed dispensable – or simply dispensed with – at the price of rendering a politically-interventionist woman passive and invisible to a modern audience.

Few medievalists today would doubt that aristocratic marriages could be political events of the first importance, whether for the alliances forged or the potential for disputes between lords and their men fuelled by the expense of such conspicuously festive ceremonies. But why are weddings less likely to be significant political affairs when organised by women? As a case in point: there are no fewer than four well-known accounts of the second wedding of the king of France's daughter, Constance, to the crusader hero Bohemond of Antioch, hosted by Adela, the countess of Blois, Chartres, and Meaux (and the bride's former sister-in-law). All agree that the widowed countess spared no expense entertaining the visiting royal family and King Philip's extensive entourage of barons and bishops, while ensuring that due decorum was observed throughout the festivities in Chartres⁴. The wedding took place less than a year after Adela had orchestrated the reconciliation of her brother, King Henry I, to the archbishop Anselm and about six months before he became duke of Normandy with his victory at Tinchebray and the Capetians formally renewed their alliance with the count of Anjou. Yet more than once when I have argued that the widowed countess planned events

² Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, in: *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, I-VI, Oxford 1969-1980 (henceforth: OV), IV, pp. 370-371: *Adeles regina uterinam sororem suam dedit illi in coniugem, Rainerii scilicet marchionis sobolem. Ludouicus autem rex dedit ei Pontesiam et Caluimontem atque Medantum totumque Vilcassinum.*

³ C.W. Hollister, *The Anglo-Norman Succession Debate of 1126. Prelude to Stephen's Anarchy*, in: idem, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World*, London 1986, p. 155.

⁴ The authors are Orderic Vitalis (who describes events, which he might well have attended, twice), Suger of Saint Denis and Guibert of Nogent, as referenced and quoted by K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord* (c. 1067-1137), Dublin 2007, p. 475, no. 63.

as a calculated display of faithful service to her king in politically-sensitive circumstances, I have been charged with gross over-interpretation: "she just wanted a good party to send off an old friend in style", to paraphrase a well-known historian – though similar sentiments have been expressed by others⁵.

At least no one since the end of the 12th century has ever doubted that the betrothal of the young daughter of the duke of Brabant to the imperial claimant Otto IV of Brunswick was a political match of European-wide significance. But who arranged it? Her father in the Holy Land, who would have had at most eight months to track from that distance the factions in continual reformation around the several contenders and communicate his decision; or her mother, left in Brabant to rule as regent? In spite of a key source declaring that the crusading duke did not know about the engagement and telling circumstantial evidence that her mother alone negotiated it, the prevailing opinion of the last century – thanks to the arguments of a respected "scientific" historian – was that the girl's mother could only have been acting on the direct orders of her husband. A recent article on the regent-duchess reveals the absurdity of that long-authoritative "fact", but if the duke's brother had been regent would anyone ever have been prompted to argue against the evidence to "demonstrate" that the absent father arranged the match⁶?

These cases exemplify three fundamental issues pursued in this article: the determination of which events are of public-political significance in a medieval context (that is, not necessarily the same type of event historians of the modern period would consider); the attribution of motivations to actors (a sport all historians of the middle ages are obliged to indulge in, though most show a marked reluctance to consider as wide a range of possible motivations for women as they do for men); and the temptation to explain away – rather than to explain – evidence concerning the deeds of lordly women (apparently because their reported actions confound post-medieval expectations). A pair of examples drawn from Galbert of Bruges's account

5 K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 221-222, 295-296 (with reference to the first attested aid assessed in England for the marriage of a king's daughter in 1110). The comments were from a senior historian (now retired) whom I had asked to review my Ph.D. thesis as I revised it for publication, though similar sentiments have been expressed by audience members in any number of fora in which I discussed this material. A notable exception to such a dismissive approach is J.C. Parsons, *Mothers, Daughters, Marriage, Power. Some Plantagenet Evidence, 1150-1500*, in: *Medieval Queenship*, ed. J.C. Parsons, New York 1993, pp. 63-78.

6 J.L. Kupper, *Mathilde de Boulogne, duchesse de Brabant († 1210)*, in: *Femmes, mariages – lignages XII^e-XIV^e siècles. Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, ed. J. Dufournet, Brussels 1992, pp. 232-255, especially 242-249, arguing against G. Smets.

of the murder of Charles the Good, count of Flanders, points to two more of my inter-related themes: how lordly women were perceived and their ruling powers conceptualised by their contemporaries (that is, from a medieval perspective, in order to avoid the risk of anachronism in deploying modern categories of analysis as if they had universal explanatory force); and how appreciation for the many contexts in which women acted in a lordly capacity might shed light on their visibility and extent to which they participated in affairs of political consequence (or, just how often might men find themselves serving or taking orders from a female lord?).

I have been led to believe from any number of undergraduates in several countries that no women appear in Galbert's account of Charles the Good's murder (a text over two hundred pages long in the standard English translation) – thereby confirming that some things are the same the world over: it is easier to paraphrase an eminent authority than to read the primary sources for oneself⁷. I will omit the recital of women in Galbert's narrative – from all social classes engaged in a broad range of activities – to focus on a lordly one⁸.

7 One likely source for students appears to be the translator's introduction, though other scholars could be blunter and less nuanced when summarising Galbert's text; see *The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders by Galbert of Bruges*, ed. J.B. Ross, New York 1967, pp. 47-48 (henceforth: Galbert).

8 See N.F. Partner, *Galbert's Hidden Women. Social Presence and Narrative Concealment*, in: *Galbert of Bruges and the Historiography of Medieval Flanders*, eds. J. Rider, A.V. Murray, Washington 2009, pp. 109-125; M. Häcker, *The Language of Misogyny in Galbert of Bruges's Account of the Murder of Charles the Good*, in: *ibidem*, pp. 126-144, respectively. Both articles discuss the wide range of women whose activities Galbert recorded, though are open to criticism in some respects in the light of issues treated below. For example, Partner aptly notes that women's relative narrative absence does not equate to their insignificance in society (p. 117) and suggests prevailing misogyny emerges more in his accounts of semi-legendary women evoked to drive his moral agenda than in his portrayal of firmly documented historical women (pp. 122-125). Yet she holds that the exceptional noble women actors in the text would have been excluded from certain "formal" realms of power, capable, when making dispositions "on [their] own" of acting only "like a lord", not as a lord (pp. 114-116); and that their authoritative acts were viewed as "licit enough", not simply licit, and then almost exclusively when, as widows, their gender could be "neutralized" (p. 125). Häcker attempts to "flesh-out" from other sources the range of activities and contemporary views of Galbert's countesses (though from a limited range of available scholarly literature) but is more concerned to establish the (unsurprising?) misogyny of the age that appears in Galbert's recourse to negative stereotypes in his portrayal of individual women, suggesting that he was the first chronicler to deploy them (!); while some of her readings are perceptive, it would be helpful to learn more about the more positive portrayals (and inherited stereotypes) of ruling women she notes in the writings of other clerical reporters of these events. I recommend following Barbara Newman's approach to the omnipresent misogyny in the medieval world, see *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ. Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*, Philadelphia 1995, p. 2: "the endless iteration of [misogynist] clichés quickly fades into a kind of ground bass – always present, sometimes annoying loud,

The count’s murder led to a period of armed conflict because he died childless in a border county where two of the four previous successions had been contested among members of the extended comital family by force of arms. At Charles’s unexpected demise in 1127, six potential heirs actively prosecuted their claims. Who was among the first to enter the fray, according to Galbert?

[T]he countess of Holland came to the siege [of Bruges’s castle] with her son, and a big crowd came with her. Now she was hoping that all the barons of the siege would [s]elect her son as count, because our citizens and many of the barons had suggested it to him [*ei*; better, her]. The countess expressed her thanks for this, and she tried hard to secure the friendship [*amicitia*] of all the barons, bestowing gifts and making many promises.

She looked set to succeed until some knights arrived and announced – untruthfully – that the king of France had named another as count⁹. As aspirants flocked to the county and the violence spread, the chances of a boy with the most tenuous familial claim of all evaporated fast. According to Galbert, the countess of Holland then threw her support to her half-brother, Thierry of Alsace (the eventual winner and Charles’s nearest male relation of legitimate birth). The countess’s promises of toll-free transit in Holland were crucial in winning Bruges for Thierry, at the price, for the burghers, of openly defying the king¹⁰. How did this politically-astute and publically-active sister, wife and mother almost come to be written out of a major international conflict?

Yet I have also learned about lordly women from my students. One lasting result of the disputed succession was the granting of charters of liberties to several Flemish towns. Galbert summarised Bruges’s charter, alongside some other agreements, though how accurately or comprehensively cannot be

but easy to tune out if one is intent on the more interesting harmonies and discords that are woven above and around it”.

⁹ Galbert, pp. 161-162; I have suggested other translations on the basis of Galbert’s Latin, see *De multro, traditione et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarum*, ed. J. Rider, in: *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, CXXXI, Turnhout 1994; Ross’s translation of *ei* as “his” is over-determined in gender terms, given the young age of the countess’s son for whom she (named Gertrude), was acting as regent; barons would be better translated as princes (Galbert’s *principes*). Notable also is that *amicitia* is the standard term for a political alliance or treaty and might well have been translated as such by other translators, though Ross is consistent in translating it as “friendship” throughout; winning political support through promises and gifts was commonplace behaviour for men in such circumstances.

¹⁰ Galbert, pp. 274-275, including the text of Thierry’s proposed terms that makes no reference to his sister’s son. Ross provides a useful genealogy of the major participants, pp. 314-317.

known. The only document to have survived independently is Saint-Omer's and I assign it alongside Galbert's narrative. One of the clauses regulating local policing accords the wife of the castellan the same authority as her husband or his seneschal to summon to court out-of-towners accused of certain violent crimes against the burghers¹¹. The charter's matter-of-fact acknowledgement of the authoritative place of the castellan's wife alongside her husband and his leading household officer reveals how aristocratic wives could regularly share in what modern historians might consider formal or official public power in the middle ages – a time, unlike the present, when political structures were “formally” embedded in social institutions such as the family. And the reference was so fleeting that even I had overlooked it until a disbelieving student queried its obvious meaning.

Furthermore, Galbert's narrative underscores that, however much primogenital patrilineal inheritance came to be the preferred method for succession to offices and other honours, the ideal could not be consistently, and arguably not even routinely, attained in practice. For the sixty-one years from 1067 to 1128 treated by Galbert an eldest son succeeded his father as count of Flanders three of seven times (and one first-born son was soon ousted); three of the seven counts – including Charles – traced the familial part of their claims to inherit through women (while four of the six claimants after Charles's death did likewise, including the two who were actually installed as count). Moreover, two counts had wives or mothers attested as war-waging regent countesses in multiple chronicle and charter sources, even if Galbert, as an author with a strong and explicitly stated personal perspective on events, had a number of reasons for downplaying the deeds of one (Richilda) and failing to mention the other (Clemence)¹². Historical

11 G. Espinas, *Le privilège de Saint-Omer de 1127*, “Revue du Nord” XXIX (1947), p. 47; clause 20 opens: “If any foreigner attacks a burgher of Saint-Omer and inflicts insult or injury on him or violently robs him, avoids arrest, and gets away with his transgression, and afterwards he is summoned by the Castellan or his wife, or by his standard-bearer [*postmodum vocatus a castellano vel uxore eius seu ab eius dapifero*], and refuses or neglects to appear within three days to do satisfaction, the community of citizens shall avenge their brother's injury” – transl. *Customs of Saint-Omer*, ed. C. Fasolt, in: *Readings in Western Civilization, IV: Medieval Europe*, eds. J. Kirshner, K.F. Morrison, Chicago 1986, pp. 90-95. This “wifely” role is directly analogous to those prescribed for Carolingian queens; see sources discussed in K.A. LoPrete, *Women, Gender and Lordship in Medieval France*, “History Compass” V (2007), pp. 1923-1924, 1933-1934.

12 For Richilda and Clemence, see: K. Nicholas, *Countesses as Rulers in Flanders*, in: *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. T. Evergates, Philadelphia 1999, pp. 111-137; M. McLaughlin, *The Woman Warrior. Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe*, “Women's Studies” XVII (1990), pp. 193-209, 220-225; H. Sproemberg, *Clementia, Gräfin von Flandern*, “Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire” XLII (1964), pp. 1023-1041; P. Adair, *Countess Clemence. Her Power and Its Foundation*, in: *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. T.M. Vann, Dallas

women, with their own patrilineal affiliation in descent groups that had segmented from a common ancestor into several family branches, and in their pivotal positions as wives and mothers linking two – and sometimes three – distinct family groups or generations within families, played more central roles in the politics of lordly dynasties than allowed for in abstracted models of men only “primogenital patrilineages”¹³.

These opening anecdotes illustrate the main issues to be explored in the remainder of this article. When historians either pass over as unimportant or choose to explain away significant evidence concerning the activities of female lords (*dominae*) – that is, lords who happened to be women¹⁴ – they generally have recourse to one or more of five interlocking explanatory devices or “figures of thought”. I have dubbed them the tropes of “misplaced

1993, pp. 63-72; T. de Hemptinne, *Les épouses des croisés et pèlerins flamands aux XI^e et XII^e siècles. L'exemple des comtesses de Flandre Clémence et Sibylle*, in: *Autour de la première croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995)*, ed. M. Balard, Paris 1996, pp. 83-95. A wholly compelling analysis of the women figuring in, or absent from, Galbert's narrative remains to be written. Galbert's account of Robert the Frisian's usurpation of the county at the expense of Richilda and her sons, largely incidental to his main story, is tendentious in its concern to play down any possibility that her grandson could realise his claims after the installation of William Clito, even though he had the strongest hereditary right to the entire county of Flanders (Galbert, ch. 69). Galbert might have had any number of reasons to vilify Clemence, but refrains from doing so, largely because he chose not to discuss the opposition to Charles's accession (in which she played an active role); downplayed the legitimacy of William of Ypres' claims (to which Clemence lent some support) (ch. 20); and brought in the issue of the dowry Clemence took to her second husband only as part of his tortuous attempt to rationalise his understanding of God's will in events after the decisive battle of the rival counts William Clito and Thierry of Alsace (ch. 120) that had caused him such mental anguish. After count Thierry, from 1168 to 1280, Flanders saw two counts inherit the county and three heiress-countesses: the first, Margaret, a younger sister of a count, followed two generations later by her granddaughters, the sisters Jeanne and Marguerite.

13 For a convenient and compelling demonstration that aristocratic families did not, sometime in the 11th century, change fundamentally in structure (that is, from bilateral or cognatic kindreds to primogenital patrilineages that excluded younger sons and daughters alike, as had been posited by Karl Schmid and Georges Duby), see T. Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100-1300*, Philadelphia 2007, pp. 82-100, 167-189, 318-330, 356-366; see also nn. 57-58 below.

14 I coined the expression “female lords” in my *Adela of Blois. Familial Alliances and Female Lordship*, in: *Aristocratic Women...*, pp. 7-43, 180-200. “Lady” captures the status and deference accorded to such women, but can be a problematic translation of *domina* because the range of medieval ladies' responsibilities was often greater than that of their modern counterparts; see K.A. LoPrete, *The Domain of Lordly Women in France, ca. 1050-1250*, “Medieval Feminist Forum” XLIV (2008), pp. 17-21, 30-32; K.A. LoPrete, “Public” Aspects of Lordly Women's Domestic Activities in France, ca. 1050-1200, in: *Gender and Historiography. Studies in the History of the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford*, eds. J.L. Nelson, S. Reynolds, S.M. Johns, London 2012, pp. 148-149.

domestication”, “the personalising of motivation”, “marginalisation by exceptionalising”, “passive or right-less transmission” and “monstrous masculinisation”. Gender features in each trope but not in the same way; distinguishing the different ideological work gender can perform in different contexts – rather than positing a monolithic binary concept of “gender difference” – is critical to understanding the blind spots about ruling women in much modernist – and even post-modernist – historiography, as well as in many theoretically-inflected “gender studies” touching on their powers.

Notions of gendered socio-political spheres and stereotyped images of the generic proclivities of all women have remained largely unchanged over the *longue durée* of European history. In order to account for the prominent lordly women in medieval sources it is important to be aware of the significant changes over time in underlying socio-political structures, as well as in fundamental notions used to explain how gendered attributes come to be mapped onto historically active men and women. As can still be forgotten, women (in ostensible anatomical terms) and the full range of their behaviours cannot be reduced to culturally-conditioned notions of femininity, any more than men’s lived experiences can be contained by mental constructs of masculinity, even as scholars come to realise that the categories “femininity” and “masculinity” might be more flexible and context-specific – when applied to real-life situations – than a strict logic of binary oppositions allows¹⁵.

15 Gender studies, with a growing interest in medieval “masculinities” alongside “femininities” has grown exponentially in the past decade; is it surprising that the plural on the masculine side of the pair appeared from the start of “masculinity” studies in the 1990s and has since been used more frequently and with more varieties considered? Yet there is little consensus as to how those terms are best construed or their relation to the psycho-social or somatic identities and activities of human beings and how men and women were perceived by other people. Nonetheless, the increased use of plural forms suggests growing recognition of the complexity of gendered constructs that could vary according to the cultural discourse in which they were evoked, as well as according to the social position of individual men and women in relation to other social groups, or even to those extra-earthly participants in medieval society, such as the holy dead or triune Godhead. I would tend to agree with R. Mazo Karras’s comments stressing the “play” within the medieval gender system rather than positing more genders, as proposed by some scholars: “Rather than to speak of [multiple] genders, it is more useful to speak of multiple variations on the basic two. This approach allows us to observe the tensions inherent in ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ gender identities [understood as embodied in the middle ages] [...] It was thus difficult for medieval people, while remaining in their bodies, to transcend them completely. Instead, they lived with contradiction and multiplicity. The fluidity that [Jacqueline] Murray sees along a spectrum from male to female [see n. 93 below] might instead be seen as fluidity of meaning within the binary categories of masculine and feminine [and with people capable of moving between the two]” – R.M. Karras, *Thomas Aquinas’s Chastity Belt. Clerical Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, in: *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe. New Perspectives*, eds. L.M. Bitel, F. Lifshitz, Philadelphia 2008, p. 53. For an accessible, if basic, overview of some important English-language “gender studies”, see the

To medieval historians I perhaps need dwell little on my first trope, that of "misplaced domestication" already evoked in my examples concerning marriages. It refers to the anachronistic application of a presumed universal and "self-evident" gendering of the domains of men's and women's activities: men's ascribed roles are played out in a masculine public-political sphere (that of official or formal powers and authoritative posts in governing or military institutions, for example), while women play theirs in a feminine private or domestic sphere (where they can only exercise personal, unofficial and informal influence over public-political events, not any authoritative powers of command in "public" governance or military matters). I do not deny that such a rough and ready division existed, both conceptually and on the ground, in the middle ages. However, between the modern world and medieval society – "feudal society" as historians writing in the wake of Marc Bloch might conceive it even when they reject that label – there are significant differences in determining where the line demarcating the spheres was drawn, as well as in the activities that were assigned to each domain¹⁶.

In other words, few would deny that a key distinguishing feature of the medieval world is the high degree to which impersonal powers of "state" were personal and "patrimonialised". Even elite men's exercise of powers of command over lands and people in the middle ages was largely embedded in familial or domestic affairs, with a commanding personality and other personal or familial attributes essential for political success. Lords' bedrooms, households and residences – their chambers, courts and castles – were key sites of political and judicial activity, even as the impersonal crown came to be distinguished conceptually from individual kings and distinctions between household affairs and those of the wider political community came to be drawn at royal courts, most appreciably from the decades around 1200¹⁷. By the same token, many affairs of family and household became "public" events of political consequence, whether locally, regionally, or for the realm as a whole. Those affairs would include arranging marriages; resolving conflicts, whether by formal hearings or mediation, involving tenants – fief-holding knights and rent-paying villagers or burghers alike;

introductory chapter by Elizabeth L'Estrange and Alison More in the volume they edited: *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe. Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1500*, Woodbridge 2011, pp. 1-13.

¹⁶ M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, London 1961, and, among other more recent general introductions to society at this time, J.P. Poly, E. Bournazel, *La mutation féodale, X^e-XII^e siècle*, Paris 2004, even if one does not accept all of the authors' views and might even deny that "feudal society" is a valid or useful label for the phenomena described.

¹⁷ For this and next paragraph see further discussion and literature in K.A. LoPrete, *The Domain of Lordly Women...*, pp. 14-16, 29-39, especially nn. 4-6; eadem, *Women, Gender...*, pp. 147-150.

and disputing inheritances or successions to titles and honours, whether at court or on the battlefield. But domestic matters of “public”, politico-military consequence could also include routine activities like controlling access to or interceding with the lord, distributing gifts and favours, and disbursing the family’s store of liquid wealth – whether in exchange for food to feed the household troops, for burial at a local monastery or family necropolis, or for forging alliances with visiting lay and clerical dignitaries. In other words, the medieval household was more capacious than its later counterpart that has been restricted by being embedded in – or comprehended by – modern “impersonal states”. The medieval household is indeed a domestic domain, but it was far from a “private” space, whether in the sense of a preserve of intimacy or a sphere of action sharply demarcated in law from “the public sector”.

Thus aristocratic women – without straying from the traditional domestic domain they occupied as heads of households, consorts of lords, and mothers of heirs – could find themselves wielding the same lordly powers as their male peers and with the same wider-ranging political consequences. Whether commanding household cooks, household clerics or household knights, the *domina*, or “lady”, of the castle, was as much a lord – *dominus* – as her husband. When she controlled lands, honours and revenues in her own right (whether as inheritances, or as marriage gifts such as dowers and dowries, or both) or when she acted as regent-guardian for an absent husband or minor son, her lordly powers and political impact would often expand. To the extent that *dominae* wielded the same powers of command over land and people as aristocratic men and performed the same lordly deeds, their authority to do so – the legitimacy of their actions – could be considered equivalent to that of their male peers, dependent as it was more on personal status and social rank than on bodily sex.

Of course male lords could abuse their powers and usurp authority as much as female ones – if not more so given men’s greater access to such positions of command and physical force – and women, over their life courses, had fewer occasions to deploy their authority and could find themselves vulnerable in relation to powerful men when they came to wield their legitimate lordly powers. Nonetheless, elite women’s capacity to act with authority over lands and people was accepted by their contemporaries in certain routinely-arising situations, irrespective of whether one follows Bloch or Georges Duby in conceptualising the powers of medieval lords. For Bloch, lords’ powers, however acquired, could be legitimated through usage and custom and thereby converted into a Weberian-style traditional authority over others (centuries before such powers came to be conceptualised and defined in law as official royal grants). Thus, when the impersonal, bureaucratic apparatus of “state” remained rudimentary, elite women were never deemed

incapable of exercising authority [*pouvoirs de commandement*]. No one was disturbed by the spectacle of the great lady [*la haute dame*] presiding over the baronial court when her husband was away¹⁸.

Duby, writing within the paradigm that sees the "feudal world" when contrasted with the "modern" one as private by definition, speaks only of the *de facto* powers (*potestas/potestates*) "feudal" lords unjustly usurped from kings and their legally-empowered agents – the only wholly legitimate and fully public power in his view, as for many of his 19th and early-20th century forebears. In that view it is difficult even to conceive of the "public" or "official" powers of *domini/dominae* – an honorific title freely bestowed on any who dominated others and commanded deference, but lacking legal definition, as Duby himself elucidated¹⁹. With his emphasis on the centrality of military exploits to the "feudal" elite and unexamined assumption that a legally-demarcated "public sphere" reserved for men of "state" always existed, Duby could only offer a paradoxical definition of lords' "public power" (to the extent that he articulated one at all): it is the power of the sword personally wielded to enforce one's will and punish others, whether on or off the battlefield; no official authority existed except for that of kings and their legally-empowered delegates²⁰.

Yet beware the trope of "misplaced domestication" if you then follow Duby in his well-known disparagement of the legitimacy and extent of the powers of lordly women, such as can be epitomised in his interpretation of a charter representing a count and countess seated on their conjugal bed when they jointly consent to the alienation of a fief. He suggests that the bed represents the private, maternal power of the womb and contrasts the countess's fleeting, unofficial influence to her husband's enduring official capacity to rule²¹. But what "sword" is he, the "feudal lord", wielding in bed to exercise his "public" power over clients personally answerable for their "private" fiefs to count and countess alike? It would be more appropriate to acknowledge, like Peter the Venerable, that in world where bedroom politics were public

18 M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, p. 200; further in K.A. LoPrete, *Women, Gender...*, pp. 1925, 1934-1935, nn. 16-17.

19 See n. 14 above.

20 See further discussion and literature in K.A. LoPrete, *Historical Ironies in the Study of Capetian Women*, in: *Capetian Women*, ed. K. Nolan, New York 2003, pp. 271-286; eadem, *Women, Gender...*, pp. 1932-1933, n. 3.

21 G. Duby, *Women and Power*, in: *Cultures of Power. Lordship, Status, and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. T.N. Bisson, Philadelphia 1995, pp. 72-73. The charter records several related transactions, the first of which is dated to 1117; it is known from the copy made in the early 13th century by the monk William of Andres for his *Chronicon*, in: L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium sive collection veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant*, II, Paris 1723, pp. 787-788.

politics and lords' powers and authority were enmeshed in a web of personal exchanges of gifts and services at lords' courts, women's exercise of lordly powers could be construed as part-and-parcel, or occasional extensions, of their routine household roles, not as transgressive boundary crossings into a domain reserved for men²². A woman disposing of property legally hers, or exercising customary jurisdiction over her tenants, can hardly be cast as a usurper of someone else's authority even if – as could readily happen to men – someone else at the time contested her legal right to the particular goods in question.

If most powers of command in the middle ages were exercised in a domestic domain writ large it seems inconsistent to draw an *a priori* line distinguishing a man's from a woman's interest in training children, arranging marriages, disputing inheritances, bestowing favours, and ending quarrels among one's retinue of sworn followers and then to present the man's interest as a matter of public policy and high politics, the woman's a question of personal sentiment and routine household chores. This observation leads to my second trope: that of "personalising motivation". According to deeply-entrenched gender stereotypes, men act rationally for the public good after reasoned deliberation (at least, good lords do); women act in emotional frenzies for personal gain (though the odd exception just might be able to mobilise her affective forces for the greater good). Male lords have sex to beget heirs (in order to ensure a smooth devolution of power), or as public-relations exercises (to display their manliness); lordly women use sex to get what they want for themselves, favourite family members, or simply court favourites – can they even conceive of anything as abstract as the "common good"? Men grant gifts of land or bestow other favours to win political followers and potential allies; women (presumably with no direct access to property) give little presents to their friends. That is to say, men's gifts oblige others in return; women's are once-off gestures to thank men for personal services presumed rendered²³.

Why does the significance of the same action change if performed in comparable circumstances by a woman, rather than a man? For the middle

²² Peter the Venerable, ep. 115 (to Heloise), in: *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, I, ed. G. Constable, Cambridge 1967, p. 305: he took women ruling (*principare*) women and women accompanying men to battle (*ad praelia*) in his stride.

²³ For recent work on the complexity and significance of gift exchange in the medieval world, see A.J. Bijsterveld, *Do ut des. Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Management in the Medieval Low Countries*, Hilversum 2007, including a useful literature review, pp. 7-50; *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. W. Davies, P. Fouracre, Cambridge 2010; and, including later periods, *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Gabentausch und Netzwerkpflege im europäischen Mittelalter. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums Münster, 19.-20. November 2009*, ed. M. Grünbart, Byzantinische Studien und Texte, I, Münster 2011.

ages there are many more deeds recorded than reasons reported to explain them. Imputing motivations to actors, stitching disparate actions together into agendas or policies, is one of historians' tasks. Can the documented deeds of women be ignored simply because they are *presumed* to be irrelevant in wider political arenas? And, when historians set out to reconstruct events and assess the motivations of those involved in the frequent succession disputes that were central to medieval politics – well known sites for women's political interventions – why do the sources for the women involved rarely merit as much critical analysis as do those for the men? Did every woman accused of seducing her political ally in fact sleep with him, or is "sleeping with the enemy" a particularly potent trope in an era when dynastic politics were public politics²⁴? For example, only in 1990 did sustained critical analysis of the available sources for the 9th-century empress Judith, second wife of Louis the Pious, appear in print. Until then, the empress's self-evidently misguided attempt to gain a kingdom for her son (Charles the Bald) at the expense of more rightful heirs was almost universally held to have led her to seduce the chamberlain as she virtually single-handedly provoked the revolts that racked the Carolingian empire in Louis' later years. But Elizabeth Ward's careful analysis of the full range of sources available in chronological order and according to generic type, has disclosed that this overwhelmingly negative portrayal owes more to the self-serving polemics of churchmen attempting to justify their own participation in the revolts and secure their positions after the emperor reasserted control than it does to Judith's actual – and surprisingly positive – contributions to cultural and political life at the imperial court, factionalised long before her arrival. She even presents a strong case that Judith never slept with the chamberlain (though conclusive evidence either way is – unsurprisingly – lacking)²⁵.

Moreover, it is well known that religious or ecclesiastical affairs were often public-political ones in the Middle Ages, and that many mundane activities – from peace-keeping and dispute resolution to curing the sick and

24 K.A. LoPrete, *Women, Gender...*, pp. 1923-1924, 1933. For a perceptive study of charges of adultery and other sexual vices, both real and imagined, used to impugn the legitimacy of a ruling king (Henry IV of Germany) and to underscore a perceived link between male rulers' sexual morality and the state of the realm, even as individual kings were distinguished from the office of kingship, see M. McLaughlin, *Disgusting Acts of Shamelessness. Sexual Misconduct and the Deconstruction of Royal Authority in the Eleventh Century*, "Early Medieval Europe" XIX (2011), pp. 312-331.

25 E. Ward, *Agobard of Lyons and Paschasius Radbertus as Critics of the Empress Judith*, "Studies in Church History" XXVII (1990), pp. 15-25; eadem, *Caesar's Wife. The Career of the Empress Judith, 819-829*, in: *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (914-840)*, eds. P. Godman, R. Collins, Oxford 1990, pp. 205-227; full analysis had to await the completion of her Ph.D. thesis for King's College London in 2002.

promoting good harvests – had a religious dimension. At the same time, the extant sources for lay lords’ religious practices and relations with churchmen can make it hard to discern sincere belief or devotion in many of their deeds. Nonetheless, there has been an almost overwhelming tendency to assign motivations in such situations in gendered terms. Aristocratic women act out of faith (as the sources almost universally declare); their menfolk are shown to have a *Klosterpolitik* (even when the sources overwhelmingly stress their piety)²⁶. That is, elite men made or contested pious bequests to further their political agendas: to outwit unwary churchmen, solidify relations with lay and clerical allies, consolidate their borders against aggressive neighbours, or overawe their inferiors. Women, those large-hearted, soft-headed dupes of conniving clerics, made donations foolishly at worst – frittering away the patrimony – or, at best – but with no political significance – to ensure the terrestrial and celestial well-being of their loved ones, when they were not busy contesting grants out of selfish greed.

Historians are increasingly breaking down such stark oppositions to stress the complexity and mix of motivations for “pious” deeds, though exploring the spiritual yearnings of noble men began well before scholars undertook sustained examination of the documents recording women’s pious bequests. That took off once scholars realised how important such charters can be as sources for women’s access to landed property, the revenues generated from it and jurisdictional rights over tenants on it²⁷. Yet sustained analysis of the patterns of women’s donations and the elucidation of political strategies motivating them, or attempts to assess the impact of particular acts of patronage on specific political events, remain relatively rare²⁸.

²⁶ The *locus classicus* for challenging this view is J.L. Nelson, *Queens as Jezebels. The Careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History*, in: *Debating the Middle Ages. Issues and Readings*, eds. L.K. Little, B.H. Rosenwein, Oxford 1998, pp. 219-253.

²⁷ See, for example, *Aristocratic Women...*, that acknowledges earlier work on both charters and lay piety, as well as keeping in view political consequences of women’s relations with churchmen. B.H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter. The Social Meaning of Cluny’s Property, 909-1049*, Ithaca 1989, developed an important model for analysing the socio-political significance of lay lords’ on-going relations with religious communities. C.B. Bouchard has emphasised the piety in such bequests by women and men alike, but with little sustained analysis of any political consequences, intended or otherwise; see: *Sword, Miter, and Cloister. Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198*, Ithaca 1987; eadem, *Holy Entrepreneurs. Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy*, Ithaca 1991.

²⁸ E.L. Jordan, *Women, Power, and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages*, New York 2006, focused on the heiress-countesses of Flanders, provides a political narrative in one chapter, tracing the ups and downs of their relative power to act independently of husbands, sons, and kings, in their inherited counties; but she discusses their monastic patronage in another, with little attempt to link the countess’s donations and interventions with religious communities to the outcomes of specific events in their tumultuous lives or to trace the churchmen or

Such renewed appreciation for elite women's access to property is important, but politically effective gifts and favours could take other forms as well. Here women's unquestioned access to moveable goods merits further examination. Countless such gifts from women are mentioned in churchmen's letters and chroniclers' narratives, which describe ornate books or bindings and gold-threaded textiles, candelabra and other liturgical vessels of precious metals and gemstones that could contain twenty pounds of gold, and specie for new church roofs or towers, even as charters increasingly record grants of other cash revenues from ca. 1200. Should such gifts of moveable wealth be written off as simple expressions of thanks and commonplace gestures of mutual esteem or should they be analysed in broader political contexts?

In the heat of conflict, gifts of precious metals or objects readily convertible to cash could well be of more immediate use to a clerical or lay ally on the move than a grant of land, however more valuable in the longer term real estate might be²⁹. When sources are fragmentary, historians must consider the wider context of all gifts made by women, moveables and immovable alike, rather than simply dismissing them as insignificant in a broader political narrative because of an entrenched reflex to personalise women's motivations. Male and female lords, recruited from the same families, played the same political games, albeit by gender-inflected rules. When women did the same things as men in comparable situations, is it not reasonable to expect that they could, and often did, so for the same reasons?

Two specific cases exemplify the deleterious interpretive effects of these first two tropes and suggest how they might be overcome. Both involve Adela,

women religious thus patronised to their circles of allies and political supporters in particular circumstances; even in discussions of the large ransoms the countesses were able to raise, the relative amounts donated or terms for loans are not analysed in relation to the countess's prior patronage or ties to members of the donating communities.

²⁹ English queens had access to "queen's gold", originating in counter-gifts or payments lords received for their intercession – a medieval form of gift exchange – and that became standardised in law during the later 12th century as a ten percent levy on the oblations or voluntary fines paid for royal confirmation of liberties or landed possessions, assistance in judicial matters and a miscellany of other favors. Recent studies rightly underscore the formal and institutionalised aspect of queen's gold, but focus more on how the amounts received by queens were smaller than received by kings, who in the 10th and 11th centuries frequently were given lands while women received only moveables; or on how queens could lose access to or control over such payments as they came to be viewed more as a gift from the king to the queen than as a customary counter-gift from the petitioner or beneficiary, see: A. Rabin, *Female Advocacy and Royal Protection in Tenth-Century England. The Legal Career of Queen Ælfthryth*, "Speculum" LXXXIV (2009), pp. 261-288, especially 278-283; K. Geaman, *Queen's Gold and Intercession. The Case of Eleanor of Aquitaine*, "Medieval Feminist Forum" XLVI (2010), pp. 10-33. I am unaware of studies that systematically trace how queens used the cash they received or its role in on-going relations between queens and politically active men (or women) of their day.

daughter of William the Conqueror and countess of Blois, one focusing on a single author and several events; the second on several sources concerning a single religious community. The author is the monk-historian Orderic Vitalis, who reports the one thing most people think they know about Adela: how she deployed her sexual charms to persuade her husband – humiliated because he left the siege of Antioch during the first crusade – to return to the Holy Land in 1101. And they know this because they are willing to believe that Orderic, concealed in the comital bed chamber with stylus and wax tablets at the ready, recorded her persuasive words – uttered “between conjugal caresses” – and then some thirty years later copied them verbatim into his history, even though they are not wholly consistent with a report of the count’s decision to return he had penned previously³⁰. Moreover, they then may be tempted to follow the inferences some modern historians make from Orderic’s contemporary “evidence”: that the arrogant royal-born countess was humiliated by her lowly husband’s base behaviour; that the Norman-born Adela had to preach militant Christian duty to her more refined and loving French husband; or that this domineering virago purposely sent her husband to an early grave – so that she could resume her rule as regent, perhaps. However, to draw such conclusions, scholars must ignore several clauses in her purported speech, while reading into it much that either simply is not there, or is directly contradicted by other passages in Orderic’s narrative (not to mention in a whole array of other sources)³¹.

These remarks are not meant to belittle anybody’s learning, but to underscore the seductive power of romantic or sexual *topoi* that rational source criticism dispels with difficulty, if at all. Adela actually makes seven more cameo appearances in Orderic’s lengthy narrative, composed in the first instance for a monastic audience. Reviewing them all shows how uncharacteristic – and undoubtedly “unreliable”, in factual terms – Orderic’s well-known vignette is when it is read in its textual, as well as socio-political, context³².

30 OV 10.20, V, pp. 324-325, to be compared with 10.12, V, p. 268; Adela appears in sections Orderic wrote in ca. 1127-1129 and ca. 1135-1137 (after she had retired to a convent).

31 See K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 111-115, for historians’ wider inferences (Stephen was in his early fifties, Adela in her early thirties). Scholars tend to ignore Orderic’s account of Stephen-Henry on the 1101 campaign (10.20, V, pp. 326-342) in which he casts Stephen as the older and wiser *miles Christi* – a positive foil, complete with set speeches – to the youthful and imprudent William of Poitou/Aquitaine, as exemplified most notably when, according to Orderic, Stephen died a martyr’s redemptive death at Ramla. Orderic’s depictions of Adela are compared to the full range of other contemporary representations of the countess in K.A. LoPrete, *The Gender of Lordly Women. The Case of Adela of Blois*, in: *Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women. Pawns or Players*, eds. C. Meek, C. Lawless, Dublin 2003, pp. 90-110.

32 M. Chibnall, *Women in Orderic Vitalis*, in: eadem, *Piety, Power, and History in Medieval England and Normandy*, Aldershot 2000, no. VI, discusses his portrayal of several other women,

Adela's first appearance in Orderic's history is as the bride who will confirm an alliance between her father – William the Conqueror – and the Thibaudian counts of Blois, Chartres, Meaux and Troyes. Identified solely by her name and place in relations among powerful men, she is duly engaged, married, and becomes the mother of several sons³³. In recounting five further episodes from her years as wife and mother, Orderic accords Adela her title of countess: when, acting for her absent husband and minor sons, she sends a contingent of knights to fight for the young co-King Louis³⁴; when she receives Agnes of Ponthieu, who had escaped from imprisonment at the hands of her husband (Robert of Bellême), a castellan in revolt against Henry I³⁵; when she hosts the French royal entourage at Chartres, organising honourable and abundant festivities to accompany the wedding of King Philip's daughter to the crusader hero Bohemond of Antioch (celebrations Orderic may well have attended and which he describes twice)³⁶; and, last with comital title, when she receives pope Paschal on his 1107 tour of northern France and makes generous donations to his mission, obtaining a papal blessing for her family in return³⁷.

Orderic expanded his comments in that episode, praising Adela as a “mistress” (using the classicising *hera*) who

honourably governed her husband's county after his pilgrimage [crusade] and assiduously educated her young sons to protect holy church.

Proceeding to discuss her four adult sons, he rounded off his sketch of this “noble mother” and *genitrix* of such powerful offspring with her even more

as well as his approach to representing women in general, noting that Adela is among those he consistently portrays in a positive light.

33 OV 5.11, III, p. 116 (the betrothal is best dated to ca. 1080, the marriage most likely took place in 1083, and certainly before 1085; see K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, p. 440, no. 2). Orderic omits one son who died young and does not mention her daughter(s), only one of whom appears by name elsewhere in his text (see K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 549-553).

34 OV 11.35, VI, pp. 156-158 (events datable to 1101; K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 208, 461, no. 35).

35 OV 8.24, IV, p. 300 (events datable to 1102x03; K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, p. 465, no. 42).

36 OV 5.19, III, p. 182; together with 11.12, VI, p. 70 (spring 1106); Chibnall (OV 1.26), plausibly suggests that Orderic either attended the wedding or that his source was an eye-witness. The bride Constance was Adela's former sister-in-law, though Orderic does not allude to that connection, mentioned in other accounts; see further in K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 221-222, 295-296.

37 OV 11.5, VI, p. 42; for Adela's other attested meetings with Paschal in 1107 and the political significance of his tour, culminating in a council at Troyes that Adela most likely hosted, see K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 296-300; other sources stating Adela ruled are discussed in K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 20, 25-26.

praiseworthy decision to renounce the sensual pleasures of the world to fight for God as a nun³⁸. In a final walk-on role, Adela, alongside her son count Thibaud and another mother-son pair of comital followers (Rotrou of Nogent and his mother Beatrice of Roucy), is praised by Orderic for the devout and generous support she accorded Bernard of Tiron and his new community of hermits in the Chartrain³⁹.

When these passages are taken together, a portrait emerges of Adela as a high-born daughter, dutiful wife, and loving mother whose traditional household roles lead to her wielding a count's lordly powers, first as regent, then as a widow, until she decided to renounce the world to serve the Lord of Hosts as a nun. The political significance of her deeds can be amplified by reading Orderic's reports alongside other sources; the monk-chronicler merely paused to praise the countess for the intelligent and generous ways she fulfilled her duties to male relations, her king, the pope and other churchmen, and eventually to God.

The dignified and dutiful countess portrayed in those seven passages, intervening publicly (after her wedding) in religious, military political affairs alongside the most exalted rulers, must be contrasted with Orderic's depiction of the "wise and spirited everywoman" (*mulier sagax et animosa*) who knew how to capitalise on her sexual charms in his better-known vignette – the only one in which he calls Adela a *mulier*⁴⁰. The bedroom setting, invented speech and universalising epithet are the rhetorical signs that Orderic is transforming an historical individual into a timeless and titillating exemplar of the good wife, even as historians continue to debate the moral of his particular telling of that tale⁴¹. The moral of my tale? To restrict the powers of lordly women to sexual beguilement in the bedroom is not only to lay aside one's critical faculties, but it also makes bad history.

My second example shows how the gender stereotypes leading historians to personalise the motivations behind lordly women's deeds can actually lead to the erasure of female lords' powers – even when they were first reported in gender-neutral terms. As mentioned above, Orderic praised Adela as a generous patron of the new hermitage at Tiron. Yet when that community's

38 OV 11.5, VI, p. 44; her withdrawal to Marcigny was, unsurprisingly, the most widely reported event in Adela's life (see K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, p. 510, no. 110, with discussion of the reliable evidence provided by Hugh the Chanter of York for April/May 1120 as the precise date of her retirement).

39 OV 18.27, IV, p. 330 (1114x1115; see K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 496-497, no. 95).

40 OV 10.20, V, p. 324.

41 See S. Farmer, *Persuasive Voices. Clerical Images of Medieval Wives*, "Speculum" LXI (1986), pp. 517-543.

chancellor came to write their founder's *vita* – shortly after Adela's death and presenting Bernard's relentless struggles for reform as proof of his saintliness – he implied that her attempt to endow the community had been rebuffed. He claimed that when the countess offered the hermit lands on which to re-found his community (the first site donated had been contested), Bernard

refused them, preferring to place the site of his house under the protection of the virgin Mary rather than under the guardianship of any secular person whatsoever [*sub advocacione qualiscunque saecularis personae*]⁴².

Bernard's concern, according to a close companion, was that this “matron of royal stock” might not want to forgo the traditional, if limited, lordship rights exercised by founders of new communities. That has not stopped some modern commentators from declaring that Bernard refused Adela's gift because she was a female – as if historians cannot believe that a medieval churchman could view a woman as a lord like any other before classing her by gender⁴³. With rejection in such categorical terms – the powers of a female lord are no power at all – why even bother to consult the community's cartulary to corroborate the chancellor's claim?

Yet that cartulary contains some surprising information, as do other contemporary narratives. Adela's first documented support for Tiron dates to the year the hermitage was reestablished (1114-1115), while it was most likely during Bernard's visit to Chartres with Robert of Arbrissel in 1116 that she endowed a new priory, explicitly renouncing all her lordly rights (*totum dominium*) over the land granted. Three or four years later she confirmed in writing for Bernard's successor her foundation of a second priory for the hermits⁴⁴. Evidently Tiron's chancellor was being economical with the truth in Bernard's *vita*. Does that mean the countess was just another pious widow

42 Geoffrey Grossus (writing 1137-1149), *Vita Bernardi*, c. 9, ed. G. Henskens, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus; series latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, I-CCXVII, Paris 1844-1864 (henceforth: PL), CLXXII, col. 1413b; repr. in: B. Beck, *Saint Bernard de Tiron, l'ermitte, le moine et le monde*, Cormelles-le-Royal 1998, p. 396: *Porro quaedam matrona regali stirpe progenita, Adela videlicet Blesensium comitissa, eo tempore S. Bernardo latiores terrae amplitudines, ad monasterium suum construendum, et loca multo utiliora offerebat; quae tamen refutabat, malens coenobii sui sedem locare sub protectione beatae Mariae semper virginis, quam sub advocacione qualiscunque saecularis personae*: events datable to 1114-1115 (K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 496-497, no. 95).

43 See K.A. LoPrete, *Gender of Lordly Women...*, pp. 108-109.

44 For Adela's early benefactions (often mistakenly assumed to have been after Bernard's death) and the Chartres visit reported in the *Vita altera beati Roberti de Arbrissello*, see K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 354-357, 497 (no. 96), 507 (no. 105) (a grant that Geoffrey, 11.97, mistakenly claimed was made by her son Thibaud alone), 520-521, no. 130.

squandering her sons' patrimony as she prepared for death? No doubt Adela's motivations for these grants were complex – and included sincere religious devotion – but if I began to fill in their wider context a political subtext might emerge as well.

I would start by analysing the countess's relations with Bernard's first major patron, Rotrou II/III of Nogent and Mortagne, in 1108-1112: her concerted defense of his right to fortify a contested site near Chartres; the personal and political risks taken by Bernard and two bishops close to her in securing Rotrou's release after his capture by the count of Anjou during a conflict pitting Adela, her son, and her brother (Henry I of England) against the Angevin count and French King Louis VI; and her son's campaigns with Rotrou after his release and decision to give Bernard Tiron⁴⁵. Then I would examine the reasons for Bernard's trip to Chartres with Robert of Arbrissel in 1116: to win comital support for bishop Ivo's contested successor and to attempt to secure the release of the count of Nevers, captured by Adela's seneschal the year before – an event that led to her son's excommunication and the re-opening of the earlier conflict⁴⁶. I might then ask why Bernard and his successor at Tiron are further attested as having maintained open relations with Adela, her excommunicate son and her brother – allies again in open warfare – as I also observed that the donors to this new hermitage in the years before peace was confirmed in 1120 were largely military backers of Henry I, Adela, and her son⁴⁷. If, after discussing these relatively well-documented affairs in detail, I proceeded to suggest that Adela's grants to the hermits served not only to secure heavenly rewards, but also helped win the support of influential churchmen – or, at the least, kept them from undercutting comital authority – in these politically turbulent times on earth, I hope some would find my argument persuasive, even if each individual point could not be demonstrated conclusively.

But as many people also think they know, a politically powerful woman like Adela was exceptional. A re-examination of the sources may show she had greater impact than once thought, but she remains just one woman. Her prominence merely underscores the contrast with all the other aristocratic women huddling secluded in the wings, banned from the centre-stage of public-political power: hence my trope of "exceptionalising marginalisation". A woman whose deeds cannot be ignored can be rendered impotent simply by calling her the exception that proves the rule. After all, that is how her contemporaries saw her.

45 *Ibidem*, pp. 264-266, 475-476, no. 64, 333-335, 338-339.

46 *Ibidem*, pp. 352-356.

47 *Ibidem*, pp. 357-358, 521-522, no. 132.

Listen, for example, to Hugh the Chanter of York, who met the countess while he and his exiled archbishop shuttled between Adela’s court, the papal entourage, and the French royal court, negotiating the settlement to those above-mentioned wars. After providing several details about their visits, he concluded:

by the testimony of King Louis and the princes of all France, there had been no more prudent, better looking [*melius composita*] or more virile virago in all Gaul for many an age⁴⁸.

To be the wisest, prettiest, and strongest French woman in centuries, however, does not make one the only wise, pretty, and strong woman in the realm (or in any other) – any more than being the greatest of the great princes or the most powerful king on earth makes a man the only mighty prince or king⁴⁹.

But then there is the poet-prelate Hildebert of Lavardin, bishop of Le Mans, writing to request a safe-conduct from Adela:

I winged my way to your protection because, you, above all women, are both an example and an instrument of *virtus*⁵⁰.

Nonetheless, being such a singular female embodiment of moral and lordly power does not make Adela the only virtuous and powerful woman of her generation, any more than does praising her older contemporary, Matilda of Tuscany, as unique among women for being astute enough to recognize the pope’s innocence and militarily resist her king⁵¹. Yet perhaps Adela really was the only woman to be both beautiful and chaste, wealthy yet honorable,

48 Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127*, ed. C. Johnson, Oxford 1990, pp. 154-155: *testimonio regis Ludouici et principum tocius Francie, nulla prudencior nec melius composita nec magis uirilis uirago, ex multa retro etate in tota Gallia extiterat; melius composita* might also be rendered “better regulated (in the sense of self-controlled)” or “better suited”, but is almost universally translated in terms of a well-ordered physique (i.e., physical beauty) when women are the subject. For context of these events of 1119-1120, see: K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 374-385, 508-509, no. 106-107; for discussion of the four of 175 sources that refer to Adela as a virago, see eadem, *Gender of Lordly Women...*, pp. 106-108.

49 See, for example, Hildebert of Lavardin, *carmen* 41 on Roger, duke of Apulia, in: *Hildeberti Cenomannensis episcopi, carmina minora*, ed. A.B. Scott, Leipzig 1969, p. 33. On Henry II of England see Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D.E. Greenway, Oxford 1996, p. 776.

50 Hildebert ep. 3(8), PL, CLXXI, cols. 288-289 (datable to 1104): *Eapropter ad tuum patrocinium transuolavi, quae tota super feminam, et exemplum virtutis es et instrumentum*; see K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 142-143, 467, no. 47.

51 Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, PL, CLIV, col. 333: *At vero Mathildis comitissa, Romanae aecclesiae filia, uirilisi animi constantiam tenens, tanto ei fortius resistebat, quanto magis hujus astutias et papae innocentiam noverat. Sola enim tunc temporis inventa est inter feminas, quae regis potentiam aspernata sit, quae calliditatibus ejus et potentiae etiam bellico certamine obuiaverit, ut merito nominetur virago, quae virtute animi etiam viros praeibat.*

and humble in power – except that the same formulæ are used to praise her politically-active sister-in-law, Mathilda II of England, as well⁵².

Artistic license is not statistical description when deployed to celebrate women any more than when harnessed to the praise of men. The *topoi* repeatedly and interchangeably evoked in such laudatory depictions of noble men and women, lay and religious, living and dead, were catalogued accessibly in well-studied handbooks such as the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*⁵³. The well-known *litterati* who rise above the anonymous majority merit their reputations in part for the creative virtuosity with which they could ring the changes on about twenty recommended but overlapping themes. “Chastity in beauty” may well be gendered as a “feminine” virtue, most appropriate for women, but it was used to praise powerful celibate prelates alongside married lordly women and virginal female religious alike⁵⁴. Nonetheless, only one of the four most important modern studies of such panegyric verse for women dares to suggest it could be in part the product of conscious political image-building by some powerful female lords⁵⁵.

But the question remains. Were politically active women like Adela of Blois, Mathilda of Tuscany, the three queen Mathildas, along with their relation, the empress Mathilda, of 11th and 12th century England, and their contemporary Urraca, the ruling queen of Castile, once-off exceptions? An answer based simply on counting such women would convince few readers,

52 Compare the anonymous poem in praise of Adela now known from an incomplete 13th-century copy, A. Boutemy, *Deux pièces inédites du manuscrit 749 de Douai*, “Latomus” II (1938) 2, pp. 126-127; see K.A. LoPrete, *Gender of Lordly Women...*, pp. 108-109, whose translation of key lines varies from that of G.A. Bond, *The Loving Subject. Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France*, Philadelphia 1995, p. 134; and Henry Huntingdon on Mathilda II (7.30), see *Historia Anglorum*, p. 462, the language of which is similar to the anonymous poem praising an English queen, PL, CLXXI, col. 1660, which too might be for Mathilda II (T. Latzke, *Die Fürstinnenpreis*, “Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch” XIV (1979), pp. 50-53).

53 *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, ed. H. Caplan, Cambridge 1954, especially 3.3.6; *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition*, eds. V. Cox, J.O. Ward, Leiden 2006.

54 For prelates see Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, 7.36; and 734 on bishop Alexander, and his patron, Robert of Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, ed.c.it 474, 470; and works cited in n. 15, above, for the growing literature on masculinity and clerical chastity or celibacy. For religious women, see Hildebert *carmen* 46, ll.13-14, on Holy Trinity’s abbess Cecilia, ed. cit. p. 77; and Baudri of Bourgueil to the nun Constance, as trans. by Bond, *Loving Subject*, pp. 171-193.

55 P. Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, I, Oxford 1968, pp. 202-220, clearly distinguishing courtly panegyrics from love lyrics; T. Latzke, *Die Fürstinnenpreis*; E.M.C. van Houts, *Latin Poetry and the Anglo-Norman Court 1066-1135. The “Carmen de Hastingae Praelio”*, “Journal of Medieval History” XV (1989), pp. 39-62. See G.A. Bond, *The Loving Subject...*, especially his chapter on Adela of Blois, for the political uses of panegyric (although I would modify his argument on the basis of a more fine-grained understanding of Adela’s political activities and amended chronology of the works he discusses).

even if I published my list – over a page long for the 11th and 12th centuries – of their politically-prominent peers; or if I directed readers to the twenty or so female lords at diverse, and often lower, rungs on the ladder of lordly rank who appear in the sources concerning countess Adela or made an impact on her life⁵⁶. Even in fairly limited times and places in the middle ages it is impossible to determine how many – or how few – women were politically active; or what percentage of all lords were female lords, and whether that proportion rose or declined over time.

More profitable would be to consider the perspective of an elite man: how rare – or how commonplace – would it be for him to be aware of the rule of a lordly woman or even interact with a female lord personally? For example, bishop Ivo of Chartres treated with three ruling widow-regents in the positions of *vidame* (cathedral advocate), viscountess and countess for about one-third of his twenty-five-year episcopacy (1090-1115) – and those are only the most prominent female lords with whom he had relations, according to extant regional charters and his extensive letter collection⁵⁷. Is it not reasonable to assume that most men of lordly rank in Flanders were aware of the countesses, mentioned above, who ruled as widowed regents or heiress-countesses in the 11th to 13th centuries, even if they did not have the occasion to interact with their countess personally? Or indeed that the aristocratic men of Champagne were aware of the regent countesses who ruled their county for over a third of the one hundred and thirty three years of its autonomous existence (1152-1285)? For most of that period just about twenty percent of the counts' feudal tenants were women, an indication that women with the occasion to exercise jurisdictional authority over men would not be uncommon; nor, concomitantly, would it be unusual for a man – whether a knight or a dependent villager – to find himself serving or taking orders from a female lord⁵⁸. These "statistics" are limited to the

56 K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 436-438.

57 See references in K.A. LoPrete, *Women, Gender...*, p. 1935, n. 26; the countess ruled about seventeen of those years, the *vidame* eight to fifteen years, and the unruly viscountess about ten. For other women, see A. Livingstone, *Aristocratic Women in the Chartrain*, in: *Aristocratic Women...*, pp. 44-77, 200-207; K. Thompson, *The Formation of the County of Perche. The Rise and Fall of the House of Gouet*, in: *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 299-310.

58 See n. 12, above, and T. Evergates, *Aristocratic Women in the County of Champagne*, in: *Aristocratic Women...*, pp. 95, 215; note also the figures he tabulated for Champagne's baronial families: T. Evergates, *The Aristocracy...*, p. 125. The cartulary prepared for the regent countess Blanche of Navarre in the 13th-century, as well as an earlier collection of documents, contain extensive evidence of the many men who treated directly with that ruling countess, as well as with other active female lords, see: *The Cartulary of Countess Blanche of Champagne*, ed. T. Evergates, Toronto 2009; *Littere Baronum. The Earliest Cartulary of the Counts of Champagne*, ed. T. Evergates, Toronto 2003.

areas and centuries I know best, but they suggest that female lords were less exceptional on the ground than was the lordly man who would not have been aware of a ruling woman, even if he did not have the occasion to serve one personally or experience her jurisdictional powers directly, like many evidently did.

Yet, even if it is accepted that ruling female lords were more widespread than often imagined, another objection to their potential political significance looms. Men ruled in their own right, but women only stood in for men, passively transmitting authority from father to son (if not husband to husband, or, on occasion from uncle to nephew)⁵⁹, lacking, by virtue of being female, a right to rule on their own: hence my trope of “passive or right-less transmission”. This trope, when analysed, can be seen to embrace several misconceptions rooted in anachronistic assumptions, whether it is applied to heiresses or regent-guardians.

The main anachronistic assumption giving rise to several attendant interpretive problems is the belief that male lords were construed as autonomous actors, apparently endowed as men with natural rights to rule others and, by virtue of their lordly powers and military prowess, able to do pretty much as they pleased. The women who happened to find themselves in positions of command are viewed either as mere placeholders who lacked the powers to do anything that would merit the effort required to track down their deeds in the sources; or, if they did act with the authority inherent in their post, they did so as right-less stand-ins ruling on some man’s behalf. If, for the sake of discussion, it can be posited that medieval rulers had certain rights, does the prerogative or authority to command inhere in the person (who perforce must be male, since commanding or ruling is gendered masculine), or in the post, to which women legitimately could accede through inheritance or their place in dynastic families and households? Any man has a right to rule others, apparently, and a powerful one can do largely as he will; women in commanding positions lack, as females, the authority to play the role their society has assigned them. This conundrum – women allowed to accede to positions of command but seemingly without the authority to exercise the attendant lordly powers – is, as I suggest, merely an apparent one; it arises in the first instance from the unexamined assumption that only men did things thought of as masculine, women, feminine – a view many scholars claim not to hold.

⁵⁹ Note how two of those relationships are described from a man’s perspective. From the woman’s perspective the first relationship is from her husband to her son; the third is from her brother to her son, pointing to a more significant elision of women’s roles because it indicates that men could and did inherit honours from their mother’s natal kin.

The larger problem is the notion of personal autonomy and men's "natural right" to rule lurking in such a view of medieval male lords. Were lords free to do as they willed? Were all men eligible to accede to positions of command? Even in pre-Christian times for most peoples in Europe only certain men were deemed worthy to rule other men and rulers were expected to respect the laws and customs of their communities. Those expectations did not disappear even as Christian prelates developed the notion that ruling, especially by kings, was a divinely ordained *ministerium*: kingship was an office some men came to fill by the grace of God. With the office came obligations – a right to serve, as it has been called – not only to act as God's agent on earth but also to respect the laws and customs of the communities they ruled. As the powers of kings fragmented and lesser lords, with their largely inherited bundles of lands, rights and titles known as honours, came to wield many of the "public powers" associated with royal lords, the notion of ministerial kingship was extended to embrace other lordly "offices", themselves seen as ordained by God and with a growing emphasis on lords' obligations to serve both the Lord and their communities. Not all men were lords by virtue of being born male (at least not outside their conjugal families); and only some had been accorded the authority to rule others by God's grace: men, simply by virtue of being male, did not have a "natural right" to rule other men in their communities⁶⁰.

Such views of lordly office might well have represented a theoretical ideal, and one to which churchmen were more committed than lay lords. Nonetheless, many princes and other titled lords willingly proclaimed that they ruled by God's grace. They might have found it easy enough to ignore God's laws and use their powers to dominate others, but it was harder to ignore human laws and customs. Individual lords did not even have the right to alienate their families' properties at will (consent of certain family members was called for) and were obliged to transmit them otherwise undiminished to their rightful heirs. In other words, male lords did not rule their honours for themselves but as stewards holding lordships in trust for their successors, whom they might well associate in rule during their own lifetimes.

This practice of fathers associating future heirs in lordly rule and issuing documents jointly with sons even after they had come of age developed in

⁶⁰ See for this paragraph and the next two further discussion and works cited in K.A. LoPrete, *The Domain of Lordly Women...*, pp. 14-16, 19-20, 22, 29-30 (nn. 3-10), 32 (n. 24), 33-34 (nn. 33, 38); G. Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor. Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France*, Ithaca 1992, pp. 29-43 (for leading lay and ecclesiastical princes claiming to rule by the grace of God before as well as after the demise of the Carolingians); 78-103; Y. Sassier, *Structures du pouvoir, royauté et Res publica (France, IX^e-XII^e siècle)*, Rouen 2004; *Die Macht des Königs. Herrschaft in Europa vom Frühmittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, ed. B. Jussen, München 2005; M. McLaughlin, *Disgusting Acts...*, pp. 327-329.

some times and places for both practical and political reasons: lords often needed assistance to rule large or widespread domains; young men could benefit from supervised “apprenticeships” in ruling and exposure to the leading players and resources in their lordships in what was, in effect, a formal designation to succeed⁶¹. Such father-son pairs issued documents in both their names (though not necessarily all the documents concerning family lands and the father’s lordship) and some decisions recorded were undoubtedly taken jointly. What is the conceptual difference between a father who incorporates his heir in rule and a mother acting as regent-guardian who issues documents in her son’s name as well as her own? Such mothers might well have had greater say in decisions taken for young boys than fathers ruling with young adult sons and their role as regent gave them the right to take such decisions, regardless of the titles and verbal formulae used in the documents recording them.

Indeed, as disclosed by the vast variety of extant formal *acta* issued by or for the ruling lay powers across Europe, the titles and roles ascribed to persons involved in the transactions recorded could be as much, if not more in certain times and places, claims to be broadcast in changing and often contested political circumstances than they were the routine application of unchanging legal rules. Such documents could reflect actual social relations, political aspirations, legal ideologies and illegal realities as much as they did any pre-determined legal rights of the parties involved⁶².

For example, unlike regent-countesses, who tended to issue major documents in their own names alongside that of their sons, the 13th-century regent-Queen Blanche of Castile is not named in the overwhelming majority of documents issued by the royal chancery during her regency years⁶³. Blanche had been named personally by her husband to act as guardian for the young Louis IX, whose accession she secured over armed opposition. At one level her invisibility in the written records of transactions in which she is otherwise attested to have been involved was designed to bolster her young son’s hold

61 A.W. Lewis, *Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France*, “American Historical Review” LXXXIII (1978), pp. 906-927; K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 307-311.

62 Examples of pioneering works stressing the extra-legal – which is not to say non-legal – dimension of medieval charters and related princely *acta* include the essays from 1978-1987 by S.D. White, in: idem, *Feuding and Peace-Making in Eleventh-century France*, Aldershot 2005; idem, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints. The “laudatio parentum” in Western France, 1050-1150*, Chapel Hill 1988; F.L. Cheyette, *The “Sale” of Carcassone to the Counts of Barcelona (1067-1070) and the Rise of the Trencavels*, “Speculum” LXIII (1988), pp. 826-864; similarly-motivated studies focusing on other times and places now abound.

63 For this and the next paragraph see the discussion and works cited in K.A. LoPrete, *Historical Ironies...*, pp. 277-278, 284-285.

on his father’s throne: the documents publicly declare that even as a boy Louis administered the realm of his own accord – a legal fiction. At the same time, the voicing of those documents promoted the growth of royal ideology, as kings’ powers come to be formally inscribed as qualitatively different from the powers of princes. Represented and voiced as male, the power of the crown conceptually transcends, while comprehending, the extensive powers of the lay princes of the realm, which are henceforth to be viewed as less “public” than those of kings⁶⁴.

Yet that handful of documents in which the queen-regent does appear alongside her son is particularly revealing. They largely record oaths of fidelity or homage sworn by royal vassals for their fiefs or by princes to affirm negotiated agreements – those distinctively personal components of medieval lordship that had not disappeared from the courts of kings. Receiving homages (in other words, acting as the lord of fiefs) was a lordly role Blanche shared with other ruling women, as well be seen below⁶⁵. On

⁶⁴ Because of links to the Crown and monarchical “states” queens are not always representative of other lordly women; debates that could arise about queens’ rights to rule and powers of command, whether as heiresses or regents or even as consorts, and the arguments rehearsed in them (which would routinely find their detractors claiming that their femaleness either rendered them personally unsuitable or excluded them outright) were not widespread when women of all less exalted lordly ranks are considered. Noteworthy is the diversity of responses to the question of queens’ rights, whether in individual situations or in evolving legal regimes across Europe. For example, Urraca of Castile inherited and ruled her realm in the early 12th century while the empress Mathilda failed a couple decades later in asserting her right to succeed to the throne of England (though arguably more because of who her second husband was and other political factors, than because of her gender). Sarah Lambert analysed the changing terms of debate in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem during the 12th century, when women inherited the crown five times in less than sixty years (*Queen or Consort. Rulership and Politics in the Latin East, 1118-1228*, in: *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. A.J. Duggan, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 153-169). The case of France, in which queens came to lose their right to inherit the throne in the particular political circumstances of the early 14th century is the exception, not the rule, in Europe; at the same time, French queens’ rights to serve as regents (which became a matter of positive law, not the king’s testamentary will, in the 1290s) continued until the eighteenth century; nor were the rights of French heiresses to inherit other lordships abolished in the fourteenth century. For Spain, see, conveniently, *Queenship and Political Power in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, ed. T. Earenfight, Aldershot 2005.

⁶⁵ While a married queen-consort, Blanche issued proportionally fewer documents alongside the king than her predecessors, but those in which she did participate concerned largely “her” properties (including fiefs) or natal family members. For the homages received by the 13th-century regent countess of Champagne, Blanche of Navarre, see *Feudal Society in Medieval France. Documents from the County of Champagne*, ed. T. Evergates, Philadelphia 1993, pp. 7-9 (no. 7), 39-40 (no. 26), 51-52 (no. 35), 59-60 (no. 41A) 75-76 (no. 55B) (for the original Latin, see the cartularies cited at n. 58 above). For other women in Champagne and Flanders receiving and giving homage, even when married, sometimes as a “liege woman” (*feminam ligium*), occasionally being exempted from service and/or justice – the diversity is noteworthy – see T. Evergates, *The Aristocracy...*, pp. 111-112, 339-340.

those occasions the individual person mattered, and Blanche's rank and status as a consecrated queen, as well as her familial position as mother and guardian of the underage king, transcended any potential disability to her wielding authority over men derived from her female sex. Her public, political role was indeed formally inscribed in chancery-produced royal documents, though not in a way that can be illuminated meaningfully by the mere counting of her appearances. In other words, attempting to deduce regent-guardians' "legal right to rule in their own name" solely from the formulae used in the non-random sample of extant formal documents issued in the name(s), or on behalf, of lords, without reference to the type of transaction and the wider circumstances in which they were issued, is methodologically flawed.

Moreover, when wielding their lordly prerogatives beyond their households, individual lords were not thought to have the right to make fundamental changes to the laws and customs regulating behaviour in wider political communities. Ruling by the grace of God is not the same as an absolute divine right to rule as it would later come to be construed⁶⁶. Male lords were both expected and enjoined to enforce (or, on occasion, to correct) the customary rules and judge others according to them with the counsel of leading members of their communities, even if no law obliged them to follow the advice provided. Yet refusing to seek counsel, or ignoring advice deemed good by others, could have significant political consequences if a lord could not readily overpower any opposition: other strong men who thought their God-given rights had been infringed might well actively resist a lord long before God moved to withdraw His grace from the *dominus* who overstepped the customary bounds⁶⁷.

Admittedly, even if lords' authoritative powers were limited in theory and practice alike, there is little doubt that God, like men, was thought to prefer male lords. Yet the fact remains that not all the people who found themselves holding lordly honours and their appurtenant powers of command were men. That was in large part because of the reproductive lottery and demographic dice throw which ensured that not all fathers could be succeeded by adult

⁶⁶ Part of the ideological work leading to the emergence of notions of absolutism and sovereignty was done by jurists of the 16th-18th centuries, some of whom argued their position by analogy with how they conceived the powers of "feudal lords" over their subjects, servile bondsmen and homage-paying freemen alike – powers which they assimilated to the rights of masters over slaves; the views of such jurists and more modern political theorists aware of such ideas are unreliable guides to medieval practices and concepts alike; see K. Davis, *Sovereign Subjects, Feudal Law, and the Writing of History*, "Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies" XXXVI (2006), pp. 223-261.

⁶⁷ See works cited at n. 60 above.

sons in the growing number of situations in which direct descendants – even if they happened to be daughters – were preferred as heirs over men's brothers or more distantly related male kin; at the same time, mothers, more often than not, were the preferred guardians for minor heirs in lordly households⁶⁸. Nature itself (or, rather, God working through nature), it seems, regularly positioned some women to be their fathers' heirs and others to be regent guardians for minor sons.

The apparently anomalous situation of such women (in regards human gender norms) was readily explicable without the need to deny their God-given right as lords to rule others once they had been placed in positions of command. Women who ruled as regents or heiresses, even when not crowned queens, could, like non-anointed lordly men, claim to rule by the grace of God, as attested in documents issued in the 10th to 13th centuries by the likes of Adalais of Narbonne, Ermesend of Barcelona, Mathilda of Tuscany, Clemence of Flanders, Mathilda of Perche, and Elizabeth Candavène of St Pol⁶⁹. In just one of the many tropes of inversion that is woven into Christian scriptures, the Lord God had reserved the right to make the last first and His faithful human followers had to be flexible enough to accommodate the instances when He

68 The anthropologist J. Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe*, Cambridge 1983, pp. 44, 255-261, has found that in contemporary "traditional" societies that follow inheritance practices similar to those in medieval Europe about twenty percent of couples would produce no sons; about another twenty percent of men would have only daughters or no sons who outlived them: figures indicating that the likelihood of daughters succeeding fathers or transmitting inheritances to their sons was far from remote.

69 F.L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*, Ithaca 2001, pp. 42, 371-372, n. 3; P. Humphrey, *Ermessenda of Barcelona. The Status of Her Authority*, in: *Queens, Regents and Potentates*, ed. T.M. Vann, Dallas 1993, pp. 31-32, n. 103; W. Goetz, *Matilda Dei gratia si quid est. Die Urkunden-Unterfertigung der Burgherrin von Canossa*, "Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters" XLVII (1991), pp. 379-394; examples for Clemence can be found in letters edited in *Le Registre de Lambert, évêque d'Arras (1093-1115)*, ed. C. Giordanengo, Sources d'histoire médiévale, XXXIV, Paris 2007, no. E44; PL, CLIX, cols. 939-940 (to Abbot Hugh of Cluny); K. Thompson, *Matilda, Countess of the Perche (1171-1210). The Expression of Authority in Name, Style and Seal*, "Tabularia: Etudes" III (2003), pp. 77, 83, no. 8; J.F. Nieus, *Élisabeth Candavène, comtesse de Saint-Pol (†1240/47). Une héritière face à la Couronne*, in: *Femmes de pouvoir, femmes politiques durant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge et au cours de la première Renaissance*, ed. É. Bousmar et al., Brussels 2012, p. 208. Note also the letters to Adelheid of Turin from pope Gregory VII: *Gregorii VII registrum libri I-IV*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH), *Epistolae selectae*, II, 1, ed. E. Caspar, Berlin 1920, pp. 58-59 (transl. H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Register of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, Oxford 2002, p. 42), and to Benzo, bishop of Alba: *Benzo von Alba ad Heinrichum IV. imperatorem libri VII*, in: *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, LXV, ed. H. Seyffert, Hannover 1996, pp. 482-499). Crowned queens who acknowledged divine grace for their ruling powers – though not necessarily when acting as sitting queen – include Mathilda II of England, Bertrada of Montfort, Leonor and Violante of Castile and Anne of Brittany. Readers will doubtless have their own additions to make to this list.

arranged for positions of command to fall to lords who were female – if only so that they could serve as positive moral *exempla* to male lords corrupted by pride in their powers⁷⁰. The right of such women “naturally selected” to rule was not in doubt, even if their right to hold the honours or office in question might be contested by other claimants – as indeed could a man’s. It is the historian’s task to explore the sources to find out what heiresses, or regents acting as guardians for their sons, actually did and trace the impact of their deeds on others before assuming that such female lords were passive placeholders or dismissing their significance out of hand because they were not their contemporaries “first choice” as ruler.

Moreover, lordly women’s right to rule was explicitly acknowledged in all those cases when political communities preferred to see the husband of an heiress (or second husband of a widowed regent) rule his wife’s honour in her stead: he ruled *jure uxoris*, “by right of his wife”. Clearly women had a right to inherit titles and the powers of command entailed therein and their husbands depended on a woman for their lordly powers in their wives’ domains⁷¹. However, does that customary preference for male lords mean that heiresses could rightly inherit such honours, but not actually rule them? Widespread custom rooted in gender prejudice was not a hard and fast, universally applied and enforceable, legal rule. Some heiresses did indeed rule their inherited domains even after marriage, however much they might have relied on the support of their husbands or other men (just as some regents continued to play prominent public roles as widows after their sons came of age). Noteworthy married ruling heiresses in the 11th and 12th centuries would include Mathilda of Tuscany, Urraca the heiress queen of Castile, Helisende, the viscountess of Chartres, Beatice, countess of Maugio (in Provence) and Ermengard, viscountess of Narbonne⁷². And the lands of an

⁷⁰ See further discussion, including analysis of oft mis-interpreted letters written to Ermengard of Narbonne and Adela of Blois, in K.A. LoPrete, *Women, Gender...*, pp. 1930, 1937; eadem, “Public” Powers, pp. 153-156; C.B. Bouchard, “Every Valley Shall be Exalted”. *The Discourse of Opposites in Twelfth-century Thought*, Ithaca 2003, pp. 28-35.

⁷¹ Thus, some might argue that heiresses’ husbands did not rule in their own right any more than did widow-regents as viewed by many historians, though the sex roles are inverted. Yet these men are rarely viewed as mere placeholders for women, no doubt because wives were morally expected (if not always legally required) to obey their husbands; still, in the case of heiresses, as well as other wives, husbands were expected by law and custom to attain their wives’ consent before alienating their wives’ property (cases where male control over property was, it must be recalled, less than absolute).

⁷² MGH, *Laienfürsten- und Dynasten- Urkunden der Kaiserzeit*, II: *Die Urkunden und Briefe der Markgräfin Mathilde von Tuszien*, eds. E. Goetz, W. Goetz, Hannover 1998; B.F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca*, Princeton 1982; K. Thompson, *The Formation of the County...*; F.L. Cheyette, *Women, Poets, and Politics in Occitania*, in: *Aristocratic Women...*, pp. 158-159; F.L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne...*

heiress's natal family were not perforce absorbed by, or merged with, those of her husband's consanguines, but rather, remained distinct lordships that could be passed intact to her heirs (daughters or sons) or even to other more distant members of her natal kin, not her husband's⁷³.

Furthermore, even if an heiress did not rule independently of her husband, she might well play a more public role and issue acts in her name (with or without her husband's consent) in the portion that she had inherited of any larger "packages" of lordships in the couple's hands. In her inherited domains an heiress had the personal relations with the men and communities who mattered whilst representing the ruling lineage and local customs in ways that her consort could never do, especially if he came from a different realm or region or was of lower rank and status. Stephania of Les Baux (in Provence) in the first half of the 12th century is but one example of heiresses who ruled alongside husbands; in the second half of that century can be found, amongst others, Agnes, heir to Baudement and Braine (in Champagne) and Margaret, heiress-countess of Flanders and countess of Brabant by marriage⁷⁴.

Of course, heiresses could often be more vulnerable than male heirs when faced with the machinations of their spouse or spouse's kin, or the designs of more powerful neighbours, most notably when their husbands were sons or close allies of more exalted lords like kings or regional princes. Yet the sources for heiresses who were actively prevented from ruling, or eventually lost their lordships in wider political conflicts, can still be revealing to the historian seeking evidence that medieval men accepted the authoritative right of female lords to rule their inherited lordships.

For example, from the time of her arranged marriage to her death in the reign of Louis IX, Elizabeth Candavène (ca. 1179-1240/1247), heiress-countess of Saint-Pol, faced, like her father, the relentless pressure of the French kings' concerted policy of territorial aggrandisement by means of recuperating lordships claimed to have been unjustly lost to the crown and packing smaller border lordships with men of unquestioned loyalty. Married to an important Capetian ally whom she accompanied to his lordship in Champagne, Elizabeth inherited the county of Saint-Pol on her father's death

73 F.L. Cheyette, *Women, Poets...*, pp. 154-156; T. Evergates, *The Aristocracy...*, pp. 128-129.

74 F.L. Cheyette, *Women, Poets...*, pp. 156-158; T. Evergates, *Aristocratic Women...*, pp. 101-102; Agnes was herself the mother of two heiresses, though neither ruled and one eventually sold her mother's castle at Baudement that she had "inherited" in dowry to the ruling regent countess of Champagne, Blanche; K. Nicholas, *Countesses as Rulers...*, pp. 126-127, noting that as heiress-countess Margaret appeared in thirty-two extant charters, fifteen issued "by herself" and fourteen with the consent of her husband and son; her husband issued only three in his own name and three conjointly with her; both she and her husband did liege homage to the king of France for Flanders.

in 1205 but did not return to live and rule there until her husband's death in 1219⁷⁵.

Her eldest son, in line to inherit Saint-Pol, did not join her, and, with the backing of the regional aristocracy, Elizabeth ruled as countess without restriction, dispensing justice and confirming transactions for religious communities and local landholders, overseeing the transmission of fiefs, and controlling the comital domain lands from which she made pious bequests⁷⁶. But she was ruling when Philip Augustus was pressing home his advantage in the aftermath of the battle of Bovines and during the minority of Henry III in England. Her eldest son, following his father as a Capetian ally who frequented the courts of King Philip and his heir-apparent, prince Louis and lord of Artois (on which Saint-Pol depended), soon began to work concertedly to supplant her.

Significant in the present context is not the degree of her eldest son's success, nor that his younger brother finally ousted their mother, but how Elizabeth's lordly prerogatives were respected even as her sons, backed by their Capetian allies, manipulated the legal system against her. In effect, her eldest son saw that his mother was sued for outstanding debts (including, as Jean-François Nieuws plausibly argues, one resulting from an exorbitant relief demanded by the king for Saint-Pol)⁷⁷. Terms were negotiated whereby her son would control important revenues from comital lands while leaving Elizabeth's lordly powers intact; however, he was soon able to oblige his mother to pledge the *comitatus* (the county itself) to him for ten years and relinquish her seal. Yet after the first agreement Elizabeth was still responsible for fulfilling the *servitium* the counts owed the king, and after the second she continued to receive homages owed to the counts and could participate in the judgements issued by the *pairs* of Artois; in other words she retained her rights and obligations (however symbolic) as a fief-giver and fief-holder (that is, the rights of a feudal lord). Her son, in turn, refrained from using the title

75 On Elizabeth, see J.F. Nieuws, *Élisabeth Candavène...*; her status as potential heir was acknowledged by her role in documents issued when her father was preparing to depart on crusade, first when she was about twelve (of age to succeed to fiefs) and again in 1202 (p. 187); she issued no "public" acts in her own name while married, but the documents issued by her husband in which she did play a role were not limited to her dower lands and suggest that he – who intervened only fitfully in Saint-Pol – was tapping into her greater prestige (pp. 187-190); sometime after her father's death and mother's withdrawal to her dower estates, Elizabeth had a new seal made, adding "countess of Saint Pol" to its legend (though still using her husband's coat of arms) and began to intervene in her dower lands prior to her return to Saint-Pol (pp. 190, 205-206); Elizabeth also inherited her family's English fiefs, but they were the first she was obliged to cede to her son, in part because it was no longer possible to play the kings of England and France off against each other (pp. 190-191).

76 J.F. Nieuws, *Élisabeth Candavène...*, pp. 190, 200-201: Elizabeth issued fourteen acts for Saint-Pol in 1219-1223, a much higher rate than her husband.

77 *Ibidem*, pp. 191-194, for the dispute.

of count, issuing acts only as the *primogenitus* (first-born) or *heres* (heir) of the count of Saint-Pol and ruling ostensibly as his mother’s delegate⁷⁸.

But Elizabeth had a new seal made, replacing her husband’s coat of arms with that of the Candavène counts, and, as soon as her son departed on campaign with his new king in 1223, she began to intervene in wider affairs, clearly preparing to resume her rule as countess. She did so after her son’s death in 1226, managing to maintain her position in Saint-Pol until her second son (who had inherited his father’s lordship in Champagne) renewed the debt agreement and was ultimately able to supplant her in Saint-Pol with the backing of the queen mother (Blanche of Castile) and count of Champagne after the struggle for Louis IX’s accession, in which Elizabeth had chosen the opposing – and losing – side⁷⁹.

The heiress-countess of Saint-Pol, much like the numerous hereditary lords of castles in Artois and Picardy supplanted by royal *baillis* in these years, was ultimately rendered powerless in the new political climate. Yet the local elite clearly respected Elizabeth and preferred her lordship to that of an absentee count closely tied to a centralising king; indeed, the king, as well as her sons, accepted the legitimacy of her accession as countess and had to resort to subverting the customary legal regime in order to curtail her ruling powers – even as she retained, when her comital powers were restricted and until her death (in her dower estates), her authority as a feudal lord, with its attendant jurisdictional powers over lands and persons⁸⁰.

As Elizabeth’s case and those of other ruling heiresses disclose, the political prominence and extent of the lordly powers exercised by heiresses in their inherited honours appear to have depended less on social customs that preferred male rulers, and more on circumstantial factors such as who their husbands were and the other domains they ruled, alongside the local configuration of power among the lordly families both within their lordships and on their borders – circumstances that could be largely beyond any individual’s control. Heiresses’ legitimate right actually to rule their inherited lordships was not denied absolutely (even if it could be challenged)⁸¹. And

78 Ibidem, p. 194; indeed in 1273 the cathedral chapter of Arras claimed her son had usurped the county, declaring one of his sales null and void because he was not its *verus dominus* (p. 185).

79 Ibidem, pp. 194-199, 205-208; she also took a second husband and turned for support to the other regional power (the count of Flanders) in an increasingly desperate attempt to retain Saint Pol (and its relative autonomy), but, deemed to have “revolted” against the rightful king, she effectively forfeited her right to the county.

80 Ibidem, pp. 199-204.

81 If I stress custom over law on this point it is not solely because legal regimes varied across Europe; it also because written legal codes enshrining what “modern” analysts consider legal rules enforceable in and by “judicial institutions of state” were rare or rudimentary for most medieval centuries. As legal codes developed, along with the institutional frameworks

for politically active, document-issuing, heiresses – as well as for widowed regents who continued to rule after their sons came of age – their gender was less important than was their status as rightful heir or regent and standing in the eyes of the most powerful men in their wider political communities. In other words, men were capable of overcoming their gender prejudices to accept being ruled by women who had acquired their lordly powers by legitimate means, and they did so readily when it best suited their personal or political interests⁸².

Historians must acknowledge that husbands did not automatically rule the domains of their heiress-wives; and, that when they did, male lords who acted *jure uxoris* could well rely on their spouses who had inherited the right to rule. They did so by drawing on the authority inherent in their wives' status; by tapping into the deference other leading men accorded their spouses as rightful yet female heirs; and by benefitting from informed counsel their well-placed wives could provide. Then scholars could avoid problematic statements like the one made by the otherwise praiseworthy editors of the charters of Constance, the heiress duchess of Brittany and countess of Richmond (1181-1201):

Constance's exercise of her authority must have been subject to her husband although there is some evidence for Constance acting independently of Geoffrey [son of the English King Henry II] during their marriage⁸³.

for making and enforcing positive law, women's rights to rule inherited honours could be construed in different ways in different places and might depend as much on the legal status of the honour as on the gender of the ruler.

⁸² Note, for example, C.J. Nederman's and N.E. Lawson's discussion of John of Salisbury: though strongly misogynist in his biting criticism of an effeminizing court where the wiles of libidinous women enervate warrior-men in his *Policraticus*, in his *Historia Pontificalis*, John supported the empress Mathilda's claim to inherit the English throne, never suggesting her being female would disqualify her in any way; as they conclude, John was "prepared in principle to accept the rule of a woman as monarch, provided that she maintained her virtue and did not (like Dido) succumb to her desires"; and was "quite willing to let a woman govern so long as she does not interfere with that proper and exclusive realm of masculine identity, warfare. And while he may not be an admirer of the female sex, he is sufficiently realistic to recognize that women cannot reasonably be prohibited from involvement in the public affairs of the twelfth century" (*The Frivolities of Courtiers Follow the Footprints of Women. Public Women and the Crisis of Virility in John of Salisbury*, in: *Ambiguous Realities. Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. C. Levin, J. Watson, Detroit 1987, pp. 92-93); I cannot discuss here the extent to which Mathilda's femaleness was used against her, though it was less widespread than generally assumed. D.J. Hay, *The Military Leadership of Matilda of Canossa, 1046-1115*, Manchester 2008, pp. 198-215, presents an overview of the gendered criticisms made by this Mathilda's imperialist opponents, followed by discussion of how her Gregorian and other supporters justified her ruling powers and military interventions.

⁸³ J. Everard, M. Jones, *The Charters of Duchess Constance of Brittany and Her Family, 1171-1221*, Woodbridge 1999, p. 38; although the recorded date of a document issued in Constance's

What can that paradoxical statement possibly mean in historical terms? The documentary evidence itself suggests Constance's first husband's authority over her was less than absolute; when consulted, other sources indicate that the couple acted in concert in matters of wider political importance – as the editors are well aware – in a pattern not unlike the cases mentioned above⁸⁴. Lacking is evidence to demonstrate that, as duchess, Constance was legally subject to her husband's authority.

Following the documentary trail, the editors proceed to point out that, during two years as a widow, Constance issued acts in her own name, without reference to her infant son, adapting diplomatic formula to underscore that she was the legitimate heir to her father's lordships of Brittany and Richmond⁸⁵. The ability of her second husband to wield lordly powers in her inherited domains independently, or without Constance's consent, was significantly more limited than that of her first husband as a result of a rapidly changing geo-political scene (in which the marriage itself became a casualty)⁸⁶. With a third husband of lower status, diplomatic documents and other sources alike suggest a large degree of independence in Constance's lordly interventions in her inherited honours, even as her husband would occasionally issue

name with no reference to her husband is problematic, it was certainly issued before his death. Most of her extant *acta* concern relations with religious establishments even as the number concerning services owed by lay dependents of knightly or higher rank is significant; however, about a third of the total are known only from highly abbreviated and much later "mentions" – the kinds of "copies" in which female participants to transactions can be shown to have been omitted more frequently than men. Perhaps the most significant act in terms of "ruling" is the legal assize issued in 1185 at Rennes to change rules for the succession to certain fiefs in Brittany, *ibidem*, pp. 24-25, no. Ge21. Geoffrey and Constance, along with all the barons of the duchy, swore to uphold its terms (customary procedure across Europe for such legal enactments), while both husband and wife confirmed the document recording the ruling with their seals; the fragmentary evidence for Constance's seal indicates she used only one throughout her tenure, with the legend "Constance duchess of Brittany, countess of Richmond" (*ibidem*, p. 41). Analysis of women's seals in relation to their ruling powers is beyond the scope of this article, but it is clear that ruling women could and did use seals "of office" in the same ways as men.

⁸⁴ In addition to J. Everard, M. Jones, *The Charters of Duchess Constance...*, p. 38, see Y. Hillion, *La Bretagne et la Capétiens-Plantagenêts, un exemple. La duchesse Constance (1186-1202)*, "Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest" XCII (1985), pp. 111-144; see also nn. 72, 74 above. The editors clearly demonstrate the high number of documents prepared and issued by staff in a comital/ducal writing office; what needs further examination in the light of variations in diplomatic features, especially in the numerous confirmations of prior acts, is the extent to which those "chancery clerics" simply copied the language and formulae of the earlier documents, some of which almost certainly were prepared by the beneficiaries.

⁸⁵ J. Everard, M. Jones, *The Charters of Duchess Constance...*, p. 38: she added a phrase like *comitis Conani filia* to her titles of duchess of Brittany and Countess of Richmond.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 99: "she seems to have continued to [govern in her own right, as she did when widowed]"; Y. Hillion, *La Bretagne...*, pp. 114-120.

documents in both their names in which he explicitly referred to Constance's consent for the undertaking – evidence that suggests shared lordship on a near equal footing. At the same time, the duchess would take pains to attain her son's consent for some (not all) transactions recorded in documents she issued in her own name, and, in the last years of her life, came to incorporate him more formally into documents she issued as the political climate shifted yet again and it became clear that her son's right to succeed would be hotly contested⁸⁷.

Formal documents recording legal transactions and other acts of governance – even those issued following “official” procedures – are only one type of evidence, and the dossier of “Constance and her three husbands” testifies to how political circumstances could impinge on the roles assigned to those involved in the transactions as well as on the diplomatic formulae used to describe them⁸⁸. In Constance's case, as in that of other politically prominent heiresses, the formal documents they issued, or concerning their lands, first must be analysed as a group, and then alongside other sources before it is concluded that an heiresses' authoritative and legitimate “right to rule” was automatically and absolutely “subsumed” into that of her husband (or son) and deemed to have been wielded by him alone. Indeed, the growing number of studies devoted to heiresses' *acta* in the context of their wider political “careers” reveals that to presume from the start that their authoritative powers would be totally absorbed by their husbands or sons is a misplaced assumption, if not an anachronistic one, in historical terms. And many more documents concerning heiresses remain unstudied: ample opportunities remain for historians to track the formal “diplomatic” language used in such documents and the fluctuations in how even one women's lordly rights and actions were represented in them – before they begin to analyse those representations in formal *acta* in the wider political contexts that are described in other sources.

I must make one final observation about the ruling powers of female lords, whether those regents who incorporated sons into the records of official enactments or as heiress's whose husbands exercised the lion's share of lordly powers attendant on their inherited honours. As the examples of

⁸⁷ J. Everard, M. Jones, *The Charters of Duchess Constance...*, pp. 109, 113, 134-35; Y. Hillion, *La Bretagne...*, pp. 120-126.

⁸⁸ Constance's case is also a reminder that widowed lords were not uniformly viewed as sexless or “neutered”: many were widowed well before the menopause and they were not prevented from remarrying and bearing more children; in other words, they could become legitimately sexually active again at any time and their sexual potency remained a factor in how they were perceived. Whether women remarried or not would depend on a host of circumstantial factors, but by doing so they did not perforce lose their lordly powers, even if their field of action could change; I cannot develop this point here.

Blanche of Castile and Elizabeth of Saint-Pol show, both widow-regents and heiresses might well control fiefs on their own (most often they would have been constituent parts of their dower and/or dowry, but could also have been inherited in other circumstances). Regents and heiresses alike would often be lord of those properties in their own right, that is, be feudal lords in the literal sense of "lords of a fief". Jurisdiction over tenants on those properties, advocacy rights over religious establishments in their fiefs, could be theirs alone. Thus even when regents like Blanche of Castile or heiresses like Elizabeth of Saint-Pol either masked their broader public powers in "official" documents or lost them in wider political conflicts, they still remained female lords legitimately exercising powers of command over lands and persons. And the uses such women made of the services owing from tenants – including knights' military services – and how they disposed of revenues from their fiefs, even when they could not alienate the estates themselves, could, in many contexts, be acts of significant political impact that must be analysed before they are dismissed as insignificant⁸⁹.

As the discussion of these last two tropes has shown, the link between dynastic families and the exercise of lordly powers in an age of high mortality, low life expectancy, and the unpredictability of the sex of one's children meant female lordship was a structural feature of medieval political life. Most female lords (and indeed most men) would have had less political impact than women like Adelheid of Turin, Mathilda of Tuscany, Adela of Blois, Clemence of Flanders, Ermengard of Narbonne, Margaret of Brabant and Flanders, Constance of Brittany or Blanche of Navarre and Champagne – all women of princely rank. Yet the extent of those women's lordly powers should not be confused with the springs from which their authority and powers arose, and which were available to be tapped by any number of aristocratic women in the castles and villages dotting the European landscape. Exceptionalising the most visible female lords before all the documented deeds of lordly women, even those of modest rank and property portfolios, have been analysed in context is to fall victim to gender prejudice.

These observations lead to my fifth deforming figure of thought: the trope of "monstrous masculinisation". If, by improperly accounting for fundamental socio-political structures, the numbers of publicly active lordly women have been unjustly minimised, have scholars also misconstrued how their male peers perceived them? Not all lordly women were depicted solely as stereotypical females, playing out their feminine, sex-based, roles

⁸⁹ Women had inherited fiefs and or received them as marriage gifts from the 10th century; any personal military services owing could be performed by a male relation or commuted for cash; see works cited in K.A. LoPrete, *Women, Gender...*, pp. 1932 (n. 3), 1935-1936 (nn. 21, 26, 32).

as fertile wives and nurturing mothers (in positive mode, readily matched, in the negative, by lustful seductresses and wicked step-mothers). Many female lords seem to appear in the guise of honorary males, and are often cast by modern historians as surrogate men.

I am not denying that many female lords were represented in some source or another as acting “manfully” (*viriliter*) – with “manly” (*virilis*) verve, strength or spirit or some other trait (whether physical, emotional, intellectual or spiritual) culturally gendered masculine. But did the occasional cross-gendering of some activities or attributes mean that men expected female lords to stop behaving according to the same behavioural norms generally governing the conduct of all lay women, and instead welcomed such lordly women as day-to-day companions in men’s ordinary pursuits? That is, did female lords routinely cross-dress, join knights in jousts and *melées* and ride into battle (or flee the field) astride instead of side-saddle? Did men routinely denounce lordly women’s “manly deeds” as social transgressions, motivated by the arrogant desire to usurp men’s rightful powers and position? Or worse, did men condemn such women outright, as some kind of unnatural, hybrid creatures: monstrous “she-men” who violated those divinely-instituted laws of nature?

If the first two questions are a rhetorical *reductio ad absurdum* to suggest limitations to the popular view that such powerful women became “surrogate men”, a resounding “Yes” is the commonplace answer to the latter two questions. It is most clearly exemplified in the proclivity of modern historians to label such women “viragos”, employed as a negative or even condemnatory epithet, with overtones of the uncanny or unnatural, and usually meaning shrew, harridan or some kind of usurping harpy – even when the term is not present in medieval authors’ characterisations of the woman in question⁹⁰.

The underlying misapprehension is once again a question of the anachronistic use of analytical categories: the trope of “misplaced domestication” meets the mis-mapping of gendered traits onto human persons as then construed. Care is needed, for I am not denying the pronounced dichotomy in medieval views of the masculine and feminine, in which the masculine pole was undoubtedly deemed superior. Nor am

⁹⁰ K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos. Medieval Perceptions of Powerful Women*, in: *Studies on Medieval and Early Modern Women, IV: Victims or Viragos?*, eds. C. Meek, C. Lawless, Dublin 2005, pp. 17-38, especially 17-21 and n. 9, for multiple examples of women not called viragos in medieval sources being so labelled by modern historians; and p. 33, n. 42, for virago coming to acquire its negative connotations, from later medieval “imprudent viragos” (such as Chaucer’s Semiramis), to the domestic scolds popularised by humanist readings of Plautus’s comedies in the 16th century, to the first attested English usages of virago as termagant or scold in the 17th century; heroic or warrior woman, now considered the “archaic” meaning of virago, remains the best translation for the medieval period.

I denying that most men thought that most women – as females of the species – were in some respects “naturally” inferior to men. But do such simple binaries exhaust medieval conceptions of how gendered attributes were mapped onto men and women as human beings? In other words, was a “manly woman” unnatural?

First of all, one should hesitate before conflating individual attributes with whole persons: just as it can be argued that homosexual acts do not necessarily make homosexual persons, manly deeds do not necessarily turn women into uncanny or monstrous “she-men”. I will not rehearse the debates about whether homosexuals existed in the middle ages, but merely note that they have revealed significant disjunctions between medieval and modern (not necessarily post-modern!) understandings of sex-gender relations, even as they point to the need to distinguish, not conflate, psycho-somatic identities, public personae, and social roles as construed in an array of discourses, as well as to recognise the whole range of activities in which people might engage⁹¹.

Though some medieval commentators sought to achieve categorical clarity, writing consistently of virile men and feminine women, others were more comfortable with sophisticated rhetorical and conceptual gender play rooted in the fundamental paradoxes in Christian beliefs and an underlying Platonic metaphysics in which the cosmos could be construed as a unity of opposites or harmony of discords, whereby opposing notions or existing things could either be held in balanced tension or resolved by means of a third, mediating, construct (mental or physical) which served to unify the opposing poles⁹². Medieval authors educated in such ways of thinking did not believe that the women they described in certain contexts as endowed with some masculine traits or performing manly deeds (or even, on occasion, transcending their feminine sex or condition), became honorary men. Let alone did they think that such women constituted a monstrous new species of “she-men”, or, more benignly, a third gender – in either case, not being women or ceasing to be feminine in some essential way⁹³. Nor, in those cases – actually

⁹¹ See, for example, D.M. Halperin, *Forgetting Foucault. Acts, Identities, and the History of Sexuality*, “Representations” LXIII (1998), pp. 93-120, especially 109-111.

⁹² For an accessible introduction and guide to further reading see C.B. Bouchard, *Every Valley...*; and the example discussed at n. 109 below. Such cross-gender play was particularly evident in commentaries on the biblical “Song of Songs” and highly developed in “mystic discourse” of the later Middle Ages (see, for example, A.E. Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved. The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*, Philadelphia 1992; and B. Newman, *From Virile Woman...*).

⁹³ For the literature on “third genders”, see J. Murray, *One Flesh, Two Sexes, Three Genders?*, in: *Gender and Christianity...*, pp. 34-38, 48-51, 110-111; for criticism, see above, n. 15.

quite rare – in which they called lordly women viragos did medieval authors mean what most modern commentators insinuate with that label. To reach those conclusions is, I will show, to read medieval sources through modern lenses, mistaking the culturally conditioned analytical categories of modern westerners for timeless universals.

Orderic Vitalis is an example of the strict dichotomising approach. A sharp critic of effeminate men, he did not cast female lords in his history as virile women. The one hundred or so people acting *viriliter* or performing virile deeds in his lengthy narrative are all men⁹⁴. The historical Amazon queens appear once as positive exemplars for a pair of arms-bearing countesses⁹⁵, as does one lone virago: a praiseworthy if nameless wife speaking out in court against her husband's unjust conviction – and she slipped in from his English hagiographic source⁹⁶. Whether the woman's deeds were praised (like Adela of Blois'), condemned (like Mabel of Bellême's), or sometimes praised and sometimes condemned (like those of King Henry I's natural daughter, Julianna of Breteuil)⁹⁷, Orderic nonetheless repeatedly and matter-of-factly described the lordly powers aristocratic women wielded in the ordinary life-course of noble families: a natural progression that routinely produced heiresses, wives acting for absent husbands, and widow-regents.

More revealing, however, is to examine what medieval people meant by the word virago and to explore how viragos and other “manly women” would have been construed according to medieval notions of women's physiological “nature”. Following the theme of this essay, as well as the lead of the influential 7th-century encyclopaedist Isidore of Seville, I limit this discussion to viragos active in the world, not the better studied virgin viragos of the cloisters⁹⁸.

⁹⁴ Orderic's virile men, both lay and religious, can be found via Chibnall's word index, s.v. *viriliter* and *virilis robur*; see also H. Platelle, *Le problème du scandale. Les nouvelles modes masculines aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, “Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire” LIII (1975), pp. 1071-1096.

⁹⁵ OV 8.14, IV, pp. 212-214, relying on the positive image of the Amazons in Justin's *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus; the countesses are Helwise of Evreux and Isabel of Conches whose *contretemps* Orderic narrates in gendered categories and tropes commonplace in literature, though he presents their military activities as just one of their many household roles. Orderic's *bellatrix* Julianna becomes an Amazon in translation (OV 12.10, VI, pp. 214-215).

⁹⁶ OV 6.10, III, pp. 346-353; although the speech of Bricstan's modest but forthright wife – an action that meets Isidore's definition of virago (see below, n. 99) – did not save him from wrongful imprisonment, saintly intervention ultimately freed him.

⁹⁷ For Adela, see above, nn. 32-40; Mabel: OV 3, II, pp. 48, 54-58, 122; OV 5.13 and 5.16, III, pp. 134-136, 160; Julianna: OV 12.10 and 12.22, VI, pp. 210-214, 276-278.

⁹⁸ K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, pp. 22-24, for more extensive discussion of medieval sources and the secondary literature.

Isidore embedded his widely read and oft-copied definition of viragos in his discussion of the words *mulier* and *femina* that he placed in the book of his *Etymologies* devoted to the Ages of Man. Having explained that women (*mulieres*) are contrasted to men by virtue of their "softness", he noted that *mulieres* are named for their "feminine sex" (*femineus sexus*) rather than for any bodily corruption because the *mulier* Eve was formed from the side of man, rather than from physical contact with one. Proffering next several possible origins for the word *virgo* (virgin), he included what had become an exegetical commonplace; namely, that the word virgin comes from a word meaning "lack of corruption", which Isidore glossed with the phrase "as if a virago" (*quasi virago*), since "feminine passion" is unknown to virgins. Viragos, however (as he learned from Servius's commentary on Virgil), are so named "because they act as men do"; that is, they "perform manly deeds and have masculine vigor"⁹⁹. Thus the ancients called them strong women: *fortes feminas* (a tag linking them to the *mulier fortis* of Proverbs 31.10-31, as more than one later commentator would note)¹⁰⁰. Then, in contrast to Augustine and other fathers¹⁰¹, Isidore suggested that virgins are not properly called viragos, since they do not typically fulfill the office or duty of men (like viragos do). A woman (*mulier*) who performs virile deeds is fittingly called a virago: like the Amazons, for example. (This example is in fact rare in late antique Latin authors; Isidore may well have gleaned it from Lactantius)¹⁰². Making his transition by echoing Festus, Isidore explained that the ancients

99 Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive originum, libri XX*, I-II, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Oxford 1911, II, pp. 33-34: *Alias [virgo] ab incorruptione, quasi virago, quod ignoret femineam passionem. Virago vocata, quia virum agit, hoc est opera virilia facit et masculini vigoris est. Antiqui enim fortes feminas ita vocabant. Virgo autem non recte virago dicitur, si non viri officio fungitur. Mulier vero si virilia facit, recte virago dicitur, ut Amazona – 11.2, 21-22*). Both virgins and viragos are *mulieres*; virgins are women (*mulieres*) who are physically intact and innocent of female passions; see also Maurus Servius Honoratus, *Servii grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, I-II, ed. G. Thilo, *Bibliotheca scriptorium graecorum et romanorum Teubneriana*, Leipzig 1878-1887, repr. New York 1986.

100 K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, p. 25, n. 23.

101 For Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and other fathers who stress virgin viragos and their masculine ability to control their passions that could lead to them being construed as honorary men, note the discussion by B. Newman, *From Virile Woman...*, pp. 3-6, 22-28; and comments by J.F. Ferrante, *To The Glory of Her Sex. Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts*, Bloomington 1997, pp. 14-18, 94-96, 113-114, 159-170. Others, like Tertullian (and that later trio in other texts), argued that even the most resolute virgins would nonetheless retain their female bodies in paradise; or, fundamentally, women could not become men, see: D. Elliott, *Tertullian, the Angelic Life, and the Bride of Christ*, in: *Gender and Christianity...*, pp. 26-39; C.W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, New York 1995, pp. 64-69, 98-101, 111, 166, 225, 254-255.

102 Lactantius, *Divinarum institutionum*, ed. P. Monat, *Institutiones divines, Sources chrétiennes*, CCCXXVI, Paris 1986, pp. 96-98.

named the person now called a *femina* a *vira*, on the model of how *serua* was derived from *servus*¹⁰³. He concluded his remarks with further discussion of the word *femina*¹⁰⁴.

Blending classical and Christian exegetical traditions, Isidore thus defined viragos as women – human beings embodied as females – who, when called upon to do so, are able to act with manly strength to perform deeds more usually done by men in domains culturally gendered as masculine – even as he asserted that women are generally weaker and softer in body than men¹⁰⁵. Moreover, Isidore clearly distinguished viragos from most virgins, whilst nonetheless admitting that virgins are virago-like because the strength that they muster to master their carnal female desires was unquestionably conceived as “male”¹⁰⁶. Indeed, as many readers of Scripture were well aware, the *Ur*-virago was none other than that first woman, created by God in paradise from Adam’s fleshy side and rib bone, because Jerome chose “virago” to translate the Hebrew pun in her name:

Let her [says Adam in Genesis 2:23, using a feminine pronoun] be called wo-man (*vir-ago*) for she was taken from man¹⁰⁷.

That biblical passage is important because interpretations of it underscoring the *Ur*-virago’s immortality and the strength she acquired from Adam’s strong rib migrated to a host of biblical and extra-biblical texts, with implications for how real medieval women could be perceived. One important context was that of commentators faced with philosophical or religious dualists.

¹⁰³ Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatu*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Leipzig 1913, repr. 1978, p. 314, though Isidore does not mention Festus’ linking of such *vira* (sharing with “men” the root *vir*, derived from *vis*) to wise women or seers; the feminine form results from adding grammatically feminine endings to a shared root.

¹⁰⁴ Isidore, *Etymologiarum* 11.2, 24, II, p. 34: *femina* is derived either from a word linked to what we would call the pelvic region where the difference between males and females is usually visible at a glance, or from a word referring to a fiery force that represents how women’s libidinous desires are stronger than men’s.

¹⁰⁵ For the view of Isidore and an array of medieval medical writers that viragos lay “unambiguously on the female side of the anatomical spectrum”, see J. Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 201-208. For classical and biblical viragos construed as females, whether goddesses or historical figures, see the examples in K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, pp. 24-29.

¹⁰⁶ Note also Isidore’s comments in his *De differentiis verborum*, 1.5.590, PL, LXXXIII, col. 68: *Virgo est quae virum nescit, virago autem quae virum agit, hoc est opera virilia facit. Non autem solum virgines viragines, sed et corruptae mulieres, quae virilia faciunt, viragines recte dicuntur.*

¹⁰⁷ Genesis 2:23: *Dixitque Adam [...]: haec vocabitur Virago, quoniam de viro sumpta est;* Jerome’s choice of that neologism might reflect his use of the Septuagint. Even though some medieval bibles read *mulier* for Jerome’s *virago*, repeating the term used at Gen. 2:22 and reflecting earlier translations (cp. the *vetus latina*), “virago” was well-known through commentaries on a host of biblical books.

In those circumstances, Augustine and his medieval heirs tended to bring a mediating, tripartite model of the human person to discussions of the pre-lapsarian pair. Such "trinitarian" schemata limited the risk that mistaken metaphysical conclusions would be drawn by those who liked to contrast the first Man as strong, immaterial reason to the Wo-man as weak, carnal passions. In tripartite views, all human persons are composed of an immaterial masculine spirit or mind (*animus* or *mens*) and very material feminine flesh (*caro/carnis*), but the grammatically feminine soul (*anima*) is then harnessed – either as an appetitive soul or the inferior (rational) part of the spirit – to mediate between spirit and body¹⁰⁸. As Augustine explained when writing to combat dualist Manicheans, the *Ur-virago*, "bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh", acquired some strength (*fortitudo*) from Adam's rib (she was not absolute weakness); and from Adam's flesh she acquired enough innate temperance – thanks to the lower part of the mind where reason prudently rules – to temper her own female flesh. In other words, even though exegetes often held that women were, from creation, inferior to men, that they were made in paradise from Adam's rib and side guaranteed their access to some immaterial sources of strength through the souls animating their bodies¹⁰⁹.

By the late-11th and early-12th centuries reforming churchmen as diverse as Guibert of Nogent, Bruno of Segni, and Rupert of Deutz, drawing on a variety of sources, independently amplified these notions in their explorations of

108 See, for example, the discussion and works cited by C.W. Bynum, *The Resurrection...*, p. 95; and C.B. Boucharde, *Every Valley...*, pp. 121-128, for other approaches medieval exegetes took, especially in the 12th century, to mitigating absolute differences between men and women; they explained that men and women alike were endowed with bodies and souls and that the human (*homo*) created on the sixth day (Gen. 1:27) included both the *vir* and *mulier* (that is, Adam and Eve) created subsequently.

109 Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*, 2.13 (quoting Gen. 2:23), *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (henceforth: CSEL), XCI, ed. D. Weber, Vienna 1998; he earlier noted that it is the ability to reason that separates humans – of both sexes – from animals. Augustine expresses similar views in greater detail (though without reference to viragos) in *De vera religione*, c. 41, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* (henceforth: CCL), XXXII, ed. K.D. Daur, Turnhout 1962; for medieval exegetes who expressed similar ideas, see K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, p. 26, n. 24. See also T. O'Loughlin, *Adam's Rib and the Equality of the Sexes. Some Medieval Exegesis of Gen 2:21-22*, "Irish Theological Quarterly" LIX (1993), pp. 44-54, for exegetical emphasis on the strength women acquired from Adam's rib, without, however any discussion of viragos or the wider implications of Augustine's views in his *Contra Manichaeos* (where O'Loughlin stresses only Augustine's view of the innate inferiority of women to men); A. Blamires, *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture*, Oxford 1997, pp. 96-125, discusses different, yet positive, inferences some exegetes drew from Eve's creation in paradise. Augustine's emphasis on women's rational capacity that endows them with moral agency (however limited) is analogous to Ambrose's discussion of the men's duties assumed by Deborah, where he presents her as a counter-example to women who claimed that the infirmity of their sex (*sexus*) excused them from the need to act virtuously (see K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, p. 29).

the moral senses of scripture. The matter, flesh as well as bone, shared by Adam and his pre-lapsarian companion, naturally brought men and women together: in love and marriage where each partner would have the spiritual strength to moderate those lusty urges of the flesh that assailed husbands and wives alike. Distinguishing “the nature of Woman” (inferior to that of Man) from individual women (who could be good or bad), these clerics deployed the term *virago* for those women, married to men, who had the inner strength to control their bodies and sexuality. Good women because modest wives (as Rupert underscored by quoting I Peter 3:5-6), such strong, wifely, *viragos* could be found in all eras. Yet men’s equals they are not; however “manly”, they are to remain obedient to their husbands¹¹⁰.

In this associative context *viragos* are sexually-active yet obedient wives and mothers, with the only hint of “manliness” in their moral fortitude in the face of personal temptation. But it is only a short step from constancy of spirit in the bedroom to that “manly” strength of mind and body aristocratic women deployed to protect the interests of a lordly dynasty when, as wives and mothers, they found themselves positioned to promote and defend them. Female lords, as has been shown, could inherit lordships (with their attendant rights to rule) and they wielded their powers of command over lands and persons as part of their wifely and maternal roles in lordly households, crossing no conceptual threshold into a public sphere of impersonal governance to do so, even though the activities they engaged in to rule and defend a family and its honours were more frequently performed by men.

What made such “manly women” and *viragos* in Isidore’s sense a small but perfectly “natural” subset of those humans of the feminine sex can be explained by noting how different medieval understandings of men’s and women’s bodily natures are from modern ones. Indeed, as Joan Cadden has comprehensively explained, scholars must keep in mind the wide variety of medieval notions of human physiology, with its resultant cacophony and potential for inconsistency, even as common underlying features can be discerned¹¹¹. Above all it must be remembered that before the later 12th and

¹¹⁰ See references, quotations and further discussion at K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, p. 26; the *Ur-virago* as an exemplar of legitimate marriage based on spousal affection and the desire for offspring entered historical narratives at this time as well, as in Geoffrey Malaterra’s account of the marriage of Roger of Sicily’s daughter to Raymond of Provence in his *Deeds of Count Roger of Sicily and Duke Robert Guiscard* 3.22-23 (see K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, p. 27, n. 26). For *viragos* in other discourses (e.g., classical mythology and allegorical verse, astrological prognostication, and moral treatises treating biblical women like Judith) cast by medieval commentators as women performing deeds more often done by men and viewed in largely positive terms, see K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, pp. 24, 27-28.

¹¹¹ Cadden’s *Meanings* is essential reading on these and related points, some of which are summarised in this and the next six paragraphs; see also J.W. Baldwin, *The Language of*

13th centuries, or, in some instances, the later 15th, even the learned elite of Latin-reading Catholic Europe had little direct knowledge of the influential accounts of core medical ideas articulated by leading authorities of the ancient world – Aristotle and Galen being the most relevant in this context – whose views modern scholars nonetheless most often present as “normative” in their accounts of what medieval people thought about men’s and women’s embodied natures. In reality, the views that did reach Europe’s learned elite consisted of simplified and sometimes inaccurate summaries of a variety of “ancient authorities”, along with critical evaluation of specific points by intermediate authors (largely Muslims writing in Arabic) who presented and defended alternate positions on the basis of their own wider knowledge and medical expertise.

Moreover, medieval scholars would adapt and ignore (that is, intellectually re-construe) what they read according to their own underlying frames of reference or specific focus in the particular contexts in which they were writing; that is, according to the broader discourse in which they were expressing their learned opinions. Natural philosophers explaining the nature of the cosmos, physicians concerned with maintaining men’s and women’s health, and moral theologians exhorting lay folk to live virtuously by describing the gendered roles they were expected to play in this life and their ultimate fate in the next, might express different opinions about the distinguishing features of men’s and women’s “natures”; indeed, the same scholar might articulate some views that are not wholly compatible with others, with inconsistencies arising in part from the different *genres* in which, and audiences for whom, he (or occasionally she) was writing at any one time.

Thus, even when (gradually, from the later 12th century) medieval scholars did become aware of the core notion that women’s genitalia were homological inversions of male ones – a view that has been inappropriately used by some modern scholars as evidence for a universal pre-modern belief in a “one-sex” body of which the man’s was the norm and the woman’s defective – they drew a variety of inferences from those differences, some stressing women’s relative imperfection, others underscoring the functional equivalence of men’s and women’s organs. But as even Aristotle had reluctantly admitted and Galen had explained by discussing a range of distinctive features of women’s reproductive organs, female bodies were perfectly natural in anatomical terms. In other words, whatever their limitations compared to male bodies, women’s bodies were not defective in themselves and were

Sex. Five Voices from Northern France around 1200, Chicago 1994, that also analyses competing and inconsistent views which could be found in different discourses and even in the works of individual authors in a limited time and place.

appropriate to fulfil the purpose for which they had been designed – a view medieval authors, including Isidore, readily endorsed¹¹². That was in part because several underlying assumptions of ancient medical “science” came, by the 5th century, to be reflected in the views of Latin-Catholic theologians who argued that men and women would be resurrected in sexed bodies, complete with their distinctive (if no longer functioning) genitalia: female bodies, however different from male ones, were not defective for women and had been created by God “fit for purpose” in paradise¹¹³. Thus women did not become men at the end of time (when their spiritual equality would at long last be restored) and modern scholars rightly have come to underscore how strongly embodied were medieval notions of personhood – without, however, medieval people ever reducing women or men as individual human persons to their sexed bodies alone. Hence, medieval authors who described women as transcending or overcoming their feminine sex were neither construing them as unnatural nor as men, but, rather, as women who had used their other faculties (no doubt including some culturally gendered masculine) to overcome limitations perceived to inhere in femininely-sexed bodies – bodies that were only one component part of female persons¹¹⁴.

But the question remains as to how some women naturally came to be endowed with the capacity to act manfully. Like other animate creatures, individual human beings – their physiological features and intangible psychological traits alike – were thought to consist of a mix of gendered natural elements and qualities (such as dryness and moisture, heat and coldness) that resulted in their bodily components (and not just the main

¹¹² J. Cadden, *Meanings of Sex...*, pp. 23-24, 32-34, 177-178; D. Jacquart, C. Thomasset, *Sexualité et savoir médical au Moyen Age*, Paris 1985, pp. 50-56. T. Laqueur’s widely-read *Making Sex. Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge 1990, radically oversimplifies the complex skeins of medieval medical thought; on its limitations for medievalists see: J. Cadden, *Meanings of Sex...*, p. 3; K. Park, *Cadden, Laqueur, and the “One-Sex Body”*, “Medieval Feminist Forum” XLVI (2010), pp. 96-100; and H. King, *The Mathematics of Sex. One to Two or Two to One*, “Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History”, Third Series II (2005), pp. 47-58 (surprisingly, with no reference to Cadden). For Isidore see above at n. 99.

¹¹³ Views on precisely how resurrection bodies would be constituted changed over the course of the middle ages, but the tradition articulated by the 5th century that they would be sexed remained dominant in Latin Europe and had developed in response to gnostic or even views of Orthodox fathers who held that resurrection bodies would be sexless or male; see C.W. Bynum, *The Resurrection...*, notably pp. 64-69, 98-101, 111, 166, 225, 254-255, and n. 101 above.

¹¹⁴ The trope of “overcoming the feminine sex” should be seen as analogous to calling women viragos, or describing them as acting “manfully” in some way, with the subjects’ fundamental femininity not negated because they were endowed by nature with the capacity to overcome bodily limitations. I cannot analyse any commonplace – but often misconstrued – examples here.

fluids) being in a state of near constant flux. Whether man or woman, all individuals consisted of the same masculine and feminine elements, though in different proportions and combinations as would be determined through the processes of sexual reproduction. A healthy state was achieved when those innate qualities were appropriately balanced according to each individual's circumstances at any one time, such as their sex and age, the season of the year and surrounding climate – or perhaps even the configuration of the stars. Thus, though women had a preponderance of feminine elements and men masculine ones, the human spectrum naturally consisted of individual women and men endowed at birth with a combination of masculine and feminine traits.

Moreover, for most of the Middle Ages, and even from the 13th century, after European scholars began to read translations of Aristotle's natural philosophy for themselves, medical writers tended to accord women a small but significant and active part to play in the act of conception that largely determined the mix of masculine and feminine traits in their offspring. In other words, however much scholars adopted Aristotle's fundamental explanatory theories that postulated active, masculine and immaterial formal principles informing the passive, feminine, and material stuff of the cosmos, medical writers found this notion to be deficient when applied without modification to human reproduction. That was largely because if women served only as passive material vessels, contributing nothing to human embryos except nutrients after conception, it became difficult to explain certain empirically attested phenomena, most notably, why some boys resembled their mothers and her kin or girls the kin of their fathers¹¹⁵.

Hence, when writing in medical contexts, or to inspire women actively to cultivate moral virtue, Latin-Catholic authors tended to follow the lead of the Muslim scholars they had been reading in translation from the later 11th and 12th centuries. Non-Aristotelian views of human conception had not ceased to circulate in either Muslim or Christian worlds; notions developed in other traditions (e.g., "Hippocratic" ones), that mothers and fathers both emitted a "seed" with male and female components which fused in the womb, could be – and often were, as notably by the widely-read Muslim physician Avicenna – adapted by scholars to mitigate Aristotle's view that men alone provided the one essential seed that caused conception and determined a child's sex. In other words, scholars would postulate the existence of either a full-blown but weaker "seed" or an analogous but inferior seminal substance (afterwards

¹¹⁵ For this and the next paragraph see J. Cadden, *Meanings of Sex...*, pp. 93-97, 117-130, 201-208; J.W. Baldwin, *Language of Sex...*, pp. 43-48, 173-210; D. Jacquart, C. Thomasset, *Sexualité et savoir médical...*, pp. 191-197. Defective men's seeds alone could not account for children who resembled the kin of the opposite-sex parent.

enhanced by certain components of the womb), that women had to emit for conception to occur. In both scenarios the woman's "seed" – however inferior to a man's – could, in certain conditions, significantly affect the gendered traits of children, boys and girls alike.

The broader significance of these medieval "scientific" views of human biology is that even within "a dominant discourse of binaries" both men and women as individuals were thought to be naturally endowed with both male and female attributes and the balance needed to produce a healthy person depended on a combination of external factors and innate ones to which women were often held to have contributed¹¹⁶. In other words, that some women, in anatomical terms, would be born with "masculine" traits enabling them to perform in some capacities as well as, or even better than, some men, was built into the order of things – or, "only natural". At the same time, women could use those natural attributes – most notably "strength of mind" – to free themselves from any physiological limitations a body sexed feminine was thought to impose.

And when they did so, whether to control their sexuality within marriage according to norms devised by moral theologians or to act effectively as female lords in largely masculine domains, they could be praised as women for their accomplishments. To cite just one example, inspired by the biblical precedent of the "amazing mother" of seven sons martyred at the time of the Maccabean revolt who wisely and strongly urged each one of them to resist pressures to sacrifice to the emperor: Geoffrey of Beaulieu, confessor of the saintly Louis IX and author of an early *vita*, lauded the king's mother, Blanche of Castile, for quashing the opposition to her young son's accession by calling her a "virago like none other who yoked a masculine spirit to her feminine sex and ways of thinking"¹¹⁷. Like Augustine's *Ur-virago* in paradise, Geoffrey's human virago was endowed with spirit, reason and flesh; the wife and mother Blanche, a lord of the female sex, merited praise for deploying her natural human attributes with such commanding success.

¹¹⁶ J. Murray, *One Flesh...*, p. 49: "The very fact that medieval people saw sex and gender as mutable and recognised that every individual could possess greater or lesser amounts of maleness and femaleness [as a result of ordinary reproductive processes] demonstrates a worldview that allowed for the accommodation of multiple identities underneath a dominant discourse of binaries".

¹¹⁷ Geoffrey of Beaulieu was Louis's confessor first writing in 1272-1273 his *Vita [...]* *Ludovici*, in: *Receuil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet et al. (henceforth: RHF), I-XXIV, Paris 1783-1904, XX, p. 4d: *quae tota virago semper extitit, et femineae cogitatione ac sexui masculinum animum jugiter inferebat*; cp. 2 Macc. 7:21 for the *mater mirabilis [...]* *femineae cogitationi masculinum animum inserens*; J. Ferrante, *To the Glory...*, p. 15: "it may seem demeaning to compliment women by calling them 'manly', but in a culture which assumes the male as the norm, to recognize maleness in a woman, particularly when encouraging her in a male role in the male world, can be a positive affirmation".

I will discuss here two further examples that reveal when medieval authors called female lords *viragos* they perceived them to be women first and foremost: recognisably feminine and largely playing traditional "women's roles". When, in the natural course of an elite family's life-cycle, they played out their ascribed social roles as vigorously and intelligently as worthy men, "*virago*" was a fitting term of praise for them¹¹⁸. If some of those roles obliged lordly women to perform tasks more frequently done by men, and they did so as well as, or better, than some of their male peers, they were viewed neither as men, nor as usurpers of men's rightful powers, but rather, as women of heroic distinction.

My first example is a long letter directed to the "most excellent duke" (*excellentissima dux*) Adelheid (d. 1091) by Peter Damian, the eloquent schoolmaster turned hermit and church reformer. Adelheid was the thrice-widowed heiress to the march of Turin, countess of Savoy by marriage, and mother-in-law of the emperor who, in 1064 when Peter wrote, was ruling her combined lordships even though her eldest son had come of age¹¹⁹. Praising her first for the manly vigour reigning in her feminine breast (*virile robur femineo regnet in pectore*), the churchman then requested that she become a "*virago of the Lord*" (*virago Domini*), campaigning alongside the bishop of Turin like Deborah joined her general Baruch in battle. Peter advised Adelheid to use the cross for her weapon as Jael used a tent-stake, to deploy the God-given mental and physical strength of the widow Judith, and to imitate the manly willingness to face death Esther displayed when she saved her people: all biblical exemplars of women who put vacillating or depraved men to shame. The fight, ironically, was to compel priests to live celibately, safe from the corrupting power of women and sex. The stakes were high because Peter equated priestly unchastity with heresy and God destroys heretics: a lord who enforces divine law will not only save her people, but see her earthly power extended. The reformer was obliged to enlist a woman, because, although he had one bishop firmly in his camp, Adelheid's authority as protector of the church ran across two realms and multiple dioceses.

By his letter's end Peter had assured the thrice-wed Adelheid that she would not be excluded from the rewards of heaven because of her multiple

¹¹⁸ See K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, pp. 29-36, for more examples of historical *viragos*; for Mathilda of Tuscany praised as a *virago*, see D.J. Hay, *The Military Leadership...*, pp. 208-209, though he believes she and other *viragos* were perceived as honorary men, rather than as women (females) who drew on human attributes gendered masculine when they occasionally performed deeds more commonly done by men.

¹¹⁹ Petrus Damiani, no. 114, in: MGH, *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit IV (Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani)* 3, ed. K. Reindel, München 1989, pp. 295-306; Peter Damian became a cardinal in 1057. For Adelaide, see G. Sergi, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, I, München 1980, col. 147a, with further bibliography, and discussion in J.F. Ferrante, *To the Glory...*, pp. 14-17.

marriages; had praised her as a generous and just advocate to the monasteries she had founded; and had counselled this female lord on how to reach just judgments when hearing disputed cases. Men like the saintly King David, as well as a veritable catalogue of strong and wise biblical women, were presented to the duchess for emulation. The fact that Adelheid was enlisted where men had failed reveals Peter's belief in fundamental gender asymmetry, but, because the Lord is known to reward the lowliest of his handmaids (*vilissimae ancillae*) by promoting them, like Deborah, to positions of earthly power, he cast no cloud on the range or legitimacy of this widowed-mother's lordly authority: authority she acquired and wielded in the natural course of a dynastic family's life-cycle. For this learned cardinal, *virago* was a term of praise, fully appropriate for a perfectly natural wife and mother of the ruling elite, whose domestic social roles propelled her into the vortex of northern Italy's stormy reform-era politics.

From Capetian France comes the example of Bertrada of Montfort, "an eloquent and most learned *virago*" (*virago faceta et eruditissima*), according to her political adversary, the abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, who refused to grant this sometime countess and step-mother of his hero, the French King Louis VI, the title of queen she bore in royal documents and other narratives¹²⁰. To preface his account of a 1109-1110 contest over castles in whose devolution Bertrada played a decisive role, Suger portrayed this *virago* so audaciously deploying the most amazing of women's artifices when plying her sexual charms that she bent to her will all the men who defined her life. Manifestly more powerful than any or all of them (*his omnibus potentior*), they were her brother, Amaury of Montfort; her royal bedmate and eldest son by him (King Philip and their like-named son); her step-son (the ever obedient Louis VI in Suger's account – though other sources reveal his relations with Bertrada could be stormy)¹²¹; her son by her first marriage (the young count Fulk V of Anjou, whose succession, according to other sources, Bertrada had arranged

¹²⁰ Suger, *Vita Ludovici Grossi regis*, ed. H. Waquet, Paris 1929, pp. 122-124; see also pp. 10, 36, 82.

¹²¹ Images of Bertrada are as legion as the authors writing about her; her contemporaries and near-contemporaries cast her in diverse (and discordant) roles; in addition to Suger's promiscuous *femme fatale* intent on destroying the realm, she has been cast in the role of the archetypical wicked stepmother (OV 11.9, VI, pp. 50-54); of the social-climbing seductress trading in her count for a king (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, I, eds. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, M. Winterbottom, Oxford, 1998, pp. 348, 474, 596, 730-310); of a sexually beguiling peace weaver (OV 8.20, IV, pp. 260-262); and even in the role of a tearful merciful intercessor (William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM LXIIIa, Turnhout 1986, p. 31). I have discussed these images in relation to the documentary sources in a paper *Bertrada of Montfort in Chronicles and Chartres. A Mirror for Historians of Eleventh-Twelfth Century France*, delivered at the Annual Conference of the Charles H. Haskins Society, Boston 2013, that I am currently revising for publication.

after his older half-brother's untimely death)¹²²; and even her ex-husband (count Fulk IV le Réchin of Anjou, a notorious serial monogamist), who, according to Suger, had continued to sit worshipfully at his lady's feet, as though bewitched, long after Bertrada had banished him from their marriage bed.

The staunch Capetian loyalist and active supporter of Louis VI ascribed Bertrada's scheming to her misplaced personal desire to advance her own blood relatives (brother and sons alike) at the expense of the French realm and the overtones of virago's modern meaning of domestic scold are perceptible in Suger's portrayal of this *imprudens* virago. But to reduce Bertrada to just another "clever shrew", as have Suger's recent American translators, or even to an amiable sexual *dominatrix* (*maîtresse femme*), as in the standard French translation, is to overlook the medieval tradition gendering eloquence and learning as "manly" traits oft-praised in lords of both sexes¹²³. More important, it is to minimise the complex power-political agenda Bertrada was so skilfully pursuing (to Suger's great displeasure). If she was not striving ultimately to place one of her own sons on the French throne, as the abbot would have his readers believe, at the least she was working to increase the profiles of both her natal family and her son by her first marriage through her place at the royal court. Ironically from Suger's perspective, King Louis's alliance with Bertrada's son by the count of Anjou – count Fulk V – soon proved crucial to his own political success; fortunately for the new king (as other commentators acknowledged and charters clearly attest), his so-called "conniving step-mother" had prepared the ground for her royal step-son by renewing Capetian ties with her relations by her first husband¹²⁴.

122 M. Prou, *Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France (1059-1108)*, Paris 1908, pp. 391-396, nos. 157-158 and notes, datable to 11 October 1106, after Fulk IV's eldest son, Geoffrey Martel, Junior, had been killed in May. Bertrada's documented actions, however, carry no implication that she actually arranged for Geoffrey's death, as alleged in later narratives (*Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, in: *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, eds. L. Halphen, R. Poupardin, Paris 1913, p. 66, a passage with verifiable inaccuracies written in the 1150s; and, in the 13th century, the so-called Tours chronicle, RHF, XII, p. 468).

123 *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, eds. R.C. Cusimano, J. Moorhead, Washington 1992, p. 80; Suger, *Vita Ludovici...*, p. 122. For *facetia* and *eruditio*, see C.S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness. Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 930-1210*, Philadelphia 1985, pp. 165-168, 213-226; note also representations of Minerva and the liberal arts discussed at K.A. LoPrete, *Gendering Viragos...*, p. 27, n. 28, and Theodulf of Orleans' verse depiction of the learned virago Liutgard, Charlemagne's daughter (*The Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, ed. P. Godman, London 1985, pp. 154-155, lines 83-90).

124 See nn. 121-122 above, and K.A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord...*, pp. 206-207, 220-221, 355. I would argue that Bertrada played a larger role in the Capetian-Angevin alliance of the 1110s that allowed Louis VI to insist that the dukes of Normandy owed him homage for the duchy even if they were also kings of England; she demonstrably did not retire

However much Suger misconstrued and disapproved of the eloquent Bertrada's goals in this contest to control castles, he set her astute political-alliance building in its typically medieval context: the domestic spaces of lordly households where wives and mothers actively coordinated the agendas of two (or more) dynastic families, which they served as pivotal, and vital, power brokers. Bedroom politics were public politics in Bertrada's day; to take decisive political action, learned and persuasive viragos crossed no "denaturing" or "delegitimising" conceptual thresholds between domestic and public spheres. At the same time, the powers Suger claims Bertrada abused were the sexual powers thought natural to all women. By casting this virago in the role of a seductive *femme fatale*, the abbot of St Denis deployed deeply entrenched gender stereotypes simultaneously to defame one particular woman and to deride Bertrada's political agenda, even as he laid bare the socio-political structures that made any aristocratic sister, wife, and mother a potential player in medieval power politics.

The intimate details of Bertrada's family life will doubtless never be known, but her arguably more important political initiatives and their outcomes can plausibly be reconstructed. Yet, just as the bedroom scene imagined by Orderic Vitalis for Adela of Blois has beguiled historians to this day and the gender prejudices they often share with that monk-chronicler have largely prevented them from examining other reports of that countess's public deeds, so too no modern study I know attempts to analyse the available evidence in charters and annals for her seemingly scandalously sexualized contemporary Bertrada of Montfort and then to interpret it alongside a critical reading of *all* the narrative vignettes (not just Suger's) in order to assess this much-maligned step-mother queen's active – and arguably even positive – contribution to the hotly contested events through which the Capetian kings affirmed their royal authority¹²⁵. Historians must, with the support of formal documents

to Fontevraud at Louis' accession and the commonplace view that Louis remained openly hostile to his step-mother is over-reliant on Suger and a mis-reading of some key charters.

125 J. Dhondt made an attempt, but in the end reduced Bertrada to the sexual stereotype popularised by clerics who, with *insinuante Bertrade* available to serve as scapegoat, could use Philip as a negative *exemplum* either of lay marriage practice or of Christian kingship when compared to the potent king and lord, Henry I of England (J. Dhondt, *Sept femmes et un trio de rois*, "Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale" III (1965), pp. 61-71); G. Duby's Bertrada is largely a passive pawn in epoch-making events: a mere foil for the dispute over marriage laws between churchmen and kings he typifies with the case of Ivo of Chartres' reaction to Philip's second spouse (G. Duby, *Le chevalier, la femme et le prêtre. Le mariage dans la France féodale*, Paris 1981, especially pp. 10-22; idem, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest. The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, New York 1983, especially pp. 7-18); C. Woll presents largely a synthesis of the findings of earlier scholars, though adding important discussion of Bertrada's seal (C. Woll, *Die Königinnen des hochmittelalterlichen Frankreich, 987-1237/38*, Stuttgart

and other extant sources, read through the sexual stereotypes that served medieval chroniclers so often as tropes for representing women's actions in lordly families. Such romantic or sexualised *topoi* make it hard to imagine Bertrada as an honorary man, but they clearly represent her – like Judith in the 9th century – playing central roles in the family politics of her day. Modern historians still too often construe politically prominent women (medieval or more contemporary) largely in sexualized terms, even if they frame their historical narratives in terms of bureaucratic administration and impersonal institutions in their discussions of noteworthy public political, judicial and military affairs. At the same time they tend to erect more pronounced barriers between men's and women's biological natures and between public and private domains of social action than did medieval commentators, which can cause modern historians to miss the wider political import of commonplace medieval narrative representations of lordly women. Nevertheless, the extant evidence (narrative and documentary alike) reveals Bertrada acting in several sectors of public affairs as historians would construe them today. That evidence needs to be examined from the perspective of medieval categories and analysed critically in order to distinguish sexualised rhetorical *topoi* from actual events so that her documented deeds beyond the bedroom can be placed at the centre of modern narratives of French royal politics, where her contemporaries knew they belonged.

To pull together the various strands of this essay I will conclude by reminding readers that there are significantly more reports of lordly women's deeds in medieval sources than generally realised. Some are recounted in quite matter-of-fact language – even if the author does not always explicitly underscore or elaborate upon the political significance of the deeds performed. Other actions are reported in more negative terms: the author clearly does not like what a particular woman has done. But modern historians must be careful when assessing what is being disparaged. Personal animosity towards one woman, or the censure of a particular policy, must not be confused with a condemnation of interventionist public or political activity on the part of all lordly women. The measures they took, like those of their male peers, could displease as well as please contemporaries, but since *domini* outnumbered *dominae* and women represented the marked gender, the public deeds of female lords tended to attract exaggerated praise or blame. Nonetheless, however much such commendations or condemnations might be linked to traits deemed particularly feminine or even, on occasion, masculine,

2002, pp. 136-159); K. Nolan offers a more nuanced view but largely to serve as background to her important discussion of Bertrada's decorated tomb (K. Nolan, *Queens in Stone and Silver. The Creation of a Visual Imagery of Queenship in Capetian France*, New York 2009, pp. 17-45; see also n. 121 above).

women's capacity to act with lordly authority was not denied once they had acceded by legitimate means to positions of command.

Often a medieval author might appear to "contain" a lordly woman's actions by representing her performing them in stereotyped intimate or domestic settings. Whether deploying her seductive charms or her mothers' tears, she becomes a mere go-between – an intermediary – or, at most, the catalyst, of deeds performed by her husband or the other men who defined her life. Yet medieval writers tended to frame their discussions of all political affairs in personal terms and domestic settings rather than in the terms of impersonal institutions and dedicated public spaces beloved of modern historians (even after such institutions developed sufficiently to complicate medieval political activity and intrude in the narratives of medieval chroniclers). Kings and queens were the fathers and mothers of their communities, a lord's wrath was an instrument of policy, and friendship pacts forged by mediators or marriages were the medieval equivalent of peace treaties and formal alliances. Bedchambers continued to contain paraphernalia of "governance" such as formal documents, seals, and stores of liquid wealth, and increasingly became privileged places where elite men (as well as women) gained access to rulers and influenced their policy decisions. Counsel was solicited at lords' courts, which were the sites of formal judicial proceedings, routine and momentous alike, as much as they were centres for feasting, festivals and occasions for political scheming and other intrigues. And, alongside family members, the elite households managed by female lords included leading officials and other agents active in lordly rule, from document-writing clerics to household knights. In other words, lordly men, as well as women, exercised their ruling powers and played politics in a predominantly domestic domain.

Modern historians, composing their accounts of medieval politics, routinely assess the impact of many and diverse events – the end results of multiple political processes – as much as they analyse the processes themselves. Lords might take counsel from their well-informed wives in the chambers of their castles, expect it from their retinues of sworn followers and household officials, or solicit it from representatives of wider segments of society; when they acted upon it in a way that contributed significantly to the results achieved in wider political arenas, historians might reasonably take note of who provided such wise or foolish "policy" advice. Behind-the-scenes activities to recruit allies and keep them "on side" could be as important to the outcomes in succession disputes and other political contests as results eventually achieved on the battlefield. Mediators who negotiated settlements between parties engaged in armed conflicts or reconciled contending opponents in more routine disputes could have as great an effect on outcomes on broader political stages as the combatants and disputants themselves. It is time for modern historians to include in their narratives the

women well-attested by medieval sources as engaged in those and related political activities, rather than dismissing their efforts and impact simply because when performed by women such actions become "informal personal" affairs, in contrast to the "official and public" interventions of lordly men doing the same things.

Furthermore, gender, even when construed largely as contrasting poles of "masculinity" and "femininity", is a multivalent construct whose meaning depends on the context in which it is evoked. Its explanatory significance varies, on the one hand, according to other concepts with which it is linked in any one of a number of different cultural discourses, and, on the other – when applied to human beings – as it is combined with other categories of difference used to distinguish some groups of people from others. Gender is only one feature in medieval representations of historical women, whose thoughts and deeds were not usually reduced to, or contained by, a unitary notion of "the feminine" in the minds of medieval authors. What it meant to be female – a human person of the feminine sex – acting in the world was more than having a woman's body. For lordly women, as well as lordly men, personal status and social rank (components of the medieval version of "class") were the categories employed to divide medieval society into rulers (the lordly elite) and the ruled (the rest). Not all men were born with a right to rule others simply by virtue of their maleness; those held fit from birth to rule others were, when they wielded their authority, deemed to be acting by God's grace and obliged to uphold the laws and customs of their communities. And it appeared that God, working through natural reproductive processes alongside His tendency to intervene directly to bestow or withdraw His grace from earthly rulers, routinely placed some lordly women in positions of command.

In other words, however strong the gender prejudices against women commanding men and however vulnerable their femininity could make women in positions of authority, medieval men could account for lords who happened to be female. When it suited their interests, they would serve them willingly and without question. And there is little doubt that most men would have been aware of at least one female lord, even if not all of them had the occasion to treat with one individually. Moreover, female lords remained women in their eyes, being represented as sexually active wives or young widows with the potential to bear more children, who, along with widows beyond their child-bearing years, had acceded to their positions of command through their socially ascribed roles in dynastic families and lordly households. However peripheral women might appear in lordly families compared to men, married women played central roles in their conjugal households. By virtue of the very mobility of the majority (i.e., non-heiresses) who moved to their husbands domains, they were positioned like hinges at

pivotal points so as to be able to co-ordinate affairs affecting their families by birth and by marriage(s) alike. If, in the course of fulfilling their household roles, lordly women came to act in arenas more commonly occupied by men, and they did so with the verve, strength and spirit or some other trait culturally gendered masculine, they could be praised without being “denatured” or becoming men. That was because any limitations thought to inhere in bodies sexed feminine could be overcome by lordly women who tapped into the store of masculine elements with which they had been naturally endowed at conception – when they also might have acquired the “right to rule” of any person born noble.

Evidence for lordly women is fragmentary, but when all available contemporary sources are consulted, it is, in my experience, more extensive than one might believe from reading classic modern accounts of medieval socio-political history. Effort must be expended to collect the sources and great care must be taken when analysing it, first in its immediate textual or visual context and then in terms of what can be known about related events. The evidence must not be read through the lenses of modernity – whether by forgetting the domestic base of most medieval political action, or by drawing a more absolute distinction between men’s and women’s natures than was admitted in the middle ages when all individuals were thought to consist of a mix of masculine and feminine features. Nor can it be read through the prism of eternity: those seemingly timeless stereotypes of all women’s sexualized behaviour that foreclose upon rational discourse and source criticism. Reading between the lines of all sources and reading through narratively-constructed representations of women must become standard practice. The deeds of lordly women can then be established, their impact upon others weighed, and comparison made with the actions of other contemporary lords, women and men alike. Perhaps then the oft-reported deeds of female lords can be restored to their proper – central – place in modern historical narratives of medieval political events. Such is the modest proposal offered in this essay.

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QUEEN OR PUPPET LADY?

ÆTHELFLAED'S ROLE IN THE POLITICS, POWER AND IDENTITY OF MERCIA



When considering the people, places and events found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, one of the most intriguing yet elusive individuals is Æthelflaed, first child of Alfred, King of Wessex¹. Æthelflaed, who is commonly referred to as the “Lady of the Mercians”, was married to the *ealdorman* Æthelred, by c. 887-889². Although a member of the West Saxon dynasty, Æthelflaed also had blood ties to the Mercian royal line. Her mother Ealhswith was related to the royal house of Mercia through her mother Eadburh³. An indication of Æthelflaed’s extraordinary achievements can be seen in her reputation beyond lands controlled by Mercia or Wessex, as well as her legend, which grew beyond the year 1000. The *Irish Annals of Ulster* record her death in 918, where the source describes Æthelflaed as “a very famous queen of the Saxons”⁴. In his well-known 12th-century *Historia Anglorum*, Henry of Huntingdon proclaimed that

1 Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, in: *Alfred the Great. Asser’s Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, eds. S. Keynes, M. Lapidge, London 2004, pp. 90-91.

2 Ibidem; P. Stafford, *Political Women in Mercia, Eighth to Early Tenth Centuries*, in: *Gender, Family and the Legitimation of Power. England from the Ninth to Early Twelfth Century*, Aldershot 2006, p. 44; *The Electronic Sawyer. Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, at: *The Electronic Sawyer*, London 2014, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/220.html#>, S 220 (accessed 1 January 2014).

3 F.T. Wainwright, *Æthelflæd Lady of the Mercians*, in: *The Anglo-Saxons. Studies in some Aspects of Their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. P. Clemoes, London 1959, p. 54.

4 *Annals of Ulster*, in: *The Annals of Ulster*, at: *Celt. The Corpus of Electronic Texts*, Cork 2003, <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T100001A/index.html>, 918.5 (accessed 29 June 2009); also recorded in Welsh sources; F.T. Wainwright, *Æthelflæd...*, p. 65; I.W. Walker, *Mercia and the Making of England*, Stroud 2000, p. 112.

this lady is said to have been so powerful that in praise and exaltation [...] some call her not only lady, or queen, but even king⁵.

This paper will take an interdisciplinary approach by considering both primary sources and archaeological details related to the Mercian ruler Æthelflaed's building campaign of *burhs* and *minsters* and her participation in the cult of saints, with an emphasis on saints with a Mercian focus. This is done in an attempt to get a better understanding of her role in Mercia, within a wider context of the Anglo-Saxon struggle against the Danish and Irish-Norwegian Vikings. In the past, both primary sources and academic scholarship studying Æthelflaed have often marginalized her role in helping to fight off the Vikings, by basing her success on the fact that she was a daughter, wife or sister completing the tasks assigned to her by the dominant men in her life. Sometimes these assumptions are based as much on what is not said in the primary sources, as on what is. It is evident that the author(s) of the "West Saxon" material, found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, chose not to reference Æthelflaed's contributions to the Anglo-Saxon territories. In fact, it is only thanks to the survival of the Mercian Register that we get a clear glimpse of Æthelflaed's efforts to aid the Anglo-Saxon cause.

Scholars have at times contributed to Æthelflaed's marginalization by making assumptions about her goals and her reasoning, where there is no clear proof in the sources. One example appears in Wainwright's article "Æthelflaed, Lady of the Mercians". In this article, the author gives a very clear indication, through the use of primary sources, as to why Æthelflaed's efforts against the Vikings were so vitally important to King Edward and Wessex, while at the same time referring to Æthelflaed as a woman whose husband, while ill, "could do no more than offer advice from a sickbed", or as a sister who

seems to have acquiesced willingly in the subordinate role allotted to her and to have supported her brother's schemes loyally and energetically⁶.

Unfortunately it is assumptions like these that leave Æthelflaed, and indeed the Mercians whom she ruled, on the periphery of 10th-century Anglo-Saxon history, when in fact Æthelflaed's orchestration of Mercian strategies made a huge contribution to the Anglo-Saxon cause. The goal of this paper is to reexamine Æthelflaed's use of power in her role as Mercia's active ruler in the full sense of that word, not as a puppet of King Edward and Wessex.

5 Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, in: *Historia Anglorum. The History of the English People*, ed. D. Greenway, Oxford 2007, XVII, p. 309.

6 F.T. Wainwright, *Æthelflaed...*, p. 46.

Indeed, when we consider what the primary sources have to say about Æthelflaed, we find a ruler acting decisively to consolidate and expand the borders of Mercia, communicating the political and religious authority of her leadership, and extending her authority beyond the control of the Mercians.

The dating of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is a complex undertaking that has been addressed in detail by many well-known scholars. The compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* began during the reign of King Alfred, c. 892. There are seven extant manuscripts that contain versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Its account begins with the early years of Christianity and continues in manuscript E to 1154. Contained within the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the Mercian Register is an important source of information on Æthelflaed, given from a Mercian point of view. The group of entries known as the Mercian Register, cover a time period of approximately twenty-two years, from 902 to 924. These entries are inserted in the Main Chronicle between the years 915-934⁷. It is clear from the extant manuscripts that the Mercian Register is an independent text⁸ from the decidedly "West Saxon" material it accompanies. Manuscript B of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* contains the earliest extant version of the Mercian Register dated to the 10th century⁹. There are sixteen entries in the Register¹⁰. The first entry records Æthelflaed's mother's death in 902, while the last in 924 ends with Aethelstan, the son of Æthelflaed's brother, Edward the Elder, being "chosen by the Mercians as king, and consecrated at Kingston"¹¹. These two important entries, set the tone for the whole of the Mercian Register by first noting the death of the Mercian woman who was not only the wife of King Alfred, but also the mother of Æthelflaed, as well as the West Saxon king, Edward the Elder¹². Both of these eldest siblings, from the union of Alfred and Ealswith, were key figures in Anglo-Saxon efforts to repel the Vikings. The closing entry of the Register acknowledges that whatever qualms Mercians may have had in joining under a West Saxon, they were overlooked with their choice of Aethelstan as king and rightful ruler.

7 P.E. Szarmach, *Æthelflaed of Mercia. Mise en page*, in: *Words and Works. Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, eds. P.S. Baker, N. Howe, London 1998, p. 106; P. Stafford, *The Annals of Æthelflaed. Annals, History and Politics in Early Tenth-Century England*, in: *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters. Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, eds. J. Barrow, A. Wareham, Aldershot 2008, p. 101.

8 P.E. Szarmach, *Æthelflaed of Mercia...*, p. 107.

9 I.W. Walker, *Mercia...*, p. 119.

10 *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition*, IV, MS B: *A semi-diplomatic edition with introduction and indices*, ed. S. Taylor, Cambridge 1983, p. XLIV.

11 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Revised Translation*, ed. D. Whitelock, London 1961 (henceforth: ASC), s.a. 924, pp. 59, 68.

12 Asser, *Life...*, p. 90.

It is clear that the Mercia we find under the control of Æthelred and Æthelflaed, at the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries, can be seen as a shadow of its former self. In 874 the Danish army conquered Mercia, driving King Burgred out and replacing him with Ceolwulf in the Western part of Mercia¹³. One of the difficulties in discovering Æthelflaed's place in early 10th-century events is the different titles used to describe Æthelred and Æthelflaed's positions within Anglo-Saxon society. In his *Life of King Alfred*, written in 893, Asser referred to Æthelred as an *ealdorman* and made it clear that Æthelred ruled Mercia under the lordship of King Alfred¹⁴. In his *Chronicle*, written c. 978-988, the *ealdorman* Æthelweard described Æthelred in different entries as either *dux* or *rex*. Manuscripts B and C of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* give Æthelflaed the title "Lady of the Mercians", while manuscript D refrains from making any reference to her title¹⁵. Evidence outside the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* shows some likelihood that Æthelred was ruling Mercia under the influence of Wessex. One indication is the fact that there are no extant coins made in Mercian territory with Æthelred's image. Instead what has been found is that coins were produced for his father-in-law King Alfred, and his brother-in-law, Edward the Elder, at Mercian mints¹⁶. Another indication is the ambivalent use of terms like *dux*, *patricius* and *ealdorman* to describe Æthelred in charters. Although this may be the case, there is evidence from Mercian sources of Æthelred's still being considered a king/ruler in some quarters. Charter S 221 states that Æthelred and Æthelflaed received the monarchy as God's gift¹⁷. As another piece of evidence, scholars such as Nicola Cumberledge point out Æthelred's presence on "a Mercian king-list preserved in Worcester"¹⁸.

Even with the force of extant sources being overwhelmingly from a West Saxon viewpoint, it is far from easy to assume that Mercia was not a force to be reckoned with. Asser wrote that three Welsh kings,

driven by the might and tyrannical behaviour of Ealdorman Æthelred and the Mercians, petitioned King Alfred of their own accord, in order to obtain lordship and protection from him in the face of their enemies¹⁹.

¹³ ASC, s.a. 874, p. 48; N. Cumberledge, *Reading between the Lines. The Place of Mercia within an Expanding Wessex*, "Midland History" XXVII (2002), p. 2.

¹⁴ Asser, *Life...*, p. 96.

¹⁵ P.E. Szarmach, *Æthelflaed of Mercia...*, p. 120.

¹⁶ N. Cumberledge, *Reading...*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁷ *The Electronic Sawyer...*, S 221 describes Æthelred and Æthelflaed as *opitulante gratuita Dei gratia monarchiam*.

¹⁸ N. Cumberledge, *Reading...*, p. 3.

¹⁹ Asser, *Life...*, p. 96: *Hywel ap Rhys* [the king of Glywysing] and *Brochfael and Ffyrnfael* [sons of Meurig and kings of Gwent].

Although the Main Chronicle portrays events against the Danes from a West Saxon prospective, making Alfred and then Edward the instigators of Anglo-Saxon defense, a closer reading gives a flavour of the important role played by Æthelflaed and the Mercian forces. One example can be found in the arrival of a Danish force from Brittany in 914. When the Danes moved inland towards Archonfield,

the men from Hereford and Gloucester and from the nearest boroughs met them and fought against them and put them to flight [...] until they gave them hostages, [promising] that they would leave the king's domain²⁰.

Some scholars point towards the joint military campaigns of West Saxon and Mercian forces as a sign that Mercia was not strong enough to defend itself. However, when considering military co-operation between Wessex and Mercia during Æthelred and Æthelflaed's reign, Gareth Williams points out that joint participation in campaigns is not necessarily evidence of Mercian weakness. As proof he rightly points out that even strong Mercian kings had participated in joint campaigns. Williams notes the example of Æthelbald's Mercian forces, who had fought alongside Cuthred's West Saxon forces against the Welsh in 743²¹.

As noted earlier, Æthelflaed was related to the Mercian royal line through her mother. Unlike their West Saxon counterparts²², Mercian queens appear to have had a more pronounced status within royal affairs. The wife of Offa, Queen Cynethryth, is known to have signed charters with her husband²³, as well as to have minted coin in her name²⁴. There is little doubt that through her mother, Æthelflaed descended from a line that had often in its past looked to prominent women to help cement its ties. Charter evidence shows that Æthelflaed, like Queen Cynethryth, signed charters jointly with her husband²⁵. It has been suggested that Æthelflaed most likely took over the running of Mercia before Æthelred's death in 911 because the king suffered from an unknown illness²⁶. In making these points, I do not aim to say that Mercian women were the only women to show some queenly influence and

²⁰ ASC, s.a. 917, p. 63.

²¹ Ibidem, s.a. 743, p. 29; G. Williams, *Military Institutions and Royal Power*, in: *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, eds. M.P. Brown, C.A. Farr, London 2001, p. 307.

²² I.W. Walker, *Mercia...*, p. 115.

²³ See for example *The Electronic Sawyer...*, S 110.

²⁴ Images of queen Cynethryth's coins can be found on the British Museum website: http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/cm/s/silver_coin_of_cynethryth_wif.aspx.

²⁵ See for example *The Electronic Sawyer...*, S 221, S 367a.

²⁶ *The Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, in: *The Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, at *Celt. The Corpus...*, c. 907; F.T. Wainwright, *Æthelflæd...*, p. 56. For some thoughts on consensus about

power²⁷. As Pauline Stafford has pointed out, a West Frankish queen could be found to hold strongholds, negotiate and make alliances, as well as organize defense²⁸. This can clearly be seen in the accounts about Emma, wife of King Raoul, and about Gerberga, wife of Louis IV, in *The Annals of Flodoard of Reims*, written in 919-996. In an Insular context, Bede tells the readers of his *Ecclesiastical History* that Bamburgh had been named after Queen Bebbe²⁹, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that the West Saxon Queen Æthelburh demolished Taunton in 722³⁰. It is Anglo-Saxon queens such as those just mentioned whom I would like to consider in a more detailed and thorough work in the future. At present, I would like to inquire into some of the tools Æthelflaed had at her disposal as the secular ruler of the Mercians.

Scholars such as David Rollason have acknowledged that relic collecting was an accepted royal pursuit for kings³¹. This is true not only in an Insular context, but throughout the Christian west. Undoubtedly this practice was at times based on political as much as religious reasons. Academics such as Barbara Yorke consider Æthelflaed to be the first West Saxon to use saints' cults as a political tool³². Even with the fact that Æthelflaed was born a member of the West Saxon dynasty, it is still clear that she chose to concentrate her efforts on saints' cults with a Mercian focus. The evidence for Æthelflaed's use of cults as a political tool begins with Chester. The Mercian Register records that in 907 Chester was "restored"³³. This restoration was likely a response to the threat posed by Irish-Norwegians under Ingimund who had settled in Wirral, as well as in "south-west Northumbria"³⁴. Ward points out that this settlement by the Norwegians resulted from their expulsion from Dublin in 902³⁵. It is most likely at this time of Chester's restoration that Æthelflaed chose to translate the relics of Saint Werburg from Hanbury to Chester³⁶.

use of the *Fragmentary Annals*, see D. Wyatt, *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Britain and Ireland, 800-1200*, Leiden 2009, p. 188 (n. 65).

27 For a brief recognition of Æthelflaed as an example of powerful women in medieval Britain, see D. Wyatt, *Slaves...*, p. 174.

28 P. Stafford, *Political Women...*, p. 43.

29 Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. B. Colgrave, R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1969, III.6, pp. 230-231.

30 ASC, s.a. 722, p. 27.

31 D.W. Rollason, *Relic-Cults as an Instrument of Royal Policy c. 900 - c. 1050*, "Anglo-Saxon England" XV (1986), p. 92.

32 B. Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses*, New York 2003, p. 81.

33 ASC, s.a. 907, p. 61.

34 S. Ward, *Edward the Elder and the Re-establishment of Chester*, in: *Edward the Elder, 899-924*, eds. N.J. Higham, D.H. Hill, London 2001, p. 160.

35 Ibidem; A. Thacker, *The Early Medieval City and its Buildings*, in: *Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture at Chester*, ed. A. Thacker, Leeds 2000, p. 17.

36 M. Hare, *The Documentary Evidence for the History of St Oswald's, Gloucester to 1086 AD*, in: *The Golden Minster. The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St Oswald at*

Saint Werburg was the daughter of the Mercian King Wulfhere. She first joined the monastery of Ely and was later made abbess of nunneries in Mercia by her uncle. After her death c. 700, she was buried in her chosen place of Hanbury³⁷. The *minster* of Saint Werburg is located in the north-east section of Chester within the walls of the Roman defenses. Although the founding of the community and the translation under Æthelflaed are not questioned, the exact date for its foundation is unclear. Charter evidence shows that the community was there at least by the mid-10th century when seventeen hides were granted "to the *familia* of Saint Werburgh" by King Edgar in 958³⁸. Archaeological remains indicate that the site of Saint Werburg's may have been used as early as the 5th or 6th century, but the nature of the use is unknown³⁹. Besides the restoration of Chester and the founding of Saint Werburg's, it is clear that Chester had a mint and was a centre with both a military and an administrative focus⁴⁰.

The most important cult promoted by Æthelflaed in her building campaign is that of Saint Oswald, King of Northumbria. When writing about King Oswald, Bede noted that in the 7th century Queen Osthryth of Mercia, Oswald's niece, had Oswald's bones translated from Oswestry to the monastery of Bardney in the kingdom of Lindsey. Bede wrote that Osthryth and her husband, the Mercian King Æthelred, "loved, venerated, and enriched" the monastery⁴¹. In his account, Bede stated that at first the monks of Bardney rejected Oswald's bones

because he belonged to another kingdom and had once conquered them [...] But a sign from heaven revealed to them how reverently the relics should have been received by all the faithful⁴².

Æthelred later became abbot at Bardney and was buried there. It is thought that Osthryth was buried there as well. Alan Thacker proposes that Oswald's established cult and the burial of Æthelred and Osthryth at Bardney "stood as a shrine to Mercian lordship over Lindsey"⁴³. Rollason postulates

Gloucester, eds. C. Heighway, R. Bryant, Walmgate 1999, p. 36; D.W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford 1989, p. 154.

37 D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Oxford 2004, p. 535; D.W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics...*, p. 118.

38 *The Electronic Sawyer...*, S 667; also see A. Thacker, *Chester and Gloucester. Early Ecclesiastical Organization in Two Mercian Burhs*, "Northern History. A Review of the History of the North of England" XVIII (1982), p. 204.

39 A. Thacker, *Chester and Gloucester...*, p. 203.

40 A. Thacker, *The Early Medieval City...*, pp. 17-18.

41 Bede, *Ecclesiastical History...*, III.11, pp. 246-247.

42 *Ibidem*; A. Thacker, *Kings, Saints, and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia*, "Midland History" X (1985), p. 2.

43 A. Thacker, *Kings, Saints...*, p. 4.

that Æthelred possibly allowed his wife's translation of Oswald's bones because of "the fact that Oswald was a Bernician [...] whilst Lindsey's affinity was with the southern Northumbrian kingdom of Deira"⁴⁴. Rollason points out that

the affinity between Lindsey and Deira may have created a common interest between the Bernician and Mercian kings, the former in crushing Deiran independence, the latter in crushing Lindsey's⁴⁵.

He sees Oswald's cult at Bardney reflecting the joint interest of "the veneration of a Bernician royal saint in Lindsey, promoted by a Mercian king [...] and queen"⁴⁶.

Moving forward to the beginning of the tenth century, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* notes that in 909 a joint force of the West Saxons and Mercians "ravaged very severely the territory of the northern army" for "five weeks"⁴⁷. In its corresponding entry for 909 the Mercian Register records that Saint Oswald's "body was brought from Bardney into Mercia"⁴⁸. This entry records the translation of Oswald's bones to Gloucester under the rule of Æthelflaed and Æthelred. Another source, written by Ælfric of Eynsham in his late 10th-century *Lives of Saints*, gives an account of Saint Oswald. Ælfric wrote that

Oswald's bones were [...] brought after many years into Mercia to Gloucester, and God there often showed many wonders through the holy man⁴⁹.

As Heighway and Hare have pointed out, this translation re-established the Mercian role of protector over Saint Oswald's relics, as well as legitimized the authority of Æthelflaed and Æthelred and enhanced the status of Gloucester⁵⁰. In a similar vein, Sarah Foot has noted that this type of what she calls "hijacking" enabled

conquerors to share in the spiritual benefits of their new territories and made them co-heirs of their subjects' pasts⁵¹.

⁴⁴ D. Rollason, *Saints and Relics...*, p. 121.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ ASC, s.a. 909, p. 61.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁹ Ælfric of Eynsham, *St Oswald, King and Saint*, in: *Ælfric's Lives of Saints. Being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days Formerly Observed by the English Church*, II, ed. W.W. Skeat, London 1966, p. XXVI; M. Hare, *The Documentary Evidence...*, p. 37.

⁵⁰ C. Heighway, M. Hare, *Part I: Gloucester and the Monster of St Oswald. A Survey of the Evidence*, in: *The Golden Minster...*, p. 11.

⁵¹ S. Foot, *Remembering, Forgetting and Inventing. Attitudes to the Past in England at the End of the First Viking Age*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society", 6th ser. IX (1999), p. 192.

In fact, scholars such as Foot and Rollason have seen translations under Æthelflaed as an attempt to make West Saxon rule more acceptable to the Mercians⁵². Thacker also makes the observation that

the sponsorship of Mercian royal cults in [...] Mercian ecclesiastical centres may [...] have been designed as a sop to wounded national sentiment⁵³.

It is clear that whether or not these events were an effort to make West Saxon rule more palatable to the Mercians, or were an effort to keep Mercian nationalism alive, these translations were focused around saints with a Mercian emphasis as a means to enhancing the authority of Mercia's rulers.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us that Æthelred died in 911 and was buried at Gloucester⁵⁴. It also notes that after her death at Tamworth in 918, Æthelflaed was buried "in Gloucester in the east chapel of St. Peter's church"⁵⁵. At first glance, one might assume from these accounts that Æthelflaed and Æthelred were buried at the old *minster* of Saint Peter's, but it is generally accepted that the new *minster* we know as Saint Oswald's had also originally been dedicated to Saint Peter. It is clear that by the year 1000, the new *minster* was commonly referred to as Saint Oswald's⁵⁶. As Thacker has pointed out, Gloucester had been a significant location before the time period discussed in this paper. There is evidence that it was a centre of Christianity under the Romans. Its first monastery, Saint Peter's, was founded in Gloucester in the 670s by Osric, ruler of the Hwicce⁵⁷. By the end of the 9th century the royal palace of Kingsholm had been established there, as well as the *minster* of Saint Oswald's, the place to which Æthelflaed had had the relics of Saint Oswald translated⁵⁸. As Carolyn Heighway has pointed out, Gloucester was an important location, capable of limiting access into and out of Wales as well as controlling travel on the Severn⁵⁹.

Like the "restoration" of Chester mentioned in the Mercian Register, Gloucester had undergone some renovation during the early 10th century. In its role as the new Mercian capital it received a mint, a new street plan and the cult of a royal saint⁶⁰. The new *minster* of Saint Oswald's was built in

52 Ibidem; D. Rollason, *Relic-cults...*, pp. 95-96.

53 A. Thacker, *Chester and Gloucester...*, p. 211.

54 ASC, s.a. 911, p. 62.

55 ASC, s.a. 918, p. 67.

56 M. Hare, *The Documentary Evidence...*, p. 35.

57 A. Thacker, *Chester and Gloucester...*, p. 207; C. Heighway, *Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald*, in: *Edward the Elder...*, p. 102.

58 A. Thacker, *Chester and Gloucester...*, p. 209; D.W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics...*, p. 154.

59 C. Heighway, *Gloucester...*, p. 102.

60 A. Thacker, *Chester and Gloucester...*, pp. 209-210.

an extra-mural location, next to the river Severn and outside the remaining walls of what had been the Roman fortress⁶¹. It has been suggested that even though Saint Oswald's lay outside the Roman walls, it was still meant to be a part of the *burh's* defenses, "with its ditches and fortifications intended to maintain control of the river"⁶². Archaeological evidence dated to the late 9th or early 10th century shows that the church of Saint Oswald's was a "rectangular structure with a north, south and east porticus [...] [and] a western apse"⁶³, and that Roman stone had been used to build the structure⁶⁴. Saint Oswald's, a relatively small church, was adorned with ornamental grave-covers, embroidered hangings and wall paintings⁶⁵. Two 9th-century cross slabs built into the new *minster* suggest, together with other cross slabs that have been found, that the new *minster* of Saint Oswald's was not the first religious foundation to be located at the site⁶⁶. The crypt where the royal burials were placed can be found at the east end of the church in a separate building adjacent to it⁶⁷. As well as being a place for royal burial, it has been suggested that the crypt might also have been built to house the relics of Saint Oswald⁶⁸.

Although this paper is meant to show use of cults in Mercian-held territory, it is important to note that Mercian rulers were not alone in their claims of direct connections to Oswald. Yorke points out that Hrostwitha of Gandersheim thought that Edith, daughter of Edward the Elder, and wife of Otto I, was "born of the blessed lineage of St. Oswald"⁶⁹. West Saxon claims to kinship are no more surprising than the claims by Mercia of being the protector of Oswald; after all, Bede tells his readers that Oswald had stood as godfather for Cynegisl, king of Gewisse, at his baptism, and that Oswald married Cynegisl's daughter⁷⁰.

When considering Æthelflaed's role in the translation of relics and the building of *burhs* another interesting, if a little less clear, example of the use of relics, is the translation of the cult of Saint Ealhmund from Derby to Shrewsbury. Tradition states that Saint Ealhmund was a Northumbrian

61 M. Hare, *The Documentary Evidence...*, p. 41.

62 C. Heighway, *Gloucester...*, p. 108.

63 *Ibidem*, pp. 103-104; similar to the Old Minster in Winchester; C. Heighway, M. Hare, *Part I: Gloucester...*, p. 7.

64 C. Heighway, M. Hare, *Part I: Gloucester...*, p. 7.

65 C. Heighway, *Gloucester...*, p. 106.

66 *Ibidem*, p. 108.

67 C. Heighway, M. Hare, *Part I: Gloucester...*, p. 11.

68 C. Heighway, *Gloucester...*, p. 109.

69 B. Yorke, *Nummeries...*, pp. 99 (n. 122), 121.

70 Bede, *Ecclesiastical History...*, III.7, pp. 232-237.

prince "who [...] was murdered" at the instigation of King Eardwulf c. 800⁷¹. Thacker points out that Saint Ealhmund's "remains had been enshrined at Derby since the early 9th century"⁷². Later 12th-century tradition attributes to Æthelflaed the founding of Saint Ealhmund's and the translation of his relics from Derby to Shrewsbury⁷³. There is no doubt that during Æthelflaed's time Shrewsbury was both a political and religious centre. It had a mint by no later than the second half of Edward the Elder's reign, as well as several major churches⁷⁴. Charter evidence from 901 shows both Æthelred and Æthelflaed staying in Shrewsbury with other Mercian nobles⁷⁵.

The translation of Saint Oswald's bones to Gloucester, Saint Werburg's to Chester and Saint Ealhmund's to Shrewsbury are not the only use of cults by Æthelflaed as part of her building campaign. Other displays of patronage of cults under Æthelflaed include the very probable establishment of the cult of Saint Bertelin at the *burhs* of Stafford and Runcorn, and the gifts to the *familia* of Saint Mildburg at Wenlock⁷⁶. In his article *Kings, Saints, and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia*, Thacker discusses the cult of Saint Bertelin and its founding in Stafford and Runcorn. Early legend behind the Mercian cult holds that Bertelin was a Mercian prince, but in all likelihood he represents a continental borrowing⁷⁷. Charter evidence shows that in 901, Æthelred and Æthelflaed, as rulers of Mercia, gave the community of Wenlock "a gold chalice weighing 30 mancuses in honour of Abbess Mildburg"⁷⁸. Saint Mildburg of Wenlock's father was a member of the Mercian Royal family and her mother Domneva was a Kentish princess⁷⁹. Gloucester, Chester and Shrewsbury were similar locations, in that they were sites of relatively longstanding royal estates which expanded to house royal *minsters*; of large parishes; and, by the end of Æthelflaed and Æthelred's reign, mints, street planning and royal

71 S. Bassett, *Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury and Its Churches*, "Midland History" XVI (1991), p. 9.

72 A. Thacker, *Chester and Gloucester...*, p. 210.

73 S. Bassett, *Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury...*, p. 10.

74 *Ibidem*, p. 17.

75 *The Electronic Sawyer...*, S 221; S. Bassett, *Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury...*, p. 1. Bassett discusses that parts of the land made up for the foundation on Saint Ealhmund's church were carved away from the older parishes of Saint Mary's and Saint Chad's. Bassett makes the observation that the cult of Saint Ealhmund may have been present as early as the reign of King Cenwulf, who died in 821, with the founding of Saint Ealhmund's during his reign (pp. 9-10).

76 S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900*, Cambridge 2006, p. 324.

77 A. Thacker, *Kings, Saints...*, pp. 18-19; D. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary...*, p. 369.

78 *The Electronic Sawyer...*, S 221. Academics such as Heighway and Hare have also suggested that relics of Saint Guthlac were most likely translated from Crowland to Hereford: C. Heighway, M. Hare, *Part I: Gloucester...*, p. 11; M. Hare, *The Documentary Evidence...*, p. 36.

79 A. Thacker, *Kings, Saints...*, pp. 4-5; D. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary...*, p. 369.

palaces⁸⁰. Each of these three locations occupied an important tactical position on Mercia's western borders.

While the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* denies Æthelflaed any dominant role in events that took place between 902 and 918, the Mercian Register credits Æthelflaed with the building of ten *burhs*, along with the re-capture of three from Danish control. The Register begins her building campaign in 910 with a *burh* at the unknown location of *Bremesbyrig*⁸¹. In 912 she followed this up with a *burh* at another unknown location called *Scergeat*, and at Bridgnorth⁸². Year 913 saw the building of *burhs* at Tamworth and Stafford⁸³. In 914 Æthelflaed had the *burhs* of Eddisbury and Warwick built⁸⁴; and, in 915, the *burhs* of Chirbury, the unknown *Weardbyrig* and Runcorn⁸⁵. In 916 Æthelflaed appears to have halted her building campaign in order to deal with the Welsh and to avenge the murder of Abbot Egbert at their hands. She did this by sending her army into Wales, where the Mercian Register records that Æthelflaed's army "destroyed Brecenamere [...] [and] captured the king's wife" and thirty-three others⁸⁶. In 917, during a campaign into Dane-held territory,

Æthelflaed [...] with the help of God [...] obtained the borough which is called Derby, with all that belongs to it⁸⁷,

and the following year she also gained control of Leicester and York⁸⁸. The Mercian Register records that "the borough of Leicester [...] and the greater part of the army which belonged to it was subjected", and that

the people of York had promised her – and some had given pledges, some had confined it with oaths – that they would be under her [Æthelflaed's] direction⁸⁹.

Sadly, at this point whatever plans Æthelflaed might have had for Mercia were halted by her death at Tamworth in 918. The Mercian Register notes that

she died twelve days before midsummer in Tamworth, in the eighth year in which, with lawful authority, she was holding dominion over the Mercians⁹⁰.

80 A. Thacker, *Chester and Gloucester...*, p. 211.

81 ASC, s.a. 910, p. 61.

82 ASC, s.a. 912, p. 62.

83 ASC, s.a. 913, pp. 62-63.

84 ASC, s.a. 914, p. 63.

85 ASC, s.a. 915, p. 64.

86 ASC, s.a. 916, p. 64.

87 ASC, s.a. 917, p. 64.

88 Ibidem, pp. 64-65.

89 ASC, s.a. 918, pp. 66-67.

90 Ibidem, p. 67.

When considering Æthelflæd's role in the Anglo-Saxon struggle against the Danes and Irish-Norwegians, it is difficult completely to gauge the reasoning behind her actions. As the oldest child of Alfred the Great, it is to be assumed that she was familiar with her father's use of a strategic building campaign against the Danes. It is clear that Æthelflæd implemented a policy of building and restoring strategic locations for the benefit of the Anglo-Saxon cause. Whether this was strictly an effort to secure and reclaim lands for Mercia, an effort to support both Mercia and Wessex as separate kingdoms, or a strategy of strengthening and then consolidating Mercia under the West Saxon dynasty, cannot be clearly discerned. In his article *Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians*, Frederick Wainwright gives a detailed analysis of the complementary strategies undertaken in the battle campaigns and the building of *burhs* by both Æthelflæd and Edward the Elder in their efforts against the Viking forces. Wainwright sees Æthelflæd's actions as dictated to her by Edward, a part of his campaigns of protection and expansion. Wainwright writes that the early preparations and campaigns of Mercia and Wessex "were all part of a single coherent policy, the policy of a man with vision, patience, tenacity of purpose, and an aptitude for war"⁹¹. Although Wainwright credits Æthelflæd with making "possible Edward's reconquest of the Danish midlands", extending "English authority over the princes of Wales", aiding the "immediate integration of Mercia and Wessex" and paving "the way for the unification of England" with her role in "northern politics", he still sees Æthelflæd's role as purely secondary to Edward's goals and wishes⁹². Some questions that need to be considered regarding these conclusions are: do the limited sources available to us truly lend themselves to these final conclusions? Does the evidence of cooperation between kingdoms and siblings really provide definitive evidence of Æthelflæd's complete subordination to Edward? Can other inferences be drawn from the evidence?

The *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* give an account of Æthelflæd as an active ruler in her dealings with both the Danish and Irish-Norwegian Vikings. This source notes that she gave Ingimund and his troops a place to settle near Chester when he came to her and asked her, as queen, for a place to settle. It goes on to note that when Æthelflæd hears of Ingimund's possible betrayal, she orders a large army from the surrounding region to occupy "Chester with her troops"⁹³. The *Fragmentary Annals* also state that Æthelflæd gave direct commands to her army during battle, and

⁹¹ F.T. Wainwright, *Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians*, in: *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, eds. H. Damico, A.H. Olsen, Bloomington 1990, p. 50.

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 54.

⁹³ *The Fragmentary Annals...*, c. 907.

made peace with the men of Alba and with the Britons, so that whenever the same race should come to attack her, they would rise up to help her⁹⁴.

This account by the *Fragmentary Annals* shows Æthelflaed as a woman who ordered armies, as a ruler whom Ingimund approached for the right to settle, as someone who made battle decisions, and as a ruler who made political alliances with non-Anglo-Saxon neighbours. Wainwright rightly acknowledges that the mere fact that Æthelflaed's death is recorded by both "Irish and Welsh sources" supports the inference that she was viewed as a person of power and prestige⁹⁵. This conclusion is enhanced by the fact that the *Fragmentary Annals* is not the only source to imply Æthelflaed's role in negotiating political agreements. We should remember that the men of York gave Æthelflaed pledges and oaths to be placed "under her direction"⁹⁶. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* also gives an indication that, by the time of her death in 918, Æthelflaed may have had not only Mercians but also Welsh under her direct control. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* notes that after her death, Edward

occupied the borough of Tamworth, and all the nations in the land of the Mercians which had been subject to Æthelflaed submitted to him; and the kings in Wales, Hywel, Clydog, and Idwal, and all the race of the Welsh, sought to have him as lord⁹⁷.

Another question related to Æthelflaed as supposedly a pawn in Edward's strategy is her taking of Derby in 917. Wainwright acknowledges the brilliance of this move and its possible twofold purpose of sending in her army while Derby's forces were away, as well as helping her brother by "relieving" pressure on his military front⁹⁸. If in fact these two suggestions are indeed accurate, then why does the account only appear in the Mercian Register, and is absent from the Main Chronicle?

The Mercian Register reports that, in 919, Ælfwyn,

the daughter of Ethelred, lord of the Mercians, was deprived of all authority in Mercia and taken into Wessex, three weeks before Christmas⁹⁹.

Scholars have raised several important questions about Ælfwyn, such as: why was she not married by the time of her mother's death? Had her mother

94 Ibidem, c. 914.

95 F.T. Wainwright, *Æthelflæd...*, p. 50.

96 ASC, s.a. 918, p. 67.

97 Ibidem.

98 F.T. Wainwright, *Æthelflæd...*, p. 49.

99 ASC, s.a. 919, p. 67.

intended Ælfwyn to take over the rule of Mercia? What happened to her in Wessex? Unfortunately there is no way to answer these questions based on the evidence available in the extant sources. There is no clear evidence that Edward ever considered supporting his niece's rule over Mercia or that Æthelflaed even hoped for Ælfwyn to do so. Ian Walker points to charter evidence in order to prove the likelihood that Ælfwyn was meant to take control of Mercia after the death of her parents¹⁰⁰. A charter of 904 to the community of Worcester notes a lease of land that was to last during the lives of Æthelred, Æthelflaed and Ælfwyn¹⁰¹. Although this charter is important in its own right, it gives no real answer to the question of Ælfwyn's intended role in Mercia.

When we take into consideration Æthelflaed's use of relics and her patronage of the cult of saints with a Mercian focus, along with the direct connection of the thirteen *burhs* to her by the Mercian Register, we can clearly see the extent to which Mercia played a role in the defense of Anglo-Saxon territory. These strategies, and their focused locations, show a wholesale effort to solidify the Anglo-Saxon area situated farthest away from the West Saxon frontier. A definitive answer of whether or not this effort was made by Æthelflaed on behalf of the West Saxon dynasty, or in an attempt to solidify the sovereignty of Mercia, can likely never be found. What is important is that Æthelflaed as a woman who was born to be a queen, was using all the tools at her disposal as a rightful inheritor of both Mercian and West Saxon history, so as to cement herself as a powerful ruler, and to provide Mercia with new and restored sites possessing both a religious and a secular authority. Æthelflaed's translation of relics to new *minsters* and her building of new *burhs* was a building plan beneficial to both Mercia and Wessex, but more importantly these acts were a feat of a Mercian leader and her people working as more than mere puppets of the king of Wessex.

ABSTRACT

When considering the people, places and events found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, one of the most intriguing yet elusive individuals is Æthelflaed, first child of Alfred, King of Wessex. Æthelflaed, who is commonly referred to as the "Lady of the Mercians", was married to the *ealdorman* Æthelred, by c. AD 887-889. Although a member of the West Saxon dynasty,

¹⁰⁰ *The Electronic Sawyer...*, S 1280; I.W. Walker, *Mercia...*, p. 112. Walker chooses two charters dating to 904 and 915. The other charter dated to 915 shows Ælfwyn possibly fulfilling the role of witness for her mother. I have chosen to ignore the charter of 915 (S 225), because I believe that the Ælfwyn mentioned is not Æthelflaed's daughter: *The Electronic Sawyer...*, S 225.

¹⁰¹ *The Electronic Sawyer...*, S 1280.

Æthelflaed also had blood ties to the Mercian royal line. An indication of Æthelflaed's extraordinary achievements can be seen in her reputation beyond lands controlled by Mercia or Wessex, as well as her legend, which grew beyond the year AD 1000. The Irish *Annals of Ulster* record her death in 918, where the source describes Æthelflaed as "a very famous queen of the Saxons". In his well-known twelfth-century *Historia Anglorum*, Henry of Huntingdon proclaimed that "some call her not only lady, or queen, but even king." With these accolades in mind, it is perhaps surprising that in the past both primary sources and academic scholarship studying Æthelflaed have often marginalized her role in helping to fight off the Vikings, by basing her success as a daughter, wife or sister completing the tasks set to her by the dominant men in her life. Sometimes these assumptions are based as much on what isn't said in the primary sources, as what is. Scholars have at times contributed to the marginalization of Æthelflaed by making assumptions on her goals and reasoning where there is no clear proof in the sources. Unfortunately it is assumptions, like those discussed in this paper, that leave Æthelflaed, and indeed the Mercians that she ruled, on the periphery of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon history, when in fact Æthelflaed's orchestration of Mercian strategies made a huge contribution to the Anglo-Saxon cause. Thus, the focus of this paper is twofold: first, it will take an interdisciplinary approach by considering both primary sources and archaeological details related to Æthelflaed's building campaign of *burhs* and *minsters* and her participation in the cult of saints, with an emphasis on saints with a Mercian focus, and second, to present an opportunity to reexamine Æthelflaed's use of power in her role as acting not just as a puppet of King Edward and Wessex, but also as an active ruler of Mercia in the full sense of the word. Indeed it is apparent that when considering what the primary sources have to say about Æthelflaed, we find a ruler that decisively acts, to consolidate and expand the borders of Mercia, communicate the political and religious authority of her leadership and extend her authority beyond the control of the Mercians.

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YOLANDA OF VIANDEN (1231-1283): A RELUCTANT BRIDE



This article concerns the extraordinary story of a German noble woman, Yolanda of Vianden (1231-1283), who refused to marry the man selected by her parents and instead took the veil at the Dominican nunnery of Marienthal near Luxembourg. The story of this reluctant bride forms interesting testimony for the construction of biographical self fashioning in Latin and vernacular German. At the same time Yolanda's case reveals illuminating detail about family discussions and marital strategies as well as wedding feasts. The story's central person is Yolanda, one of six children, two daughters and four sons, of Count Henry I of Vianden (d. 1252) and his wife Margaret of Courtenay (d. 1270), who had married around 1216¹. The family lived mostly at the castle of Schönecken (in French *Belle coste*) in the county of Vianden in north-eastern corner of Luxembourg². Whereas Yolanda's father was a medium ranking German nobleman, her mother Margaret was of the highest aristocratic background. She was a great-granddaughter of a king (Louis VI of France 1108-1137), and a daughter, sister, and niece of the (Latin) emperors of Constantinople (her father Peter II of Courtenay (d. 1218/1219), her paternal

1 For the date of the marriage, see A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter – Gottesbraut. Konflikte zwischen Familie und Frömmigkeit in Bruder Hermanns Leben der Gräfin Yolande von Vianden*, *Forschungen zur Geschichte der älteren deutschen Literatur*, XXI, München 1998, p. 155. The sons were Frederick, d. 1247 (the heir who predeceased his father Henry I), Philip of Vianden (1250-1271), Henry bishop of Utrecht (1249-1267) and Peter provost at Cologne, see *ibidem*, pp. 212-213. The couple's other daughter apart from Yolande, was Matilda, who married the count of Pozega (Croatia) southeast of Zagreb, is mentioned twice in *Life* (lines 738, 892, ed. C. Moulin, pp. 54, 61; transl. R.H. Lawson, pp. 9, 11; for full citation of Moulin and Lawson, see n. 6 below); see A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, p. 157.

2 A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, p. 48.

uncles Baldwin VI (d. 1205) and Henry (d. 1216) and her brothers Robert (d. 1228) and Baldwin (d. 1273)³. She was therefore extremely well connected to most of France's aristocratic families. Margaret's marriage to Henry I of Vianden was her second one after having been married very briefly (without children) to Count Ralph of Issoudun (d. 1216), a noble man from north-eastern France⁴. Moreover, succeeding her non imperial brothers Philip II (d. 1226) and Henry II (d. 1229), Margaret presented herself as heiress of the county of Namur during the absence of her youngest brother Baldwin (d. 1273) in Constantinople⁵. Margaret and Henry ruled Namur jointly between 1229 to 1237, when they had to hand it back to Baldwin while in France during a brief trip back to muster crusading troops. One of the central themes of Yolanda's story is her tempestuous relationship with her mother, portrayed as a strongwilled woman of great self importance and domineering passion.

Yolanda's story is known from one of the earliest vernacular verse *lives* in Middle High German, written in a dialect close to that spoken today in Luxembourg. The *Life of Yolanda of Vianden*, written in 5964 rhyming couplets, dates from shortly after Yolanda's death in 1283⁶. In modern print the text is approximately 250 printed pages, a length that needs to be borne in mind. The author is the Dominican friar Hermann of Veldenz (c. 1250-1308), almost certainly the chaplain of the nunnery of Marienthal⁷. A very early copy, known as the *codex mariendalensis*, was discovered in 1999 in the library of Ansemburg castle not far from Marienthal⁸. Until then Yolanda's *Life* was known only from a paper copy of this *codex* made in 1655 by the Jesuit Alexander Wiltheim (1604-1684). The *Life of Yolanda of Vianden* stands out for its extraordinary vivid detail of aristocratic life at court and the novel-like narrative of the personal relationships of its protagonist.

The vernacular verse narrative conforms to many a female saint's life in that it concerns a young woman who refused to marry the noble suitor

3 For the French/Latin emperors of Constantinople, see D. Jacoby, *The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Frankish States in Greece*, in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, V: c. 1198 - c. 1300, ed. D. Abulafia, Cambridge 1999, pp. 525-542.

4 A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, p. 155, n. 3.

5 For the history of the county of Namurs at this time, see most fruitfully, C.J. Joset, *Ermesinde (1186-1247). Fondatrice du pays de Luxembourg*, Arlon 1947.

6 *Leben der Gräfin Yolanda von Vianden*, ed. C. Moulin, Luxembourg 2009 (edition of the *Codex Mariendalensis* for verses 1-5618 with a reprint of edition by J. Meier, Breslau 1889 for verses 5619-5963; henceforth: Moulin). For an English translation of the Meier edition, see *Brother Hermann's Life of Yolanda of Vianden*, transl. R.H. Lawson, Columbia 1995 (henceforth: Lawson).

7 For a discussion of the evidence, see A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 51-56.

8 Moulin, p. 11.

selected by her parents and instead preferred the monastic life⁹. Predictably, the parents disagreed with her, and the narrative charts the battle Yolanda fought to be allowed to become a nun, a battle which – unsurprisingly given the genre – she won. Yolanda's *Life* concerns story telling and memory formation at court and in the cloister. Life at court is viewed through the eyes of Yolanda looking back after a period of two or three decades spent in a small spartan Luxembourg nunnery. The story has a clear didactic and moralistic perspective and is meant, presumably, to be read out to the nuns of Marienthal. Yet, despite Brother Hermann's religious agenda, there is much in the detail given that seems to authenticate Yolanda as a witness to her own life at court and in particular her relationship with her parents. In the case of the ambitious mother Margaret, proud of her own ancestry – several times we hear about her royal and imperial connections – full of hope for a prosperous dynastic marriage for her younger daughter, there is no doubt that she acted out of the best interest she had for her daughter Yolanda¹⁰. Yet, her relationship with Yolanda was an emotional rollercoaster varying from moments of intense physical violence to gestures of tenderness between the two women. Yolanda's father Henry remains a shadowy figure, inclined not to get involved in the battles between mother and daughter; only towards the end is he persuaded by his wife to allow Yolanda to become a nun. After a tense five year period of debate (c. 1243-1248), the whole family finally agreed that Yolanda should be allowed to enter Marienthal. On that occasion in 1248 no expense was spared, and, dressed as secular bride, decked in silk and jewels, she was driven to the nunnery where she took leave of her parents, siblings and friends. Yolanda became the bride of Christ.

Four aspects of Yolanda's own story, as narrated by Brother Hermann, stand out for me: Yolanda's portrayal of her mother and father, the domestic setting of the quarrels, the collective family's attempt to solve the dispute, and the religious rivalry between the various monastic orders that try to claim Yolanda for themselves. First, the detailed narrative about Yolanda's

⁹ For female saints, see J.M.H. Smith, *Saints and Their Cults*, in: *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600 - c. 1100*, eds. T.F.X. Noble, J.M.H. Smith, Cambridge 2008, pp. 586-587. The specific theme of the bride (or groom) who refuses to marry and instead opts for the monastic life is most elaborately set out in the *Life of St. Alexis (La Vie de Saint Alexis)*, ed. M. Perugi, Geneva 2000), one of the earliest vernacular French texts. For a useful bibliography on this text and its Greek and Latin background, see L.J. Engels, *The West European Alexius Legend, with an Appendix Presenting the Medieval Latin Text Corpus in Context (Alexiana Latina Medii Aevi, I)*, in: *The Invention of Saintliness*, ed. A.M. Mulder-Bakker, London-New York 2002, pp. 93-144. For St. Alexis as inspiration for Christina of Markyate, see *Christina of Markyate. A Twelfth-century Holy Woman*, eds. S. Fanous, H. Leyser, London 2005.

¹⁰ For Margaret of Courtenay's royal and imperial connections, see: Moulin, pp. 21-22 (lines 50-65); Lawson, p. 1.

clash with her parents comes to a climax when in 1244 mother Margaret and daughter Yolanda together visit the monastery of Marienthal. The monastery was still very recent as it had only been founded in 1231 and its early affiliation is not known¹¹. The visit came as part of a larger expedition to visit the court of the count and countess of Luxemburg. Once before Margaret had been called upon to provide support for Countess Margaret of Luxembourg, wife of Henry V, during her pregnancy. On the second trip, Margaret, accompanied by her daughter, stopped at the nunnery only four miles from Luxembourg. What then took place in the nunnery is told with great passion and detail¹². Yolanda begged to stay, slipped away from Margaret and holed herself up in the nuns' kitchen. There she donned a nun's dress and took hold of scissors with which she cut her hair. The horrified mother struggled to remove the scissors and the dress and grabbed Yolanda by what remained of her hair. The standoff lasted for three days and nights before Margaret's bodyguard eventually carried Yolanda kicking and screaming back home. Although this is the most detailed and lengthy account of Margaret's punishment of her daughter, all other references to their struggles concern verbal rows where the mother is nagging and scolding her daughter who suffers this verbal abuse in a state of silent victimisation and obstruction¹³. These scolding scenes are employed by the narrator to highlight Margaret's inability to persuade her daughter by reason. Yolanda's own arguments were consistent and coherent, while Margaret's actions are portrayed as profoundly irrational. In contrast, Yolanda's interaction with her father is one of mutual sadness and distress at the failure to appreciate that each failed to understand the other's point of view¹⁴. Similarly, Yolanda's two brothers, Frederick (d. 1247) and Henry (later bishop of Utrecht, 1249-1267), are portrayed as men of persuasion rather than prone to physical chastisement¹⁵. Nevertheless, they too failed in their persuasion as did the philosopher-theologian Albertus Magnus (1193/1206-1280), called upon by the parents for a session of pastoral care¹⁶.

11 A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 315-318. One of the two first nuns, Margaret, came from the nunnery of St. Marcus in Strassbourg. She was prioress at Marienthal when Yolanda arrived. When she died in 1258 Yolanda succeeded her. Marienthal belonged to the diocese of Trier.

12 Moulin, pp. 100-141 (lines 1720-2585); Lawson, pp. 21-31.

13 Moulin, pp. 147-150 (lines 2710-2770); Lawson, pp. 32-33 where Yolande is described in her bedroom where under supervision of her mother she is forcefully undressed (of modest attire) and forced into court dress and jewellery.

14 Moulin, pp. 154-157, 179-182, 202-204, 267-269, 269-270, 279-281, 288-289 (lines 2845-2920, 3370-3435, 3865-3900, 5275-5310, 5310-5380, 5560-5660); Lawson, pp. 34, 40, 46, 62, 63, 65-66.

15 Moulin, pp. 76-79, 158-163, 223-230, 233-235 (lines 1220-1270, 2925-3040, 4292-4440, 4510-4545); Lawson, pp. 15, 35-36, 51-53.

16 A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 312-314.

Incidentally, this encounter (whether at Cologne or at the family home at Schönecke) underscores the importance of Ian Wei's latest findings that the Paris university disputations about marital problems in the widest sense were rooted in lay people's actual problems presented to the clerical specialists for Church-authorised solutions¹⁷. No physical or verbal violence is exchanged between these men and Yolanda. The only male relative using violence against her is her paternal cousin, Conrad of Hochstaden. He was the son of Yolanda's paternal aunt Matilda from her first marriage to Lothar I of Hochstaden. As archbishop of Cologne (1238-1261), Conrad was the highest placed ecclesiastical authority in the family whose role in the family council was initially decisive¹⁸. Upon greeting Yolanda in the hall at Münster he struck her hard in the face as punishment for her parental disobedience¹⁹. Thus the family sought advice on many occasions not only outside Vianden but also at home. Brother Hermann interrupts his narrative several times to describe the people who were present on these occasions, stressing the public nature of many of the encounters between Yolanda and her parents.

Second, the domestic settings of the description of Yolanda's heated exchanges with her mother are illuminating. They talked at home in the castle's hall at Schönecke, en route from Luxembourg in a tavern and in the tavern's garden, and – as we have heard – they came to a physical clash in the nunnery of Marienthal having exchanged bitter words through a window in a stone wall that segregated them²⁰. But the most interesting depiction of the location of the talk that eventually leads to a reconciliation is at home: the parents' bedroom. Yolanda's recollections are touching as they illustrate that the parental bedchamber is the only place in the castle which guaranteed the greatest privacy away from servants and other members of the family in an otherwise completely crowded space²¹. One summer's day, after their meal, Margaret invited her daughter in the following words: "beloved daughter, come to me here on my bed, let us sleep together a little [*Vil lyvve dohter*

17 I.P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris. Theologians and the University c. 1100-1330*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 247-292.

18 Moulin, pp. 40-41, 230-236 (lines 440-480, 4440-4570); Lawson, pp. 6, 53-54. For the archbishop, see B.K.U. Weiler, *Henry III of England and the Staufien Empire, 1216-1272*, Woodbridge 2006, pp. 87, 170-171, 181-186, 194-195.

19 Moulin, pp. 97-100 (lines 1660-1720); Lawson, p. 20; Conrad of Hochstaden was the son of count Henry's sister Matilda (A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, p. 346, genealogy no. 2). Clerical chastisement of women was allowed; see Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester who slapped the face of a woman whom he claimed had tried to seduce him (*Life of Wulfstan*, in: William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives. Lives of SS Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, eds. M. Winterbottom, R.M. Thomson, Oxford 2002, pp. 32-33).

20 Moulin, pp. 124-128 (lines 2225-2310); Lawson, p. 27.

21 Moulin, pp. 211-215 (lines 4040-4125); Lawson, p. 48.

kum zu myr/heruf mi bette slafen wyr]”, while Henry was vast asleep nearby, presumably in an adjacent room²². What started off as a peaceful scene of mother and daughter whispering while lying closely together erupted in a loud disagreement that woke up the father. Yolanda had wisely slipped away. The parents continued their conversation in their marital bed²³. Otherwise, Yolanda is described as trying as much as possible to retire to her own room(s) where she has a small house altar fixed to the wall before which she prayed²⁴. There, too, she is not really alone as on several occasions it is made clear that her lady-in-waiting, the faithful Helewife, is with her²⁵. Occasionally she speaks with her mother and father in her own room²⁶. But at least in her own apartment she is in charge. Yolanda is depicted as increasingly behaving contra the mores expected of her at court, dressing like a beguine in grey clothes, not eating or speaking at table, refusing to dance or sing at social occasions. For example, at her brother Frederick’s wedding to Matilda of Salm, she made a spectacle of herself, spoiling the party in the process, by ostentatiously being withdrawn, morose, and uncooperative, incurring the wrath of her new sister-in-law²⁷. As was usual, the wedding day festivities lasted three days. Finally dressed properly (that is to say, not as a nun) Yolanda met her new sister-in-law, “greeted her as was fitting [*sy gruzte sy als yt wol gezam*]”²⁸, and took the opportunity to ask her permission not to have to dance. Ignoring the request, Matilda of Salm ordered Yolanda to sing and dance, at one stage taking her hand and leading her onto the floor. How does one find some privacy for talking with friends apart from her own chamber where obviously only womenfolk were allowed? Early on in the narrative several groups of priests are invited to try and dissuade Yolanda from becoming

22 The arrangement of a master bedroom plus a smaller ante chamber, is reminiscent of the description given c. 1200 by Lambert of Ardres of the castle of Ardres (northwestern France): *hinc magna domini et uxoris sue, in qua accubant, camera, cui contiguum erat latibulum pedissequarum videlicet et puerorum camera vel dormitorium* (“and here is the great chamber for the lord and his wife who sleep there, with adjacent to it a side room as the bed chamber for maids and children”, my translation) – *Lamberti Ardensis Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, ed. J. Heller, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXIV, Hannoverae 1879, p. 624; see Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, ed. L.L. Shopkow, Philadelphia 2011, pp. 160-161). For bedchambers, see K.L. French, *Genders and Material Culture*, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, eds. J. Bennet, R. Mazo Karras, Oxford 2013, p. 207.

23 Moulin, pp. 215-216 (lines 4125-4160); Lawson, p. 49.

24 Moulin, pp. 207-211 (lines 3960-4040); Lawson, p. 47.

25 Moulin, pp. 52-56, 275-279 and 290-291 (lines 700-790, 5485-5560, 5760-5840); Lawson, pp. 9-10, 65, 68.

26 Moulin, pp. 56-59, 279 (lines 790-850 – mother, 5560-5575 – father); Lawson, pp. 10, 65.

27 Moulin, pp. 239-252 (lines 4630-4960); Lawson, pp. 55-58.

28 Moulin, p. 246 (line 4760); Lawson, p. 56.

a nun. The priest she trusts and confides in most is, like her hagiographer himself, a Dominican friar Walter of Meisemburg, possibly also an eyewitness on whom the author relied²⁹. On one occasion Yolanda and Brother Walter were able to escape from her mother Margaret by playing chess, a game she turned to because it provided an excuse to sit to one side with a friar under the pretext that he would teach her to play better³⁰. Sitting on the floor in the main hall, a little apart from everyone else, including Margaret³¹, under the pretext of discussing the game's tactics, they talked in reality about strategies available to Yolanda to defy her parents and obey God³².

Third, several times I have hinted that Brother Hermann's account of Yolanda's homelife was dominated by the public character of the battle with her parents. On various occasions, action is taken because either the father or the mother are warned by bystanders (members of the court, family or servants) that they are too distressed and distracted by the antagonistic atmosphere³³. Brother Herman's account stresses the responsibility that rests with the lord and lady of the house to keep the peace and prevent faction forming synchronically across the social ranks, something Yolanda seemed to encourage in order to achieve her parents' approval for her plans to become a nun. Even though the servants could not shut their eyes and fail to notice the tension in the castle, it was nevertheless not their place to intervene, yet frequently the nuclear household, including servants and knights, were consulted during what are called "council" (*Rad*) where advice is sought how to persuade Yolanda to see right³⁴. Another crucial category of people called in for consultation and guidance were the wider kin, especially Yolanda's paternal family: her father's nephew Conrad, archbishop of Cologne, whom we have met before, and Conrad's sister Elisabeth of Heimbach, who after the death of her husband Eberhard II, had become a beguine³⁵. There are also

29 A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 319-324. Walter became a Dominican at sixteen, and rose to become prior of the Dominican monastery at Trier; he encouraged noble women to retire to nunneries.

30 Moulin, pp. 87-88 (lines 1440-1465); Lawson, pp. 17-18. For the popularity of the game at court, see M. Vale, *The Princely Court. Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe*, Oxford 2001, pp. 170-176.

31 Moulin, pp. 88-90 (lines 1440-1500); Lawson, pp. 17-18.

32 Moulin, pp. 88-90 (lines 1460-1500); Lawson, p. 18.

33 Moulin, pp. 201-204, 211-215, 235-236 (lines 3865-3900, 4040-4125, 4550-4570); Lawson, pp. 46, 48, 54.

34 There seem to be two types of councils mentioned, family councils, including friends and relatives (such as in Moulin, pp. 227-230 [lines 4380-4445]; Lawson, p. 52) and smaller councils only including immediate family, see Moulin, pp. 97-98 (lines 1653-1668); Lawson, pp. 19-20.

35 Moulin, pp. 163-170, 182-186 (lines 3040-3190, 3440-3520); Lawson, pp. 36-37, 41; A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 311-312.

other paternal cousins to whom I shall return in a moment. No maternal kin is mentioned, presumably because Margaret de Courtenay moved far away from home when she married the count of Vianden, and so many (male) members of her family left for Constantinople. Yet, Margaret's responsibility as Yolanda's mother was unambiguous. It was her task to make sure that the plans made by her husband's family for Yolanda's marriage should be executed. Details of Yolanda's fiancé are scarce in the text. Near the beginning of the story Margaret explains to her daughter that a marriage is planned for her and that she has pledged the money but not until halfway through the story does the author identify him as Walram de Montjoie, lord of Marville and Arancy, who ultimately is persuaded to be bought off³⁶. He was Walram II of Monschau (d. 1266), a grandson of the famous heiress Ermensinde of Luxemburg, and related to the houses of Limburg and Hochstaden. Given Walram II's blood ties with Yolanda's father's family, the marriage alliance was clearly a desirable one for local politics³⁷.

Fourth, a subplot in the narrative concerns the various monastic orders and their regional houses linked to the counts of Vianden, vying for the hand of Yolanda, should she be allowed to give up her fiancé and become a nun. The orders involved ranged from the Benedictine and Cistercian orders to the newer mendicant orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans. A feature of the latter is that they actively encouraged women's spirituality and, if appropriate, sainthood³⁸. Brother Hermann, himself a Dominican, insists, no doubt informed by Yolanda herself, that she had set her heart on the small poor monastery of Marienthal. When Margaret finally realised that her daughter's refusal to marry was irreversible, she gave in to her daughter's wish though insisted that as Marienthal was too spartan it was wholly unsuitable for Yolanda's way of life. Instead she suggested other – more aristocratic – institutions, such as the Cistercian nunnery of St Walburgis at Eichstatt, where Henry I of Vianden's niece Adelheid was abbess³⁹, or a subsequent suggestion concerned the Benedictine nunnery at Nieder-Prüm, where Henry I was the advocate⁴⁰. Abbess Adelheid's half-sister Abbess Hymana seems to have played the most decisive role in the family as abbess of the Cistercian nunnery at Salzines near Liège. She appears (unnamed) on various occasions in the narrative; first as the abbess who gently told the child

³⁶ Moulin, pp. 56-57, 195-198, 267-269 (lines 790-805, 3710-3780, 5278-5310); Lawson, pp. 10, 44, 62.

³⁷ A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 158-160.

³⁸ A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 207-212.

³⁹ Moulin, pp. 89-91 (lines 1496-1535, 3040, 4210-4290, 4510-4545); Lawson, pp. 18, 36, 50, 53.

⁴⁰ Moulin, pp. 248-252 (lines 4880-4960); Lawson, p. 58; A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, p. 304.

Yolanda that she was too young to be a nun, and later to provide guidance although there never was a suggestion that Yolanda should enter Salzines⁴¹. While Margaret was being advised by a group of Franciscan friars⁴², Yolanda was supported by her friends the Dominican preachers, who visited⁴³ and corresponded with her⁴⁴. It should not surprise us that given the Dominican authorship of Yolanda's life, the arguments proffered by the latter triumphed. In the end, in 1248 Yolanda was allowed to enter Marienthal but only after a proper farewell party where she was dressed splendidly and opulently as a secular bride. Only after arrival at Marienthal did she exchange her wedding dress for her nun's habit, handing over her precious clothes and jewellery to the nuns.

* * *

Thus far my analysis has been based purely on Brother Hermann's account which charts a hagiographically well worn theme of a deeply fraught mother and daughter relationship. There remain, however, two intriguing questions about their behaviour, their emotions and... their memories. The most important one arises from the fact, known from other evidence but not mentioned in the *Life*, that eventually Margaret de Courtenay followed her daughter into the nunnery of Marienthal. After Henry I of Vianden died in 1252 during the seventh crusade (1244/1248-1254) led by King Louis IX (1226-1270) of France, the widowed Margaret entered the nunnery, where her daughter Yolanda by then had spent five years. Margaret died and was buried at Marienthal in July 1270, while Yolanda, having become prioress in 1258, died thirteen years after her mother in 1283. Mother and daughter therefore shared their lives at Marienthal for nearly two decades. We must assume that the reconciliation between mother and daughter, which led to Yolanda's entry at Marienthal, remained firm and that Yolanda as nun approved of her mother's arrival. It is a rather touching end to the story given that – according to Brother Hermann – Margaret had so long and so strongly objected to the poverty and smallness of the Dominican nunnery at Marienthal⁴⁵. In

41 Moulin, pp. 29-32, 163 (lines 22-275, 3046-3060); Lawson, pp. 4, 36. She was in touch with the beguines of Liège and acted as protector of Juliana of Cornillon (1192-1258), who was setting up the Corpus Christi feast; see: M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 171-176; A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 305-308.

42 Moulin, pp. 71-76, 178-182, 186-190, 219-222 (lines 1112-1220, 3385-3435, 3527-3610, 4210-4290); Lawson, pp. 13-15, 40, 42, 50.

43 Moulin, pp. 43-45, 182-186 (lines 506-550, 3440-3520); Lawson, pp. 7, 41.

44 Moulin, pp. 84-88 (lines 1380-1460); Lawson, p. 17.

45 Moulin, pp. 94-95 (lines 1585-1610); Lawson, p. 19, especially lines 1606-1609: "the roof was ordinary, and indented with barren windows, the walls and the arches were not

the end we must assume that Margaret's wish to stay close to her daughter was the strongest sentiment in the decision to enter Marienthal⁴⁶. With her daughter Matilda far away in Pozega (Croatia), her clerical sons living in Cologne and Utrecht, her eldest son dead, only Yolanda was available as companion for the rest of her life, provided she herself became a Dominican nun. Moreover, by this stage of her own generation, her older brothers had all died in Byzantium with only her youngest brother Baldwin (d. 1273) still alive, though no longer in Constantinople, from where he was chased in 1261⁴⁷. We might also speculate that the spartan environment of Marienthal, mentioned earlier, might have improved, though its contrast with court life would increase the penitential value of Margaret's prayers for her husband Henry I's soul⁴⁸.

The other intriguing aspect of Yolanda's story also involves her relationship with her mother Margaret. It concerns the existence of a short Latin account of Yolanda (in modern print less than two pages – much shorter than the vernacular *Life*) which has survived as part of the work of the Dominican friar Thomas of Cantimpré (1200/1201-1290/1292). After having written a series of female saints' lives, to which I return below, Thomas composed a collection of exempla and observations on nature built around the lives of bees, *Bonum universale de apibus*. Dedicated to Humbert de Romans (d. 1277), the *Book of Bees* was written in the years 1256-1259, and was probably inspired by the 1256 decision of the Dominican General Chapter asking friars to compose such works for future preachers⁴⁹. Many of the *exempla* stories are either based on his own observation or that of eyewitnesses quizzed by him, including two on a countess of Salm (ch. 29) and on Yolanda of Vianden (ch. 39)⁵⁰. In 1256 Thomas of Cantimpré visited the Dominican friar Walter of Meisemburg,

high at all (*Der dag der was gemeine/Byt gystere nog bezogen/Dy muren vnd dy bogen/Dy waren leider nog vnho*)".

⁴⁶ We must assume that her daughter Mathilda, twice briefly mentioned in the *Life of Yolanda*, at an early age had left the parental home in order to become a foreign bride.

⁴⁷ D. Jacoby, *The Latin Empire...*, p. 530.

⁴⁸ K. Clark, *Purgatory, Punishment and the Discourse of Holy Widowhood in the High and Later Middle Ages*, "Journal of the History of Sexuality" XV (2007), pp. 169-203.

⁴⁹ Thomas of Cantimpré, *The Collected Saints' Lives: Abbot John of Cantimpré, Christina the Astonishing, Margaret of Ypres and Lutgard of Aywières*, eds. B. Newman, M. King, Turnhout 2008, p. 10. Note that Newman's invaluable collection contains a splendid introduction and an English translation, but no Latin text.

⁵⁰ *Thomae Cantipratani s. theol. doctoris ordinis praedicatorum et episcopi suffraganei Cameracensis Bonum Universale De Apibus*, book II, ch. 29, 39, ed. G. Colverius, Douai 1627, pp. 310-311, 317-319 (henceforth: Colverius); for a commentary see A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 62-77, who prints the Latin based the Cologne edition of 1473 in an appendix, pp. 337-338 (Latin), 338-340 (modern German translation).

then prior of the Dominicans at Trier⁵¹. As we have already noted, Brother Walter played an important role in the *Life of Yolanda* as the Dominican friar who throughout supported Yolanda's steadfastness. It was he who suggested the nunnery of Marienthal, and it was he who on various occasions provided the girl with pastoral care and arguments to be used against her parents. We have also heard how the *Life* preserves a graphic picture of Brother Walter and Yolanda sitting on the floor in the castle's hall, playing chess, and using the strategy of the game's moves as code for Yolanda's strategy in the battle with her parents. Thomas informs his readers that he heard the story of the countess of Salm which he recounted in chapter 29 from Brother Walter. As for Yolanda's story, told in chapter 39, he met her himself, as he explains at the start of his narrative about her, and because he also explains that she had been advised by Walter, the assumption is that Thomas probably used statements from both⁵². If, given the proximity of Marienthal and Trier, he visited them during the same expedition in 1256, both accounts may have corroborated each other. Thomas included a broad – if very brief – outline of Yolanda's story, focussing particularly on her mother Margaret's royal and imperial connections and their joint dramatic visit to Marienthal in 1244. Yolanda's attempt to stay with the nuns, the physical fight between mother and daughter and the protracted negotiations afterwards leading to Yolanda being allowed to take the veil, are all in the Latin text. In other words, the nucleus of Brother Henry of Veldenz's tale was in existence in 1256.

What is, however, intriguing is that in his short Latin account, Thomas's starting point and focus is not necessarily Yolanda herself, but Thomas, who prides himself on being a friar, like his colleague Walter, who knew several aristocratic women who had given up secular life and entered nunneries persuaded by sympathetic friars often against the wish of their parents. Apart from Yolanda, Thomas mentions the countess of Salm (also without a first name), troubled in spirit, whom Brother Walter recruited as a nun. Although the countess of Salm is not further identified, she is almost certainly Yolanda's sister-in-law Matilda, whom we encountered earlier⁵³. She was briefly married to Yolanda's older brother Frederic, who died young (in 1247), before he could succeed his father Henry I of Vianden (d. 1252). According to Thomas

51 A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 65, 73.

52 Colverius, p. 317: *Vidimus – plures filias comitum et baronum, que spretis nupciis in monasterio vel congregationibus virginum vitam celibem elegerunt, quarum inter ceteras unam filiam Viensis comitis vidi* ("We have met many daughters of counts and barons who, having spurned marriage, chose to live the celibate life of virgins in a monastery or community, amongst whom I met the daughter of the count of Vianden", my emphasis); A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 65-66.

53 For a discussion of the evidence, see A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 144-146.

of Cantimpré, Matilda withdrew as a widowed nun to a Cistercian nunnery⁵⁴. As we have heard she appeared in the *Life of Yolanda* in an elaborate wedding scene where Yolanda refused to join the festive singing and dancing, much to Matilda's annoyance. In Thomas's short account both Yolanda and her sister-in-law Matilda of Salm are named as the "prize catches" of Brother Walter of Meisemburg. But their stories are juxtaposed with the hearsay story about Jacqueline, sister of a count (Roger V, d. 1194?) of Apulia (ch. 38) in the time of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), and with Thomas's eyewitness account of Isabella (d. 1270), daughter of King Louis VIII (1223-1226), who rejected her fiancé to become a nun (ch. 40). He does not refer to the fact that she was the founder and abbess in 1255/6 of the Franciscan nunnery of Longchamp at Rouvray⁵⁵.

As to the relationship between Thomas's short Latin account and the vernacular German verse life written twenty years later, the mutual dependence is not at all clear. While both sources stress Margaret's high born background and her titanic struggle with her daughter, there is no obvious literary influence from the earlier Latin prose text to the German poem. If anything the short account is focused on Brother Walter as Yolanda's spiritual adviser, and not on Yolanda *per se*, while the vernacular *Life* is without any doubt centred on the female protagonist, as an incredibly detailed account of Yolanda's version of events. I would suggest that the latter should be seen as a direct challenge to the former, stressing the agency of Yolanda, admittedly supported by Walter, but taking the spotlight away from the Dominican friar. We might even go further and argue that Brother Hermann used Yolanda's and perhaps her mother Margaret's own witness accounts to celebrate their struggle, ultimate reconciliation, and Yolanda's entry in the monastery, against the male focussed Latin account. The vernacular verse life drew on intimate knowledge of Yolanda's early life at court with the kind of historical detail of names and places that extends beyond mere poetic amplification. Angela Mielke-Vandenhouten plausibly suggests that Brother Hermann probably spoke with both mother and daughter, but was ultimately commissioned to write his vernacular life by Yolanda's successor as prioress, Poncetta von Meisemburg (d. 1297), Brother Walter's sister⁵⁶. Poncetta's

54 Ibidem, p. 337. Although Mielke-Vandenhouten (p. 146) points to some uncertainty about the countess of Slam's later career as there is a countess of Salm who remarried, she does express surprise that Brother Henry Veldenz does not include the later history of Matilda of Salm. If she were the same person as mentioned by Herman, I see no reason to doubt Thomas's information relating to Matilda of Salm's widowed life.

55 Colverius, ch. 38, 40, pp. 316-317, 319.

56 A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, pp. 58-59 (Poncetta), 74-75 (Henry as eyewitness of Yolanda).

patronage would explain the important role attributed to Brother Walter in the *Life*. On the other hand, since in the *Life* Yolanda's agency is so blatantly foregrounded together with the minute detail of court life, I cannot help thinking that what mattered to Poncetta was the theme of Yolanda's self determination. After all, this must represent Yolanda's, and Margaret's, interpretation of Yolanda's actions, known to all Marienthal nuns from the mouths of the protagonists themselves. Brother Hermann was commissioned to record very much Yolanda's own story and as such his verse narrative is a marvellous example of the authoritative nature of female memorial traditions.

What needs stressing at this point in our analysis is that the earliest version of the story of the reluctant bride/victorious nun dating to 1256 was told – at Trier and Marienthal – already during Yolanda's lifetime, when Yolanda and her mother Margaret both were nuns at Marienthal. The short Latin version written down by Thomas of Cantimpré anticipates the lengthy narrative of the giant battle between mother and daughter as laid out in the vernacular life. What is significant, however, is that Thomas's narrative about the mother-daughter battle is told along lines similar to those of his earlier oeuvre, namely the lives of the religious women of Liège. Thomas of Cantimpré compiled lives on the orphan Christina of St. Truiden (Christina *mirabilis*, 1150-1224) in 1233, Margaret of Ypres (1216-1237) in the late 1230s, and Liutgard of Aywières (1182?-1246) in the late 1240s at the latest⁵⁷. Barbara Newman and Alexandra Barratt have written sensitively about the mother-daughter relationships as portrayed by the Dominican friar-authors keen to lift the miserable suffering of their saints above the normal level of humdrum social life and work⁵⁸. Mothers (or female guardians) did not very often agree with the rapporteur clergy, and more often than not are portrayed as deeply irritated by what they perceived, at least in the hagiographers' eyes, as obstructive behaviour of their pious daughters. Filial disobedience to mothers was seen as particularly subversive and challenging, as has recently been argued by Lesley Smith⁵⁹. Whereas most biographers had first hand knowledge of the women, they also relied on their spiritual advisers or confessors⁶⁰. Construction of sainthood

57 Thomas of Cantimpré, *The Collected Saints' Lives...*, pp. 7-9.

58 B. Newman, *Devout Women and Demoniacs in the World of Thomas of Cantimpré*, in: *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality. The Holy Women of Liège and Their Impact*, eds. J. Dor, L. Johnson, J. Wogan-Browne, Turnhout 1999, pp. 35-60; A. Barratt, *Undutiful Daughters and the Metaphorical Mothers among the Beguines*, in: *New Trends...*, pp. 81-104.

59 L. Smith, *Who is My Mother? Honouring Parents in Medieval Exegesis of the Ten Commandments*, in: *Motherhood, Religion and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400. Essays presented to Henrietta Leyser*, eds. C. Leyser, L. Smith, Aldershot 2011, pp. 155-172.

60 Thomas of Cantimpré, *The Collected Saints' Lives...*, p. 9.

thrived in a context of strife, and mothers as obstacles of sainthood turned on its head the stereotypical unreliability of women as witnesses. In these accounts mothers simply did not recognise what God had in mind for their daughters⁶¹. The saints' lives offer an intriguing view of the mother-daughter relationship, even though contorted, as often the mother is pitted as the demon obstructor against the saintly daughter fighting for her principled view, as especially chosen by God. More often than not, we catch only glimpses of their daily life and work, caring for the family, and relationship with other siblings. The saints' lives also agree with each other, and with the accounts about Yolanda, in that they almost all ignore the father, either because he is really absent through death, or because he is not a feature of the home environment. The saints' lives of the women of Liège and the accounts about Yolanda confirm the collaboration between male priests/recorders and female testimony of women.

What the story of Yolanda of Vianden and her mother Margaret de Courtenay illustrates above all is that the struggle for self determination was a social reality that brought to the fore the notion of daughters' obedience to their parents, and the maternal task of enhancing a girl's obedience, no doubt in preparation for her own future role as mother. That such intergenerational struggle coincided with the period we now call "adolescence" or "teenage years" is a fruitful area of further research⁶². Yolanda's disagreement with her parents coincided with her age between about fourteen and eighteen, when she became a nun – that is, well beyond the age of majority at twelve, when according to canon law she was deemed to understand what consent meant, and thus be able to agree or disagree to (secular) marriage. In Yolanda's case, as in that of the Liège women, the women won the battle with their parents or guardians. Yet, it is important to remember that once the disagreement had been resolved and reconciliation had been established, both parties resigned themselves to the separation and a life of hardship. Mothers reconciled themselves with the loss of grandchildren while daughters revelled in their choice as Christ's bride. Though what was recorded by way of memorial tradition is illustrative of different points of view. For Brother Walter and Thomas of Cantimpré what mattered was that female agency was not confined to urban environments of burgher families but could be identified amongst

⁶¹ The narrative theme of the mother-daughter relationship would benefit from a study similar to that of R. Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate. Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England*, Philadelphia-Oxford 2011, pp. 28-46, who analyses the collaboration between story teller and protagonists.

⁶² For methodological discussions of the use of modern categories in a medieval context, see M. Goodich, *Childhood and Adolescence among the Thirteenth-century Saints*, "History of Childhood Quarterly" I (1973), pp. 285-309.

the aristocratic ranks, yielding greater rewards both in terms of benefactions and spiritual satisfaction. In Thomas of Cantimpré's Latin lives of the Liège women, female agency was important, yet the focus throughout remained on the male encouragement for women to realise their spiritual ideals. This pattern is repeated in his short account of Brother Walter's advice to Yolanda and the countess of Salm. At Marienthal, however, we witness female agency in action after reconciliation. Through the memorial record, the nuns of Marienthal took into their own hands the Dominican story of one woman's epic struggle to become God's bride. Yet, the memorial record is – as we have seen – deeply deceptive; Yolanda's *Life* never once records that Margaret and Yolanda lived peacefully side by side in the nunnery of Marienthal.

Hagiography as opposed to the formal writing of history seems a much more fruitful area to explore the interactions between mothers and daughters, especially with regard to marriage to either a secular or a celestial bridegroom. Of course in hagiography much of the actual written source material is male authored, as in the case of Yolanda of Vianden, yet information about holy women often comes from either mothers or daughters or sisters. The anonymous male author of the *Life of Christina of Markyate* knew about her story through discussions with Christina herself, but also received the parental perspective through consultation, admittedly at second hand, through Christina's sisters⁶³. For the late 12th century we may turn to the life of Alpais of Cudot, a farmer's daughter, who had fallen ill and spent a long time in bed, despised by her widowed mother and brothers but revered by the rest of the villagers⁶⁴. There is no doubt in my mind that the anonymous priest who wrote Alpais's life received the unique information about Alpais's early life from her family.

We should conclude therefore that we never ought to take memorial narratives, especially not hagiographical ones, at face value, nor extrapolate from them scenarios of life-long hatred and distress. The reality of life for men and women, and for mothers and daughters is far too complicated for such black and white portrayal. The story of Margaret and Yolanda illustrates that both took an active part in the construction of a memorial record of their

63 For example, the story of Christina's mother allowing a Jewess known for her magic into the house as she was in despair about her daughter's refusal to marry; see *Vie de Christina de Markyate*, eds. P. L'Hermite-Leclercq, A.M. Legras, in: *Sources d'histoire médiévale*, XXXV, 1-2, Paris 2007, 1: pp. 106-107; and *The Life of Christina of Markyate. A Twelfth-century Recluse*, ed. C.H. Talbot, Oxford 1959, pp. 74-75. Christina's of Markyate's story is mentioned as an earlier instance of a reluctant bride by A. Mielke-Vandenhouten, *Grafentochter...*, p. 78.

64 *Leben und Visionen der Alpais von Cudot (1150-1211)*, ed. E. Stein, in: *Script Oralia*, LXXVII, Tübingen 1995; partial translation in *Medieval Writings on Secular Women*, eds. P. Skinner, E. van Houts, London 2011, pp. 54-57.

relationship while at Marienthal. The nuns of Marienthal collaborated with the Dominicans, Thomas of Cantimpré and Brother Walther, who constructed a version of Yolanda's struggle, focussed on the male pastoral care that helped realise her passion. Then after the death of Margaret and Yolanda, it was the next generation of nuns who called in brother Hermann of Veldenz to note down a more detailed story based on the words of mother and daughter.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the contemporary construction of Yolanda as an example and inspirational role model for (aristocratic) nuns in thirteenth-century Germany may have aimed at her possible sainthood. If it did, we can situate Yolanda squarely amongst the thirteenth-century wave of sainthood for aristocratic men and women, related to the highest nobility in France, but mostly situated in the frontier regions of the Holy Roman Empire and its neighbours⁶⁵. Yet, even if there was an incipient effort to construct a saint out of Yolanda, it failed to materialise. There is no mention of any miracles performed through the intercession of Yolanda either during her life or posthumously. The evidence of the two narratives written about her point firmly in the direction of local contemporary admiration, tentatively exploited by Dominican friars for the recruitment of, preferably, wealthy nuns who would bring a considerable endowment with them. Moreover, Yolanda herself is nowhere portrayed as possessing the charismatic qualities of, say, Elisabeth of Thuringia (1207-1231), whose generosity in spirit and kind was known to a wide audience of people across society due to her charitable work. Neither Thomas of Cantimpré nor Brother Hermann of Veldenz reveals Yolanda in action outside either court or cloister. Her inward focus, concentrating on her own spiritual wellbeing and later, as prioress, on her nuns', precluded the wider appeal necessary to turn her from a reluctant bride into a saint. We will never be absolutely sure about the relative weight of male and female contribution to the memorial record. But yet again this story illustrates that memory has to be studied as a gendered activity.

ABSTRACT

This article concerns the extraordinary story of a German noble woman, Yolanda of Vianden (1231-1283) who refused to marry the man selected by her parents and instead took the veil at the Dominican nunnery of Marienthal near Luxembourg. The story's central person is Yolanda, one of six children – two daughters and four sons – of Count Henry I of Vianden (d. 1252) and his wife Margaret of Courtenay (d. 1270), who had married around 1216.

Yolanda's story is known from two main sources: a short Latin account by the Dominican friar Thomas of Cantimpré (1200/1201-1290/1292) and one of the earliest vernacular verse

⁶⁵ See A. Vauchez, *Sainthood...*, p. 176. For dynastic families and sainthood in this context, see also G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, Cambridge 2002.

lives in Middle High German, written in a dialect close to that spoken today in Luxembourg. The *Life of Yolanda of Vianden*, written in 5964 rhyming couplets, dates from shortly after Yolanda's death in 1283. The author is the Dominican friar Hermann of Veldenz (c. 1250-1308), almost certainly the chaplain of the nunnery of Marienthal. A very early copy, known as the *codex mariendalensis*, was discovered in 1999 in the library of Ansemburg castle not far from Marienthal. It is argued that both texts go back to Yolanda's own reminiscences.

The story of this reluctant bride forms interesting testimony for the construction of biographical self fashioning in Latin and vernacular German. At the same time Yolanda's case reveals illuminating detail about family discussions and marital strategies as well as wedding feasts. Particular attention will be paid to four aspects: Yolanda's portrayal of her mother and father, the domestic setting of the quarrels, the collective family's attempt to solve the dispute, and the religious rivalry between the various monastic orders that try to claim Yolanda for themselves.

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**WITNESSING FROM THE MARGINS:
LEGAL TESTIMONY OF DOUBLY DIFFERENCED WOMEN
IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES**



On a spring day in the late 14th century, two women, Marta and Astrugona, came before royal judicial officials to give sworn testimony in the matter of whether a third woman – Antonia, wife of the merchant Arnau – had been committing adultery. One, Marta, was a slave in the household of Arnau and Antonia; the other, Astrugona, was a Jew, and mother of the tailor Bonniu. Marta testified that the previous Sunday her mistress Antonia had ordered her to deliver to Bonniu a letter for him to pass on to Antonia’s lover. After interrogating Bonniu, who denied that he had ever received a message from either Antonia or her slave, the judges proceeded to question Astrugona, who shared a house with her son. Astrugona testified that she did not know Antonia; could not, in fact, recall ever having seen her. She did, however, know the slave Marta, who had been in the house the previous Sunday asking after a tunic that her son Bonniu was working on. She further testified that, after Marta had left, she (Astrugona) had spied a sheet of paper sitting on a box where none had been before. Finally, she noted that Marta had returned later that evening, this time with her master Arnau, and had taken the sheet of paper and given it to him, after which they both left¹.

This case has all the makings of a quodlibetal question – one of those intricate hypotheticals devised as academic exercises for students in the medieval universities, full of both crucial details and potential red herrings. Such questions might not even have a “right” answer to begin with; rather,

¹ Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragò, Cancelleria (henceforth: ACA), Processos en foli 123 (1374-1377), pp. 14-14v.

they were designed to hone students' analytical skills in formal debate². Yet this complex legal puzzle was a real one that royal judicial representatives in the city of Barcelona confronted in the 1370s, as part of a broader investigation of an accusation of attempted murder.

The testimony of these two witnesses presented the judge who presided over the case with two sets of problems to solve. The first of these concerned the factual issues surrounding the case: Just what had actually happened here? Was Astrugona covering up for the fact that her son Bonniu had facilitated Antonia's adulterous affair? Had Marta, acting on the instructions of her master Arnau, used the pretext of checking on a tunic that Bonniu was working on in order to plant evidence that Arnau had required in order to inculcate his own wife? Before digging into the questions of fact, however, the judge in this case had to confront the procedural problem of determining whose testimony he ought to believe. To this end, the judge recalled both women and began his second round of questioning by reading Marta's testimony back to her verbatim, asking her to affirm it while looking Astrugona "directly in the face". The court scribe recorded that Marta did so "with a firm and unmoving gaze", swearing that all she had testified to previously was true. The judge then moved on to Astrugona, who in her turn looked directly at Marta and swore that Marta's testimony was false, and stood by her own version of events³.

Richard Fraher has argued that the growing emphasis on confession and eyewitness testimony during the later Middle Ages did not preclude judges from using their own discretion; later medieval judges might have to resort to their own informed judgment to render a verdict in hard cases where there was a strong presumption of guilt, but insufficient evidence to convict⁴. Fraher's "conviction according to conscience", however, was only that: judicial discretion applied at the point in a trial where a judge was required to either convict or acquit a defendant. This article extends Fraher's model to the fact-finding phase of the litigation process to show that, in hard cases like the one involving Marta and Astrugona, medieval judges might use their own discretion to devise procedure itself. What follows is an admittedly atypical case study, one that involves not just women – whose testimony the procedural manuals always considered suspect – but women who belonged to other legally marginal categories as well. Using this case as

² See S. Edwards's introduction to St. Thomas Aquinas, *Quodlibetal Questions 1 and 2*, ed. S. Edwards, Toronto 1983, pp. 3-4, n. 11.

³ ACA, *Processos en foli 123 (1374-1377)*, pp. 14-14v.

⁴ R.M. Fraher, *Conviction According to Conscience. The Medieval Jurists' Debate Concerning Judicial Discretion and the Law of Proof*, "Law and History Review" VII (1989), pp. 23-88.

a jumping-off point, I will examine how issues surrounding the testimony of women, slaves, and Jews may have contributed to the making of hard cases, and how the way that judicial officials handled such cases demonstrates the dynamic nature of medieval procedural law, even in an age characterized by growing legal regularization. This case thus speaks to two distinct yet related issues in the fields of medieval law and women's history: first, the existence of a productive tension between standardization and innovation in procedural matters; second, the way the results of this tension might affect the legal fortunes of marginal persons – both women in general, and doubly differenced women in particular.

PROCEDURAL LAW AND THE LEGALLY MARGINAL WITNESS

By the time this case came to court in the late 14th century, the legal and judicial system of Western Europe had been undergoing centuries of increasing regularization of both substantive and procedural law, fueled in no small part by medieval monarchs' drive to centralize judicial authority within their kingdoms. These rulers developed legal bureaucracies and systems of regional royal courts throughout their kingdoms, replacing, as much as possible, the patchwork of overlapping and semi-independent jurisdictions that had characterized previous centuries, and sponsoring the creation of royal law codes grounded in the principles of the recently "rediscovered" law of the Roman Empire to aid them in this effort⁵. Lombard legal scholars had long known about these legal collections, but it was not until the late 11th and early 12th centuries that medieval scholars began to seriously study them again as a possible basis for a living law. In the Crown of Aragon, as in much of Europe, the incorporation of Roman legal principles reached its height during the 12th and 13th centuries, when monarchs throughout Western Europe were drawing up law codes for their realms, as well as establishing principles of procedural law⁶.

Regularization and centralization were not, however, necessarily the enemies of legal innovation. This held especially true for so-called hard cases, where the normal rules of procedural law could not easily be applied. Such hard cases might result from the nature of the crime – most notably "hidden" crimes like heresy, clerical sexuality, or the alleged adultery in this portion of

⁵ M. Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe, 1000-1800*, Washington 1995, especially pp. 58-77.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 78-111; for Iberia in particular, see pp. 99-101. For the more recent debate as to whether it is appropriate to designate the *Corpus iuris civilis* as having been "lost" and later "recovered", see P. Stein, *Roman Law in European History*, Cambridge 1999, pp. 43-48.

the larger case. But hard cases might also arise from the ambiguous nature of the evidence. In this case, the fact that one witness was a slave and the other was a Jew meant that neither's testimony carried the full weight of that of a free adult Christian male. Two of the most influential procedural manuals of the high Middle Ages took a fairly uniform – and uniformly dim – view of the value of a slave's testimony: the *Ordo iudiciarius* (1216) of Tancred of Bologna recommended excluding slaves from giving testimony altogether because they might have been coerced by their masters⁷; the *Speculum iudiciale* of William Durandis (ca. 1271) merely forbade slaves from testifying on behalf of their masters⁸. A thirteenth-century Iberian procedural manual known as the "Book of Lawyers and Judges" took a slightly broader view as to the admissibility of slave testimony, but recommended that slaves be beaten as a routine part of the procedure, "because servants should not be believed in these things unless they are tortured [tormentats]"⁹. In other words, a slave's word in court was generally unreliable, and was even less so in cases concerning their owners. The testimony of a Jew would have been given slightly more weight. While procedural manuals barred "infidels" from giving testimony¹⁰, it is unclear whether this category applied to Jews, or only to Muslims and heretics. Durandis groups the two together in a single title (distinguished from the separate title on heretics), but the individual laws within that title generally deal with either Muslims or Jews, rather than with both as a single group; similarly, two laws in the title detail the conditions under which Jews could litigate against Christians and/or give valid testimony in Christian court¹¹. But in the Crown of Aragon where this case took place, a Jew's testimony in a case involving Christians, as this one did, generally had to be corroborated by a Christian witness¹².

7 Tancred, *Ordo iudiciarius*, v. *Prohibentur servi*, in: *Libri de iudiciorum ordine*, Aalen 1965.

8 Guilelmus Durandis, *Speculum iudiciale*, liber 1 pars 4: *De teste*, § 1 no. 12, Basel 1574 (reprint Aalen 1975). See also *Furs de València*, II, p. 129, which prohibited slaves from testifying for or against their masters in criminal court, or filing charges against their masters.

9 Jacobo (Maestro), *Obra dels alcajts e dels jutges. Versión catalana del siglo XIII, hasta ahora inédita, de las Flores de las leyes*, Barcelona 1927, law 22 (*recte* 23).

10 Tancred, *Ordo...*, v. *Prohibentur etiam infideles*.

11 Guilelmus Durandis, *Speculum iudiciale*, liber 4 pars 4: *De iudeis et saracenis*. The final law in this title, number 5, seems to be especially concerned that judges understand the critical differences between the two, since Muslims, while they shared the laws of Moses with the Jews, would not feel bound by the laws of the Hebrew prophets. For the oaths that Jews are to swear in Christian court, see liber 2 pars 2: *De iuramento calumniae*, § 3 no. 17.

12 Y.T. Assis, *The Golden Age of Aragonese Jewry. Community and Society in the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327*, Portland 1997, pp. 39-42. In the Crown of Aragon, Jews giving testimony in Christian court were generally required to give their sworn testimony while touching "the law of Moses" – that is, the Decalogue.

Under these circumstances, we might imagine that a medieval court would have given little if any weight to the testimony of either of these two witnesses. But we also need to take into account that this case took place in late medieval Barcelona, a city that might be regarded as a laboratory for hard cases of this sort. Barcelona was the seat of the count-kings of the Crown of Aragon and the center of administration and justice for that composite monarchy; it was thus a place where the stakes surrounding the activities of legal officials might be higher than in other Crown cities. Furthermore, the city was also the longstanding home of a large and important Jewish population, and host to a thriving trade in slaves that came through the port of Barcelona from all corners of the Mediterranean and beyond¹³. Thus, by the time this case came to court, Barcelona was a large city with a diverse population made up of permanent residents and immigrants, free people and slaves, members of three religions and of all social classes. Royal judicial officials could therefore expect to be confronted with cases where members of different groups were thrown into litigation together, and even cases where these less-than-desirable witnesses might have been the only ones available.

Medieval jurists did recognize that testimony occasionally had to be taken from substandard witnesses when no others could be found¹⁴, but this case presented the additional problem that the two witnesses in question provided conflicting accounts. Contradictory testimony was an issue that medieval procedural manuals addressed at length. The general principle held that, in cases of directly conflicting testimony, the status of the individual witnesses ought to be taken into account, and the testimony of the more powerful or dignified of the witnesses should carry greater weight in court: precedence should be given to the freeborn over the freed, the older over the younger, the leading citizens over their inferiors, noble over non-noble, and so on. This did not mean judges gave no credence to the lesser of each pairing; rather, they might use the distinctions between them as a tool to resolve conflicts¹⁵.

13 The historiography on the city of Barcelona is vast. A general reader interested in how Barcelona related to the Crown of Aragon and its rulers should start with T.N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon. A Short History*, Oxford 1986, in English, as well as J.M. Vives, *La ciudad de Barcelona durante el reinado de Alfonso el Benigno (1327-1336)*, Madrid 1987, in Spanish. For the Jews of Barcelona, see E. Klein, *Jews, Christian Society, and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona*, Ann Arbor 2006. For slaves in Catalan context, see S. Bensch, *From Prizes of War to Domestic Merchandise. The Changing Face of Slavery in Catalonia and Aragon, 1000-1300*, "Viator" XXV (1994), pp. 63-91. While D. Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars. Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia*, Ithaca (NY) 2009, is primarily concerned with slavery in the neighboring territory of Valencia, she does make several references in the first two chapters of her book (through p. 79) to the importance of the Barcelona slave market before Valencia eclipsed it in the 15th century.

14 R.M. Fraher, *Conviction...*, p. 36.

15 Tancred, *Ordo...*, v. *Cum vero*.

The authors of high medieval procedural manuals appear to have been stumped, however, by the possibility of contradictory testimony given by an equal number of witnesses of equivalent legal condition, as in this case. When confronted with the hypothetical case where witnesses were of equal number, condition, and “honesty”, even Tancred was reduced to recommending that the judge dismiss the case, on the general principle that it was better to absolve the guilty than to condemn the innocent¹⁶.

PROCEDURE IN PRACTICE

If the judge faced with the legal quandary presented by this case were to depend on the standard procedural manuals of his day, it seems he would find little guidance. Yet the exigencies of real-world cases such as this one made Tancred’s non-solution of simply walking away an unpalatable alternative, especially in jurisdictions like Barcelona where such cases might be a fairly common occurrence. James Brundage has argued that, rather than regarding these procedural manuals as hard-and-fast rulebooks for procedure, we should read them as teaching tools for law students and a reflection of these men’s backgrounds as law teachers as well as jurists in their own right. Authors of these manuals, he argues, expected that the students would absorb the basic principles of procedural law, but that they would adapt those rules as circumstance demanded once they were out in the world as practicing legal professionals¹⁷. This seems to have been true for the judge in the case at hand: left adrift by the procedural manuals, he cast about for a logical way to make sense of the conflicting testimony before him.

So what is this procedure we are looking at in this case? Why did the judges choose it, how was that choice affected by the nature of the witnesses in this particular case, and what did judicial officials hope to accomplish with it? For answers to these questions, we might first look to the existing procedure this most closely resembles: the judicial ordeal. Much has been written about the ordeal and its place in medieval jurisprudence: whether it was “rational” or “irrational”; whether it was an expression of communal justice or of church control over the laity; whether it was used often or rarely. To summarize briefly without entering too far into the fray of the debates, the judicial ordeal was a procedure that brought God in to act as a witness in a legal dispute in which the defendant’s guilt or innocence could not otherwise

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, l. 22 (*Ratione contrarietatis*), citing X 1.2.12, *ex literis* (2); Dig 44.7, *Arrianus* (47).

¹⁷ J.A. Brundage, *Juridical Space. Female Witnesses in Canon Law, “Dumbarton Oaks Papers”* LII (1998), p. 156.

be proven. In its most well known form, a defendant (or whichever party in the case bore the burden of proof) would be required to undergo some painful and potentially disfiguring procedure such as grasping a hot iron bar, walking a distance over heated plowshares, or plunging his or her hand into boiling or scalding water. Prior to the ordeal itself, a member of the clergy would say special prayers, beseeching God to participate in the proceedings and use the result to reveal the guilt or innocence of the defendant. After the defendant had undergone the painful ordeal itself, the resulting wound would be bandaged and sealed and, after a predetermined amount of time had passed, examined to see whether it was healing cleanly; the relative degree of healing or corruption in the wound would be considered God's judgment on the case. While high-status persons might rely on their own oaths or those of oath-helpers to purge themselves, most ordeals (with the exception of the elite variant, the trial by combat) would have been the resort of low-status persons whose sworn word did not carry the same probative value as the word of the elite¹⁸. The ordeal began a long, slow decline in the mid-11th century as church authorities became increasingly concerned that participation in the ordeal meant that clergy were (a) "testing" God in unacceptable manner, and (b) polluting themselves in trials that might involve the shedding of blood¹⁹. Eventually, at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the papacy passed legislation that forbade the clergy to participate in judicial ordeals of any kind²⁰.

Although the trial under consideration here took place over a century and a half after the Fourth Lateran Council's prohibition, the relatively late date might not necessarily constitute a barrier to us considering the ordeal as a source of the unusual procedure the judge employed. While Lateran IV prohibited clerical participation in the ordeal, effectively nullifying its efficacy, it did not ban the ordeal itself. Since this case was heard in the secular courts, rather than the ecclesiastical ones, the withdrawal of clerical support would have had relatively little impact. Furthermore we know that the ordeal continued to appear in the secular law codes of the Crown of Aragon long after 1215, particularly for use in cases of hidden crimes: the *Fureos* of the city of Teruel (1247) allowed a woman accused of acting as a pimp or of procuring

18 R. Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water. The Medieval Judicial Ordeal*, Oxford 1986, pp. 4-33; J.Q. Whitman, *The Origins of Reasonable Doubt. Theological Roots of the Criminal Trial*, New Haven 2008, pp. 59-63. James Brundage also notes that the ordeal might have been used as a litigation strategy, proposed by one of the parties to force a settlement; see idem, *Medieval Origins of the Legal Profession. Canonists, Civilians, and Courts*, Chicago 2008, pp. 54-55.

19 J.Q. Whitman, *The Origins...*, pp. 53-59.

20 *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N.P. Tanner, Washington 1990, Lat. IV c. 18.

an abortion to resort to the ordeal of hot iron to prove her innocence²¹, while the 1283 *Constitucions* of Catalonia (the region of the Crown where Barcelona was located) permitted a woman accused of adultery to purge herself by judicial combat if she were of the *cavaller* class, or by trial by hot water, “by her own hands”, if she were of lower social standing²². We should note that the Catalan law is based on a provision of Catalan customary law that predated the Lateran IV prohibition²³; nevertheless, the fact of its inclusion in the later collection of *Constitucions* suggests that it was a provision that still might be resorted to.

Even as the ordeal persisted in limited form in the secular courts of the high and later Middle Ages, medieval jurists were developing other methods of deciding hard cases. Among these was the revival of a neglected Roman law procedure known as the *quaestio*, or torture. Torture had its roots in Roman law, and made a resurgence in continental Europe in the 13th century when the Roman law of the *Corpus iuris civilis* became part of the core curriculum for the law faculties of the medieval universities. Boiled down to its most basic definition, torture was an interrogatory procedure that used pain and suffering inflicted on the body in order to ascertain the truth, and was employed principally when there was not enough evidence to convict in capital crimes. Because these crimes could be punished by maiming or even death, conviction required either two reliable eyewitnesses or confession of the defendant. Since adhering to this high standard ran the risk of letting an unacceptably high number of guilty defendants walk free, a judge who had enough evidence to create a strong presumption of guilt but not enough to convict might order the use of torture as a means to extract a confession²⁴.

It should be emphasized that judges could not use torture in just any problematic case; centuries of legal precedent limited the types of person who could be subjected to the *quaestio*. In the law of the Roman Republic, the freeborn citizen’s person was inviolable, and only slaves could be tortured, either as defendants or as witnesses. By the 2nd century C.E., however, when the Romans had begun to divide themselves into *honestes* and *humiliores*, the latter were made subject to semi-servile legal disability, thus expanding the

21 *Fuero de Teruel*, chapters 490 and 493, ed. M. Gorosch, in: *Leges Hispanicae Medii Aevii*, I, ed. G. Tilander, Stockholm 1950.

22 *Constitucions de Catalunya* IX.8.2, in: *Constitucions i altres drets de Catalunya*, Barcelona 1704 (reprint 1973).

23 *Usatges de Barcelona*, no. 112: “Mariti uxores”, in: *Usatges de Barcelona*, ed. F. Valls Taberner, Málaga 1984.

24 J.H. Langbein, *Torture and the Law of Proof. Europe and England in the Ancien Régime*, Chicago 1977, pp. 3-6. For a detailed discussion of the half-proofs that might trigger an inquest and possibly the use of torture, see J.P. Lévy, *La hiérarchie des preuves dans le droit savant du moyen-âge. Depuis la renaissance du droit romain jusqu’à la fin du XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1939.

class of torturable persons to include free citizens of “low condition”²⁵. The use of torture fell into decline during the early Middle Ages, but it did not disappear entirely, especially in Iberia. Visigothic law, bound as it was to the late Roman law of the Theodosian code, generally allowed torture only rarely for nobles – usually only in cases of treason or similarly serious crimes – but relatively broadly for the lowest classes, and near-universally for slaves²⁶. Legal susceptibility to torture thus continued to be linked with socially debased condition into the high and later Middle Ages. After Lateran IV, anyone could be put to torture in cases of certain heinous crimes such as heresy, magic, treason, or counterfeiting²⁷, but torture was also applied more generally when the witnesses were persons of ill fame²⁸. As noted above, at least one Catalan procedural manual went so far as to opine that the testimony of slaves was worthless unless it was obtained under torture²⁹.

Turning away from the nature of the witnesses, we should also examine the nature of the procedures themselves. At first glance, the procedure in the fourteenth-century case at hand seems more similar to the ordeal by combat than it does to torture: two “combatants” on opposing sides of a legal dispute face off against each other, with a judicial official looking on to detect signs that one is more truthful than the other. Furthermore, this procedure lacks the physical pain and suffering that had been central to the definition of torture since the days of the Roman Empire³⁰. But if we think about the conceptual basis behind torture in a more general manner, it is, in essence, a way of applying pressure on the body to reveal the secrets of the mind, a way of forcing the body to work against the will of its owner and give up the truth. In a very real sense, this is what is happening in the procedure in this case: although the officials conducting the questioning never state precisely what they expect to happen, the strong implication seems to be that a person’s body would not permit them to lie without some sort of “tell”. In this case, the scribes recording the proceedings noted that both women made their

25 While the Digest routinely mentions torture in the case of slaves, now expanded from just criminal cases to include civil ones, it also brings it up, as appropriate for all persons, in cases involving treason; see Dig. 48.18, generally; see also Cod. 9.41. And around the same time, the use of torture expand in terms of categories of offense: not just treason, but now also other crimes such as poisoners, sorcerers, magicians, diviners, and even in some cases of homosexuality and (most relevant to this case) adultery. E. Peters, *Torture*, New York 1985, pp. 18-33.

26 *Leg. Vis. 6.1*, in: *Leges Visigothorum*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum sectio I: Legum nationum Germanicarum I*, ed. K. Zeumer, Hannoverae 1902.

27 E. Peters, *Torture*, pp. 43-61.

28 J.Q. Whitman, *The Origins...*, p. 101.

29 See above, n. 9.

30 Dig. 47.10.15.

statements “with a firm and unmoving gaze”, suggesting that the “tell” in this case would have been an inability of one person to maintain eye contact while lying to another, or falsely accusing another of lying³¹.

So, could this literal “face-off” have been a soft form of judicial torture, or an updated version of the ordeal by combat? While the similarities between the legal doctrines surrounding these two procedures and the particulars of the case at hand are suggestive, there are a number of compelling reasons to reject interpreting the procedure in this case as having been either one of these. In the first instance, the defining characteristic of the ordeal is its reliance on divine intervention, nowhere in the procedure involving Marta and Astrugona is God called down to render judgment; the result that the judge in this case seems to have been looking for seems to have been natural, rather than supernatural. Furthermore, where the procedure in this case seems to have been devised with fact-finding in mind, both torture and the ordeal were primarily concerned with providing proof of guilt or innocence where a strong presumption of guilt already existed³². The procedure in this case took place during the fact-finding phase of the inquest, rather than at the verdict, and was directed not at the main defendant, but at a pair of witnesses to what amounted to a secondary issue in a larger case.

Nevertheless, we have noted that the procedure in question shares a number of similarities with both the judicial ordeal and torture, suggesting that the judge may have drawn on one or both of these procedures as models. Both were designed to allow the judge to pronounce when hard proof is either lacking or (as in this case) ambiguous. They also would have been forms of questioning that medieval jurists would have considered particularly suitable to persons of debased legal condition. The fact that the two women implicated in this procedure were, respectively, a slave and a Jew, makes it conceivable that the presiding judge might find a version of the ordeal or torture an appropriate way to discern which of the two contradictory stories was true. It is also worth considering that, as recently as half a century before this case came before the courts, King Jaume II of Aragon had specifically instructed his judicial officials not to innovate in cases involving torture, insisting that they adhere to strict procedure³³. While this might be taken as proof that the

31 This procedure raises interesting questions about intersection of legal and medical discourses in medieval thought: How does the human body respond to what modern people would refer to as psychological pressure? Did medieval jurists assume a link between the hidden mental/emotional/spiritual processes of lying and the visible manifestation of signs in the body?

32 J.Q. Whitman, *The Origins...*, pp. 66-80.

33 *Privilegios reales concedidos a la ciudad de Barcelona*, eds. A.M. Aragó, M. Costa, Barcelona 1971, pp. 44-45. The privilege in question was promulgated in 1321.

Crown of Aragon was attempting to quash judicial creativity in matters of procedure, the fact that the king found it necessary to forbid such innovation suggests that the practice was widespread. Taken together, the evidence strongly suggests a climate in which judges faced with hard cases felt free to invent procedures to suit, but also that they did so by drawing on pre-existing procedures, adapting them to fit the circumstances at hand.

WOMEN AS “HARD CASES”

One final issue is crucial to our understanding of the procedure in this particular case: in addition to belonging to two socially marginal groups – slaves and Jews – whose testimony in legal cases would always be suspect, both of the witnesses subjected to this odd procedure were women. In general, writers on procedural law assigned only limited value to women’s testimony. In civil cases, their testimony was considered valid in the deaths of close relatives or patrons, or in certain types of treason, and canonists regarded women’s testimony as not only admissible but sometimes critical in cases involving marriage, especially with regard to questions of impediments such as impotence or consanguinity. But in general, the authors of procedural manuals viewed women’s testimony as useful only when a case touched on the stereotypically “female” realms of household, family, and sexuality. Some commentators did encourage more flexibility. The *Summa parisiensis* (ca. 1160), for example, argued that all witnesses be evaluated primarily on their personal reliability, rather than according to the broad category to which they belonged, and the *Liber extra* (1234) further expanded the types of cases for which women could provide testimony³⁴. But by and large, the expansion of the admissibility of female testimony in civil cases proceeded cautiously, still treating woman witnesses as generally unreliable³⁵. The rules surrounding criminal cases were even more restrictive. Procedural manuals for both Roman and canon law prohibited women as a class from giving testimony in most criminal cases, and since Marta and Astrugona’s testimony was part of a larger criminal accusation of attempted murder, these prohibitions on women’s testimony would seem to apply. But the same procedural manuals also enumerated areas

³⁴ J.Q. Whitman, *The Origins...*, pp. 66-80; J.A. Brundage, *Juridical Space...*, pp. 148-152. Pope Boniface VIII (ca. 1235-1303) seemed to take for granted that women would regularly be giving testimony when he specifically stipulated that women could not be compelled to appear personally in court, but might instead have a judge sent to them to take their testimony in private. Cf. *Liber sextus* 2.1.2

³⁵ The *Liber extra* at one point cites Isidore of Seville’s recommendation that women not be allowed to give testimony, “for females always produce varying and changeable testimony”. Cf. *Liber extra* 5.40.10.

of law in which women's testimony was helpful, notably in cases touching on marriage – including, by extension, the allegations of adultery that these two witnesses were speaking to³⁶.

We should note that Tancred urged judges to be loose constructionists in cases involving women's testimony, asserting that women might give testimony anywhere they were not expressly forbidden from doing so³⁷. He may have been exceptional among proceduralists in this regard, but the actual criminal courts of the city of Barcelona seem to have followed this looser approach, allowing women's testimony in a surprising range of cases³⁸. This state of affairs would have been due in large part to the increasing use of inquisitorial procedure in the secular courts of the later Middle Ages. Often associated with Church-sponsored efforts to find and punish heretics and relapsed converts from Judaism, *inquisitio* might be better understood in a more general sense: as a set of legal procedures designed to allow courts to find and prosecute "hidden" crimes that lacked a complaining witness³⁹. Rooted in Roman secular law, *inquisitio* first appeared in medieval ecclesiastical courts as a means to find and punish sexually incontinent clergy⁴⁰; it was only later (and more notoriously) used by Dominican inquisitors to root out heresy⁴¹. The procedure made the transition to the secular courts sometime during the 13th century, to be employed where there was a persistent rumor of criminal activity, but no direct witness. But in order for judicial officials to launch an inquest, there had to be a strong and persistent rumor of criminal activity. In this, inquisitorial courts thus relied on the existence of *fama* – that is, rumor, reputation, or common knowledge

36 Guilelmus Durandis, *Speculum iudiciale*, liber 1 pars 4: *De teste*, § 1 no. 83.

37 Tancred, *Ordo...*, v. *Prohibentur etiam mulieres*.

38 For a detailed analysis of women's participation as witnesses in criminal investigations, see M.A. Kelleher, *The Measure of Woman. Law and Female Identity in the Crown of Aragon*, Philadelphia 2010, pp. 37-45.

39 L. Kéry, *Inquisitio—denunciatio—exceptio. Möglichkeiten der Verfahrenseinleitung im Dekretalenrecht*, "Zeitschrift der Savigny – Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung" LXXXVII (2001), pp. 227-229.

40 J.A. Brundage, *Proof in Canonical Criminal Law*, "Continuity and Change" XI (1996), pp. 329-339.

41 English-language works focusing on this aspect of *inquisitio* date back at least as far as H.C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, New York 1888; more recently, see the overview by E. Peters, *Inquisition*, New York 1988. For a truly thorough and careful treatment of the early days and uses of the high medieval *inquisitio*, see W. Trusen, *Der Inquisitionsprozess. Seine historischen Grundlagen und frühen Formen*, "Zeitschrift der Savigny – Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung" LXXIV (1988), pp. 168-230. For a more recent argument emphasizing an essentially religious (rather than legal) interpretation of inquisition, see C.C. Ames, *Does Inquisition Belong to Religious History?*, "American Historical Review" CX (2005) 1, pp. 11-37.

within a community – to act as an “accuser”, so that a judge might be permitted to launch an *ex officio* investigation⁴².

As *fama* became crucial to the new process, the importance of women’s testimony increased accordingly, as the “common knowledge” of a community necessarily included the knowledge of all its members, both male and female. Royal courts in the fourteenth-century Crown of Aragon routinely drew on female testimony to establish the existence of sufficient *fama* in criminal cases. Sometimes the purpose was to access women’s supposedly more intimate knowledge of household affairs and sexuality⁴³. At other times, however, women’s testimony during the preliminary investigatory phases known variously as the *inquisitio famae* (investigation into the rumor) or the *inquisitio generalis* (a general inquest to establish whether or not there was a case to be made and a perpetrator to be charged) was incorporated without comment, either to establish that the rumor surrounding a case was broad-based within a community, or simply because women witnesses happened to be in the right place at the right time and the only witnesses to a key event⁴⁴. Marta, as a slave in Arnau’s and Antonia’s home, would have been privy to her mistress’s comings and goings in a way that others would not have. She also claims to have been entrusted with doing a little covert snooping for her master at the shop of the tailor Bonniu, and was the first to discover (if it was indeed a discovery) the secret note from Antonia to her lover. Astrugona also had special knowledge: she claimed to be able to discredit the witness who implicated her son in Antonia’s adulterous conspiracy. In cases like this (and others like it), women’s knowledge, often surrounding the domestic sphere, made them essential witnesses, if problematic ones, and medieval judges often found themselves ignoring the strictures of the procedural manuals that tried to exclude their testimony as unreliable.

CONCLUSIONS

In a legal culture where reliability was explicitly linked to status, judges could have a difficult time making a case if the best witnesses were also

⁴² *Liber extra* 5.3.31 (*Licet heli*); note that this same decretal required judges to find at least two community members of good reputation to testify to the existence of the *fama* before he would have grounds to proceed from the *inquisitio famae* (investigation into the rumor) to the *inquisitio veritatis* (investigation into the truth [of the charge]).

⁴³ See, for example, the decision of the *veguer* of Besalù to recruit three respectable women to conduct a thorough physical examination of a purported rape victim, nine year-old Ermessenda Sabater, to determine whether she was still a virgin; ACA, Processos en quart 321/1333C, 2-3v (1327-1333).

⁴⁴ M.A. Kelleher, *The Measure of Woman...*, pp. 37-45.

the least reliable. The fact that the Jewish woman Astrugona and the slave woman Marta were subjected to the same unusual fact-finding procedure suggests that Catalan jurists considered the testimony of Jews and slaves to be equivalent – if not precisely equal – in their unreliability. And because Barcelona, more so than most other medieval cities, abounded with members of both of these groups, situations like the one outlined here would have been a semi-regular occurrence for which the procedural manuals gave no guidance.

Do hard cases make bad law? Perhaps. But they also force judicial creativity. In this case, two established procedures, torture and the judicial ordeal, seem to have provided a springboard for a literal face-off between witnesses of equally debased legal condition. While a single case study, like a single witness in a medieval case, does not constitute evidence sufficient to render a certain verdict, this case does suggest that medieval judges might have relied on their own discretion not only to decide guilt or innocence but also to invent procedure that could aid in unraveling tough legal puzzles. Yet judges did not invent these procedures out of whole cloth; rather, they proceeded from accepted methods for getting at the truth. The procedural creativity on display in this case suggests that scholars investigating how medieval legal procedure played out in practice need to approach their cases with an awareness that judicial officials were not automatons: procedural manuals could only serve as guidelines, and jurists facing hard cases would be forced to innovate, even while making every attempt to ground these innovations in a foundation of accepted procedure. As medieval courts always considered the testimony of women problematic, and that of doubly differenced women even more so, those of us interested in the history of women and other legally marginal groups would especially do well to heed this caution.

ABSTRACT

In the course of a fourteenth-century inquest for attempted murder, court officials in the city of Barcelona were confronted with a procedural dilemma when two adult female witnesses directly contradicted each other's testimony to a key point of fact in the case. The situation was further complicated because both of the women in question – one a slave, the other a Jew – belonged to groups whose testimony procedural law manuals considered generally unreliable. Using this case as a jumping-off point, this article explores how issues surrounding the testimony of women, slaves, and Jews may have contributed to make hard cases, and how the way that judicial officials handled such cases demonstrates the dynamic nature of medieval procedural law, even in an age characterized by growing legal regularization. This case thus speaks to two distinct yet related issues in the fields of medieval law and women's history: first, the existence of a productive tension between standardization and innovation in procedural matters; second, the way the results of this tension might affect the legal fortunes marginal persons – both women in general, and doubly differenced women in particular.

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LACTATION AND BREAST DISEASES IN ANTIQUITY: MEDICAL AUTHORITIES ON BREAST HEALTH AND TREATMENT



The breasts are constantly on display in the twenty-first century: clothed or unclothed; as symbols for sexuality or for public health awareness; covered with lace or decorated with pink ribbons, depending on the agenda. Historical scholarship, however, has spent very little time on the breast, particularly in the ancient and medieval worlds. As many authors have shown over the past thirty years, ancient and medieval medical authors wrote in great depth about the uterus, trying to puzzle out the mysteries of fertility and childbirth. Thus it is not surprising that historical research has also leaned in that direction¹. Our own cultural understanding of reproductive systems, however, may also have led modern research to overlook ancient beliefs about the breasts and about breast health. In this paper I outline a view of the breast in ancient sources and the understanding of breast diseases in ancient and late ancient medicine by

¹ The author thanks Piotr Górecki and the members of the MEDMED-L listserv, moderated by Monica Green, for their help in preparing this essay. I am particularly grateful to Joan Cadden for her helpful comments. I am indebted to Klaus-Dietrich Fischer and José Pablo Barragán Nieto for references and suggestions.

The bibliography of ancient and medieval female biology and sexuality is now considerable. In English it is necessary to mention the work of M. Green, *Women's Healthcare in the Medieval West. Texts and Contexts*, Aldershot 2000; eadem, *The Transmission of Ancient Theories of Female Physiology and Disease Through the Early Middle Ages*, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton 1985; V.L. Bullough, *Medieval Medical and Scientific Views of Women*, "Viator" IV (1973), pp. 485-501; H. King, *Hippocrates' Woman. Reading the Female Body in Ancient Greece*, London 1998; L. Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science*, Oxford 1994; R. Flemming, *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women. Gender, Nature, and Authority from Celsus to Galen*, Oxford 2000; J. Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages. Medicine, Science, and Culture*, Cambridge 1993.

surveying the writings on breast disease from the Hippocratic corpus, Celsus, Soranus, and Galen, ending with some brief remarks on the transmission of their ideas to the early Middle Ages. I argue that the understanding of the breast is far less differentiated in this literature than the treatment of other problems identified with women, because the understanding of what the breast is and what it does was less differentiated between the different schools of thought of the ancient world. This is not true for the treatment of breast cancers and cancer-like conditions, which provide a more challenging diversity of opinion than general ideas about the breast.

The survey has a number of overall agendas. I would like to begin a conversation about the breast and its conceptualization in the ancient and medieval past. In this essay I hope to show that we do medical history a disservice if we do not include the breast when we discuss ancient concepts of reproduction, and by extension, femininity. Ancient medical authors saw the breasts as an integrated part of the reproductive system. Lactation was explained as a side effect of pregnancy, a natural redistribution of body fluids before and after parturition. As I will discuss below, ancient authors often used their theoretical linkages between the uterus and breasts as diagnostic tools for reproductive problems. Many breast conditions, therefore, were considered to be uterine problems rather than problems specific to the breast tissue. This assumption suggests that we, too, ought to connect the breasts and the reproductive system when discussing the history of medicine in this period.

THE HIPPOCRATIC CORPUS AND ARISTOTLE

The foundation texts of the Greco-Roman medical tradition, attributed to Hippocrates of Cos but actually the work of a number of different writers, provided opinions on the states, functions, and systems of the body that later writers had to acknowledge, whether they agreed or disagreed with them. In general, the works date between ca. 430 BCE and ca. 330 BCE, a period when medicine began to develop significantly in the Greek world². References to the breasts appear in many places in Hippocratic literature: in the gynecological works *Diseases of Women I and II*, *On the Nature of the Child* (ca. 420s BCE), and also in larger works such as the *Aphorisms*. The Hippocratic authors' views of the breasts and of the female body became the foundation of how other authors approached women's health and disease. Aristotle (384-322 BCE), particularly in his work *On the Generation of Animals*, also theorized about embryology, reproduction and the human body, and exerted a heavy

² For a brief but thorough survey of the Hippocratic corpus see the introduction to *Hippocratic Writings*, eds. G.E.R. Lloyd, J. Chadwick et al., London 1983.

influence on later thinkers. Although the different works by, and attributed to, these authors shared some similar points of view, the overall understanding of the makeup of the human body they displayed was inconsistent, obliging later authors to harmonize them retroactively into a coherent system³.

CELSUS

Celsus (ca. 25 BCE - 25 CE) is known to us only through the information he provided in his own works, and was clearly not considered by his contemporaries to be a professional medical practitioner⁴. In *De Medicina*, the only surviving section of an encyclopedia written in Latin in the early 1st century CE, Celsus claimed for himself a place in medicine not yet occupied by either Greek or Roman schools of thought. Persuaded by none of the commentators of his own time, he took care to criticize what he considered to be the flaws in their different points of view, leaning generally toward the practical and away from the theoretical⁵. In general, he leaned in the direction of the school of thought known as empiricism, which privileged the observation and experience of the individual practitioner and tended to deemphasize larger theories about the body, its function and its nature. Celsus reasoned that effective remedies must have been discovered through trial and error, and that as a result, "it does not matter what produces the disease but what relieves it"⁶. Celsus's commentary on cancer, including breast cancer, is widely quoted and discussed by modern authors, but often without the context that is necessary to understand it.

SORANUS

Soranus of Ephesus (2nd century CE) was the Greek author of *Gynecology*, the most influential work on women's health from the Imperial period. It was used and cited throughout the Middle Ages. He was certainly known

3 See especially L. Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies...*, pp. 225-232 and most recently, H. King, *Female Fluids in the Hippocratic Corpus. How Solid Was the Humoral Body?*, in: *The Body in Balance. Humoral Medicines in Practice*, eds. P. Horden, E. Hsu, New York 2013, pp. 25-52.

4 A helpful introduction to Celsus is O. Temkin, *Celsus 'On Medicine' and the Ancient Medical Sects*, "Bulletin of the History of Medicine" III (1935), pp. 249-265.

5 On Celsus, see the studies contained in *La médecine de Celse. Aspects historiques, scientifiques et littéraires*, eds. G. Sabbah, P. Mudry, Saint-Etienne 1994. On Celsus' view of his place in contemporary medical philosophy, see especially in that volume H. von Staden, *Mediā quodammodo diversas inter sententias. Celsus, the 'Rationalists', and Erasistratus*, in: *La médecine de Celse...*, pp. 77-101.

6 Celsus, *De medicina*, Prooemium 38-39, in: *Celsus De medicina*, ed. W.G. Spencer, Cambridge 1935 (henceforth: Spencer), I, pp. 20-21.

to Galen, who mentioned him, and he probably practiced in Alexandria for a time as well as in Rome. Caelius Aurelianus, his fifth-century translator, helped spread Soranus's influence around the Latin West. While only three of Soranus's works survive in Greek, he mentioned many more works, and some of his works survive only in their later Latin translations. Soranus worked in the school of thought that has come to be called "methodist", pioneered by Themison of Laodicea (ca. 123-143 BCE), in which practitioners did not work through an understanding of anatomy but rather through a systemized theory of whole-body balances. Themison's teacher Asclepiades of Bithynia (ca. 124-140 BCE) had theorized that the body consisted of pores which admitted or constricted flows of particles and fluids. Themison formed this into a theory of "communities" (*κοινότητες*) that classified physical problems into two broad general categories, tightness (*στεγνόν, strictura*) and looseness (*ρύσις, solutio*). Methodist practitioners sought to return the body to equilibrium by either tightening over-loose conditions or loosening conditions that were too tight, using remedies that were either constricting or relaxing. While he generally observed this formula, Soranus was less a dogmatic follower of methodism than a keen observer and experienced diagnostician. He often cited personal experience in his works and stating his opinion on the prevailing theories of other authors⁷.

Soranus's *Gynecology* is unusual among the works on women's health from his period, since he enumerated the preferable qualities, duties, and training for midwives⁸. As a result, the character of the *Gynecology* is more practical than the work of Galen⁹. Anne Ellis Hanson describes Soranus as having more social sophistication than the Hippocratic writers, based on his recognition that women's health was not entirely based on their reproductive organs¹⁰. This is also the reason that Danielle Gourevitch calls Soranus "practical, human, and (if we use an anachronism) feminist"¹¹. Soranus argued against the writers of his time who adopted the view that women's medical conditions were different from those of men. He stated instead that

⁷ Galen. *On the Therapeutic Method, Books I and II*, ed. R.J. Hankinson, Oxford 1991, pp. 69-70.

⁸ On Soranus's description of midwives see V. French, *Midwives and Maternity Care in the Roman World*, "Helios" XIII (1986) 2, pp. 69-84.

⁹ Two helpful introductions to Soranus may be found in D. Gourevitch's introduction to Soranus of Ephesus, *Maladies des femmes*, eds. P. Burguière, D. Gourevitch, Y. Malinas, II, Paris 1988, pp. XXIII-XXX; also the introduction to Caelius Aurelianus, *On Acute Diseases and On Chronic Diseases*, ed. I.E. Drabkin, Chicago 1950, pp. XVI-XVIII.

¹⁰ A. Ellis Hanson, *The Medical Writers' Woman*, in: *Before Sexuality. The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, eds. D.M. Halperin, J.J. Winkler, F.I. Zeitlin, Princeton 1990, p. 330.

¹¹ D. Gourevitch, *Introduction*, in: *Maladies des femmes*, II, p. XXXVI. See also her introduction to volume III, pp. VII-XIII.

there exist natural conditions [*πάθοι*] in women peculiarly their own (as conception, parturition, and lactation if one wishes to call these functions conditions) [...] [but] the female has her illness in common with the male, she suffers from constriction or from flux, either acutely or chronically, and she is subject to the same seasonal differences¹².

It is difficult to tell from Soranus' extant work whether he always held to this distinction between reproductive and non-reproductive problems, and the extent to which he was familiar with the Hippocratic corpus, since he did not mention the Hippocratic treatise *Diseases of Women I* in his *Gynecology*¹³. He did specifically reject some Hippocratic ideas, as we shall see below, but accepted others that covered the functions and health of the breast.

GALEN

Galen of Pergamum (129 - ca. 216 CE) became the best-known medical authority in the Latin West after the Imperial period. Born and trained in the Greek-speaking section of the Roman Empire, he apparently studied at Smyrna, Alexandria and Corinth before becoming the physician to a school of gladiators. Around 169, the emperor Marcus Aurelius appointed him court physician to his son Commodus, and as court physician Galen wrote an enormous corpus of works¹⁴. He continued to live in Rome, probably until his death around 216 CE.

In contrast to Soranus and Celsus, Galen operated firmly inside the dogmatic Hellenistic tradition which privileged the knowledge of anatomy and the study of physical processes as the keys to medical intervention. According to Galen a doctor who did not understand the overall processes behind disease could not identify a proper treatment, and was not a "physician" but a "prescriber" whose remedies would be ineffective¹⁵. Galen's understanding of physical systems, inherited and streamlined from the Hippocratic tradition, was based on the concept of four humors – blood,

¹² Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, ed. O. Temkin, Baltimore 1956 (henceforth: Temkin), p. 132.

¹³ A. Ellis Hanson, M.H. Green, *Soranus of Ephesus. Methodicorum Princeps*, "Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt" II (1994) 37, pp. 996-997.

¹⁴ On Galen's life and his influence see L. García-Ballester, *Galen and Galenism. Theory and Medical Practice from Antiquity to the European Renaissance*, Aldershot 2002, pp. 1-53; O. Temkin, *Galenism. Rise and Decline of a Medical Philosophy*, Ithaca (NY) 1973. Two monograph biographies of Galen have recently appeared: S.P. Mattern, *Prince of Medicine. Galen in the Roman World*, New York 2013; V. Boudon-Millot, *Galien de Pergame. Un médecin grec à Rome*, Paris 2012.

¹⁵ In other words, not an *ιατρός* but a *φαρμακεύς*; L. García-Ballester, *Galen and Galenism...*, p. 23. Galen was particularly disdainful towards methodism, but Hankinson points out that Galen was never as critical of Soranus as of other methodists. *Galen. On the Therapeutic Method...*, p. XXIX.

phlegm, yellow bile and black bile – which were admixtures of the four cardinal elements: air, fire, water and earth. Each part of the body partook of some combination of the four. Philosophical thought arranged these groups of four into contrasting pairs according to moisture, dryness, heat and cold. Galen understood the body as existing in an equilibrium that was natural (*κατὰ φύσιν*) and defined some illnesses as conditions contrary to nature (*παρὰ φύσιν*)¹⁶. The physician had to combine his reason, his experience, and his knowledge of the body's anatomy to decide what interventions were appropriate for a given illness. Galen had a strong teleological understanding of anatomy that explained the different structures in the body as suited specifically to their functions. If parts of the body were out of balance and not functioning properly, a physician should intervene with therapies that restored proper function. Functional reasoning could be adapted to treat individuals with specific kinds of humoral problems common to their sex, habits, or personal disposition¹⁷. This approach characterized Galen's understanding of the female body and its anatomy as well as his explanation for breast diseases.

THE BREASTS AND LACTATION

The breasts are an extremely visible reminder that men's and women's bodies do not usually share the same secondary sexual characteristics. Many scholars have argued, however, that ancient Greek thinkers considered anatomical differences to be secondary to the fundamentally different quality of women's flesh from that of men. The author of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Glands* compared the texture of glandular tissue to raw wool, and similarly, the author of *Diseases of Women I* compared all the tissue in women's bodies to wool. Wool was porous and spongy and could absorb large quantities of liquid. While men had no other tissue in their bodies with this quality, women were made up entirely of porous tissue. This, as we shall see, made it possible for them not only to menstruate and lactate but also made them prone to illnesses to which men were not subject¹⁸.

The Hippocratic works *Diseases of Women I*, *On Generation* and *On the Nature of the Child* are believed to be some of the oldest texts in the corpus, a testimony to the considerable concern an ancient society might express about fertility in an age of high infant mortality¹⁹. It is easy to understand

¹⁶ L. García-Ballester, *Galen and Galenism...*, pp. 36-39; *Galen. On Diseases and Symptoms*, ed. I. Johnston, Cambridge 2006, pp. 21-22.

¹⁷ See the vocabulary explicated in *Galen. On Diseases...*, pp. 27-31.

¹⁸ L. Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies...*, pp. 55-58.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

how a society concerned with fertility might observe women to determine what relationship their body morphology and characteristics had to their reproductive capabilities, and the Hippocratic texts clearly show that they studied menstruation in order to predict, control, and repair fertility. Lesley Dean-Jones calls menstrual blood “the linchpin of both Hippocratic and the Aristotelian theories on how women differed from men”²⁰. This difference was a difference of quality of flesh, more important than anatomy, though Helen King has shown that both anatomy, particularly of the womb, and spongy tissue were central to Greek medical conceptualizations of women²¹.

In other Hippocratic treatises, the authors emphasized the whole-body difference of women from men less than differences in particular body structures. *On Ancient Medicine* (ca. 400 BCE) included the breasts in a list of the “spongy and porous parts” of the body, which also included the spleen and lung. These parts naturally attracted moisture into them and became “hard and dense” as they became saturated²². The underlying logic – anything that emitted liquid must also absorb liquid – was probably consistent with what the Hippocratic authors were able to observe, and probably with what women described, about the lactating breast, and fit in with their observation that some women had denser breast tissue than others²³. Subsequent ancient and medieval writers took as a given that breast tissue was spongelike (σπογγώδης)²⁴. This explanation worked effectively for all the various systems of understanding breast health, because a breast understood in this way could be treated by expansion or contraction by a methodist healer while being treated humorally by a dogmatist.

The moist quality of the breast also fitted nicely with the explanations of female physiology and embryology that Galen later developed into a system. Galen explained that female fertility depended on the porous, cold, and humid nature of the female body. Too much heat in the uterus, he argued, would make a female fetus develop into a male – heat would cause the generative

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 225.

²¹ H. King, *Hippocrates' Woman...*, pp. 33-36, 248-249. King's work presents a nuanced view of the historiographical discussion begun around the “one sex” model proposed by T. Laqueur, *Making Sex. Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge 1990. King outlines the historiographical conversation on this point in H. King, *The Mathematics of Sex. One to Two, or Two to One?*, in: *Sexuality and Culture in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. P.M. Soergel, New York 2005, pp. 47-58. See also J.B. Bonnard, *Corps masculin et corps féminin chez les médecins grecs*, “Clio” XXXVII (2013) 1, pp. 21-39.

²² *On Ancient Medicine* 22, in: *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 85; *Hippocrates On Ancient Medicine. Translated with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. M. Schiefsky, Leiden 2005, pp. 106-107, 335.

²³ On the different densities of flesh in individual women, see *The Hippocratic Treatises, 'On Generation', 'On the Nature of the Child', 'Diseases IV'. A Commentary*, ed. I.M. Lonie, Berlin 1981, p. 13.

²⁴ L. Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies...*, p. 56.

organs to form outside the body and “disperse”, via evaporation, all the moisture. Although Aristotle had been right, Galen admitted, to call a female creature less perfect than a male, the uterine “mutilation” of the female was necessary for reproduction²⁵. The movement of fluids around the female body, and the changes those fluids underwent through the process of fetal development, were what made pregnancy and lactation possible.

For all the ancient medical authors after Aristotle, breast milk was the byproduct of the quickening of the embryo and the movement of fluids into the breast tissue²⁶. Liquids that were displaced by the growing child were forced into the breasts, which then absorbed them and after birth redirected them into the nipples for the child. The Hippocratic treatise *On the Nature of the Child* explained:

The cause of lactation is as follows: when the womb becomes swollen because of the child it presses against the woman’s stomach, and if this pressure occurs while the stomach is full, the fatty parts of the food and drink are squeezed out into the omentum and the flesh. [...] Now from this fatty substance, which is warmed and white in color, that portion which is made sweet by the action of heat coming from the womb, is squeezed into the breasts²⁷.

A small amount of this substance went into the womb to nourish the embryo. After the birth, once nursing began, the breasts absorbed more and more milk from the flesh, causing the corresponding loss of weight in the mother, and presumably weight gain in the newborn.

Most ancient authors connected breast milk directly with menstrual blood, although *On the Nature of the Child* did not specifically say that the “fatty substance” that became milk was connected to blood or to menstruation. The blood and milk connection seems to have originated with Empedocles (ca. 495-435 BCE), who theorized that in the eighth month of pregnancy the menstrual blood that was not needed to build or nourish the fetus became a “white pus” as it moved to the breasts²⁸. Aristotle cited this theory in *On the Generation of Animals* and rejected it. He agreed that milk came from blood, since “the material out of which Nature forms and fashions the animal are

²⁵ Galen, *De usu partium*, in: M.T. May, *Galen. On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body (De Usu Partium)*, I-II, Ithaca (NY) 1968, II, p. 630.

²⁶ Commentary on *De natura puerorum* 21.2-4, in: *The Hippocratic Treatises...*, p. 208.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

²⁸ L. Dean-Jones, *Women’s Bodies...*, pp. 220-221, suggests that Empedocles may have believed that milk that sat in a woman’s breasts for too long became putrefied, so a woman who experienced too much buildup of milk in the breasts risked having her milk go bad. Thus Empedocles may not have meant that all breast milk was related to pus, although Aristotle clearly interpreted the suggestion this way.

one and the same", but objected to the idea that the blood became putrefied as it became milk: "No; putrefaction and concoction are opposites, and pus is a putrefaction, whereas milk is to be classed as something concocted"²⁹. This way, if a menstruating woman was not lactating, and a lactating woman was not menstruating, ancient thinkers could assume that the same liquid (changed by its exposure to heat inside the body) was emerging from different places. Aristotle had also asserted that conception was not possible while breastfeeding because the materials needed for conception were moving to the breasts³⁰. *Diseases of Women I* explained that because of suckling "it follows that the rest of the body is emptier and is less full of blood"³¹. "This is the reason", wrote Galen later, "why the female cannot menstruate properly and give suck at the same time; for one part is always dried up when the blood turns toward the other"³².

The Hippocratic treatises were not specific about exactly how cooked menstrual blood/milk made its way from the uterus up to the breasts. The *Epidemics* stated that "There is a thick vein in each breast", not necessarily connected to the uterus³³. Soranus wrote that the uterus and breast were connected by a "vessel" (*αγγείον*)³⁴. Galen, however, was the only one to make an explicit description of these vessels. He stated that the uterus and breasts were formed to be "of service in a single work", and therefore described vessels between them that

are the only vessels in the animal which, arising from regions above the diaphragm, descend to the lower parts of the body, and the only ones which begin below and pass upward³⁵.

29 Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, ed. A.L. Peck, Cambridge 1963, p. 473.

30 Ibidem.

31 K. Whiteley, *Hippocrates' Diseases Of Women Book 1. Greek Text with English Translation and Footnotes*, M.A. thesis, University of South Africa 2003 (<http://uir.unisa.ac.za/handle/10500/1620>); *The Hippocratic Treatises...*, p. 205. Although women in recent generations have not always experienced a suspension of menstruation while nursing, it is possible that ancient women often did in the nutritional profile of antiquity. Even today, women who experience amenorrhea during breastfeeding experience a significant contraceptive effect, as high as 96 percent, although suppression of fertility is not absolute and the rate at which menstruation returns varies widely by individual. For an overview see K.I. Kennedy, C.M. Visness, *Contraceptive Efficacy of Lactational Amenorrhoea*, "The Lancet" CCCXXXIX (1992) 8787, pp. 227-230.

32 Galen, *De usu partium*, in: M.T. May, *Galen...*, II, p. 638. This does not mean, for Galen, that a woman cannot become pregnant while lactating; see below, n. 62.

33 *Epidemics*, in: *Hippocrates Volume VII: Epidemics 2, 4-7*, ed. W.D. Smith, Cambridge 1994, p. 83.

34 Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, in: Temkin, p. 78. See also *Maladies des femmes...*, II, p. 14.

35 Galen, *De usu partium*, in: M.T. May, *Galen...*, II, p. 638.

It is possible that these thinkers were interpreting the more prominent blood vessels they saw on lactating breasts as containing the milk supply. Galen also theorized that the breasts were on the front of the body, rather than lower on the body as in animals, so as to take advantage of the heat coming from the heart, which would allow the blood to cook properly into milk. In return the breasts protected and warmed the heart “like the woolen mantles we throw around us”³⁶.

The relationship ancient thinkers identified between breast milk and menstrual blood led them to use lactation as a diagnostic tool for pregnancy, for the uterus and for fertility problems. Swelling breasts were an early sign of conception. Several ancient authors used the presence or absence of milk in the breasts to predict the health, and even the sex, of the developing embryo. The *Aphorisms* suggested that milk in the breasts during pregnancy predicted a “weak” child³⁷. Galen explained that this weakness came from blood that had arrived in the breasts too early: “[A]ll the surplus left in the veins by a weak fetus unable to attract enough to nourish itself suitably rises to the breasts”³⁸. Celsus agreed that breast milk in a woman who was not pregnant was a sign of “defective menstruation”, because clearly her menstrual blood was not going to the fetus³⁹. Conversely, if a pregnant woman’s breasts were too empty or suddenly shrank, the fetus was distressed and a miscarriage would soon follow.

The *Aphorisms* also alleged that the right side of the uterus produced males and the left side females; if a woman who was pregnant with twins suddenly had her right breast become “thin”, she would miscarry a male child, or a female child if the left breast reduced⁴⁰. Galen endorsed this view, using a method by which male and female developed according to a right-left dichotomy in the horns of the uterus⁴¹. Soranus repeated this position, but rejected it, as he did the idea that male fetuses moved more energetically than female ones: “These things”, he wrote, “are more plausible than true”, for he had not observed such things himself⁴². However, Celsus, Soranus and Galen all held to the Hippocratic assertion that a sudden loss of firmness in the breasts predicted miscarriage.

36 Ibidem, I, pp. 392-393.

37 *Aphorisms*, in: *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 225; *Oeuvres complètes d’Hippocrates*, ed. É. Littré, I-X, Paris 1936-1961, IV, pp. 550-551.

38 Galen, *De usu partium*, in: M.T. May, *Galen...*, II, p. 639.

39 Celsus, *De medicina*, in: Spencer, I, pp. 152-153.

40 *Aphorisms*, in: *Hippocratic Writings*, pp. 224-225; *Oeuvres complètes d’Hippocrates*, IV, pp. 544-545.

41 Galen, *De usu partium*, in: M.T. May, *Galen...*, II, pp. 635-638.

42 Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, in: Temkin, p. 45. *Maladies des femmes...*, I, pp. 42-43.

The association of breasts and uterus extended into the assumption that fluid in the breasts would affect fluids in the uterus. The *Epidemics* listed a pallid color in the nipple and areola as a sign of disease in the womb⁴³. The *Aphorisms* suggested applying cupping-glasses below the breasts to lessen a heavy menstrual flow, which Galen later repeated in *On the Therapeutic Method*⁴⁴. Celsus also repeated this advice, though he preferred cupping the groin as the first resort⁴⁵.

WET-NURSING AND MILK QUALITY

The connection between breasts and uterus we have identified comes through especially strongly in Soranus's discussions of postpartum care and lactation. Soranus gave clear directions to the midwife-practitioner who might be asked to recommend a good wet-nurse to a father or other relative⁴⁶. He recommends selecting a woman of large frame, because "everything else being equal, milk from large bodies is more nourishing", and "of a good color: for in such women, bigger vessels carry the material up to the breasts so that there is more milk"⁴⁷. Medium-sized breasts were best, both because they were easier for the newborn to suckle and because larger breasts might have so much milk in them that what the child did not drink became putrid. The wet-nurse must also avoid sex:

For coitus cools the affection toward the nursling by the diversion of sexual pleasure and moreover spoils and diminishes the milk or suppresses it entirely by stimulating menstrual catharsis through the uterus or by bringing about conception⁴⁸.

⁴³ *Epidemics*, in: *Oeuvres completes d'Hippocrates*, V, pp. 318-319; *Hippocrates...*, ed. W.D. Smith, p. 245.

⁴⁴ *Aphorisms*, in: *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 225; *Oeuvres completes d'Hippocrates*, IV, pp. 550-551; Galen, *De methodo madendi*, in: *Galen. Method of Medicine*, eds. I. Johnston, G.H.R. Horsley, Cambridge 2011, II, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁵ Celsus, *De medicina*, in: Spencer, I, pp. 448-449.

⁴⁶ On wet-nursing generally, see V.A. Fildes, *Wet Nursing from Antiquity to the Present*, Oxford 1988. On wet-nursing in ancient Greece, see A. Abou Aly, *The Wet Nurse. A Study in Ancient Medicine and Greek Papyri*, "Vesalius. Acta Internationales Historiae Medicinae" II (1996) 2, pp. 86-97. On the Imperial period, see: S.R. Joshel, *Nurturing the Master's Child. Slavery and the Roman Child-Nurse*, "Signs" XII (1986), pp. 3-22; M. Corbier, *La petite enfance à Rome. Lois, normes, pratiques individuelles et collectives*, "Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales" LIV (1999), pp. 1274-1275. On the Roman family, see *The Family in Ancient Rome. New Perspectives*, ed. B. Rawson, Ithaca (NY) 1986.

⁴⁷ Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, in: Temkin, p. 91; *Maladies des femmes...*, II, p. 29.

⁴⁸ Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, in: Temkin, pp. 92-93. *Maladies des femmes...*, II, p. 30.

Soranus advised that milk that had red streaks in it was “raw”, as though the body had not cooked the blood properly before it entered the breasts, and he cautioned that a woman who lost her milk was possibly suffering from a “local disease of the uterus or of some other organ”⁴⁹. He recommended a gradually-tightened bandage on the breasts of a mother who did not plan to nurse her child herself, so as to encourage the vessels of the breast to close up⁵⁰, and presumably permit a renewal of her fertility.

Galen also gave advice about wet-nursing in his treatise *On Hygiene*, advising as did Soranus that nursing women should abstain from sex because pregnancy would harm the quality of the milk. “For menstruation is provoked by intercourse, and the milk no longer remains sweet”. Worse, the blood diverted to the fetus made the milk become “not only less, but inferior”⁵¹. This inferior milk might be too thin, or “thick and cheesy”, because of the pregnancy, or because something was wrong with the mother⁵².

Soranus was also concerned with milk quality, and he suggested that because larger breasts held more milk, they might not be drained completely. The milk left in the breasts could spoil and become too thick, with the consistency of honey, and be too hard for an infant to digest. Thus Soranus has a long section in the *Gynecology* on how to examine milk for its quality⁵³. Galen and Soranus agreed that medium thick, medium-white milk was best, because it showed signs of proper cooking and proper flow from the rest of the body. These instructions to parents and wet-nurses reflected the overall view of the uterus-breast system: activity in the uterus affected activity in the breasts, potentially to the detriment of the health of a newborn, if not managed carefully.

Reviewing the statements of these authors about lactation and fertility suggests that the breasts occupied a significant place inside their understanding of the female reproductive system and, by extension, in the ancient concept of the gendered body. The belief in the moist, spongy quality of female flesh, as Helen King has argued, made up a great deal of the Hippocratic understanding of what made a woman different from a man⁵⁴. The full-body difference was also true for Galen, whose long discourse in

⁴⁹ Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, in: Temkin, pp. 95, 101; *Maladies des femmes...*, II, pp. 33, 40.

⁵⁰ Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, in: Temkin, pp. 77-78; *Maladies des femmes...*, II, p. 14.

⁵¹ Galen, *De sanitate tuenda*, in: *A Translation of Galen's Hygiene, De Sanitate Tuenda*, ed. R. Montraville Green, Springfield 1951, p. 31.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 30.

⁵³ Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, in: Temkin, pp. 94-96. Dean-Jones suggests that this may have been what Empedocles was suggesting about breast milk as well, see above, n. 28.

⁵⁴ H. King, *Hippocrates' Woman...*, pp. 28-29.

On the Usefulness of the Parts on genitourinary anatomy described female reproductive organs as an exact inversion of male ones. "All the parts, then, that men have, women have too", he declared⁵⁵. This may have included the vessels that went from a woman's breasts to the uterus or from a man's chest to the scrotum⁵⁶. When Galen discussed the breasts, however, he was clearly viewing them as a source of lactation, as opposed to the chest region of both men and women. Since men did not lactate, he was forced to explore whether female bodies might have parts that men's bodies did not⁵⁷. This appears in a brief section of his work *On Semen*, while Galen was proving to his satisfaction that women produced their own seed. Galen quoted Athenaeus of Attalia (1st century CE) as saying that women had spermatic vessels but did not produce seed, in the same way that men had nipples but did not produce milk. He argued to the contrary that most men did not have "glandular bodies" around their nipples like women (though "some few" men did), but that women had ovaries and fallopian tubes that were "full of semen"⁵⁸. He did not explore this statement in the opposite direction to explain why men might have breast glands that they did not use. It is also not clear in Galen's discussion whether the larger glands around women's nipples actually produced milk or simply made the breasts larger to keep the heart warm⁵⁹.

Celsus leaned on the Hippocratic statements in the *Aphorisms* about the role of the uterus in female health and did not theorize heavily about the humors. For Celsus, "next to the stomach this organ [the uterus] is affected the most by the body, and has the most influence upon it"⁶⁰. Taking the

55 Galen, *De usu partium*, in: M.T. May, *Galen...*, II, p. 628.

56 *Ibidem*, p. 638. May wonders why the scrotum is included in a discussion of the uterus and breasts, and suggests Galen meant the ovaries. I think it might be read as written – that is, the vessels that take blood to the uterus have their counterpart in vessels that take blood to the testes. This is not, however, made explicit.

57 In addition to the other places noted above, see also *ibidem*, p. 673: "For man [Nature] provided milk as nutriment, producing two things at one appointed time, nutriment in the breasts of the mother, and in the infants to be nourished an eager desire for such a juice".

58 *De semine*, in: Galen, *Opera omnia*, ed. K.G. Kühn, Hildesheim 1964, IV, pp. 599-600 (henceforth: Kühn); Galen, *On Semen*, ed. P. de Lacy, in: *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, III, 1, Berlin 1992, pp. 150-151.

59 In Galen, *On Semen*, p. 251, the editor points out that this part of Galen's work is vague enough that it can be read as attributing the production of milk to glands as opposed to the veins and arteries. Galen sidestepped the issue of men's nipples in *De usu partium* writing, "Why the breasts in the male are not greatly elevated, as they are in the female, is a physical [physiological] problem, and so this is not the place to discuss it, but it can be said here in this present book that, like everything else, this too has been arranged by a Nature that is provident" – M.T. May, *Galen...*, II, p. 383. Flemming rightly comments, "The male breasts and nipples should really have given Galen more difficulty" – R. Flemming, *Medicine...*, p. 313, n. 72.

60 Celsus, *De medicina*, in: Spencer, I, pp. 446-447.

advice of the *Aphorisms* he advised against phlebotomy on pregnant women and repeated in various places much of the *Aphorisms'* advice about the health of the fetus⁶¹. Celsus' work does not show a clear effort on his part to depart from his reading of Hippocrates on the breasts and lactation, and his treatment of gynecological problems was somewhat perfunctory. Thus he was less interested in nosology, and also gave less sophisticated justification for his actions than Galen.

Soranus stated clearly that in his view, only a distinctly female reproductive activity – birth, lactation, and so forth, which he called a “condition” (πάθος) – could cause a specifically female health issue, and not the overall quality of a woman's flesh⁶². But he still accepted many of the Hippocratic arguments that the condition of the breasts showed what was happening in the uterus, especially when they suddenly shrank just before a miscarriage, or when they were tender, swollen and painful in early pregnancy⁶³. He treated them according to the tenets of methodism, attempting to relax swelling and discomfort through the application of soothing materials and support.

BREAST DISEASE AND CANCER IN THE PAST

With an understanding of how ancient authors, despite their different theoretical foundations, connected the breast and the uterus, we can now turn to a discussion of breast diseases. This topic is also illuminating, as it shows the connection between the breasts and the uterus in a different way, especially in the case of “cancer”. This exploration will show that the generally similar point of view between our ancient authors about the relationship between the uterus and the breasts did not extend to their view of breast disease. I am going to focus on their discussions of breast masses to illustrate this point.

Studying “cancer” in ancient texts, when what we mean is neoplastic growth (benign or malignant), is very problematic. Luke Demaitre has noted that for medieval authors,

The word *cancer* covered an increasing variety of swellings anywhere in the body, although a wide range of evidence attests to both its

⁶¹ Against bleeding as a therapy for pregnant women, *Aphorisms*, and *De medicina*, in: Spencer, I, pp. 122-123. Some other parallels with the *Aphorisms* include: *De medicina*, in: Spencer, I, pp. 152-153, on the shriveling of the breasts before miscarriage; *Aphorisms*, also to *De medicina*, on the presence of milk in a woman who is not pregnant as a symptom of blocked menstruation.

⁶² Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, in: Temkin, p. 132; *Maladies des femmes...*, III, p. 3.

⁶³ Soranus of Ephesus, *Gynecology*, in: Temkin, pp. 44, 62. *Maladies des femmes...*, I, pp. 65-66.

etymological origin and its primary significance as referring to breast cancer.

Strangely, however, the word *cancer* appeared neither in Soranus nor in the major gynecological works of the Middle Ages such as the *Trotula*⁶⁴. This semantic problem will require us to look at the terminology used for breast masses and other related complaints.

We may first ask whether we can say with any certainty whether breast cancer, that is, malignant neoplastic growth, was a widespread problem for ancient women. It is generally assumed that modern populations see a greater frequency of all neoplastic conditions, shaped in part by longer lifespans, lower infant mortality, decreased mortality from infectious diseases, and increased environmental contaminants⁶⁵. Osteoarchaeologists are discovering more evidence for malignancies, including breast carcinomas, in ancient burials, though not all neoplastic conditions affect bone⁶⁶. In addition, many ancient women simply would not have lived long enough to fall into the at-risk group; death in childbirth and other causes would have meant that many women died young. Aufderheide and Rodríguez-Martin cite a statistic that shows that 87 percent of cancer deaths in the 1990s occurred in people over age 55, while an estimated ninety percent of ancient populations did not live that long⁶⁷. The identification of cancer as a disease of the breast, particularly in older women, might also have been because women who survived their childbearing years were at greater risk for breast masses and that ancient authors recognized the connection.

It is also likely that medical practitioners did not see women with breast masses until those masses were advanced and that practitioners could easily identify them as sharing a condition⁶⁸. There is circumstantial evidence for

⁶⁴ L. Demaitre, *Medieval Notions of Cancer. Malignancy and Metaphor*, "Bulletin of the History of Medicine" LXXII (1998), p. 610. On the treatment of breast cancers in medieval medicine, see also M. Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine. The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology*, Oxford 2008.

⁶⁵ For example, R. Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire*, Norman 1988, pp. 90-91, comments that although breast cancer is mentioned in Roman sources, "breast cancer appears to have been far less prevalent than it is today".

⁶⁶ See, for example, M.K. Marks, M.D. Hamilton, *Metastatic Carcinoma. Palaeopathology and Differential Diagnosis*, "International Journal of Osteoarchaeology" XVII (2007) 3, pp. 217-234. Using a modern skeleton from a patient who died of untreated metastatic carcinoma, Marks and Hamilton identify a number of markers by which osteoarchaeologists and paleoanthropologists might distinguish between conditions that mark the bone in similar ways.

⁶⁷ A. Aufderheide, C. Rodríguez-Martin, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Human Paleopathology*, Cambridge 1998, p. 374.

⁶⁸ In a study of nineteenth and early twentieth-century untreated breast cancers, Bloom et al. showed that women who came to the hospital with breast masses had often harbored them for many years before seeking treatment; one might wonder if Greco-Roman women also

breast complaints (or at least, concerns related to the breast) in the religious votives offered to various Greek gods and goddesses⁶⁹. *Ex-voto* religious objects from Roman Gaul, dating from the 1st to 4th centuries CE, show breasts clearly displaying ulcerative wounds⁷⁰. Such examples are not direct evidence but are suggestive that conditions of the breast were a concern for ancient peoples.

Views about breast disease might also have been shaped by the fact that the breasts were prominent on the body, and prominent in the visual identification of a person as a female, so that it was easy to identify cancer as a breast disease, as opposed to a disease of, say, the lungs⁷¹. In Greek erotic literature (as in many cultures) the breasts were a symbol of female beauty and desirability⁷². Isabelle Boehm has shown that the breasts also had an important role in Greek drama as the symbols of fertility, motherhood and sacrifice, and that women in drama displayed their breasts to evoke mercy or pity. The symbolism was particularly acute in scenes when women showed their breasts to their grown sons in attempting to make them remember the emotional connection of nursing. This was a gesture done as a last resort; other scenes from drama showed women (or female impersonators) reacting with horror at the idea of exposing their breasts⁷³. Greco-Roman concepts of modesty might make a woman reluctant to speak of her illness despite its gravity. Ellen Leopold has written that

waited before asking for treatment advice, see H.J.G. Bloom, W.W. Richardson, E.J. Harries, *Natural History of Untreated Breast Cancer (1805-1933)*, "British Medical Journal" II (1962) 5299, pp. 213-221. Aufderheide and Rodríguez-Martin point out that since "most cancers in antiquity were incurable [...] we would anticipate much larger neoplasms than we normally encounter today in clinical practice – often with fungating, ulcerative lesions" – A. Aufderheide, C. Rodríguez-Martin, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia...*, p. 373.

69 R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, Oxford 2005, pp. 412, 433, points out that it is not clear in Greek votives whether offerings of breasts are because of disease or are requests for successful lactation.

70 P. Vauthey, M. Vauthey, *Les Ex-voto anatomiques de la Gaule romaine (essai sur les maladies et infirmités de nos ancêtres)*, "Revue archéologique du centre de la France" XX (1983) 2, p. 78. See also A. Bernard, P. Vassal, *Étude médicale des ex-voto des sources de la Seine*, "Revue archéologique de l'est et du centre-est" IX (1958), p. 335, fig. 128-130.

71 This is one contention of I. Löwy, *Le genre du cancer*, "Clio" XXXVII (2013) 1, pp. 65, 80.

72 D.E. Gerber, *The Female Breast in Greek Erotic Literature*, "Arethusa" II (1978), p. 207.

73 I. Boehm, *Le Sein des seins. Sémantisme et symbolisme du sein sur la scène et dans le cabinet du médecin en Grèce à l'époque classique*, in: *O Feminino nas Línguas, Culturas e Literaturas. Congresso Internacional que decorreu na Universidade da Madeira de 24 a 27 de Novembro de 1999*, eds. M.E. Almeida, M. Maillard, Funchal 2000, pp. 51-59. I am grateful to Prof. Boehm, Jean-François Vincent of Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Santé (Paris), and Michael North of National Library of Medicine (Bethesda, MD) for helping me obtain a copy of this work. A wider exploration of the symbolism of the breast is M. Yalom, *A History of the Breast*, New York 1998, pp. 18-26.

The breast itself carries so many of the culture's expectations of women, particularly of their nurturing and sexual obligations, that any symptoms of disease or disorder it manifests can have disproportionately powerful reverberations⁷⁴.

Although a woman with breast disease might have fulfilled her social function by surviving her childbearing years, her illness (and, in the case of malignancy, inevitable death) must have had a heavy emotional impact on her family and on her society.

TUMORS AND CANCERS IN HIPPOCRATIC TEXTS

Ancient authors recognized that not all swellings had the same causes or prognoses, but their etiological assumptions about them makes distinguishing between what we would now identify as separate conditions difficult. It will be helpful to look closely at some terminology to make sense of the descriptions of our ancient authors. We should not expect that we will learn what the authors were "really" diagnosing; rather, our effort will be to see what kinds of complaints they identified and where they thought they originated.

In trying to understand cancer or cancer-like conditions, including those of the breast, our ancient authors after the Hippocratics wrestled with the question of defining what the Hippocratic authors had meant when they chose particular words. They also tried to rationalize methods for deciding what treatment might be appropriate for the conditions they identified. Their solutions were not uniform, nor were their points of view in concord with one another. However, we can sometimes connect their views on cancer with their views on the breast, which provides us with an interesting way of viewing the uterus-breast system that we have discussed thus far. As the following examples will show, when they approached breast diseases, the similarities between their understandings of the uterus and breast disappeared.

The most important text for authors who tried to discuss breast masses was a statement in the *Aphorisms*: "It is better not to treat those who have internal cancers [*κρυπτοὶ καρκίνοι*] since, if treated, they die quickly; but if not treated they last a long time"⁷⁵. Hippocratic texts used cancer, *καρκίνος*, meaning "crab", and carcinoma, *καρκίνωμα*, meaning "crablike", interchangeably (unlike Celsus, whose vocabulary I will discuss below). There are several examples of women in Hippocratic texts who are suffering from what the

⁷⁴ E. Leopold, *A Darker Ribbon. Breast Cancer, Women, and Their Doctors in the Twentieth Century*, Boston 2000, p. 30.

⁷⁵ *Aphorisms*, in: *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 230. Also *Hippocrates. Works*, ed. W.H.M. Jones, Cambridge 1962, IV, pp. 188-189.

author calls carcinoma of the breast, as in this example from the *Epidemics*: “A woman in Abdera had carcinoma [καρκίνωμα] on the chest and through her nipple a bloody serum flowed out. When the flow was interrupted, she died”⁷⁶.

There is, however, no clear description of “carcinoma” in the Hippocratic literature. Carcinoma is included in the treatise *On Nutriment* in a list of skin eruptions out of which the body might secrete liquid – “through hemorrhoid, wart, leprosy, tumor, carcinoma [...]” – but the author presents no rationale for distinguishing wart/thymos (θύμος), tumor/phyma (φῦμα) and carcinoma from one another⁷⁷. The sense of carcinoma as a growth is available, however, in other non-medical works from a slightly later period. In one of his orations Demosthenes (384-322 BCE) compared a political rival to a “cancer [carcinoma] or an ulcer [*phagedaina*] or some other incurable growth” who should be cut out to keep Athens healthy⁷⁸.

Another colorful but inexact Hippocratic term was *κακοθήεις*, Latinized to “cacoethes” by Celsus and used to mean “serious” or “bad” by Galen⁷⁹. The adjectival form of this word is often translated as “malignant”, though the different authors did not use it the same way. Hippocratic texts used it to mean particularly serious, prone to spread, or even just hard to cure. The *Aphorisms* used the word to refer to a sore or ulcer (ἔλκεα) that has “peeling edges”⁸⁰. In the *Prognosis*, however, the word was used to describe a kind of fever which was “the most severe and accompanied by the worst signs”, so it cannot have referred to a localized phenomenon like an abscess or tumor⁸¹. *On the Limbs* used the term to describe the severity of a spinal disorder⁸².

⁷⁶ *Epidemics*, in: *Hippocrates...*, ed. W.D. Smith, pp. 203, 385.

⁷⁷ *De Alimentis*, in: *Hippocrates. Works...*, I, pp. 348-349.

⁷⁸ Demosthenes, *Against Aristogiton*, in: *Demosthenis orationes*, I, eds. S.H. Butcher, W. Rennie, Oxford 1903, sec. 25.95 (available through the Perseus Digital Library, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>). The word “incurable” (ἀνίατος) is used rhetorically here, but it is interesting (as we will see) how the notion of cancer/carcinoma as incurable occurs within the medical literature.

⁷⁹ On *κακοθήεις* and its relationship to other disease vocabulary, see J. Jouanna, *Disease as Aggression in the Hippocratic Corpus and Greek Tragedy. Wild and Devouring Disease*, in: idem, *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen. Selected Papers*, ed. N. Allies, Leiden 2012, p. 86, n. 11. In speaking of ulcers, Galen says that it is sufficient to call spreading ulcers “all by the general term malignant (*kakoethe*)”; D.G. Lytton, L.M. Resuhr, *Galen on Abnormal Swellings*, “Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences” XXXIII (1978) 4, p. 547.

⁸⁰ τὰ περιμάδαρα ἔλκεα, *κακοθήεα* – *Aphorisms*, in: *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 228, as “Ulcers with a peeling edge are malignant”. Also *Epidemics*, in: *Hippocrates...*, ed. W.D. Smith, p. 263: “Ulcers saturated with fluid are of evil nature”.

⁸¹ Οἱ τε *κακοθήεστατοι* καὶ ἐπὶ σημεῖον [...] – *Prognosis*, in: *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 182. Lloyd translates this as “Those [fevers] which are the most severe” [...].

⁸² *De articulis*, in: *Oeuvres complètes d’Hippocrate*, ed. É. Littré, I-VIII, Paris 1839, IV, pp. 182-183.

With this in mind, the term is not useful for identifying a specific condition in a modern context, except as a word emphasizing a permanent or serious quality.

Another frequent, and puzzling, word was *φῦμα*, *phyma*, loosely “growth”, or perhaps “boil”. *On Ancient Medicine* (22) cites *phymata* as likely to afflict the spongy, porous parts of the body like the breasts⁸³. The word is sometimes translated as “tumor”, a mass, or as “tubercle”, meaning a small round bump (of no particular type). In most cases, the best translation might very well be “small surface lump”. In the Hippocratic work *On Fistulas*, which covered the particular problem of anal fistulas, the perforation that led to a fistula began as a *phyma*⁸⁴. In the *Aphorisms*, *phymata* could form on the skin during a fever, and were more common in the warm, wet spring months⁸⁵. Needless to say, our understanding of what is meant by the texts is greatly affected by the translation of *phyma* as “tubercle” or “tumor”, since we now understand the two words very differently. Our modern sense of “tumor” does fit some uses of *phyma*, but not without exception.

In Hippocratic texts carcinoma, *phyma* and *thyma* can possibly occur in the breast, but not only in the breast, and there is no systematic way to differentiate them from each other or from different types of ulcers. This is also true in the later authors.

CANCER AND CANCER-LIKE DISEASES IN CELSUS

Celsus’s brief but clear description of the development of a cancerous growth is often cited in secondary literature, but the interpretation of his work is more challenging than it initially appears. His vocabulary, much of which he seems to have adapted from Greek authors, does not always match up with Hippocratic authors or with Galen, and when it does, it is clear that he is not always referring to the same conditions as his predecessors⁸⁶. Celsus provides a clear picture of how troubling a task ancient practitioners took on when asked what to do about a growth.

Ancient writers did distinguish between malignant growths and ulcers, although ulcers could also spread and proliferate⁸⁷. Book V (26) of *De medicina*

83 *On Ancient Medicine*, in: *Hippocratic Writings*, p. 85.

84 *De fistulis*, in: *Oeuvres complètes d’Hippocrates*, VI, p. 224.

85 *Aphorisms*, in: *Hippocratic Writings*, pp. 210, 215.

86 On the vocabulary of Celsus see: A.J. Fabre, *Le Cancer dans l’antiquité. Les enseignements de Celse*, “Histoire des Sciences Médicales” XLII (2008) 1, pp. 63-70; J.P. Barragán Nieto, *Las Afecciones de la piel*, in: *Medicina y Filología. Estudios de Léxico Médico Latino en la Edad Media*, ed. A.I. Martín Ferreira, Porto 2010, pp. 33-53.

87 Celsus, *De Medicina*, in: Spencer, II, p. 133. Celsus notes that a *therioma*, a blackened, festering ulcer, can turn into a *phagedaena*, which can eat its way all the way down to the bone.

distinguished between different kinds of ulcers, for which Celsus used the word “cancer”, but with the sense of the English word “canker” – in other words, an ulcer or gangrenous lesion. Celsus termed a malignant growth a *carcinoma*⁸⁸.

It is easy to understand Celsus’s point of view as being shaped by the *Aphorism* that warned against treating “hidden cancers”. Celsus appears to have addressed carcinomas that he did not consider to be hidden cancers. In *De Medicina* V (28), he described a carcinoma as resulting from putrefaction, usually “in the region of the face, nose, ears, lips and in the breasts of women”. Such a putrefaction, he wrote, started as a *cacoethes*, proceeded to a “carcinoma without ulceration [*sine ulcere carcinoma*]; then ulceration [*ulcus*], and from that a kind of wart [*ex eo thymium*]”⁸⁹. For the last word, Celsus Latinized the Greek word *θύμιον*, meaning “wart”, to “thymium”. Elsewhere in *De Medicina*, he described a *thymium* as a hard, sometimes crusty, dome-shaped place, often occurring on the feet or hands, “quasi verrucula”, “like a little wart”⁹⁰. “Wart”, however, does not make sense as a form of advanced cancerous ulcer, and the Hippocratic treatise *On Nutriment* had listed the wart/*θύμος* as a separate problem from either a *phyma* or a *carcinoma*. The mystery of what Celsus meant by “wart” has provoked some speculation among scholars. Carl Thiersch, writing in the 19th century, suggested that the word *thymium* referred not to the cancerous ulcer itself but its location, near the thymus gland. He also wondered whether Celsus might be referring to the swelling of lymph nodes in the neck and armpit, which could look wartlike⁹¹. In his early seventeenth-century medical dictionary, Jean de Gorris also tried to distinguish several different kinds of *θύμοι* in an attempt to explain Celsus’s use of the term⁹². We

Both of these words come from Hippocrates, the names suggesting the “eating” of the flesh. See J. Jouanna, *Disease...*, pp. 90-93.

⁸⁸ On Celsus’s use of the word *cancer* see also Spencer, III, pp. 589-592. Brunner reads this slightly differently: F.G. Brunner, *Pathologie und Therapie der Geschwülste in der antiken Medizin bei Celsus und Galen*, Zürich 1977, pp. 27-28.

⁸⁹ Celsus, *De medicina*, in: Spencer, II, pp. 128-131.

⁹⁰ F.G. Brunner, *Pathologie...*, pp. 17-18. Galen mentions *thymi* in *On Abnormal Swellings* as growths that are “not particularly significant”, see D.G. Lytton, L.M. Resuhr, *Galen on Abnormal Swellings*, p. 549.

⁹¹ C. Thiersch, *Der Epithelialkrebs, namentlich der Haut. Eine anatomisch-klinische Untersuchung*, Leipzig 1865, I, p. 4.

⁹² Jean de Gorris, *Definitionum medicarum libri XXIII: literis Graecis distincti*, Frankfurt 1601, p. 186, sub verbo *θύμος*. I am grateful to Klaus-Dietrich Fischer for this reference. Francis Adams, in his edition of Paul of Aegina, argues that Celsus means that the carcinoma ulcerates and fungates: *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, ed. F. Adams, London 1844, p. 81. Celsus uses the word *phyma* to mean “a swelling which resembles a boil, but is rounder and flatter, often also larger”. *De medicina*, in: Spencer, II, pp. 142-143. This *phyma* is pus-filled, not hard like a *cacoethes*.

may be less exact and simply guess that Celsus was attempting to describe the progression of the condition in some way.

Celsus cautioned his audience that some *cacoethes* might be safely removed, while some always returned, and there was no way to tell the difference except by prolonged observation of each case. In many cases, he noted, the application of treatment, surgical or otherwise, “excited” the tumor so that it grew and spread. Gentler treatment was less likely to cause a recurrence. Celsus was not, however, at all positive about the efficacy of any treatment for carcinoma. “Some have used caustic medicaments, some the cautery, some excision with scalpel; but no medicament has ever given relief”. He generally recommended the treatment of small skin growths or lesions with cautery, followed by treatment for the burn, assuming that the removal of any diseased flesh would effect a cure if such a cure were possible. Since a carcinoma would always recur, he advised stopping treatment if the problem got worse, since exciting the flesh would only cause the growth to recur faster, while patients who received only “mild applications in order to soothe it, attain to a ripe old age in spite of it”⁹³.

The idea that striking or interacting with a *carcinoma* would “excite”, spread, or worsen it had widespread credence in the late ancient world. Celsus may have been referring this idea when he stated that

It is not safe to give [a carcinoma] a blow; for either paralysis or spasm of the sinews follows at once. Often from a blow on it a man loses speech and faints [...] Then it is the worst kind⁹⁴.

Cassius Dio described the death of empress Julia Domna in 217 as the result of a blow:

[S]he no longer cared to live, but hastened her death by refusing food, though one might say that she was already in a dying condition by reason of the cancer [*ὑπὸ τοῦ καρκίνου*] of the breast that she had had for a very long time; it had, however, been quiescent until, on the occasion referred to, she had inflamed it by the blow with which she had smitten her breast on hearing of her son’s death⁹⁵.

The caution not to touch a carcinoma became common in medieval medicine and was a justification for refraining from intervening in cases of carcinoma. As Luke Demaitre has shown, medieval authors often classed breast carcinomas as “hidden”, and refrained from treating them. Like Celsus,

⁹³ Celsus, *De medicina*, in: Spencer, II, pp. 128-131.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 128-129.

⁹⁵ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, in: *Dio’s Roman History, with an English Translation*, ed. E. Cary, New York 1914, IX, pp. 394-395. My thanks to Kate Gilbert for this example.

medieval authors tried to follow the advice of the *Aphorisms*, but interpreted that advice differently⁹⁶.

In Celsus we can see a concern about the advisability of treating carcinomas that was based on the *Aphorisms* and other Hippocratic texts but – in keeping with his practical approach – did not take into account how such conditions might be related to the reproductive system. So we cannot see the uterus-breast connection in Celsus’s treatment of breast diseases. However, the connection is very clear in Galen’s works on cancer and on reproduction.

GALEN ON CANCERS

Galen explained breast masses as both humorally caused and linked to the uterus-breast system. In *On Abnormal Swellings*, he explained the differences he identified between inflammatory swelling (ὄγκος), ulcers, and tumors⁹⁷. The key to understanding the formation of tumors, according to Galen, was an understanding of the corrosive and putrefying qualities of black bile, which he discussed in many of his works. In *On Black Bile*, he defined black bile as a collection of impurities, similar to the lees of wine, cooked out of the blood by heat and evacuated out of the body via menstruation and the digestive system. When black bile remained where it should not be, however, Galen believed that that it gave rise to spreading ulcers such as a *phagedaina* (φλεγδαίνα), characterized by “both ulceration and the associated swelling”, and could give rise to a *karkinos* if treated improperly⁹⁸. The difference had to do with the thickness of the humor: “The thickest [humor] is what generates the cancerous. Next to these, at least in terms of thickness, is what generates the so-called *phagadaenae*”⁹⁹.

In *On Abnormal Swellings*, Galen explained that while excessive heat produced soft swelling, the formation of a hard lump, *σκίρρος* or *skirrhos*, was produced by too much cooling of the humors, and cooling caused them to thicken. Excess heat from inflammation caused blood and bloody serum to

⁹⁶ L. Demaitre, *Medieval Notions...*, pp. 628-629. According to the American Cancer Society, the belief that surgery and/or exposure to air will spread cancer is still common in the modern United States, and the Mayo Clinic includes both beliefs in their list of common cancer myths (<http://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/cancer/in-depth/cancer/ART-20046762>).

⁹⁷ Galen, *De tumoribus praeter naturam*, in: D.G. Lytton, L.M. Resuhr, *Galen on Abnormal Swellings*, p. 537.

⁹⁸ Galen, *De atra bile*, in: Kühn, V, p. 116; translated in: *Galen on Food and Diet*, ed. M. Grant, London 2002, pp. 23-24; Galen, *De tumoribus praeter naturam*, in: D.G. Lytton, L.M. Resuhr, *Galen on Abnormal Swellings*, p. 546.

⁹⁹ Galen, *De methodo medendi*, in: *Galen. Method of Medicine*, III, pp. 514-515; Kühn, X, p. 1006.

increase and fill up the body's spongy flesh, particularly that of the breasts. Such extra fluid could be purged from the body or, if treated improperly, could cool into *skirrhoi*. This happened when the inflammation caused the blood to produce sediment, the material making up black bile, and the area cooled too quickly, causing the humor to become thickened and a hard spot to appear. In *On Black Bile*, he explained that this black bile could be seen in the veins leading to an affected area, because "veins absorb thick black humor"¹⁰⁰. Black bile was so acidic and acrid that "no animal, not even mice, would taste [it]"¹⁰¹. But "if you immediately purge with the drugs that evacuate this humor, you can prevent any developments that might lead to cancer"¹⁰².

A *skirrhos* that arose from quick cooling was very large, "firm and painless"¹⁰³. To prevent such *skirrhoi*, he advised the application of mild astringents, but if a *skirrhos* developed anyway, surgery would be required¹⁰⁴. Presumably, careful cooling of a hot swelling should reduce the inflammation while not cooling the inflamed area so quickly as to provoke a *skirrhos*. Not all firm, painless *skirrhoi* were cancerous swellings, or *karkinoi*, however: "Cancerous swellings are darker in colour than those parts affected by inflammation and are not at all warm", and their darkened color spread into the surrounding area. Also, "because [black bile] is corrosive, it eats into the surrounding skin producing an ulcer. If it arises with less intensity, it causes a cancerous swelling [*karkinos*] without ulceration"¹⁰⁵. The *karkinos* could be told apart from other *skirrhoi* and from skin lesions by the fact that it involved the "veins or flesh"¹⁰⁶ and was not filled with fluid¹⁰⁷. It was possible, he wrote in *On the Therapeutic Method*, to treat such growths with purgation, diet, and even surgery. Metallic remedies applied to the surface could cure "incipient cancers", and then careful diet might keep them from recurring. Galen admitted that such interventions were not entirely successful, however:

At any rate, if you will sometimes undertake to cure the cancer through surgery, you will start by evacuating the melancholic humor by purging. When you have accurately cut off the whole affected part so as to leave no root behind, allow the blood to flow out.

100 Galen, *De atra bile*, in: Kühn, V, p. 116; *Galen on Food...*, p. 4.

101 Galen, *De methodo medendi*, in: *Galen. Method of Medicine*, III, pp. 466-467.

102 Galen, *De atra bile*, in: Kühn, V, p. 144; *Galen on Food...*, p. 35.

103 Galen, *De tumoribus praeter naturam*, in: D.G. Lytton, L.M. Resuhr, *Galen on Abnormal Swellings*, p. 540.

104 *Ibidem*, p. 539.

105 Almost identical terminology is used in *De atra bile* and *De tumoribus praeter naturam* on this point. *De atra bile*, in: Kühn, V, p. 116; *Galen on Food...*, p. 24; *De tumoribus praeter naturam*, in: D.G. Lytton, L.M. Resuhr, *Galen on Abnormal Swellings*, p. 543.

106 Galen, *De tumoribus praeter naturam*, in: D.G. Lytton, L.M. Resuhr, *Galen on Abnormal Swellings*, pp. 539, 545-546.

107 *Ibidem*, p. 545.

He suggested squeezing the veins to be sure all the black bile was eliminated¹⁰⁸.

We can understand the relationship of Galen's theories about *karkinoi* to the uterus-breast system by observing his theories about menstruation and its relationship to black bile. In *On Black Bile*, he explained that during pregnancy the "worst blood" was left behind as the body selected the "best blood" for the developing fetus. This "worst blood", which should be eliminated from the body through the lochia or through menstruation, was "far darker than the usual sort of blood"¹⁰⁹. This should have been purged through the urine in a woman who did not menstruate¹¹⁰. In a post-menopausal woman, however, the heat that forced milk up to the breasts might also force the black-bile laced blood into them. Galen wrote that

We speak now of carcinomas [*τῶν καρκινωδῶν*], which occur in all parts of the body, but most often in the breasts of women who are no longer purged by their natural purgation, which while it lasts allows women to maintain good health¹¹¹.

Once menstruation ceased, if the urine could not purge out the black bile, that spongy, blood-filled flesh could putrefy with ulcers, or cool into a *karkinos*. Just as lactation was the result of uterine fluid dynamics, breast masses also became a side effect of interrupted uterine activity. Moreover, Galen believed that once the healthful activity of menstruation stopped, and the reproductive function of the female body was interrupted, diseases were more likely to result.

SORANUS ON CANCERS

We have already discussed Soranus's care of the lactating breast and inflammatory swelling, which reflect a connection of the uterus to the breast. Speaking of breast disease in Soranus presents a more serious challenge. We are unfortunate that Soranus's chapters on cancer and surgery do not survive, but are translated into Latin in the much later versions of Caelius Aurelianus (5th century CE) and Mustio or Muscio (ca. 500 CE)¹¹². One chapter of Soranus's *Gynecology*, provided by both transmitters, covered carcinoma of

¹⁰⁸ Galen, *De methodo medendi*, in: *Galen. Method of Medicine*, III, pp. 474-475.

¹⁰⁹ Galen, *De atra bile*, in: Kühn, V, pp. 137-138; *Galen on Food...*, p. 32.

¹¹⁰ Galen, *De atra bile*, in: Kühn, V, p. 138; *Galen on Food...*, p. 33.

¹¹¹ Galen, *De methodo medendi ad Glaucanem*, in: Kühn, XI, p. 139. There is a similar statement in the pseudo-Galenic commentary on Aristotle's *On Foods*, see Kühn XV, pp. 330-331.

¹¹² Caelius Aurelianus, *On Acute Diseases...*; Caelius Aurelianus, *Gynaecia; Fragments of a Latin Version of Soranus' Gynaecia from a Thirteenth Century Manuscript*, eds. I.E. Drabkin,

the uterus. There are also some chapters in the *Tetrabiblon* of Aetios of Amida (late 400s/early 500s) that specifically cover breast ulcers and carcinomas, which Burguière and Gourevitch, in their edition of Soranus, identify as sharing some attitudes about carcinoma that they believe to be in keeping with Soranus' own views¹¹³.

The Latin texts of Caelius Aurelianus and Muscio that covered the uterus reflected some concerns that we have already observed in Celsus. Soranus explained that a treatment of the whole body via diet was the best way to maintain good digestion and therefore good health. For a carcinoma in the uterus, he advised, "Be cautious in all that you apply, since some treatments can quickly render things worse". The best treatments were the mildest and could be introduced to the body with little discomfort. Soranus seemed to believe that this kind of treatment could potentially provoke a cure: "If by these actions the women are not entirely cured, then they will not suffer terrible pains"¹¹⁴. The text transmitted by Caelius Aurelianus ended with this statement. The end of Muscio's text was phrased a little differently:

If the woman cannot be cured entirely [by this treatment], then she will not suffer terrible pains, and can live for a long time without pain. But there are many doctors who do not take the circumstances into account and throughout the treatment use the harshest remedies, all the while asserting that no treatments are effective, when it is their own ignorance that causes their remedies to be ineffective¹¹⁵.

We may discern in this section both a reference to the statement from the *Aphorisms* that cautioned against treatment so that sufferers from cancer could live longer lives, and a similarity to Celsus's cautions against harsh treatments that could make the patient worse.

The sections from Caelius Aurelianus and Muscio bear a close resemblance to materials passed on by Aetios of Amida in the gynecological portion of his *Tetrabiblon*, though he identified the information as coming from Archigenes (ca. 90-120 CE) and Leonides (approximately the 2nd and 3rd century CE). Most important is the first sentence of Caelius and Muscio's section, which read, "Carcinoma is generated in the womb, sometimes not ulcerated, and sometimes ulcerated"¹¹⁶. The same distinction appeared in the section on breast carcinoma in Aetios of Amida: "There are two kinds of carcinomas in the breast, one which is not ulcerated and the other which has an ulcer". The

M.F. Drabkin, Baltimore 1951. For Muscio, Soranus of Ephesus, *Sorani Gynaeciorum vetus translatio latina*, ed. V. Rose, Leipzig 1882.

113 *Maladies des femmes...*, IV, pp. 76-80.

114 *Ibidem*, III, pp. 72-73.

115 *Ibidem*, pp. 74-75.

116 *Ibidem*, p. 71.

section described the appearance of a breast tumor in detail, and finished by stating that ulcerated cancers in particular were made worse by surgery and medicines¹¹⁷. A few chapters later, Aetios used very similar words to advise, as did the text of Caelius Aurelianus, that carcinoma was best treated by diet and attention to the whole body, especially to the digestion¹¹⁸. If we accept that there is a close relationship between the two texts, then Aetios of Amida's chapter may provide us clues about the lost work of Soranus on this topic¹¹⁹. The chapters in Aetios are therefore very important to the history of breast cancer, as they go into great depth about the incurability of cancers and the circumstances under which they should be treated.

Most importantly for the current study, however, the connection between the breasts and uterus did not appear in any of these chapters. Aetios's chapter stated that "This evil [breast carcinoma] affects women more often than men, especially those with full, strong breasts", without citing any kind of theoretical cause¹²⁰. Thus, though it is possible to show that Soranus shared many of the theoretical assumptions of the Hippocratics, Galen and Celsus about the uterus-breast system with regard to fertility and lactation, this construct did not affect his understanding of breast diseases in the same way. Most importantly, Soranus probably did not identify breast masses as the result of menopause or of the buildup of impurities in the body as Galen did.

TRANSMISSION OF ANCIENT TO MEDIEVAL MEDICINE

The chain of transmission that passed Hippocrates, Celsus, Soranus and Galen on to their medieval intellectual descendants was complex. The collections of works we have discussed thus far were translated, excerpted, criticized and adapted by a range of authors before being transmitted to the Latin-speaking west and to the Byzantine and Islamic worlds. We have already mentioned the Latin transmission of Soranus by Caelius Aurelianus and Muscio. The work of Celsus experienced the least transmission of any of the other writers. This could arguably have been his lack of professional status, or his writing in Latin, which made him less accessible to Byzantine writers (and by extension, to Islamic ones who worked from translated Greek works). Galen rose to prominence as the most influential writer for medieval medicine in all languages, a development extensively studied by medical historians in

117 Aetios of Amida, *Tetrabiblon*, in: *Geburtshilfe und Gynäkologie bei Aëtios von Amida (Buch 16 Der Sammlung)*, ed. M. Wegscheider, Berlin 1901, pp. 58-59.

118 *Ibidem*, p. 62; *Maladies des femmes...*, III, pp. 72-74.

119 *Maladies des femmes...*, III, pp. 78-80.

120 Aetios of Amida, *Tetrabiblon*, p. 58.

recent decades¹²¹. However, as these scholars have shown, the methodological differences that the ancient authors used to distinguish themselves from one another tended to be lessened or disappear as the transmitting authors harmonized and edited their works¹²².

The strands of the transmission of Galen's works through the early Middle Ages are especially complex. His preeminence has led many writers to refer to medicine in the late antique period as "Galenism"¹²³. Among others, he greatly influenced Oribasius (ca. 320-400 CE), the personal physician of the emperor Julian, who wrote in Greek but whose works appeared very soon afterward in Latin, and Aetios of Amida¹²⁴. From Oribasius and Aetios, Galen's ideas were passed on to Paul of Aegina (7th century), whose works influenced many later Arab authors¹²⁵. Soranus and Celsus did not disappear, however; their works also survived in excerpted and blended form in the works of many later writers.

CONCLUSION

I propose a number of final points for this brief exploration of the medical view of the breasts in the ancient world. First, it is clear that ancient doctors, regardless of their school of thought, believed the breasts and the uterus formed an interdependent physical system and that they were directly connected by vessels. Successful pregnancy could be diagnosed through the breasts, and miscarriage predicted by observing them. Uterine disorders could, at least some of the time, be cured by manipulating them. Their function as producers of milk was both wonderful and dangerous, for their spongelike quality meant they were open to absorbing both positive and negative materials out of the body and to be healthy or unhealthy as a result. Galen argued that both benign and malignant neoplasms were caused by

121 O. Temkin, *Galenism...* On the transmission of Greek work to the Islamic world, see M. Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, Edinburgh 1978; L.I. Conrad et al., *The Western Medical Tradition, 800 BC to AD 1800*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 99-110; V. Nutton, *From Galen to Alexander. Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers" XXXVIII (1984), pp. 1-14.

122 M. Green, *The Transmission of Ancient Theories...*, ch. 2.

123 For example, L. García-Ballester, *Galen and Galenism...* Vivian Nutton speaks of the "creeping tyranny of Galen" in L.I. Conrad et al., *The Western Medical Tradition...*, p. 60.

124 For a brief introduction to Oribasius' life see M. Grant, *Dieting for an Emperor. A Translation of Books 1 and 4 of Oribasius' Medical Compilations with an Introduction and Commentary*, Leiden 1997, pp. 1-4. The edition is: *Oeuvres d'Oribase. Texte grec, en grande partie inédit, collationné sur les manuscrits*, I-VI, eds. U. Bussemaker, C. Daremberg, A. Molinier, Paris 1851.

125 *The Seven Books...*

the buildup of putrefying black bile that could no longer be flushed out, especially after menopause, so tumors became another by-product of the female reproductive system.

Thinking about the breasts in this way helps us learn more about the way ancient medical writers conceptualized what it meant to be female: whether that was a fundamental fleshly otherness, or the more “feminist” point of view expressed by Soranus, who nevertheless saw reproductive capabilities and organs as “conditions” liable to cause health problems. With that in mind, we should include the breasts when we speak of theories about reproduction in ancient and medieval medicine, and consider traditions about the breasts to learn more about how ancient and medieval authorities understood reproductive health.

ABSTRACT

Historical scholarship has spent very little time on the breast, particularly in the ancient and medieval worlds. As many authors have shown over the past thirty years, ancient and medieval medical authors wrote in great depth about the uterus, trying to puzzle out the mysteries of fertility and childbirth. Thus it is not surprising that historical research has also leaned in that direction. Our own cultural understanding of reproductive systems, however, may also have led modern research to overlook ancient beliefs about the breasts and about breast health. In this paper I outline a view of the breast in ancient sources and the understanding of breast diseases in ancient and late ancient medicine by surveying the writings on breast disease from the Hippocratic corpus, Celsus, Soranus, and Galen, ending with some brief remarks on the transmission of their ideas to the early middle ages. I argue that the understanding of the breast is far less differentiated in this literature than the treatment of other problems identified with women, because the understanding of what the breast is and what it does was less differentiated between the different schools of thought of the ancient world. This is not true for the treatment of breast cancers and cancer-like conditions, which provide a more challenging diversity of opinion than general ideas about the breast.

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SILENCING THE WIDOW WITH A PRAYER FOR PEACE



In either November of 1408 or January of 1409, the chancellor of the University of Paris and one of the most respected preachers in that city, Jean Gerson (1363-1429), delivered a sermon titled “Let peace come” (*Veniat pax*) before members of the French royal court¹. Gerson’s sermon exhorts the king and the magnates of the realm to put aside their differences for the sake of Christian charity, the pious goal of ending the papal schism, and the peaceable governance of the realm. The issue before the king’s court, however, was a difficult one. The king’s cousin, John the Fearless, had admitted that he had personally arranged for the assassination of the king’s brother, Louis of Orléans, which had taken place on 23 November 1407. Although John had secured a pardon during a private audience with the mentally unstable King Charles VI in March of 1408, the royal council grew impatient with John’s unwillingness to express any remorse in public about what he had done. In July of 1408, the king revoked the letter of pardon he had issued John, and in September, the dauphin, speaking for his ill father, confirmed that justice would be done. John’s military power, however, guaranteed that any attempt to punish him would result in a long civil war that would cause the suffering of many non-combatants².

1 I would like to thank the UCI Gender History Reading Group, Rebecca Davis, Katrin Sjursen, and Tanya Stabler Miller for reading earlier versions of this essay.

Jean Gerson, *Veniat pax*, in: idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, I-X, ed. P. Glorieux, Paris-Tournai-Rome 1960-1973, VIIIb, pp. 1100-1123. For the argument supporting the 4 November 1408 date of delivery see: L. Mourin, *Jean Gerson, prédicateur français*, Bruges 1952, pp. 187-196. For the January 1409 date see B. Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société. L’assassinat du duc d’Orléans 23 novembre 1407*, Paris 1992, pp. 215-220. For the most recent summary of Gerson’s career, see B.P. McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, University Park 2005.

2 For a summary of the events that took place between Louis’s murder and Gerson’s sermon, see R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue. Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420*, New York 1986, pp. 63-75.

Gerson claimed to speak out against the punishment of John for the sake of these non-combatants. Since his call for peace contradicted a published royal decision, however, Gerson had to present his case carefully. His task was further complicated by the fact that a university theologian, Jean Petit, had justified the assassination as tyrannicide in a speech he made before the assembled royal court in March of 1408. John the Fearless had then widely published this speech, giving the impression that the theologians of the university supported his cause³. A third challenge Gerson had to overcome was the fact that the crown engaged in elaborate public theatre surrounding its decision to prosecute John. John enjoyed the support of factions of Parisians because they believed him to be an advocate for political and fiscal reform⁴. The crown attempted to counter any potential support for John by portraying its decision to punish John as an act of mercy towards Louis's grieving family, in particular, his two sons and his widow, Valentina Visconti⁵. These challenges demanded that Gerson develop a strategy for assuring the royal court that the university remained obedient to the crown, neutral in the conflict between John and Louis, and compassionately disposed towards the victims of John's violence.

Gerson addressed all of these rhetorical challenges with one strategy. He elaborated upon the university's royally granted title as Daughter of the King⁶. In the process of this elaboration, he constructed a figure whose loyalty to the crown was beyond question, whose understanding of the situation was prophetic, and whose appeals for peace were as evocative as the appeals for justice that had been made in the name of Valentina Visconti and her sons. In short, Gerson mobilized a female personification for the University of Paris in a manner that activated a well-known and longstanding discourse about female persuasion. This discourse observed that women could play upon the affections of powerful men to good or ill effect, and as a result, urged women to persuade men to virtue and men to allow themselves to be persuaded only by the most virtuous of women⁷.

3 For a discussion of Petit's speech and the pro-Burgundian scholarly milieu in which it was produced and circulated, see A. Coville, *Jean Petit. La question du tyrannicide au commencement du XV^e siècle*, Paris 1932 (reprint Geneva 1974), pp. 100-101, 117-140.

4 For the idea that the University of Paris and the people of Paris supported John because of his reform policies, see: R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue...*, pp. 47-48; T. Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria*, Baltimore 2010, pp. 172, 174.

5 R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue...*, p. 70.

6 For the origins of the title and a summary of Gerson's deployment of this title, see S. Lusignan, 'Vérité garde le roy'. *La construction d'une identité universitaire en France, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, Paris 1999, pp. 267-270.

7 K. Cooper, *Insinuations of Womanly Influence. An Aspect of the Christianization of the Roman Aristocracy*, "Journal of Roman Studies" LXXXII (1992), pp. 150-164.

Gerson, however, did not activate this discourse in a political or rhetorical vacuum. The fact that Valentina played an important role in the crown's justifications of violence against John necessitated that when Gerson activated the discourse of female persuasion, he cast the university as a virtuous female in opposition to Valentina. The way he did this, when considered in dialogue with the content of his sermon, formulated a powerful argument against the exercise of informal political influence by aristocratic women. In this sense, Gerson's sermon participated in a pervasive clerical and bureaucratic discourse which attempted to diminish, belittle, and call into question the extensive political powers aristocratic women exercised⁸. The way that Gerson's contribution to this discourse developed, moreover, demonstrates that these clerical challenges to female authority were inspired at least in part by the perceived disempowerment of the men who made them. For this reason, rather than telling us about Gerson's personal opinions about women, Gerson's sermon, "Let peace come", reveals the fragile nature of the university's authority in comparison to that exercised by the very aristocratic women he critiqued⁹.

GENDER AND THE FRAMING OF GERSON'S PRAYER FOR PEACE

Although Gerson's active feminization of the University of Paris reveals crucial information about the relationship between the university and the French crown, those familiar with Gerson's sermon "Let peace come" know well that constructing a female identity for the university and activating classical discourses about female persuasion were not the sermon's main goals. Rather, Gerson, with the backing of the university and the French church, addressed the French court for the purpose of preventing an imminent civil war. Such a war, Gerson warned, would bring unspeakable suffering to the poor, who would be taxed to starvation or even death. It would also destroy, or at the very least diminish, royal institutions like the university, which required peace to survive. Most significantly, he argued, war would disrupt negotiations designed to bring a thirty-year schism within the Latin Church to a close. The continuation of the schism, moreover, would empower the enemies of Christianity, while civil war in France would similarly

8 For the role played by clerical discourse in obscuring the actual political power exercised by aristocratic and royal women, see T. Earenfight, *Without the Persona of the Prince. Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe*, "Gender and History" XIX (2007) 1, p. 12.

9 For the suggestion of a scholarly consensus attributing Gerson's misogynist polemics to the influence of widespread clerical misogyny, see W.L. Anderson, *Gerson's Stance on Women*, in: *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. B.P. McGuire, Leiden 2006, pp. 307-314.

empower England and weaken the ties between the French magnates and those they ruled¹⁰.

These arguments contribute to Gerson's reputation as a compassionate political reformer, a committed advocate for university rights, and an ardent voice for Church unity¹¹. The consistency of these arguments with those Gerson made in his other anti-war sermons, however, suggests that they tell us much more about Gerson's ideals than they do about his political situation. Gerson's ideological consistency extends throughout his preaching career from his first extant sermon, which he delivered in protest of a planned war against the Roman papal claimant in 1391, to his protest against the war that would necessarily take place if the crown attempted to punish John the Fearless for the murder of Louis of Orléans. Critiquing the ways in which un-Christian and illogical notions of honor, chivalry, and blood feud undermined aristocratic decision making, Gerson offered the University of Paris as the only rational adviser who could help the king rule for the benefit of his entire kingdom and the French church¹².

That Gerson would have this political vision is hardly surprising. French kings had celebrated the university's collective authority when doing so served the needs of royal propaganda. Perhaps more importantly for understanding Gerson's perspective, the crown had justified the royal privileges granted to the university with reference to the university's important role in defining Christian doctrine for the kingdom. Despite fostering the appearance that the university's expertise played a crucial role in the governance of the realm, however, the crown consistently refused to accept unsolicited, freely offered, and independently generated academic advice. French kings and their representatives systematically excluded the university from most meetings of the royal council, prohibited university members from holding or debating certain political positions, threatened university members with violence when they expressed royally proscribed opinions, and bribed individual university members with promises of patronage in order to undermine the university's collective decision making process¹³.

¹⁰ For a summary of the content of the sermon, see B.P. McGuire, *Jean Gerson...*, pp. 194-195.

¹¹ For this portrayal of Gerson, see B.P. McGuire, *Jean Gerson...*; G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes, *Jean Gerson, Apostle of Unity. His Church Politics and Ecclesiology*, Leiden 1999; C. Burger, *Aedificatio, Fructus, Utilitas. Johannes Gerson als Professor der Theologie und Kanzler der Universität Paris*, Tübingen 1986; D. Taber, *Pierre d'Ailly and the Teaching Authority of the Theologian*, "Church History" LIX (1990), p. 174.

¹² For the political messages of Gerson's earlier sermons, see L. Mourin, *Jean Gerson...*, pp. 55-116, 165-217.

¹³ W.J. Courtenay, *Learned Opinion and Royal Justice. The Role of Paris Masters of Theology during the Reign of Philip the Fair*, in: *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Europe*, eds. R.M. Karras, J. Kaye, E.A. Matter, Philadelphia 2008, pp. 149-163.

The combined effect of these policies was two-fold. First, the university was collectively silenced and prevented from carrying out the role of impartial and objective advisor to the crown that Gerson proposed¹⁴. Second, individual magnates could cultivate client scholars, who would then write scholarly opinions justifying their patron's partisan politics. These client scholars, such as Jean Petit, undermined the university's claims to impartiality with respect to the political feuds that plagued both France and the Latin Church¹⁵.

As the university attempted to intervene in the escalating feud between the Dukes of Burgundy and Orléans, the danger of the university's actions being misinterpreted as either partisan or insubordinate increased dramatically. Gerson responded to this increased risk of reprimand and retribution by constructing elaborate rhetorical frames for his sermons. He used these frames to make space for the university to intervene in politics. External factors, moreover, encouraged him to progressively feminize his framing of the University of Paris in accordance with the university's royally granted title as Daughter of the King. Although he first relied upon this title for the sake of assuring the royal court of the university's dutiful daughterly loyalty and obedience, in his sermon "Let peace come", he employed it as a means of competing with Valentina Visconti for the king's ear and the people's sympathy.

RESISTING THE DAUGHTER OF THE KING

In his systematic study of Gerson's reform theology, Louis Pascoe identified "the daughter of the king" as one of Gerson's favorite terms for the University of Paris¹⁶. The mere use of this term, however, reveals nothing about Gerson's

¹⁴ For the university's understanding of its role in society, see: S. Menache, *La naissance d'une nouvelle source d'autorité. L'université de Paris*, "Revue historique" CCLXXVII (1982), pp. 305-327; O. Lewry, *Corporate Life in the University of Paris, 1249-1418, and the Ending of the Schism*, "Journal of Ecclesiastical History" XL (1989), pp. 511-523; I.P. Wei, *The Masters of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries. An Authority Beyond the Schools*, "Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester" LXXI (1993), pp. 37-63; idem, *The Self-Image of the Master of Theology at the University of Paris in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries*, "Journal of Ecclesiastical History" XLVI (1995), pp. 398-431. For the university's struggle to overcome the crown's attempt to silence it, see A.E. Bernstein, *Pierre D'Ailly and the Blanchard Affair. University and Chancellor of Paris at the Beginning of the Great Schism*, Leiden 1978, p. 176; and S. Lusignan, *Vérité...*, pp. 179-299.

¹⁵ See note 3 above. Philip the Bold and his son John also patronized Gerson. See B.P. McGuire, *Jean Gerson...*, p. 59. Gerson's sermon, however, attempted to take a more measured stance with respect to the murder of Louis than Petit and his cohort. He preached against war without justifying John's crime.

¹⁶ L.B. Pascoe, *Jean Gerson. Principles of Church Reform*, in: *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions*, VII, Leiden 1973, p. 81.

personal opinions regarding women or his understanding of the ways in which the university's relationship to the French crown was gendered. Rather, it is highly likely that Gerson had little choice about employing this royally granted title when addressing the crown in the name of the university. The title had been granted to the university as a matter of privilege, and any failure to recognize the title might have seemed ungrateful. This was especially the case because the title reinforced the university's subordinate position. As the king's daughter, the university could not claim to address the crown on the basis of the masculine professional expertise that was so central to its professional identity. Rather, it was forced into a position of dutiful obedience. It accepted this position in exchange for royal support of the special legal and financial privileges the university needed to survive¹⁷. In fact, a chronological examination of Gerson's political sermons suggests that he applied the title "daughter of the king" to the university only reluctantly and as each particular situation dictated.

For instance, in his earliest political sermons Gerson employed this title sparingly and in a manner that minimized its feminizing effect. Gerson only mentioned the university's title twice in the sermon he preached in 1391 to oppose the crown's plan to remove the Roman papal claimant from the papal throne by force. In the first instance, as a means of limiting the reprisals the university might face for openly challenging royal policy, Gerson reminded the king that proof of his good Christian faith could be found in the favoritism he showed his "very humble and very devout daughter, the University of Paris". He then immediately reasserted the university's masculine institutional identity by explaining that this favoritism showed in the fact that the University of Paris enjoyed more privileges than all other universities and by congratulating the king on his support of the science of theology, which Gerson characterized as necessary to the defense of the faith¹⁸. These statements served to remind Gerson's audience that although the University of Paris enjoyed the special title of Daughter of the King that it was indeed an institution directed by learned male experts, whose expertise played a crucial role in the governance of the French kingdom.

Gerson's initial refusal to elaborate upon the university's female title as the basis of the university's political authority becomes even more apparent when the appearance of female figures in his 1391 sermon titled "They will

¹⁷ For a comparison of the way clearly the title Daughter of the King feminized and subordinated the university, especially as it was used in the university's appeals to the Parlement of Paris, with Gerson's attempt to use the title to assert the university's authority, see S. Lusignan, *Vérité...*, pp. 268-281.

¹⁸ Jean Gerson, *Adorabunt eum*, in: idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, VIIb, p. 530.

adore Him" (*Adorabunt eum*) is considered. For instance, while encouraging the king to guard his eyes against the sin of false love (*folle amour*), whom Gerson identified as a "harsh mistress" (*dure maistresse*), he recalled that in addition to forcing David to murder Bathsheba's husband, False Love also destroyed Troy through Helen, Samson through Delilah, Marc Anthony through Cleopatra, and "others without number". Although Gerson clearly placed the blame for male sins on the deadly sin of False Love in this passage, he also clearly reduced the women named to objects of temptation¹⁹.

Gerson's citation of these examples does not necessarily signify misogynist intent. It is possible that he merely chose these examples because he believed they would be the most evocative and readily recognized examples for conveying his message about the dangers kings brought upon their people when they succumbed to sexual sin. Further evidence of Gerson's belief that these examples would be effective can be found in their reappearance in his 1405 sermon titled "Long live the king" (*Vivat rex*) as part of an admonishment against the sin of worldly delight (*delit voluptueux*)²⁰. What these examples do demonstrate, however, is Gerson's awareness of a longstanding tradition that negatively viewed the ways in which women could informally influence the behavior of powerful men.

Gerson's tendency towards seeing female influence negatively in 1391 is demonstrated by the treatment of women reputed for their virtue in this same sermon, "They will adore Him". When Gerson evoked the names of reputedly good women, such as the biblical heroines Judith and Esther, he did so only to remind his audience that God had saved his people from seemingly helpless crises in the past, namely "in the time of Judith and Holofernes, in the time of Esther and likewise in the time of the Maccabees"²¹. By reducing the exploits of two famous biblical heroines, Judith and Esther, to evidence of divine mercy, Gerson demonstrated that in 1391 he was not at all tempted to flesh out the informal authority implied by the university's title, Daughter of the King. The only persuasive women whose influence this sermon vividly recalled had brought the men they had persuaded to ruin.

In his 1408/1409 sermon titled "Let peace come", however, Gerson explicitly asserted that the university could be compared to Judith and Esther. When examined from the perspective of his 1391 sermon, the fact that Gerson explicitly embraced Judith and Esther as role models for the university in 1408 or 1409 demonstrates that he consciously decided to accept and elaborate upon the female subject position implicit in the university's title Daughter of

19 Ibidem, p. 526.

20 Jean Gerson, *Vivat rex*, in: idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, VIIb, p. 1167.

21 Jean Gerson, *Adorabunt eum*, p. 535.

the King. Judith and Esther, who had played upon the affections of powerful foreign men for the sake of sparing their people from destruction, served as the ultimate role models for royal and aristocratic women who sought to persuade their husbands to live more virtuous public lives²². For this reason, Gerson's decision to adopt these female figures as role models for the University of Paris signaled his decision to embrace the female political identity implied by the university's title as Daughter of the King.

EMBRACING THE UNIVERSITY'S FEMALE SUBJECT POSITION

Gerson elaborated upon the university's female title gradually and as a result of external consequences that severely limited his rhetorical choices. He first embraced the title as a means of defending the university's privileges in the face of aristocratic violence in 1404. In the fall of 1405, he elaborated upon its meaning for the purpose of affirming the university's loyalty to the crown following a summer of intense civil strife.

The first major development in Gerson's feminization of the university's public persona occurred in a sermon he wrote in 1404 titled "Be merciful" (*Estotes misericordes*). Gerson wrote this sermon because the Parlement of Paris seemed reluctant to punish the Duke of Savoy for allowing his retainers to attack and injure the participants of a solemn university procession²³. Gerson responded to this reluctance by casting this episode of aristocratic violence against a clerical institution as the rape of a devout and obedient king's daughter. Ventriloquizing for the university's imaginary female persona, Gerson lamented:

I suffer violence, says the Daughter of the King, and violence, not only in one of my parts and of my members, but in all and through my entire body. And each one already knows this; this detestable deed

²² Esther was more frequently celebrated as a mediator than Judith. For Judith and Esther as role models for medieval queens, see: J.A. Smith, *The Earliest Queen-Making Rites*, "Church History" LXVI (1997), pp. 25-26; A.A. Jordan, *Material Girls. Judith, Esther, Narrative Modes and Models of Queenship in the Windows of the Ste-Chapelle in Paris*, "Word & Image. A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry" XV (1999) 4, pp. 337-350. For a contemporary example of Judith and Esther as examples of pious women who saved their people, see B. Cornford, *Christine de Pizan's Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc. Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Charles VII*, "Parergon" XVII (2000) 2, pp. 75-106. For the possibility of Judith and Esther symbolizing the church, see A.A. Jordan, *Material Girls...*, p. 348, n. 8.

²³ For a detailed discussion of the event and the inability to precisely date Gerson's sermon, see L. Tournier, *L'Université de Paris et Charles de Savoisy. Une affaire d'honneur et d'état*, "Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France" CXXII-CXXIX (1997), pp. 71-88, especially p. 72, n. 5. For the acceptance of the authenticity of the sermon by Gerson scholars, see L. Mourin, *Jean Gerson...*, p. 165.

is so notorious that if I wished to hide it or conceal it, it would not be possible²⁴.

Given the immediate political context, this elaboration upon the university's female title is not surprising. Since Gerson was addressing the Parlement of Paris for the purpose of defending the university's clerical protections against violence, it makes sense that he would deploy the university's title as daughter of the king in the same manner that other university defenders had deployed it in their pleas before the Parlement of Paris since the 1380s. Namely, Gerson used this title to encourage the Parlement to give the university a favorable ruling on the basis of her fictive kin relationship with the king. He even admonished the Parlement to take the public dishonor suffered by the university seriously because "as the honor of the daughter influences the honor of the father, equally, the daughter cannot be dishonored without the dishonor of the father"²⁵.

The vividness of the imagery Gerson deployed in recounting "this detestable deed", however, also may have reflected the changing political situation in Paris. Gerson attempted to appeal to his audience's outraged emotions rather than relying upon the Parlement of Paris to enforce the university's royally granted institutional privileges. This strategy reflects, at least in part, the rapidly deteriorating political situation in Paris that had developed because of the king's failing health.

King Charles VI, who had experienced his first bout of temporary insanity in 1392, continued to slip in and out of a competent mental state from that time forward. Since the onset of the king's mental instability, the dukes of Orléans and Burgundy had competed with each other for control of the crown. Duke Philip the Bold of Burgundy had died in the spring of 1404 and tensions between the duke of Orléans and the house of Burgundy had intensified as Philip's son John the Fearless assumed his father's position as duke. John was desperate to defend his father's possessions, royal revenues, and relative power in relationship to Duke Louis of Orléans. Louis was desperate to continue amassing power at John's expense²⁶.

The university found itself caught between three claimants of royal power as this conflict evolved. These were the mostly unavailable King Charles VI, John the Fearless of Burgundy, and Louis of Orléans. Savoisy, whose retainers attacked a the university's procession, for instance, enjoyed the patronage

²⁴ Jean Gerson, *Estotes misericordes*, in: idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, VIIa, p. 329.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 332. For the connection between a father's power and his daughter's honor in late medieval political discourse and marriage practices, see F.H. Stoertz, *Young Women in France and England, 1050-1300*, "Journal of Women's History" XXXIV (2001), pp. 22-46.

²⁶ R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue...*, pp. 16-17, 23-37.

of Louis of Orléans²⁷. Gerson characterized the university in this situation as an orphan, bereft of the protection of her royal father²⁸. Moreover, this characterization was largely accurate. Although the university was mostly powerless to direct the course of the intensifying feud between Louis and John, it could not avoid being swept up into it. As an institution that served to bolster the crown's authority, the university was expected to authenticate royal policies²⁹. However, since the university could only discern who was exercising royal power in a given moment but not who would be exercising it in the future, it always risked authenticating policies that favored one or the other contenders in this feud.

This dilemma was further complicated by the fact that Philip the Bold of Burgundy and his son John the Fearless had both presented themselves to the university and the people of Paris as proponents of a type of political reform that would increase urban rights and bring about a more equitable distribution of the tax burden. For this reason, both the university and factions within the city saw John the Fearless, who was Gerson's patron until 1411, as a natural ally³⁰. The university, however, could not afford to be seen as a partisan supporter of John without undermining its identity as a representative of the crown, spokesperson for the oppressed people, and a defender of universally valid Christian truth. King Charles VI exacerbated this problem by seeming to fluctuate in his support of both Louis and John as he attempted to pacify their bellicose tendencies³¹. The king had no choice in this matter if he wanted to ensure that the feud between John and Louis did not undermine their loyalty to the crown. This unofficial royal policy, however, left the university and all other royal institutions in a politically vulnerable position.

27 For the suggestion that the crown attempted to protect Savoisy from punishment, see L. Tournier, *L'Université...*, p. 78.

28 Jean Gerson, *Estotes misericordes*, in: idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, VIIa, p. 327.

29 See n. 13 above.

30 See n. 4 above. For the end of Gerson's financial dependence on John the Fearless, see B.P. McGuire, *Jean Gerson...*, p. 199.

31 For an account of King Charles VI and Queen Isabeau's conscious efforts to negotiate between these two magnates, see T. Adams, *Christine de Pizan, Isabeau of Bavaria, and Female Regency*, "French Historical Studies" XXXII (2009) 1, pp. 1-32, especially pp. 8-15. For the suggestion that such mediation was the central task of maintaining monarchy, see T. Earenfight, *Without the Persona...*, pp. 10-15. For the popular idea that nobles could legitimately revolt against a king who infringed upon their rights, see: M. Jones, 'Bons Bretons et Bons Francoys'. *The Language and Meaning of Treason in Later Medieval France*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society" XXXII (1982), pp. 93-94; C.D. Fletcher, *Narrative and Political Strategies at the Deposition of Richard II*, "Journal of Medieval History" XXX (2004), pp. 323-341. This belief did not allow for regicide. See G.M. Cropp, A. Hanham, *Richard II from Donkey to Royal Martyr. Perceptions of Eustache Deschamps and Contemporary French Writers*, "Parergon" XXIV (2007) 1, pp. 1-2.

All of the ways in which this situation undermined the university's safety and authority became readily apparent after John the Fearless marched on Paris with an army of 1700 men in the summer of 1405. Fearing a coup, Louis of Orléans and Queen Isabeau fled the city. The Parisians and the University of Paris, having little choice, welcomed John, cooperated with his reform propaganda, and performed processions in his honor. They refused, however, to provide John with military support against Louis³². Their cautious and tempered co-operation illustrates the difficult position such royally protected institutions occupied. They were forced to obey the ruler of the moment, while simultaneously preparing themselves to survive any subsequent transitions of power. Such behavior, however, revealed their powerless position and opened them to claims of partisanship once power shifted.

Eager to reaffirm the university's loyalty to the crown in the aftermath of this summer of civil unrest, Gerson relied again upon the university's title as Daughter of the King. In the fall of 1405, he opened one of his most famous political sermons titled "Long live the king" (*Vivat rex*) with the assurance that because the Daughter of the King's "well being, success, honor, care and protection depend upon the king as on a true father", her political intentions could be trusted. As Gerson summed up, "her health is his health"³³.

Gerson's assurance resonated with a commonly held assumption that unmarried daughters, who relied upon their father's protection of both their physical bodies and their reputations, were understood to be the only individuals their fathers could trust completely. In fact, the French crown had made this exact argument to Richard II of England in the 1390s as it negotiated the marriage between the then six-year-old Isabelle of France to Richard. For instance, in his "Open Letter to King Richard", the court orator Philip of Mézières indicated that because Isabelle was so young, Richard would be like both a father and a husband to her, and as a result, he could be assured that she would be a loyal wife³⁴.

COMPETING FOR THE KING'S EAR

As a matter of course, Gerson's celebration of the Daughter of the King's virtue implicitly contrasted her with the flesh and blood aristocratic women

³² R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue...*, pp. 46-51; T. Adams, *The Life and Afterlife...*, pp. 168-175.

³³ Jean Gerson, *Vivat rex*, in: idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, VIIb, p. 1138.

³⁴ Philippe of Mézières, *Letter to King Richard II. A Plea Made in 1395 for Peace between England and France, Original Text and English Version of Epistre au Roi Richart*, ed. G.W. Coopland, Liverpool 1975.

associated with the French royal court, namely Princess Isabelle of France, Queen Isabeau and Valentina Visconti. Since none of these women had been explicitly identified as advocates of the positions Gerson opposed in his earlier sermons, however, he did not directly oppose the university to these women before writing his sermon "Let peace come". In "Let peace come", however, Gerson subtly identified Valentina Visconti as a proponent of war and negatively contrasted her to the university's personification as the Daughter of the King. In many ways he had little choice. Valentina's role in royal theater surrounding the conflict brought the similarities between her subject position and the university's into high relief. The established discourse of female persuasion then determined that only one of them could be correct.

Although the French royal court had decided to prosecute John by July of 1408, it did not openly announce this decision until Valentina publicly demanded justice. As the *Journal* of Nicolas de Baye, who was a clerk of the Parlement of Paris, reports, Valentina entered the city in a somber funeral procession comprised of individuals and horses draped in black on 28 August 1408. She presented herself at the Louvre to appeal to the king for justice on 5 September 1408, only to be told that the king was indisposed. Then on 11 September 1408, the abbot of C erisy evoked both Valentina and her son as Louis's aggrieved survivors when he denounced Jean Petit's defense of John the Fearless³⁵. Gerson countered this appeal to the people's sympathy for this grieving widow and her children with the insinuation that Valentina's demand for justice derived from a misguided attachment to honor and a confused understanding of what she owed to her dead husband. For this reason, he concluded, her demand for justice actually promoted a type of injustice that would serve the goals of the devil. In short, Gerson pursued peace through the character assassination of the symbolic and actual female leader of the opposing party³⁶.

The rhetorical effectiveness of Gerson's decision to contrast the imputed virtue of the university's female persona to Valentina's misguided demand for vengeance depended upon classical and medieval discourses on female persuasion that regularly opposed virtuous women to their seductive counterparts. For instance, Plutarch's *Life of Antony* opposed the virtue of Antony's rejected wife Octavia, to the seductive Cleopatra, suggesting that

³⁵ R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue...*, pp. 63-73; Nicolas de Baye, *Journal de Nicolas de Baye. Greffier du Parlement de Paris 1400-1417*, ed. A. Tuetey, Paris 1885, pp. 238-239, 241-242; A. Coville, *Jean Petit...*, pp. 225-232.

³⁶ Since Valentina's oldest son was a minor, she was the natural leader of the group demanding justice for Louis' death. See K.A. LoPrete, *Women, Gender and Lordship in France, c. 1050-1250*, "History Compass" V-VI (2007), pp. 1921-1941.

had Antony given himself to Octavia instead, he would not have brought himself to ruin³⁷. These oppositions were also enshrined in powerful allegorical discourses on the virtues and the vices. Expressions of this tradition include the opposition of Wisdom and Folly in the Book of Proverbs, the opposition of Virtue and Vice described in detail as women dressed modestly and immodestly in Xenophon's account of the temptation of Hercules in the *Memorabilia*, Philo of Alexandria's discussion of the man with two wives in *On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain*, and Prudentius's *Psychomachia*³⁸.

This tradition was so established in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds that a man's reputation and political authority could be seriously damaged by the mere insinuation that the women in his household were inclined to vice. Moralists urged women to use their attractiveness to seduce their husbands to a life of philosophy; publicly performed marital concord announced a man's freedom from political corruption. Early Christian theorists expanded this tradition to include examples found in the Bible. The most significant biblical tradition available to medieval thinkers was of course the opposition of Eve, whose arguments persuaded Adam to sin to the detriment of all humankind, and the Virgin Mary, whose influence upon her son was thought to save contrite sinners from the jaws of hell. Building upon these combined traditions, Christian saints' lives and histories of early medieval Christian kingdoms credited virtuous Christian women, usually the wives of early medieval barbarian kings, with the conversion of their husbands to Christianity. Drawing upon this widespread, firmly established and politically useful tradition, medieval clergy members regularly charged women to plead with their husbands to encourage them to behave in a more Christian and charitable manner³⁹.

Medieval queens and noble women also found particular inspiration in Esther, a biblical queen who pleaded successfully with her husband so that he would show mercy on her people. The example of Esther provided medieval rulers with a means of peacefully resolving the recurring tension that

³⁷ K. Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride. Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 1-19.

³⁸ For Xenophon and Philo's use of women as symbols of virtue and vice, see L. Vinge, *The Five Senses. Studies in a Literary Tradition*, Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis LXXII, Lund 1975, pp. 21-26. For the suggestion that Philo's use of feminine personifications of virtue and vice influenced the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, see M.W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins. An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept*, East Lansing 1952, pp. 64-65.

³⁹ K. Cooper, *Insinuations of Womanly Influence...*, pp. 150-164; S. Farmer, *Persuasive Voices. Clerical Images of Medieval Wives*, "Speculum" LXI (1986), pp. 517-543.

arose between the political need to punish a rebellious subordinate and the military impossibility of doing so. In these cases, male rulers could pronounce terrifyingly strict sentences in anger and then allow their wives to persuade them to adopt a more merciful and politically sensible position without losing the appearance of being able to punish rebellious subordinates at will⁴⁰.

The public roles assumed by the women of the French court conformed to the expectations created by this aggregate tradition of female persuasion. Queen Isabeau, for instance, often mediated between warring French magnates in a manner that brought about meaningful peace agreements, while the marriage of her six-year old daughter, Isabelle of Valois, to King Richard II of England in 1396 was celebrated as the most promising solution to the ongoing conflict between France and England. In fact, all elite marriage alliances were forged upon the premise that the bride would be able to bring about concord and shared purpose between her natal and married families as the result of her skillful persuasion⁴¹.

Wives, however, could also always be doubted because their liminal position as members of two families meant that neither family could trust them completely. One of the most intriguing illustrations of the liminal position aristocratic women occupied is the case of Valentina Visconti, the woman whom Gerson opposed in his sermon "Let peace come". Valentina's father, Giangaleazzo Visconti, the duke of Milan, had married her to Louis of Orléans in 1389. He hoped the marriage would ensure that the French court would neither retaliate against him for forcibly removing his rival from the throne of Milan nor prevent the expansion of his territories in Italy. When Valentina's father and the French king started pursuing divergent political strategies, however, Valentina suffered. She was exiled from the French court on the charges that she had bewitched the king, causing his intermittent spells of insanity⁴².

As the natural rallying point of the Armagnac demand that the death of Louis of Orléans be avenged, Valentina occupied a vulnerable position once again, just before her death in December of 1408. This vulnerability was heightened by the role she played in royal propaganda about the decision to punish John. John's increasing military strength encouraged the crown to

40 L.L. Huneycutt, *Intercession and the High-Medieval Queen. The Esther Topos*, in: *Power of the Weak*, eds. J. Carpenter, S.B. MacLean, Urbana-Chicago 1995, pp. 126-146; T. Adams, *The Life and Afterlife...*, pp. 74-88.

41 For a discussion of Queen Isabeau's role as a mediating queen, see: T. Adams, *The Life and Afterlife...*, pp. 89-112; eadem, *Christine de Pizan...*, pp. 1-32, especially pp. 8-15.

42 T. Adams, *The Life and Afterlife...*, pp. 6-7. Valentina had many supporters and detractors. It is significant that while she stayed away from the French royal court that Queen Isabeau continued to send her gifts. See R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue...*, pp. 238-239, n. 183.

reconsider its decision to pursue justice. When Gerson activated the Esther topos to present the University of Paris as an advocate for mercy, he presented the royal court with the option of distancing itself from Valentina's position for the purpose of making peace with John. The fact that the court eventually did just this further strengthened Gerson's implicit assertion that the University of Paris would make a much better informal adviser to the French crown than the noble women who had regular access to the magnates of the realm by nature of their kinship relations⁴³.

UNIVERSITY AS ESTHER

Gerson's decision to openly oppose Valentina is readily apparent in the framing he chose for his sermon. This framing pairs one of Gerson's most aggressively authoritative depictions of the University of Paris as the Daughter of the King, which opens the sermon, with a detailed description of the biblical wise woman of Tekoa, who is the central figure in the sermon's conclusion. Whereas Gerson's previous depictions of the University of Paris as the Daughter of the King had emphasized her daughterly submission and loyalty, Gerson's deployment of this figure in 1408 emphasized the Daughter of the King's independence and prophetic authority. Rather than focusing upon her adoptive kinship with the French king, Gerson emphasized her divine parentage. When combined with Gerson's association of Esther with the widow of Tekoa, this framing device served to undermine Valentina's claims to authority, and as a result, the political position she represented.

Gerson explained that "the Daughter of the King, the teacher of truth, the mother and fountain of all studies, the beautiful and clear light of the very noble and very Christian kingdom of France" demanded peace because she was the daughter of the King of Peace, namely God. Following this introduction, he asserted that the peaceable are considered "sons of God" and the seditious, "sons of the enemy". Then, mirroring his previous sermons in a manner that challenged royal authority, Gerson described a tearful Daughter of the King imploring God, rather than the French king, to deliver his Christian people from peace. Only then, did he observe that the Daughter of the King had decided to address the French royal court because she had determined that sermons and solemn processions were not enough⁴⁴.

⁴³ The king publicly pardoned John on 9 March 1409 and at the same time forced Louis's surviving sons to swear they had banished vengeance from their hearts. Famiglietti suggests that Valentina's death the previous December made it easier for the king to pardon John. See R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue...*, pp. 73-75.

⁴⁴ Jean Gerson, *Veniat pax*, in: idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, VIIb, pp. 1100-1102.

This opening statement implicitly threatened the crown with a loss of the university's support. In addition to claiming God rather than the French king as the university's father, Gerson identified the Daughter of the King with Athena and "all philosophers of this university since the beginning of the world"⁴⁵. These references to the Greek goddess of wisdom and a long lineage of previous philosophers evoked a trope often used by members of the University of Paris in their negotiations with the king for authority and power. This trope argued that divinely granted wisdom followed divinely granted imperium. In other words, if the king failed to recognize his Christian responsibility, the university, as the representative of divine wisdom, would abandon him, indicating that he had lost his divinely granted power to rule⁴⁶. Although Gerson briefly identified the university as the king's "humble and willing servant by worthy adoption" immediately following these assertions, he had already claimed a nearly prophetic clarity of thought for the University of Paris that would suggest that if the king were to disagree with the university, he would certainly be excluding himself from the company of sons of God⁴⁷.

Gerson made a similar assertion about the university's moral clarity in the conclusion of his sermon by recounting in detail the interaction between the widow of Tekoa and King David (2 Samuel 14). Gerson explicitly stated that he found this story so appropriate to the situation in France that it was worth recounting in detail. He then explained how the king's servant Joab reconciled King David with his son Absalom, who had murdered his brother Amnon and then fled the kingdom. Joab, demonstrating a keen awareness of the same politics of female persuasion that made Valetina's public plea for justice so effective, enlisted the help of the wise old woman of Tekoa. He instructed her to approach the king in a visible state of mourning and to lament to him about her wretched fate. She did this, explaining to the king that she was a widow whose two sons had fought each other until one of them was dead and the other faced execution at the hands of his own kin. This strategy was successful. When the widow shared her fears of the profound loneliness she would face after the execution of her last immediate family member, King David, promised that no harm would come to her only surviving son. She then explained that it was the king's own situation of which she spoke and begged the king to make peace with his son as a means of protecting his people from further suffering. This argument convinced the King to allow his son Absalom to return⁴⁸.

45 Ibidem, p. 1101.

46 S. Lusignan, *Vérité...*, pp. 225-277.

47 Jean Gerson, *Veniat pax*, in: idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, VIIIb, p. 1101.

48 Ibidem, pp. 1119-1120.

Curiously, this exchange between David and the wise woman did not readily serve Gerson's purposes. This is because David immediately realized that Joab had commanded the wise woman to perform her grief in front of him and when confronted with the king's suspicion, the wise woman admitted that Joab had "put all these words into the mouth of your maidservant" (2 Samuel 14:19). This admission would seemingly align the male theologians of the University of Paris, who hoped to advise the crown in a masculine and official capacity, with Joab and not the wise woman. Gerson, however, prevented such an interpretation by explicitly associating the university with the widow of Tekoa in a manner that also explicitly co-opted the persuasive position that Valentina had assumed for the University of Paris. He explained the relationship of the university to the male members of the French royal court as follows:

One may compare the University of Paris, not only to Judith and to Esther, who placed themselves in danger of death for the peace of their people, but also to this wise woman from Tekoa, who is interpreted as a buccin or trumpet. The University is wise as one knows, and it is the buccin of truth. Each good lord or knight who loves the king of France according to the example of Joab, who loved David his king, may send this wise woman, with approval and recognition, to speak of peace⁴⁹.

Thus drawing upon the long tradition of measuring a man's virtue by the women whose company he kept and, as a result, whose influence he welcomed, Gerson separated the magnates of the French realm into two groups. On the one hand, there were those who loved peace and as a result authenticated the efforts made by the University of Paris to foster peace within France and within the Church. On the other, there were the seditious "sons of the enemy", whom Gerson had identified in the first paragraph of his sermon. The logic of Gerson's argument implied that in the particular instance regarding the punishment of John the Fearless, these sons of the enemy were those nobles who supported Valentina Visconti's demand for justice.

SILENCING THE WIDOW

Considering the way that Gerson framed his sermon in dialogue with existing political debates about punishing John, and, more importantly, with an existing royal performance of that debate, it is not necessary to assume that his implied opposition of the wise woman of Tekoa and Valentina reflects any personal animosity towards Valentina. In fact, if Gerson's references to

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 1120.

Valentina's role in the crown's decision to punish John had been limited to the sermon's gendered frame, it would be possible to argue that the sermon contained an accidental rather than a sustained critique of Valentina's character and authority. Gerson, however, more aggressively undercut Valentina's authority in the body of the sermon by casting her both as an embodiment of the dangerous vice Fury and as a sinful silly woman, whose narcissistic concerns prevented her from recognizing how her behavior affected the health of the kingdom.

Gerson associated Valentina with the vice of Fury during the course of a debate he imagined occurring within what he called the Parlement of his mind. In this debate, Reason, who usually represented the University of Paris, forwarded twelve sound arguments for peace, only to be countered by Retribution (*affliction la rigoreuse*), who demanded justice in a loud voice. Characterizing her as "the harsh step-mother of humanity", Gerson mobilized the personification of Retribution for the purpose of rendering war unpalatable to his audience. Retribution, as he explained, who was "accompanied by poverty, rage, hunger, and thirst", fulfilled two functions. The first was to punish for the sake of destroying, and the second was to punish with the intent of encouraging the sinful to amend their ways⁵⁰. She embodied the very ruthlessness the French magnates would have to embrace if they decided to pursue the long civil war that would be necessary to punish John.

Gerson debated Retribution with the intent of destabilizing the moral certainty that would be needed to fuel such ruthlessness. Although Gerson introduced Retribution as an agent of divine will, who was brought to life only by the conjunction of the wicked will of humans and the activity of the devil, he questioned the validity of her uncompromising demand for justice in the case at hand. Noting that absolute justice served peace, he argued that when the pursuit of justice required war, it was injustice rather than justice⁵¹. By aggressively challenging the assertions made by the apparition of Retribution he encountered in his imagination, Gerson insinuated that she was something other than she seemed. This insinuation allowed him to perform obedience to the magnates who were intent upon punishing John without retreating from his uncompromising moral and ecclesiastical opposition to war with John. In fact, he told them that if they were sure that they had a case against peace on behalf of Lady Retribution, they should take that case to someone else. He would think only of peace⁵². Similarly, although he assured his audience

50 Ibidem, pp. 1107-1108.

51 Ibidem, pp. 1108-1109.

52 Ibidem, p. 1109.

that he spoke only for peace and not against justice, he had already indicated quite clearly in his argument with Retribution that because justice served peace, John could not be punished in the name of true justice⁵³. Finally, he admitted to undertaking these rhetorical moves consciously. As he explained to his princely audience, “by such a figurative manner of speaking” he had hoped “to convey that the Daughter of the King wishes neither to prescribe or proscribe retributive justice for one party or another” because she is in agreement with royal authority. Rather than trying to usurp authority, he explained, the Daughter of the King only advocated for peace, “because it is so desired, so religious, so worthy, so amiable, and so fruitful, so honorable and so glorious”⁵⁴.

When considered in light of his imaginary debate with Retribution, Gerson’s explanation for his figurative language indicates that he argued with an imaginary impersonation of divine Retribution because he could not argue directly with Valentina. By casting doubt on all of the arguments that could be made in the name of retributive justice and personifying Retribution as he did, however, Gerson cast doubt upon the motivations behind Valentina’s solemn entrance into Paris and the justifications for punishing John that the Abbot of C erisy forwarded in her name. Furthermore, in case the princes remained uncertain about whether or not Gerson had given them permission to wage war, he followed up his apology for treating Retribution so dismissively with an uncompromising condemnation of war.

This condemnation added weight to Gerson’s subtle suggestion that the figure he had debated had been of a diabolical rather than a divine nature. He had, after all, explicitly opposed this figure’s arguments to the arguments of Reason. By association, he had also explicitly demonized the position forwarded by Valentina. Gerson framed his condemnation of war with the example of the sacrifice Jesus made when He assumed the guilt of all sinners and then suffered a painful death for the sake of their salvation⁵⁵. In contrast to the example of Christ’s generosity, Gerson then reflected upon how the devil delighted in war because war allowed him to collect souls in bulk, namely city-by-city and empire-by-empire rather than one-by-one. For this reason, Gerson explained, the “desire to murder all at once is the desire of the devil and those who delight themselves in war and in division for gain or for vengeance have a similar desire”⁵⁶.

By asserting so forcefully that vengeance could only be diabolical in nature, Gerson deconstructed any possible argument the crown could

53 Ibidem, pp. 1109, 1113-1114.

54 Ibidem, pp. 1109-1110.

55 Ibidem, p. 1110.

56 Ibidem, pp. 1110-1111.

make for punishing John in the name of justice. Through this move, he reduced the murder of Louis of Orléans to a matter of blood feud rather than a matter of royal authority. Blood feud, however, was one of the strongest organizing forces of late medieval French politics⁵⁷. For this reason, Gerson had to undermine Valentina's pleas for justice in accordance with her personal relationship with her husband as well as in accordance with official propaganda regarding the exercise of royal power. He did this by ventriloquizing for the souls of French princes in purgatory.

Through the speech of unnamed souls in purgatory, Gerson rebuked Valentina explicitly. Noting that those in purgatory participated in divine charity and thus were unable to wish other souls ill, Gerson explained that wars hurt these souls by robbing them of the prayers and masses they needed to shorten their punishment and win their way to heaven. For this reason, these souls cry out to their friends on earth, asking them to do good deeds that will lessen rather than increase the suffering of these souls⁵⁸. In particular, these souls rebuked "women and children" against "adding evil upon evil", asking them how causing "thousands or hundreds of thousands of evils" to avenge one death can possibly help the dead soul in question⁵⁹. Having skillfully rebuked Valentina's demand for justice with the stated needs of dead souls including that of her dead husband, Gerson countered the last remaining justification for war, namely family honor. He then contrasted the now seemingly petty demand for justice with the university's and the French church's cry for charity, mercy, and peace.

Valentina, however, was not the only proponent of honor-driven feuding in late medieval France. Her appeal for justice had only been symbolically effective because it resonated with the values of the nobility as a class. Even if Louis did not want his wife to pursue the feud with John for his sake, John's violation of a shared code of honor required that John be punished. Gerson navigated this challenge, however, by gendering the demand for vengeance as female and encouraging the princes to separate themselves from this demand. Reinforcing his uncompromising condemnation of war, he reached out to the princes.

Noting that those who pillage are "worse than unbelievers and servants of the devil" because "their meat is the innocent blood and human flesh of poor people", he appealed to masculine reason. Observing that, as "good knights and squires", they knew that "good chivalry" and "good religious conscience" demonstrated that peace within the kingdom was so much better than war,

57 For the suggestion that feud rather than centralized rule was the political norm in late medieval Europe, see T. Adams, *The Life and Afterlife...*, pp. 89-92.

58 Jean Gerson, *Veniat pax*, in: idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, VIIb, pp. 1111-1112.

59 Ibidem, p. 1112.

he asked them to consider the good of their wives and children. "There is no more beautiful a heritage that you could leave to your children, no more rich a dower that you could leave to your wives if they survive", he admonished, "than peace"⁶⁰.

Through the cumulative effect of all of these arguments, Gerson converted Valentina from an aspiring voice of social conscience demanding the just punishment of a cold-blooded killer into a helpless and misguided widow in need of charity. By addressing her explicitly and dismissively, he feminized and belittled his opponents' demands for vengeance. Although he did not explicitly associate Valentina with the figure Retribution, he insinuated that her demands served the needs of the devil and, as a result, allowed the frightening characteristics he had ascribed to Retribution to settle on Valentina. By associating Valentina's demands for justice with the destruction of war and likening the pursuit of war for the sake of retribution to "a body, which for the loss of one of its fingers, cruelly tears itself into pieces", Gerson associated Valentina with irrational rage, or the deadly vice Fury⁶¹. Finally, by contrasting this rage with the example of Christ, Gerson explicitly denied vengeance any place in a Christian polity.

This examination of the details of Gerson's argument demonstrates that Gerson discredited Valentina for the purpose of undermining feud politics, which threatened the survival of royally sponsored institutions like the University of Paris, as well as hospitals, charitable institutions, religious orders, and churches. These institutions could not thrive in a state of constant civil war⁶². He did so, moreover, for the purpose of promoting the kind of peace that would both allow the Church to recover from the papal schism and allow the poor people of France to live lives free of unnecessary violence and poverty. In other words, it would be difficult to argue that Gerson wrote his sermon, "Let peace come", in order to pursue a misogynist agenda.

In fact, Gerson singled out Valentina because she already played an important role in the royal debates about John's fate. As the natural leader of the Armagnac faction and one of the plaintiffs in the Abbot of C erisy's rebuttal of the Burgundian position, she invited attack. In making this attack, moreover, Gerson pursued the most effective tactic. He attributed the Armagnac demand for justice to the misguided and isolated opinion of a furious, misguided, and narcissistic widow and her minor sons. He then

60 Ibidem, p. 1115.

61 Ibidem, p. 1117. For a comparison of classical treatments of furor, which characterize it as a feminine vice, with more egalitarian treatments of the vice in early French Romance, see N. Margolis, *Flamma, Furor, and the Fol'amors. Fire and Feminine Madness from the Aeneid to the Roman d'Eneas*, "Romanic Review" LXXVIII (1987) 2, pp. 131-147.

62 Jean Gerson, *Veniat pax*, in: idem, *Oeuvres compl etes*, VII, p. 1115.

discredited her opinion as a means of discrediting feud violence in general. The weight of his argument, however, implied that only foolish women valued vengeance. For this reason, male rulers, who understood the value of peace and loved their king, would follow and publicly support the advice of the University of Paris, the Daughter of the King of Peace. In short, he equated the structural forces that compelled European aristocrats towards constant feuding with the wrong kind of female persuasion.

This association between feuding and female persuasion allowed Gerson to imply that the University of Paris could better fill the advisory roles that were occupied by aristocratic women. Considering the informal, substantial, and negotiated nature of aristocratic women's power in this time period, Gerson's sermon attempted to make what can only be characterized as a misogynist intervention into practical theories of lordship. Noting, however, that Gerson crafted this argument in dialogue with existing discourses and the public performances of a powerful aristocratic woman, Valentina, supports Theresa Earenfight's argument against reading medieval clerical texts that disparaged women's ruling abilities as accurate reflections of either aristocratic sentiment or the authority individual royal or noblewomen could exercise in a given reign or moment. In fact, instead of demonstrating the subordinate position of medieval aristocratic women, Gerson's sermon demonstrates both the politically weak position of the University of Paris and his willingness to use all available rhetorical tools to improve that position. For this reason, the sermon suggests that gender, like lordship, is made and remade in daily negotiations over power and influence⁶³. Moreover, as the example of Gerson indicates, these negotiations were often driven by concerns far removed from the participants' feelings about woman as a category, despite their subsequent role in shaping women's experience and public roles.

ABSTRACT

Desperate to interject rational arguments into a political situation that was quickly devolving into civil war, the influential Parisian intellectual, Jean Gerson, elaborated fruitfully upon the university's royally granted title as daughter of the king. In this manner, he created a place for the university in royal deliberations despite the magnates' general distrust of unsolicited academic advice. Significantly, he did so in dialogue with the example of female persuasive power he saw both in the actions of Queen Isabeau and in the actions of Valentina Visconti, Duchess of Orléans. The university had built a dependent, privileged, and subordinate royal persona out of its title as daughter of the king during the course of its legal pleas before the Parlement of Paris. Gerson, however, associated this persona with more authoritative female roles such as mother or widow. Moreover, his elaborations upon the university's authority as

63 See T. Earenfight, *Without the Persona...*, pp. 12-13; K.A. LoPrete, *Women...*, p. 1929.

Daughter of the King explicitly mirrored the particular authority claims forwarded by the queen as mother of the royal children and Valentina Visconti as widow of the king's brother. At the same time, Gerson insisted that the prophetic female persona he constructed for the university possessed a masculine and other worldly ability to discern truth that separated her from the real women who both inspired her creation and served, to some extent, as her competition. My examination of this elaborate male-female prophetic hybrid locates the University of Paris and the royal women on a grid of political power. In particular, it reveals their relationships to each other, identifies the shared vulnerabilities that encouraged them to use the same authentication strategies, and explains the crown's dependence upon their actions.

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ETHNICITY, GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN MID-CENTURY MEDIEVALIST FILM: THE EXAMPLE OF *BECKET* (1964)



THE BECKET AFFAIR

The present article addresses some issues of ethnicity, gender and sexuality raised by *Becket* (United Kingdom 1964; directed by Peter Glenville). The pretext for this film was the conflict between King Henry II of England (r. 1154-1189) and Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury, that rocked the territorial agglomeration ruled by Henry and Queen Eleanor (1124-1204) in 1170. The Channel-straddling Angevin Empire combined Eleanor's territories in Aquitaine and Poitou with Anjou, Brittany, Maine and the Touraine (Henry's from his father Geoffrey Plantagenet), sections of Scotland, Wales and Ireland (conquered by Henry), and Normandy and England (Henry's from his mother Matilda, granddaughter of William the Conqueror). Henry appointed his friend Thomas to Canterbury, expecting cooperation at a time when many ecclesiastics were defiant of secular rulers, but Becket refused to be the king's ally. A period of feuding between the two men ended in the archbishop's murder by Henry's baronial drinking partners. Henry assumed responsibility and did penance for the deed (even permitting the monks of Canterbury to whip him before Becket's tomb) and Becket ended up venerated as a martyr and a saint.

Becket was produced as a big budget film starring Peter O'Toole as Henry II, and Richard Burton as Becket. In 1963, the movie set of Canterbury cathedral cost more than the construction of the actual original cathedral had¹; O'Toole

1 D. Sim, *The Cathedral on Stage H*, "The Observer" (9 June 1963), p. 25.

was the hottest rising star of his day, being hailed as the new Laurence Olivier²; and Burton was a dominating figure in popular consciousness as a result of his romantic connection with Elizabeth Taylor³. While retaining the skeleton of the historical conflict, the film fleshed it out into something far removed from a conflict between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. On screen, audiences witnessed a conflict fuelled by resentment on the part of an ethnically Saxon Becket towards his brutish Norman ruler, and by rage on the part of Henry, obsessed by an “unnatural” (in the words of the film’s Matilda) love for the man who had betrayed him. Through it all, the king’s relationship with his own family remained astoundingly hostile.

Medieval films do not, cannot, and indeed have no desire to “accurately” represent some “authentic” past, but rather instrumentalize the Middle Ages in order to intervene in matters of contemporary concern. At the same time, however, filmmakers exploit a plethora of strategies designed to encourage the reception of a given film as a record, rather than a representation, of historical events⁴. Costumes and sets, hair and make-up, props and location shooting can combine to create an aura of authenticity in the material realm that appears to “guarantee” the authenticity of the plots and characters and motivations on display⁵. More importantly, historical films are in fact consumed by audiences as believable versions of the past. As viewers identify with characters in films, they incorporate the experiences of those characters into their own psyches, something Alison Landsberg calls “prosthetic memory” by analogy with prosthetic limbs. Film, in effect, appears to invoke the emotional certitude we associate with memory, such that the experience within the movie theatre and the memories that the cinema affords might be as significant in constructing, or deconstructing, the spectator’s identity as any experience that s/he actually lived through⁶.

Given the status of historical film, it behooves professional medievalists to familiarize themselves with the cinematic discourses circulating about “their” periods, and to think about the cultural work “their” periods do. The ability

2 *Lawrence of Leeds*, “Time” (19 October 1962), p. 69 (<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,827884,00.html>).

3 See the cover stories in “Life” (13 April 1962, 19 April 1963).

4 Discussions of this complex of issues include: P. Sorlin, *The Film in History. Restaging the Past*, Oxford 1980; M. Hughes-Warrington, *History Goes to the Movies. Studying History on Film*, New York 2007; A.B.R. Elliott, *Remaking the Middle Ages. The Methods of Cinema and History in Portraying the Medieval World*, Jefferson 2011; B. Bildhauer, *Filming the Middle Ages*, London 2011.

5 M. Pierson, *A Production Designer’s Cinema. Historical Authenticity in Popular Films Set in the Past*, in: *Spectacle and the Real*, ed. G. King, Bristol 2005, pp. 145-155.

6 A. Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory. The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture*, New York 2004, p. 30.

of *Becket* not only to reflect but also to influence opinions and events in the mid 1960s deserves recognition. Witness this remembrance by André Aciman (b. 1951) concerning his youthful experience of the film when it played in his native Alexandria in Egypt:

the winter of 1965 [...] I call it *Becket's* winter. [...] Not a day went by that year without someone speaking of *Becket*. [...] *Becket* was everywhere. Not a single magazine failed to mention it. *Becket* came into all of my classes [...] enough to stem the irreversible tide of Beatlemania which had already seized Alexandria by storm the previous year⁷.

Becket: bigger than Beatlemania.

Becket's triad of interpersonal constellations (ethnic resentment, homoeroticism, familial discord) had already featured in the source of the film: the 1959 play *Becket, or the Honor of God* (*Becket ou l'honneur de Dieu*) by Jean Anouilh (1910-1987). The play was a sensation in Paris, then New York, then all over Europe⁸, but no play can ever have the influence or cultural significance of a film, with the latter's possibilities for widespread distribution. Furthermore, the process of remediation, that is, of moving the play from a Parisian stage to a global screen, not only involved a long list of changes to the script, but also – and in stark contrast to the stage version – (re)presented the “story as the real past”⁹. Before we can appreciate the impact of the (amplified) cinematic version of Anouilh's play, we must explore the stage version.

ANOUILH'S BECKET

There has been very little scholarship on Anouilh, now considered a superficial, bourgeois boulevardier¹⁰, and no studies at all of his medievalism¹¹. His fame currently rests almost entirely on *Antigone* (1944)¹². Yet, whatever scholarship does exist on Anouilh's theatre agrees that he turned his own experiences into theatre and was himself (at least in) all of his

7 A. Aciman, *Foreword*, in: J. Anouilh, *Becket*, New York 1996, p. 6.

8 A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh. Une biographie*, Paris 2012, pp. 251-252; J.P. Lenoir, *Paris. Past, Present, Prospective*, “Theatre Arts” XLIV (1960), pp. 66-67.

9 On remediation see L.A. Finke, M.B. Shichtman, *Cinematic Illuminations. The Middle Ages on Film*, Baltimore 2010, p. 24.

10 J. Blancart-Cassou, *Jean Anouilh. Les jeux d'un pessimiste*, Aix-en-Provence 2007, pp. 251-257; E. de Comminges, *Anouilh, littérature, et politique*, Paris 1977, p. 184.

11 He did also do a Joan of Arc play (*L'Alouette*, 1953) and intended, during the 1970s, to reprise the story of broken male friendship using Charlemagne and Roland; see his notes in J. Anouilh, *Artisan du théâtre*, eds. E. Le Corre, B. Barut, pp. 259-301.

12 A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 123, 142-144; J. Anouilh, *Artisan du théâtre*, p. 9.

characters¹³. Even a 1977 study that tried to demonstrate (against the critical mainstream) that Anouilh's plays had some political significance explained that Henry II's intense desire for friendship was a reflection of the playwright's own friendless childhood¹⁴. And that was hardly all. Like Henry II, Anouilh experienced connections with male friends that were intense and emotional enough for him to draw parallels with Abelard and Heloise¹⁵. Like Henry II, Anouilh reproached his mother for having abandoned him in favor of what felt (to a small boy) like frivolous pleasurable pursuits when both women were off working (the playwright's mother as a professional pianist, Henry's fighting for the crown of England)¹⁶. Like Eleanor of Aquitaine, Anouilh put up with an unfaithful partner (Monelle Valentin) while he sat home raising children; he personally was born of his mother's extramarital affair, was raised by a long-suffering, non-biological father, and valued a highly domestic fatherhood above any other role¹⁷.

The first person to review the 1959 Paris play, Louis Barjon, hailed *Becket* as the breakthrough play in which the author finally threw himself completely into the psychology of the characters as human beings¹⁸. The judgment that *Becket* represented Anouilh's first success in telling an emotional story with real sensitivity was echoed days later by Jacques Lemarchand, who underlined explicitly that the play was not in the least political¹⁹. The drama for Barjon and Lemarchand was first and foremost centered on the story of a friendship. Several reviewers of the 1959 Parisian play literally waxed rhapsodic over the "bromance" ("l'amitié virile, belle chose et des plus rares") at its core²⁰. *Becket* took on one of the terminally-pessimistic playwright's

13 This is the overarching theme of P. Vandromme (*Jean Anouilh. Un auteur et ses personnages. Suivi d'un recueil de texts critiques de Jean Anouilh*, Paris 1965, see especially p. 77); see also A. Visdei (*Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 17, 138, 203, 207).

14 E. de Comminges, *Anouilh...*, pp. 123-124.

15 A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, p. 138.

16 Henry says to Matilda: "I never saw you save in a passage, dressed for a ball, or in your crown and ermine mantle ten minutes before official ceremonies where you were forced to tolerate my presence. I have always been alone, and no one on this earth has ever loved me except Becket" (J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 82 – a faithful translation of J. Anouilh, *Becket, ou l'Honneur de Dieu* [1958], in: idem, *Pièces costumées*, Paris 1960; 2008 edition, pp. 133-275 [hereafter: Anouilh, PC], here p. 227). For the recurrent character of the lonely child in Anouilh's plays, see A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 15-17 and J. Blancart-Cassou, *Jean Anouilh...*, p. 15.

17 A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 15-17, 196; J. Blancart-Cassou, *Jean Anouilh...*, p. 15; P. Vandromme, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 132-133; C. Anouilh, *Drôle de père*, Paris 1990.

18 L. Barjon, *Becket ou l'honneur de Dieu*, "Etudes" CCCIII (1959), pp. 332-335.

19 J. Lemarchand, *Honneur de Dieu, déchirure de l'amitié. Le Becket de Jean Anouilh*, "Le Figaro Littéraire" (10 October 1959), p. 12.

20 G. Portal, *L'honneur de Dieu et les bonheurs d'Anouilh*, "Ecrits de Paris. Revue des questions actuelles" (January 1960), p. 91. See also Lemarchand for the passionate "amitié

favorite themes: how all human relationships inevitably turn friends or lovers into enemies, condemning everyone to solitude²¹.

The Parisian reviewers who emphasized the emotional and interpersonal over the political and historical in their comments on *Becket* were pointed in that direction by the playwright himself. They may have been familiar with the orally-transmitted origin myth of *Becket* told by Anouilh to Peter O'Toole when the latter saw the Parisian original: that the play dramatized the rift between two male members of a leading Parisian theatre company, for which Anouilh found an appropriate setting through a chance visit to Canterbury cathedral (where he read approximately five lines of tourist material), and that the play was not meant in any way to be historical²². Others were certainly exposed to Anouilh's written "caveat statement" concerning the play, which also explicitly denied to his script either historical truth or political seriousness, a point repeated for English-language audiences when the play, translated by Lucienne Hill (1923-2012), was adapted for the Broadway stage in 1960²³. Both caveat statements explained how Anouilh had fortuitously discovered the Becket affair due to his chance purchase of a book (it turned out to be *The Conquest of England by the Normans* [*Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*] by Augustin Thierry) to which he was attracted by its green cover. Both caveat statements also pointed out that the play was above all a love story of the two men, though the French version was more forceful in underlining that Anouilh had invented the characters of the protagonists:

Voilà ce que j'ai lu un jour dans *La Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, d'Augustin Thierry, que j'avais acheté par hasard parce que les volumes avaient une belle reliure verte. Mon émotion et mon plaisir m'ont suffi. Je n'ai rien lu d'autre. Le drame entre ces deux homes qui étaient si proches, qui s'aimaient et qu'une grande chose, absurde pour l'un d'eux – celui qui aimait le plus – allait separer, m'a donne la piece... Je n'ai pas été chercher dans les livres que etait vraiment Henri II – ni

virile" that led to "un crime d'amitié" (idem, *Honneur de Dieu...*, p. 12), and H. Gouhier for the "amitié passionnée" (*Becket ou l'honneur de Dieu de Jean Anouilh – Spectacles Gorki, "La Table Ronde"* (December 1959), pp. 174-178, here p. 175).

²¹ J. Blancart-Cassou, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 27-35; J. Vier, *Le théâtre de Jean Anouilh*, Paris 1976, pp. 45-48.

²² Audiocommentary with Peter O'Toole and Mark Kermode, *Becket*, 2007 DVD release.

²³ For the translator's life and career, see this obituary: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2013/jan/17/lucienne-hill>. For the excellence of the translation, see H. Harvitt, *The Translation of Anouilh's Becket*, "French Review" XXXIV (1961), pp. 569-570. Hill's Tony award-winning translation was used for the 1961 London stage production as well, and would later form the foundation for the Academy Award winning screenplay by Edward Anhalt.

même Becket. J'ai fait le roi dont j'avais besoin et le Becket ambigu dont j'avais besoin²⁴.

Finally, both caveat statements underlined that Becket's purportedly Saxon ethnicity, taken from Thierry, turned out to be incorrect, but that Anouilh had decided to leave his "chanson" intact despite the error:

Tout s'écroulait pour un homme sérieux. Mais je suis un homme léger et facile – puisque je fais du théâtre. J'ai décidé que cela m'était égal²⁵.

Anouilh's tale of the green book as the source of his discovery of the Becket affair cannot be taken as literally true²⁶. The playwright was not ignorant of this famous episode from the intertwined medieval histories of England and France. As noted, in 1953 he had already written a Joan play, for which he used one of his favorite works²⁷, Jules Michelet's *Histoire de France* – an engrossing narrative that included "the rousing story of the Norman conquest and the tragic end of Thomas Becket"²⁸. Furthermore, T.S. Eliot's 1935 *Murder in the Cathedral*, which also told the Becket story, had already made the stage rounds, been turned into a movie (1950) and an opera (1958's *Assassinio nella Cattedrale* by Ildebrando Pizzetti), and was playing on the Parisian stage during the very same 1959-1960 season during which *Becket* opened²⁹.

24 I have not been able to determine where or how exactly Jean Anouilh published the 1959 French caveat statement, which can be read in full in P. Vandromme, *Jean Anouilh...* as "Becket ou l'honneur de Dieu", pp. 239-240, and in *Jean Anouilh. En marge du théâtre*, ed. E. Knight, Paris 2000, pp. 128-129. Knight took the text from *L'Avant-Scène Théâtre* (15 February - 1 March 1963), but this cannot have been the original publication, for it was cited four times in Barjon's 1959 review (Barjon, pp. 329, 331, 338-339). The 1960 English caveat statement, entitled "Becket by Chance", appeared in *The New York Times* on 2 October 1960 to accompany the opening of the play on Broadway. It can be read in *Jean Anouilh. En marge...*, pp. 104-109 (with a note on p. 104 from Nicole Anouilh pointing out that Anouilh did not know English), and in J. Anouilh, *Becket*, pp. XVII-XX. In the English version, Anouilh described the work as a "drama of friendship between two men, between the king and his friend, his companion in pleasure and in work (and this is what had gripped me about the story), this friend whom he could not cease to love though he became his worst enemy the night he was named archbishop" (p. XX).

25 J. Anouilh, *Becket*, in P. Vandromme, *Jean Anouilh...*, p. 240. The slightly different English version reads: "I am not a serious man... A large part of the subject of my play was based on the fact that Becket was of the vanquished race. A serious man at this point would have... rewritten his play on a more exact historical basis. I decided that... for this drama it was a thousand times better that Becket remained a Saxon" – J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. XX.

26 Anouilh did not *discover* the story there but he did read Thierry, which is (among other things) the source of the subtitle of the play, "L'honneur de Dieu" (A. Thierry, *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, Paris 1825, pp. 334-335).

27 A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, p. 220.

28 A. Cochut, *Historiens modernes de la France – Jules Michelet*, "Revue des Deux Mondes" XXIX (1842), pp. 186-229.

29 L. Barjon, *Becket...*, p. 339.

Reviewers of *Becket* even noted that audiences knew the story well³⁰. Yet, the fact that Anouilh's story cannot have been literally true makes it even more significant as a trivializing maneuver: it demonstrates how intent the playwright was on denying any historico-political implications to the work.

Becket was an interpersonal psycho-drama, and the playwright exerted himself to guarantee that audiences and critics would receive it in that light. By announcing in print that Thomas Becket was not actually a Saxon and thereby admitting the fictionality of this entire dimension of what purportedly steeled the archbishop, Anouilh revealed that the conflict should not be read on the level of content. The point was not lost on Parisian theatre critics, or on Anouilh scholars. The "Thomas Becket" invented by Anouilh was just another version of Antigone and Joan and Thomas More and a dozen other characters from the author's pen, just as Henry II was Creon and Cauchon and Henry VIII, and the Norman barons were the Theban police of *Antigone* and the Thermidorean jailers of *Pauvre Bitos*³¹. "Barjon savaged Anouilh for his perennial replay of the same scenario: the conflict between idealism and pragmatism, between intransigent faith in abstract ideals and practical loyalty to mundane things like human friendship, to the point of a suicidal proclamation of a thunderous 'no!' to life³². The Jesuit Barjon particularly detested the way Anouilh drained any Christian motives (such as love of God) out Becket, who ended up just as 'empty of any positive content' as were the author's other heroic nihilists"³³.

Jean Anouilh loved staging the conflict between relativism and absolutism. It made for excellent drama and provided a perfect pretext for playing out the emotional lives of his *dramatis personae*. Yet he never staged it in such a way as to be clear where he personally stood, whether on the side of heroic resistance or of pragmatic collaboration (a dilemma he had experienced first-hand in Vichy France during the Nazi occupation). While Anouilh has personally been charged repeatedly with collaboration³⁴, his plays (which are what matter) have been interpreted in diametrically opposite ways, for he staged heroic resistance while simultaneously calling into question the validity of the heroic cause³⁵. Decades after the premiere of *Antigone* in wartime Paris people were

30 G. Portal, *L'honneur de Dieu...*, p. 88; H. Gouhier, *Becket...*, p. 175.

31 A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 78, 123-125, 217-219; J. Blancart-Cassou, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 37-39, 121-132; Gouhier, pp. 175-187; E. de Comminges, *Anouilh...*, p. 122.

32 L. Barjon, *Becket...*, pp. 330-331.

33 *Ibidem*, pp. 336-340. In contrast, Portal praised the play as a great Christian work (Portal, pp. 91-92).

34 L.A. Finke, M.B. Shichtman, *Cinematic Illuminations...*, p. 93 (an accusation that can be better understood against the background of P. Vandromme, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 115-120, 175-181).

35 A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 146-152; J. Blancart-Cassou, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 41-44.

still debating whether Anouilh identified with the resister Antigone or the pragmatist Creon. Vandromme opined, in 1965, that Anouilh was both of them (just as he was both Becket and in Henry II), whereas De Comminges insisted, in 1977, that he was neither, and that his plays were indictments of political intolerance³⁶.

Whatever Anouilh's politics may have been, they are not legible in the script of *Becket*. Furthermore, Anouilh combated the temptation to search for a political angle in the play through his trivializing caveat statements accompanying the Paris and New York premieres. Finally, he did not content himself with offering stage directions in the script but, as co-director of the Paris production, made the visual experience of the audience as unrealistic as possible³⁷. The French script opened with a stage direction calling for "un décor vague avec des piliers partout"; the spirit of these instructions was aptly captured by Hill in her translation as "an indeterminate set, with pillars" (p. 1)³⁸. The characters subsequently moved through multiple changes of scene, all (according to the stage directions) to be suggested vaguely. Anouilh's Parisian production team used a bare stage, curtains, drapes, cardboard cut outs and a light projector to suggest a series of locations and objects (pillars, stained glass windows, arches, trees), while dressing the performers (and the cardboard horses) in amazingly simple and even comic garb reminiscent of *commedia dell'arte* costumes³⁹. One reviewer left the theatre with the impression of having witnessed "une sorte de tragédie vaudevillesque" played by marionettes⁴⁰.

What then of Anouilh's "medievalism"? Comments on *Becket* as a work of medievalism along classical lines (that is, as a utilization of the past as a way to allegorize contemporary concerns) are wildly wide of the mark, because they ignore both the dominating interpersonal dimension of Anouilh's theatre and the playwright's intentions as evidenced in his staging and his caveat statements⁴¹. Finke and Schichtman read Thomas Becket's conversion away

36 P. Vandromme, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 95-111; E. de Comminges, *Anouilh...*, pp. 14-16. De Comminges repeated for *Becket* her analysis of *Antigone* as a call for tolerance (p. 184), arguing that the playwright approved of Becket's heroic resistance but not to the point of fanaticism and death (p. 139).

37 Lucienne Hill emphasized Anouilh's unusual mastery of stagecraft and admonished directors that ignoring the playwright's unusually precise and perceptive stage directions could only end in disaster ("translated from the French"), "Theatre Arts" XLIV (1960), pp. 69-72.

38 Anouilh, *PC*, p. 135; J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 1.

39 G. Portal, *L'honneur de Dieu...*, pp. 93-94. The extremely fake nature of the set is clear in the photo of the Paris production in "Theatre Arts" XLIV (1960), p. 23. As for costumes, the "horse" simply bears triangles on a sold background and the men are basically wearing sacks.

40 H. Gouhier, *Becket...*, p. 174.

41 For instance, Richard Burton, the star of the film version, wrote: "The only things medieval, in fact, in this version are the costumes and scenery. It is obvious that Anouilh

from his personal ties to Henry and towards the “honor of God” as an allegory for the “shift in the means of wielding political power” away from “the personal affective loyalties that characterized feudalism” to “identification with an abstract corporate body..., a necessary precondition of the modern liberal state”, rendering the character of Anouilh’s Becket “the prototypical liberal individual who frees himself from all ties of dependency”⁴². The likelihood that Anouilh was engaging in this sort of political theorizing through his staging of the heart-rending breach between Thomas and Henry is close to nil⁴³. Indeed, some of the “evidence” for this interpretation of Thomas as “the liberal individual required of the modern state” rests precisely on ways in which the 1964 film departed from Anouilh’s play. For instance, the notion that Becket had an “uncanny knack for staging spectacles of power” is absurd given the complete absence of any “spectacle” whatsoever in the Parisian original⁴⁴.

Anouilh’s *Becket* was not a work of medievalism along classical lines. Anouilh did not use the past to comment in a veiled way upon the present; he used the present, obliquely, to increase the dramatic charge of his script about a broken friendship⁴⁵. We should accept Anouilh’s repeated assertion that he was not interested in politics⁴⁶ and follow those critics who picked out Love as the theme of *Becket* and indeed of the entirety of Anouilh’s post-war work⁴⁷. Yet, precisely because Anouilh introduced a fictional ethnic dimension to the

means this play-film to take place here and now”. Burton went on to specify the current events Anouilh presumably had in his sights when he instrumentalized the medieval “struggle between church and state... in the story of Becket and Henry”: the struggle over prayer in American public schools, the struggle to disestablish the church in Wales, and attempts by authorities in the USSR to stamp out the church, see R. Burton, *A Candid Look at ‘B’ and Myself, ‘Life’* (13 March 1964), p. 85.

42 L.A. Finke, M.B. Shichtman, *Cinematic Illuminations...*, pp. 87-99, quotes at pp. 87, 90, 99.

43 The extent to which Finke and Schichtman’s otherwise excellent book is under-researched in connection with Anouilh’s *Becket* is clear from the fact that their source for an extract from (the English-language version of) the playwright’s caveat statement (quoted on p. 92) is a review of the 1964 film on an anonymous right-wing website (http://brothersjudd.com/index.cfm/fuseaction/reviews.detail/book_id/995/Becket%20or%20Th.htm; cited on p. 376, note 19).

44 L.A. Finke, M.B. Shichtman, *Cinematic Illuminations...*, p. 91. An example of spectacle in the film is the scene showing Becket’s consecration and investiture as archbishop of Canterbury (p. 276, n. 24), but this scene was entirely the invention of the scenarist, Edward Anhalt.

45 When *Becket* was “remade” in Mumbai into the story of an “intense clash between two urban chums” (a mill owner and his employee), that shattered friendship was clearly taken to represent the essence of the play (*Namak Haram*, directed by H. Mukherjee, India 2001, as described in *The Encyclopedia of Hindi Cinema*, eds. G.N. Gulza, S. Chatterjee, Mumbai 2003, pp. 91, 436).

46 A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, p. 207.

47 P. Vandromme, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 125-126.

emotional tension between Becket and Henry, audience members inevitably brought to the play a keen familiarity with circumstances of ethnic and racial conflict, conquest, and oppression, and thus experienced the romance of the “Saxon” Becket and the “Norman” Henry within a matrix of deeply meaningful events: de-colonization movements spreading through European overseas empires (accompanied by increasing American involvement), newfound attempts to come to terms with the reality of Nazi atrocities (and collaboration with those atrocities) in Europe, after a number of years of traumatized avoidance of the issue, and the nascent struggle against racial segregation in the United States⁴⁸. Anouilh’s “Saxon” Thomas was steeled in his resolve to defy the “Norman” Henry by a fellow Saxon, “Le Petit Moine”, with whom he could, as “deux gars d’Hastings” (“two rough lads from Hastings”), freely discuss resistance to racial oppression⁴⁹. When the young monk evoked the possibility of small acts of resistance on the part of seemingly powerless people – saying “I don’t much care if I am just a little grain of sand in the machine. Because I know that by putting more and more grains of sand in the machine, one day it will come grinding to a stop” – some audience members certainly enriched the Little Monk’s character by recalling a scene from René Clément’s 1946 film *La Bataille du Rail*, in which railway employees working for the French Resistance sabotaged the Nazi occupation by putting grains of sand into a coding machine; others more likely remembered their personal experiences of such actions⁵⁰.

Jean Anouilh doubtless intended these sorts of associations to arise in the minds of his audience members, because they would add to the power and therefore to the success of his play. He did not, however, intend for audiences to think that the Saxon Becket and his Little Monk were as real

48 For instance, subscribers to “Écrits de Paris. Revue des questions actuelles” read their January 1960 review of the play alongside a complaint about how Charles De Gaulle’s policies towards independence movements were leading to the breakup of the French Empire (“la Communauté”) *qui devait faire notre bonheur, notre prospérité et notre gloire*; an even longer diatribe against his overall policies, which were resulting in the loss of the Empire; a diatribe against the Moroccan people for their lack of gratitude to their French governor for having modernized their country; and a complaint that the Algerians were insufficiently grateful for all the French had done to save their country (see the articles: M. Dacier, *Agonie d’une communauté*, pp. 5-8; J. Playber, *Les travaux et les jours*, pp. 9-20, especially 18-19; G. Aimel, *Maroc perdu, Lyautéy gagnant*, pp. 26-33; P. Charasse, *Ordre d’urgence des problèmes algériens*, pp. 34-41). That very same month, on the other side of the Atlantic, subscribers to “Theatre Arts” (a very different demographic) read an article by Lenoir concerning *Les Séquestres* by Sartre, a play that explored the Nazi Occupation of France, and a review by Jack Balch of Broadway show *The Sound of Music*, in which the Austrian Von Trapp family fled the Nazi *Anschluss* (pp. 15-16, 65-69). Examples such as this could be multiplied indefinitely.

49 J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 113; Anouilh, *PC*, p. 275.

50 J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 114; Anouilh, *PC*, p. 275.

or as significant as the historical French Resistance. His French and English caveat statements initially had the desired effect. The earliest reviews of the Broadway version (like those of the Parisian one) criticized the fictionality of the story, including the specific issue of Becket's ethnic background⁵¹. But by January of 1960, when the Parisian play had been running for months and the impact of the caveat statement had dissipated, Portal was reading Anouilh's characters not as inventions but as real historical individuals: "a cleric of Saxon origin, a member of a vanquished race", and "his Norman brute of a master"⁵². When Anouilh revived *Becket* in Paris in 1966, he included the French caveat statement in the program, to be read by everyone who saw the play⁵³. But it was too late: he had lost control of his creation. *Becket* was already bigger than Beatlemania.

GLENVILLE'S BECKET

When Anouilh lost control of *Becket*, that control passed above all to Peter Glenville, who directed the New York and London stage versions as well as the film. Glenville's character Thomas Becket became increasingly realistic, believable, and historical. The archbishop who collaborated with the enemy, but who was "neither a Norman nor really just Saxon any longer" (p. VIII), preoccupied André Aciman, one of the last Jews of Alexandria in 1965, as his family prepared to go into exile. A review of the 1965 novel *Thomas. The Life, Passion, and Miracles of Becket* by Shelley Mydans opined that "Probably no man of the 12th century has had more meaning for intellectuals of the 20th than Thomas Becket"⁵⁴. Writing of Anouilh's play in *The Calcutta Review* in 1966, at a time when Glenville's film was playing in theatres worldwide, a professor at the Women's College of Aligarh Muslim University in India not only pronounced the historical personages to be 99.9 percent real ("with only a few changes to suit the playwright's dramatic convenience"), but saw Becket as "a symbol of revolt against all that is corrupt and unjust"⁵⁵.

51 So "Theatre Arts" XLIV (1960), December issue, review is by Alan Pryce-Jones, on pp. 9-11, opens by pointing out that Thomas Becket was born in Normandy to Norman parents, then moves on to other inaccuracies; he called the history "almost totally wide of the mark", saying that the playwright started with well documented characters then "confected an elaborate charade about two quite different people".

52 G. Portal, *L'honneur de Dieu...*, pp. 88-90. Similarly "Theatre Arts" XLIV (1960), pp. 24-25: J.P. Lenoir on the Parisian production.

53 Jean Anouilh. *En marge...*, p. 128.

54 *Man's Fealty*, "Time" (20 August 1965). (<http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,842015,00.html#ixzz2mpMn4MBV>).

55 R. Khan, *The Becketts of TS Elliott and Jean Anouilh*, "The Calcutta Review" CLXXX (1966), pp. 45-46.

Peter Glenville approached *Becket* as history, and did so with deadly seriousness. He publicized the New York play as a stellar example of historical drama, "acclaimed by the critics as the author's masterpiece", not relying (like most mediocre historical dramas) on waving plumes and poisoned chalices but instead on Anouilh's "interpretation of the characters of the two protagonists, Henry II and Becket, and of the background and motive of their famous friendship and quarrel", judged to be "an achievement of real historical imagination"⁵⁶. The sets for the New York production moved sharply towards realism, and the costumes became (in Glenville's word) "elaborate" getups wrought out of extremely rich fabrics adorned with lions and crowns, done to realistically reproduce English royal clothing⁵⁷. The participation of Olivier ("the world's most brilliant actor") in the New York production also increased the impact of the play⁵⁸. Mass-market critical comments on the play registered no sense that it contained a personal story, profiling it instead as a "clash between spiritual integrity and worldly compromise" featuring a "fearless churchman" who dies a martyr "in order to defend the honor of God"⁵⁹. Glenville thus built up the historical and political dimensions of the play, whereas Anouilh had worked to undercut them.

It was of course Glenville's 1964 film that had the greatest impact. The play was adapted for the screen by Edward Anhalt (1914-2000), who won the Academy Award for best screenplay/adaptation, one of twelve Oscars for which the film was nominated. One of the highest-paid scriptwriters in the business, he was a perfect choice in terms of Glenville's own goals, for he described his mandate thus:

The main problem was to stop it from being a play, to stop it from being theatrical, and to make it real. Becket on the stage was a series of stylized tapestries. Anouilh had to refer to things that happened offstage, the excommunication scene, or the scene in which Becket is accused by the King's prosecutor, for instance. I had to make the two men into

⁵⁶ P. Glenville, *A Larger Slice of Life*, "Theatre Arts" XLIV (1960), pp. 22-23.

⁵⁷ See the sketches for the completely realistic sets of Becket's tomb, Canterbury cathedral, and the sacristy, and for the "elaborate costuming" accompanying Glenville, *A Larger Slice...*, and the photo of Laurence Olivier (Becket) and Anthony Quinn (Henry II) in the New York play wearing serious historical costumes and standing in front of realistic-looking trees: "Life" (24 October 1960), p. 95. A. Pryce-Jones commented in "Theatre Arts" XLIV (1960), p. 11, on how the cast was "bewimped and behauberked".

⁵⁸ *Olivier. From Holy Man to Hooper*, "Life" (24 October 1960), p. 95. Also see the adulatory article about Olivier by L. Pryce-Jones, *Sir Laurence and Larry*, "Theatre Arts" XLV (1961), pp. 14-16.

⁵⁹ "Life" (24 October 1960), p. 95.

people who were really living in the *time* that they lived and talking in conversational rather than theatrical terms⁶⁰.

So Anhalt filled in the “missing” scenes to make it seem as if movie audiences were actually following the progress of time. For instance, he created a tremendously long, detailed, and spectacular consecration scene for Thomas to replace the brutally compressed stage transition, consisting entirely of “a moment’s darkness, while an organ plays”⁶¹.

Glenville’s remediation was most dramatic in terms of the set of the film, for the “*décor vague*” (“indeterminate set”) of the stage scripts gave way to a full-scale replica of Canterbury cathedral, both exterior and interior, plus multiple replicas of other castles and towns. Glenville’s production team built a pre-1170 Canterbury Cathedral on Stage H at Shepperton, the largest such location in Europe. Using “a don’s talents for research”, designer John Bryan reproduced, “with astonishing fidelity”, and “a millimetric attention to detail”, the cathedral exactly as it was, “complete with tapestries, screens, stained glass, frescoes and carvings”⁶². The set was (and is) so convincing that virtually every scene in the 2007 DVD’s audio commentary on the film features Mark Kermode (the UK’s leading film critic, and thus no easily-duped patsy) insisting “now that is presumably genuine and not a set, correct?” Peter O’Toole’s answer was always, “No, that’s still Shepperton”. The costumes and props were also (s)lavishly accurate, and the horses were live and lively creatures – not the cardboard cut outs of the Parisian play. Finally, the theatrical trailer voiced over its selected scenes with a text that insisted throughout on the historicity of the events portrayed, culminating in the claim that “The story of Becket **is recorded here** right up to the last brutal bloody act [emphasis mine]”.

Just as Anouilh had failed to foreclose completely a reception of the stage play as real history, Glenville could not prevent some reviewers from registering the existence of historical inaccuracies in the film. None, however, made very much of them⁶³. Meanwhile, some reviewers noted no problems

⁶⁰ “Time” (16 April 1965), article about Edward Anhalt: *Show Business. Life of a Wordsmith*, p. 88.

⁶¹ “Un instant d’ombre, avec l’orgue” (Anouilh, *PC*, p. 202).

⁶² D. Sim, *The Cathedral...*, p. 25.

⁶³ For instance, there is a parenthetical note to the effect that Becket was a Norman in the midst of *A Bold Film about a Martyr*, review in “Life” (13 March 1964), pp. 81-82, that otherwise presented the film as historical truth; and there is a closing note that “[a]s chronicle, Becket distorts history, Saxonizes the Norman Becket, and even turns Henry’s formidable mate, Eleanor of Aquitaine (Pamela Brown), into a dull castle frump”, in the review in “Time” (20 March 1964), p. 102, titled *Duel in a Tapestry*, that also treated the story as historical: “The time is a hundred years after the Norman Conquest, and Anouilh roots his conflict in the blood enmity between Henry, great-grandson of William the Conqueror, and his Saxon subject”.

of accuracy. Kingsley Amis, for instance, saw a very different problem with the film: its failure to sufficiently explain the motivations of the protagonists. While the film clearly emphasized how Becket “was a Saxon nationalist resisting the Norman ruling class”, the archbishop’s character left audiences wondering about other dimensions: was Becket simply obstinate? was he particularly conscientious about any job? had he been miraculously converted by his office? More mysterious was Henry II; yes, he loved Becket, but “What sort of love was *that*? Ah, that would be telling. According to Henry’s mother it was unhealthy and unnatural, but this promising hint isn’t followed up”⁶⁴.

It is time to follow up that “promising hint” (and others besides), and to explore the cultural significance of Peter Glenville’s Thomas Becket, received by audiences and critics alike, during the mid 1960s, as a Saxon nationalist, and as the home-wrecking same-sex love object of his erstwhile king⁶⁵.

ETHNICITY

One reason the film *Becket* became so prominent was that it recast a twelfth-century conflict between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* (and a legal-jurisdictional one at that) as an ethnic or racial conflict. Glenville’s film re-mediated Anouilh’s play, which in turn re-mediated Augustin Thierry’s (1795-1856) *Histoire de la conquête de l’Angleterre par les Normands* of 1825. This history was dominated by a theory of Anglo-Saxon liberty resisting the invasions of Norman tyrants, known as “the Norman Yoke” theory of English history, and the theme of ethnic hostility pervaded Thierry’s account of the Becket affair⁶⁶. Certainly there had been an ethnic dimension to the conquest of 1066, which was bloody, harsh and brutal. But Aelred of Rievaulx, an influential intellectual of native English descent, in 1162 or 1163, thought the rifts had been healed, above all by the Empress Matilda, and Henry II, who “joined each people as if a cornerstone”⁶⁷. The kingdom of England under the Angevin Plantagenets was not a racial state, but *Becket* falsely depicted medieval conquest and empire as tenaciously racial and ethnic, something that was completely believable to mid twentieth-century audiences for whom ethnic hatreds had come to seem “natural”.

⁶⁴ K. Amis, *Mysterious Martyr*, “The Observer” (29 March 1964), p. 20.

⁶⁵ Due to space constraints, the following sections of this essay only adumbrate the issues; I intend to explore each more fully in future publications.

⁶⁶ A. Thierry, *Histoire de la conquête...*, pp. 314-355. Here, for instance, is Thierry’s summation of what Becket stood for: “La cause qu’il avait soutenue avec une admirable constance était celle de l’esprit contre la force, des faibles contre les puissants, et en particulier celle des vaincus de la conquête normande” (p. 349).

⁶⁷ H. Thomas, *The English and the Normans. Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066 - c. 1220*, Oxford 2003, p. 57.

As Anouilh noted in his caveat statements, the play could only work as written if Becket remained a Saxon; otherwise there could be no logic to, or warrant for, making the dominant issue one of ethnic conflict. By telling audiences this was not the case, Anouilh cast doubt on his entire plotline. In contrast, the *Playbill* given to audience members in New York set up the play with the Norman Conquest of 1066, then described how during the reign of Henry II "England was still an island occupied by a foreign race and the Saxon peasants were mostly in a state of servitude to their overlords, very little removed from slavery"⁶⁸. The film opened with a similar title card, noting the 1066 conquest by the Norman William and continuing: "Henry II, his great grandson, continued to rule over the oppressed Saxon peasants, backed by the swords of his barons and by the power of his imported Norman clergy". The inclusion of these statements supported Peter Glenville's project of highlighting (rather than undercutting, as Anouilh had done) the work's claims to historical truth and political significance.

There has been surprisingly little comment by specialists in the field of cinematic medievalism on the theme of the "Norman Yoke"⁶⁹. This seventeenth-century myth persisted in popular culture products into the 12th century, "well after its scholarly sell-by date"⁷⁰. Ortenberg ascribed its continued appeal in the 12th century to the fact that it "correspond[ed] to the preoccupations of a multiethnic and multicultural society", an apt but ultimately imprecise statement. Her only concrete suggestion was that the theme in the 1938 American film *The Adventures of Robin Hood* "was a subliminal message" from the director, the Hungarian Jewish émigré Michael Curtiz "to be conveyed to the peoples of occupied Europe" that they – like Robin's Saxons – should stand up to their oppressors, in this case not Normans but Nazis⁷¹. The presence of what appear to be precise visual parallels between Nazi self-representations (for instance, in Leni Riefenstahl's 1935 *Triumph of the Will*) and the corrupt world of the Norman oppressors⁷²

68 The playbill for the Broadway play can be viewed at: http://www.playbill-vault.com/Show/Detail/Whos_who/5846/37926/Becket. We are not told who wrote the "Historical Note" (p. 2).

69 For instance K.J. Harty, *The Reel Middle Ages. American, Western and Eastern European, Middle Eastern and Asian Films about Medieval Europe*, Jefferson 1999 (the fundamental guide for cinematic medievalism) barely mentions the existence of the trope, let alone critiques it. His discussion of three Ivanhoe films (pp. 256-259) and 21 Robin Hood films (pp. 7, 437-456) yields only two brief mentions of a Saxon-Norman dimension to the conflicts around Robin (pp. 231-233). He is silent on the subject in connection with *Becket* (pp. 35-36).

70 Ortenberg, *In Search of the Holy Grail*, p. 79, see also pp. 18-21, 107.

71 Ibidem, pp. 191, 202.

72 I.R. Hark, *The Visual Politics of The Adventures of Robin Hood*, "Journal of Popular Film" V (1993), pp. 3-17.

strengthens Ortenberg's interpretation. On the other hand, Aberth read the Nazi-Norman visual parallels in *Robin Hood* simply as a filmmaking strategy, to make "medieval history relevant to modern events in a way that [was] supple enough not to overwhelm the period atmosphere of the film"⁷³. Finke and Schichtman demonstrate that Glenville's *Becket* also borrowed from the iconography of Nazi spectacle (including *Triumph of the Will*) to parallel (among other things) "Henry's despised Saxons" with "Hitler's Jews"⁷⁴. In Glenville's case, the "fascist dramaturgy" was surely part and parcel of his project to lend the film the highest possible degree of historical and political weight.

GENDER

The key female character in Anouilh's *Becket* is the long-suffering Eleanor of Aquitaine, verbally abused, personally despised, and sexually ignored by her husband. She resembles none of the female characters in Anouilh's other plays. Surrounded all his life by formidable professional women (including his mother the pianist; Paulette Pax, the director-producer-lead of his first play; Monelle Valentin, his muse, the creator of many of his characters and mother of his oldest children; Marie Bell, the director of the most important theatre in Paris, who produced many of his plays; Marguerite Jamois, the director of the theatre that staged *Becket*)⁷⁵, Anouilh put vibrant heroines (such as Antigone or Joan of Arc) at the center of many of his dramas⁷⁶. The ideal female characters in his heterosexual love stories were likewise brave and strong, true comrades and equal companions to their men⁷⁷. The non-ideal female characters in his heterosexual love stories victimized and fooled their men, lied to them for the sheer comedy of it, disappointed them; they were capricious as cats, ravishing monsters who hardly seemed even to have souls⁷⁸. Anouilh's personal fear of being fooled by actresses is palpable in his

73 J. Aberth, *A Knight at the Movies. Medieval History on Film*, New York 2003, p. 170.

74 L.A. Finke, M.B. Shichtman, *Cinematic Illuminations...*, pp. 95-96.

75 A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 69, 71-73, 85-87, 252.

76 J. Blancart-Cassou, *Jean Anouilh...*, p. 39.

77 Ibidem, p. 22; J. Vier, *Le théâtre...*, p. 44.

78 P. Vandromme, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 129-131; J. Vier, *Le théâtre...*, pp. 49, 53, 131.

Vandromme (in 1965) says that in recent plays there is a new kind of female character: a patient resigned woman, a true wife, but he doesn't say in which plays she appeared and this view could have been based on a misreading of Jean Anouilh's personal life at the time. Anouilh's second great love Nicole Lancon, whom he formally married in 1953, became a frustrated wife and mother who suffered from enforced inactivity, and who remembered her relationship with Anouilh as having blocked her career ambitions. Their relationship was in crisis by the early 1960s, due to her unhappiness, and the relationship ended in separation in 1965 so that she could pursue her own dreams (A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 198-199, 264-266, 272).

“Lettre a une jeune fille qui veut faire du théâtre”, warning the young girl that she will lose her soul because on stage at night she will say with total believability that she loves someone, then do the same thing with the same intensity the next afternoon to the boy she really loves, then the same thing again on stage the next night, and so on⁷⁹. Eleanor was no stock Anouilh characters, but was constructed specifically for *Becket*. She was not, however, invented out of whole cloth.

Anouilh was silent about Eleanor, and about the Empress Matilda as well, in the caveat statements in which he admitted to inventing the characters of Henry II and Becket for the purposes of the drama. In fact, the characters of the two queens were in many ways less fabricated than those of the male protagonists. Matilda and Eleanor appeared in three scenes, two of which were thoroughly domestic moments set inside the private royal chambers, and all of which served to underline the dysfunctionality of Henry II’s family life⁸⁰. While neither woman fully matches the reputation each currently has among medieval historians as a formidable ruling *domina*, both were quite close to what Anouilh would have found in his own source material. And, despite the domestic settings, he provided Matilda with multiple lines designed to demonstrate both her prior political engagement and her present political acumen. As for Eleanor, there was actually good warrant for minimizing her political import during the course of the Becket affair – the only part of Henry II’s reign actually treated in the play. Nevertheless Anouilh inserted a number of lines into the script that gestured to Eleanor’s political agency as well.

Let us begin with Matilda (1102-1167), known all her life as “Empress” because of her first marriage to the emperor Henry V (d. 1125). Matilda was the daughter of Henry I, king of England and duke of Normandy, who died in 1135. His death resulted in a decades-long Civil War/Succession Crisis between supporters of Matilda and supporters of Stephen of Blois, Henry’s nephew and his sister Adela’s son. Matilda seized Normandy immediately but, unable to invade England until 1137, remained there fighting for the crown until 1148, while her second husband Geoffrey of Anjou held Normandy for her. Eventually she retreated to Normandy and started focusing on securing the crown for her son Henry⁸¹.

⁷⁹ P. Vandromme, *Jean Anouilh...*, pp. 201-214.

⁸⁰ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, pp. 65-69, 81-84, 105-109; Anouilh, *PC*, pp. 205-210, 225-227, 260-265.

⁸¹ For Matilda’s struggle for the English scepter (which “she almost, but never quite, grasped”), and her skill in ensuring that it nevertheless passed not to Stephen’s son but to her own, see M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda. Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*, Oxford 1991, quotation at p. 2.

As early as 1977 De Comminges complained that Anouilh's *Becket* had turned Matilda, historically a "brilliant politician", into a naïve and debased character, for instance by omitting evidence of her political acumen, such as her opposition to the election of Becket in the first place, as well as her eventual efforts to find a politically expedient compromise to the conflict⁸². However, these charges are not entirely founded. Literally the very first hint that there might be a problem developing with Becket comes in Matilda's assertion that Henry had always been wrong about him, and that she had consistently told him so⁸³. Matilda was the first person able to see that something was going wrong, long before Henry himself suspected anything, because she had always seen it coming. She went on to reprove her son in a variety of ways, and to reiterate her objections to his behavior both past and present, above all in his dealings with Becket⁸⁴. Once the conflict became full blown, Anouilh's Matilda did urge Henry to work for a compromise⁸⁵ and correctly predicted what would happen if no compromise were reached: "If you don't stop him, Becket will reach the coast tonight, ask asylum of the King of France and jeer at you, unpunished, from across the Channel"⁸⁶. In the banquet scene at which Henry announced to the barons his intention to have his son crowned as co-ruler by the archbishop of York in order to demonstrate his contempt for the prerogatives of Canterbury, Anouilh's Matilda made clear that she had advised Henry against taking this incendiary step and continued to attempt to persuade her son to abandon the plan, repeatedly relying on references to her own political experience as part of the rationale for why he should heed her advice⁸⁷. In the course of her disquisitions, she repeatedly refers to the fact that she had once been the ruling head of England, before Henry came to power (pp. 107-108). For instance:

Henry, I bore the weight of state affairs longer than you ever have. I have been your Queen and I am your mother. You are answerable for the interests of a great kingdom, not for your moods. You already gave too much away to the king of France. [...] It is England you must think of, not your hatred – or disappointed love – for that man⁸⁸.

Thus, Anouilh's Matilda was no fabricated "debased" woman, but was reasonably consistent with the historical personage who appeared in the playwright's main source, Thierry's *Histoire*, which itself reflected centuries

⁸² E. de Comminges, *Anouilh...*, pp. 110-111, 117-118 and 149.

⁸³ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 65; Anouilh, *PC*, p. 205.

⁸⁴ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, pp. 65-66; Anouilh, *PC*, pp. 205-206.

⁸⁵ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 82; Anouilh, *PC*, p. 227.

⁸⁶ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 84; Anouilh, *PC*, p. 229.

⁸⁷ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, pp. 106-108; Anouilh, *PC*, pp. 262-264.

⁸⁸ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 108; Anouilh, *PC*, p. 263.

of consistent historiographical judgment on the Empress: she was formidable, courageous, proud, with a talent for government marred by a tendency to behave autocratically; she was (like her father Henry I and her son Henry II) "of the stock of tyrants"⁸⁹.

Anouilh's Eleanor was also generally reflective both of her reputation at the time of writing of the play, and of her depiction by Thierry. Eleanor, sovereign duchess of Aquitaine for 67 years, had married Louis VII of France in 1137. After fifteen years of marriage, including the adventure of going on Crusade together (1147-1149)⁹⁰, she divorced Louis and married the nineteen-year-old Henry of Anjou. This marriage alliance was clearly part and parcel of Matilda and Henry's joint efforts to acquire the English throne, which they succeeded in doing in 1154. What matters for our purposes is that in Thierry's understanding of these machinations, Eleanor was a cipher and a pawn, who played no active role; she was, for Thierry, equally passive during – indeed completely absent from – his narration of the Becket affair⁹¹. The best French scholarship available to Anouilh agreed. In 1952 Labande published the first scientific, document-based study of Eleanor. Dispelling once and for all centuries-old salacious myths concerning her lustful promiscuity (to the point of incest)⁹², Labande's work drew a convincing portrait of an energetic, intelligent, ambitious woman who believed she would be able to dominate Henry II, ten years her junior at the time of their marriage⁹³. Crucially, however, for Anouilh's understanding of her, she was wrong. Instead, "la pauvre se donnait un maître" and (during the period of the Becket affair), "elle se voit atteinte jusque dans son autorité sur son propre domaine"⁹⁴. Recent scholarship has depicted Eleanor as the principal architect and proponent of the Angevin Empire⁹⁵, but professional historians during

⁸⁹ M. Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda...*, passim but especially pp. 201-205 (quote p. 204); A. Thierry, *Histoire de la conquête...*, pp. 273-306 (especially p. 295), 318-319.

⁹⁰ C. Kostick, *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Women of the Second Crusade*, in: *Medieval Italy, Medieval and Early Modern Women. Essays in Honour of Christine Meek*, ed. C. Kostick, Dublin 2010, pp. 195-205.

⁹¹ A. Thierry (*Histoire de la conquête...*, p. 300) introduces then proceeds to ignore Eleanor.

⁹² For these see M. Aurell, *Aux origines de la légende noire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine*, in: *Royautés imaginaires (XII^e-XVI^e siècles). Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre de recherche d'histoire sociale et culturelle (CHSCO) de l'université de Paris X-Nanterre (26 et 27 septembre 2003)*, eds. A.H. Allirost, G. Lecuppre, L. Scordia, *Culture et société médiévales*, IX, Turnhout 2005, pp. 89-102.

⁹³ E.R. Labande, *Pour une image véridique d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine*, Poitiers 1952 – a sixty-page article extracted from "Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest" II (1952), repr. Poitiers 2005, with a preface by M. Aurell.

⁹⁴ H. Waquet, review of Labande, "Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes" CXI (1953), p. 260.

⁹⁵ M. Aurell, *Pourquoi la débâcle de 1204?*, in: *Plantagenêts et Capétiens. Confrontations et héritages*, eds. M. Aurell, N.Y. Tonnerre, *Histoires de famille – La parenté au Moyen Âge*, IV, Turnhout 2006, pp. 3-14.

Anouilh's lifetime were closer to Thierry's view than to the current one⁹⁶. Yet even so, Anouilh recognized a political side to Eleanor. Soon after the Becket affair, Eleanor began leading rebellions against Henry, and encouraging rebellions against him by their sons. Anouilh alluded to her potential for this level of political activity in the first family chamber scene. When Henry first encounters his children in the play, he has to ask them their names, and the oldest answers "Henry III", prompting Henry II to say to Eleanor:

You've brought them up well! Do you think of yourself as Regent already? And you wonder that I shun your bedchamber? I don't care to make love with my widow!⁹⁷

It is hard to see how Anouilh could have created a more politicized Eleanor of Aquitaine, still less why he would have wanted to do so, for his drama of the Henry-Thomas rift was much better if the accent of the story could be put on the way Henry's love for Becket caused him to spurn and ignore Eleanor. Henry II makes it absolutely clear that he despises Eleanor, finds her sexually repulsive and otherwise inferior to Becket in every way. At one point he screams at her:

Naked as his mother made him he weighs 100 times more than you do madam, with your crown and all your jewels. [...] I am forced to fight him and crush him, but at least he gave me with open hands everything that is at all good in me. And you have never given me anything but your carping mediocrity, your everlasting obsession with your puny little person⁹⁸.

Later, he adds:

Your body was an empty desert madam which duty forced me to wander in alone. But you have never been a wife to me, and Becket was my friend. Red-blooded, generous, and full of strength. Oh my Thomas!⁹⁹

Prudence is required when interpreting the significance of the insults Henry hurled not only at Eleanor, but also at his mother and his sons. When Henry tells Eleanor that, "to be perfectly frank, you bore me", or accuses his mother and wife of "backbiting", or insults the quality of the tapestry they are embroidering (p. 66), or calls his eldest son "stupid" and "dim-witted"

⁹⁶ W.L. Warren (*Henry II*, Berkeley 1973, p. 120) effectively dismissed Eleanor as "utterly insignificant" to Henry II's reign.

⁹⁷ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 67; "Jolie education madame! Vous vous croyez déjà régente? Et vous vous étonnez après que je boude votre appartement? Je n'aime pas faire l'amour avec ma veuve" (Anouilh, *PC*, p. 208).

⁹⁸ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, p. 81; Anouilh, *PC*, p. 226.

⁹⁹ J. Anouilh, *Becket*, pp. 81-82; Anouilh, *PC*, p. 226.

(pp. 105-106), we should not conclude that Eleanor was (being portrayed as in fact) boring, that Eleanor and Matilda were (being portrayed as in fact) backbiting, shoddy embroiderers, or that prince Henry was (being portrayed as in fact) stupid. It is no secret that familial strife can be accompanied by violent verbal abuse. Surely the “corrosive”, “rancid”, and “violent” diatribes on the part of this “snarling butch geezer” (in the 2007 audio commentary words of Peter O’Toole) were above all windows onto the king’s frustration, rather than onto the actual personages of his family members. After all, Henry II did not even know the names of his own children. These speeches revealed how much Henry needed Becket, given his emotional alienation from his family, but there was no reason to believe that the vitriolic invective spewed by an enraged, infantile Henry II at his wife and sons corresponded to anything real in their own characters.

Yet, all comment on the characters of Eleanor and Matilda in Glenville’s film has read the two women as in fact corresponding to these insults. André Aciman remembered Eleanor and Matilda as “two chiding women whose meddling claims could snuff the light of love, of joy, and desire” (p. XIV). Hardy called the film’s Eleanor “a simpering fool”¹⁰⁰. Finke and Schichtman wrote: “Eleanor and Matilda are represented as ineffectual shrews. Their daily occupations appear to be limited to gossiping, backbiting, nagging, (mediocre) sewing, and raising children (badly)”¹⁰¹. They rightly ascribed this impression of the women to Peter Glenville’s staging, for he shot Eleanor and Matilda in “highly static” ways so as to “reinforce their circumscribed roles, [...] literally hemmed in by elaborate gowns and wimples”¹⁰². They did not, however, recognize the extent to which Anhalt’s screenplay played a role¹⁰³. The remediation of Anouilh’s script emphatically domesticated the women. On screen, the political Matilda of the Paris and New York stage was stripped of every single one of her intelligent insights, as well as any reference to her own powerful past, leaving Henry’s reproaches of her as merely a backbiting embroiderer without any counterpoint to cast doubt on his reliability. The screenplay also rendered Henry II less of an overall jerk in relation to his family by having a messenger, rather than the king himself, ask the name of Henry and Eleanor’s oldest son. Given the elevated historical truth claims of the film over the play, the diminished portraits of two formidable medieval

100 K.J. Harty, *The Reel Middle Ages...*, p. 36.

101 L.A. Finke, M.B. Shichtman, *Cinematic Illuminations...*, p. 97.

102 Ibidem, p. 98.

103 Anhalt also drastically cut the number of lines (and particularly the amount of song) assigned to the character of Gwendolyn, Becket’s lover, further diminishing the women of the film.

dominae surely influenced how audience members imagined the (lack of) involvement of lordly women in the medieval political landscape. Like the purported presence of overwhelming ethnic hostility in the Angevin Empire, the presence of powerless, circumscribed, domesticated women at the Angevin court seemed absolutely realistic to viewers in 1964, given the era's discourse of ideal passive femininity¹⁰⁴.

SEXUALITY

As Finke and Schichtman argued, Peter Glenville's *mise-en-scène* of Eleanor and Matilda "underscores the film's homosocial and even homoerotic edge by denying any agency – even the sexual and maternal power usually attributed to women – to Henry's wife and mother", and functions "to demonstrate with admirable economy the film's preference for homosocial bonding between men over heteronormative family life", in part because "both women recognize that Henry's response to the loss of his friend is that of a jilted lover"¹⁰⁵. These comments cut to the heart of the director's (medievalist) intentionality in making *Becket*. I suggest here that what attracted Peter Glenville to the material, and made him devote years of his life to staging the play in New York and in London and to directing the film, was precisely the possibility of transforming Anouilh's material into an important queer statement, by tinkering with certain aspects of the script, by shaping the performances, and by elevating the historical truth claims of the tale. His *Becket* could (and did) provoke discussion of male same-sex desire and help develop an ancestral genealogy of gay men in history. Glenville, himself a homosexual in a "vital life partnership" with another man lasting from just after World War II until his death in 1996¹⁰⁶, filmed the first great (award-winning) homosexual love affair.

Although Thierry's version of the Becket affair included not the slightest hint of an emotional attachment between Henry and Thomas¹⁰⁷, Anouilh used the conflict to explore above all the emotional loss suffered by Henry when Thomas repudiated their friendship. There can be no doubt of Henry's suffering, but critics of the play remained divided on whether or not Thomas

¹⁰⁴ J. Mitchell, *Psycho-Analysis and Feminism. Freud, Reich, Laing and Women*, New York 1974, especially pp. 113-119 where the author lays out "The Marks of Womanhood" as (1) masochism (it "typifies the feminine predicament"), (2) passivity, (3) vanity, jealousy and a limited sense of justice, and (4) the ability to satisfy her penis envy through motherhood (unlike "perverse" women who continue to wish for direct possession of the male phallus).

¹⁰⁵ L.A. Finke, M.B. Shichtman, *Cinematic Illuminations...*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁰⁶ <http://peterglenville.org/life/>

¹⁰⁷ A. Thierry, *Histoire de la conquête...*, pp. 314-355.

continued to love Henry after their break, ever loved Henry in the first place, or was even capable of (human) love at all, including love for God – rather a big failing in a saint¹⁰⁸. The intensity of Henry's feelings was such that some viewers of the original Paris play even found the friendship "suspect", or believed it might be a tale of two inverts. However, these suspicions, reported by two different reviewers, were roundly rejected as utterly unfounded by both¹⁰⁹. Thus, only some reviewers mentioned the possibility at all and none endorsed the notion that Anouilh had actually written a homosexual romance¹¹⁰.

The film remediation was a totally different matter.

The theatrical trailer for *Becket* (which, as I have already noted, presented the story as a true "record" of history) unmistakably publicized the film as a love story between Henry and Thomas¹¹¹. It showed only the following scenes: Henry crying as he says he would have given his life for Thomas, then proclaiming his love for Thomas, then reproaching Thomas for not loving him; Thomas and Henry "wenching" together; Henry's bitter, pitiful *cri de cœur*, "Thomas!!!" on the beach as they part for the last time; and Eleanor yelling at Henry, "Becket! Always Becket! I am a woman! I am your wife!" And every reviewer of the film agreed that it implied a homosexual relationship between the two men – not as reports of mistaken third-party views, but as the reviewer's own opinion¹¹². The reviewer for *Time* picked up on a key line: "Queen Mother Martita Hunt is moved to say: 'You have an obsession about him which is unhealthy and unnatural' "¹¹³. Peter O'Toole's memories about the significance of this line provide a strong clue about the atmosphere of the set and thus the intentions of the filmmaker.

Three times in the course of his 2007 audio commentary discussion with Mark Kermode – during their opening exchange concerning the extent to which the screenplay diverged from the script of the original French play,

¹⁰⁸ A. Visdei, *Jean Anouilh...*, p. 251; L. Barjon, *Becket...*, p. 339; H. Gouhier, *Becket...*, p. 175.

¹⁰⁹ One reviewer raged against "une sottise repandue dans une partie du public" who claimed to see in "l'un des plus nobles sentiments propres a unir deux hommes" some "affaire de glandes" (Portal, p. 91); also see J. Lemarchand, *Honneur de Dieu...*, p. 12.

¹¹⁰ In contrast, I.R. Gay, *Entre historicidad y alegoría: La muerte de Thomas Becket en T.S. Eliot y Jean Anouilh*, "Mil Seiscientos Dieciséis" XII (2006), pp. 281-282, sees clear homosexual overtones even in the play.

¹¹¹ It is included in the DVD release of the film.

¹¹² K. Amis, *Mysterious Martyr*, p. 20; *A Bold Film about a Martyr* (no author given), "Life" (13 March 1964), pp. 81-82; the reviewer for "Newsweek" and Andrew Sarris in *The Village Voice* (V. Russo, *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies*, rev. ed. New York 1987, pp. 121-122, 126, 129 [original ed. New York 1981], pp. 132-133); *Duel in a Tapestry* (no author given), a review in "Time" (20 March 1964), p. 102.

¹¹³ *Duel in a Tapestry*, p. 102.

during their discussion of the first private family chamber scene, and during their discussion of the pre-coronation banquet scene – Peter O’Toole insisted that “the only line in the film that was not by Anouilh” was Matilda’s line about Henry’s “unnatural” love. O’Toole was emphatic that they had otherwise not touched the play at all, but used a precise verbatim translation of Anouilh’s script by a woman named Kitty Black, a.k.a. Kitty LeNoir¹¹⁴. In fact, Anhalt’s screenplay changed well over fifty percent of the English script as translated by Lucienne Hill, and added multiple scenes to boot, but this is not the most significant point. It is one thing for O’Toole to forget the screenwriter and think the film was a perfect translation of the play, but it is quite another then to single out one line as having been “shoe-horned in” as an “interpolation”, particularly when (as O’Toole and Kermode agreed at least four times in their discussion) **that** line explicitly, overtly suggested a sexual relationship. Of course it was not at all the only line changed, but it was without a doubt the most significant line changed, and the fact that O’Toole remembered this line as having been changed demonstrates that the cast and crew knew as they made the film that the film was deliberately staging a homosexual romance.

O’Toole’s other comments on the matter in the audio commentary were not entirely coherent. They included: “Between Henry II and Becket there was an astonishing loving friendship, but to put it into terms of either homosexual or heterosexual is to miss the point. It was love”; and, concerning the scene in which Becket rubs the naked Henry down with a towel after his bath, “it may have been sexual, I don’t know, but again it misses the point to call it homosexual or heterosexual. Huge affection!”; and, concerning the mounted reunion scene on the beach, “this is like when you meet an old flame, man or woman. The potency of the sexual relationship. This could be resolved easily with a bang up behind a boulder. A quickie”; and, in connection with the “shoe-horned in” line about “unnatural” love,

WE are stupid! You see, we can’t understand there are nuances between two men who love each other. Can we have a quick bang up behind the boulder? No! It doesn’t work out like that. These are bigger themes than sexual. Not that sexual is a tiny thing. But these particular scenes are nothing to do with the act of sex.

Watching the second family chamber scene, O’Toole said, “this is Jonathan and David”, referring to a biblical relationship understood by many scholars

¹¹⁴ Anne Coates, the editor of the film, also tells a different but equally incorrect story in her interview on the DVD of the script as being a faithful verbatim translation of Anouilh by Peter Glenville.

to have been one of romantic love (although they are split on whether it was sexually consummated)¹¹⁵.

More important than his ambiguous musings about the relationship between Henry and Thomas was O'Toole's memory of the film as having been made at a particular historical moment. In remembering the circumstances of production of the film, and telling anecdotes about the other actors (in his view all Britain's finest), O'Toole told unprovoked stories of how the film was being made during the "bad old days" when homosexuality was a crime, a point he reiterated in the following exchange with Kermode concerning Matilda's line about "unnatural" love:

Kermode: "So why did she say it?"

O'Toole: "To make the point that it's probably homosexual".

Kermode: "To make the point that that would be unacceptable?"

O'Toole: "Don't forget that you're talking '64 now. When was the law changed? '66? '68?"

In fact, the law was changed in 1967, after years of intense public debate and activism. Surely Peter Glenville was attempting to affect the ongoing public debate by queering King Henry II and Archbishop Thomas Becket in a blockbuster, highly serious, historical film precisely when an activist movement to decriminalize homosexual acts between consenting adults was kicking into high gear in the United Kingdom¹¹⁶. As Kathleen Coyne Kelly and Tison Pugh have written in connection with queer history and cinematic medievalism, "the Middle Ages provides an imaginary space far enough removed from the present day to allow for critical analysis of contemporary gender and sexuality", in a way that can easily "undermine the illusion of a normative (hetero)sexuality"¹¹⁷.

The origins of the gay rights movement in the United Kingdom are generally traced to 1954, when the government appointed Sir John Wolfenden to head a Committee examining the law on male homosexuality. The Committee's 1957 recommendation that homosexual activity between consenting adults over the age of 21, in private, be decriminalized, finally became law ten years later, with the Sexual Offences Act of 1967, after a decade of intense lobbying and activism. The very first success on this road came in

¹¹⁵ T.M. Horner, *Jonathan Loved David. Homosexuality in Biblical Times*, Philadelphia 1978; S. Ackerman, *When Heroes Love. The Ambiguity of Eros in the Stories of Gilgamesh and David*, New York 2005, pp. 165-231.

¹¹⁶ The chronology of the movement can be easily appreciated by reference to *1967 and All That*, a touring exhibition displayed in venues throughout London in 2007 and 2008 (<http://1967andallthat.blogspot.ca/2007/05/this-is-test.html>).

¹¹⁷ K.C. Kelly, T. Pugh, *Introduction. Queer History, Cinematic Medievalism, and the Impossibility of Sexuality*, in: *Queer Movie Medievalisms*, eds. iidem, Farnham 2009, p. 10.

1965 when Lord Arran's Sexual Offences Bill passed in the House of Lords, in the wake of the success of Glenville's *Becket*. The Bill repeatedly failed in the Commons until 4 July 1967, and received the royal assent on 21 July.

Historians of the gay rights movement in the UK have not thus far connected Glenville's *Becket* to this success, but they have credited another film – *Victim*, directed in 1961 by Basil Deardon – with playing a key role, demonstrating that film could affect public debate on matters of social and political import:

Police activity against gay men was rife throughout the 1950s. Many homosexuals were blackmailed, although only a fraction came to the attention of the police. The film *Victim* of 1961 brought these issues to a mainstream audience. It starred Dirk Bogarde as a repressed, married homosexual taking on the blackmailers who drove his partner to suicide¹¹⁸.

The intention of the filmmakers to produce “an open protest against Britain's law that being a homosexual is a criminal act” was widely and immediately recognized¹¹⁹. In contrast, Glenville's *Becket* was not “an open protest”, and ultimately was forced to rely on innuendo. It simply would have been impossible for Glenville to be any more explicit than he was, given the reigning restrictions on what could be shown on film and what could be tolerated by mainstream audiences in Britain, the USA or indeed anywhere in the world at the time.

For instance, consider the (hardly liberal) stipulations of the Sexual Offences Act, which was not even passed until three years after the making of *Becket*: “Consenting acts” could only take place “in private” – a stipulation open to strict interpretation and stringent enforcement. It further restricted consenting acts – they could take place “in the presence of no more than two people, only on private property and behind a locked door”¹²⁰. The “certainly unprecedented and intellectually bold” *Victim* had dealt with a subject “that heretofore has been studiously shied away from or but cautiously hinted at on the commercial screen”¹²¹. The makers of *Victim* could only go as far as they did due to a 1961 revision of the MPAA Code governing the production and distribution of films in the United States which permitted homosexuality to appear on screen. However, “homosexuality and other sexual aberrations” had to be “treated with care, discretion and restraint”, meaning that “sexual

¹¹⁸ 1967 and All That (<http://1967andallthat.blogspot.ca/2007/05/this-is-test.html>).

¹¹⁹ B. Crowther, *Victim Arrives. Dirk Bogarde Stars in Drama of Blackmail*, “The New York Times” (6 February 1962) (<http://www.nytimes.com/movie/review?res=9807EFD81F3DEF3BBC4E53DFB4668389679EDE>).

¹²⁰ 1967 and All That.

¹²¹ B. Crowther, *Victim Arrives...*

aberration could be suggested but not actually spelled out"¹²². The first film to test this was in fact *Victim*. Not only was the film a savaged flop in the (financially critical) American market, but it was never approved by the MPAA and thus never received full distribution¹²³. Glenville could absolutely not risk (nor could Hal Wallis, the producer who financed it!) *Becket* not being permitted to be shown everywhere in the USA by going any farther than they did. Until the MPAA code was abolished in favor of the ratings system in 1968, homosexuality could only appear on screen as "a dirty secret"¹²⁴.

The breakthrough film in terms of gay rights and cinematic medievalism was 1968's *The Lion in Winter*, written by James Goldman and directed by Anthony Harvey, with its moving and explicit depiction of Richard I as in love with (and heartbroken by) Philip Augustus of France. James Goldman's Richard I offered a challenge to the "affirmation of non-existence" of gay people in the past, as part of a community building project to break the silence around homosexuality¹²⁵. But Goldman's *The Lion in Winter* (which was first a Broadway play, in 1966) exists in a very strong dialogic relationship with Glenville's *Becket*; indeed, *Lion* could not have been what it was without *Becket*. In fact, both Goldman and Glenville were active in the New York and London stage scenes in 1961, when Glenville's *Becket* was playing in both cities and when Goldman's first two plays were produced: *They Might Be Giants* in London, and *Blood, Sweat, and Stanley Poole* in New York. Set thirteen years after the *Becket* affair, *Lion* reprised the dysfunctional family

122 V. Russo, *The Celluloid Closet...*, pp. 121-122, 126, 129.

123 Ibidem, pp. 126-132. Russo has a great and presumably typical quote from *Time* magazine about how "offensive" *Victim* was because it implicitly approved homosexuality and failed to present it as "a serious but often curable neurosis that attacks the biological basis of life itself" (p. 131); and presents a complaint from Pauline Kael about how horrible it was to treat homosexuals "seriously, with sympathy and respect, like Negroes and Jews" (p. 132).

124 Ibidem, pp. 139, 164.

125 R. Barton Palmer, *Queering the Lionheart: Richard I in The Lion in Winter on Stage and Screen*, in: *Queer Movie Medievalisms*, p. 47; see also pp. 88-89. It is odd that Finke and Schichtman were more willing to see homosexuality in *Becket*, where it is relatively subtle, than in *Lion*, where it is at the epicentre of the film's climactic scene, "King Philip's bedroom". They reduce Richard I's love for Philip to effectively the same thing his two brothers and father are feeling, writing that "what all the men truly desire is not Alais, and not the Vexin, but Philip" (p. 108), and merge Richard in with all the other characters, writing "there is no way of telling what anyone's true feelings are" (p. 109). While I am personally of the opinion that the medieval evidence does not support a sexual reading of the relationship between Philip and Richard (see, for example, K. Van Eickels, *Vom Inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt. Die englisch-französischen Beziehungen und ihre Wahrnehmung an der Wende vom Hoch- zum Spätmittelalter*, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 341-393), there can be no doubt of Richard's queerness in the film. Also see Kochanske Stock, "He's not an Ardent Suitor", about how the tradition of a queer (but ambiguously so) Richard reaches back to the earliest decades of film.

drama around Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine, and starred Peter O'Toole as Henry. It was filled with homages to *Becket* and was clearly constructed by someone who knew *Becket* well. For instance, like *Becket* (after the opening scene at the tomb in Canterbury), the narrative action in *Lion* begins with Henry II first in the bath, then being rubbed down by courtiers. Most importantly, the key exchange in the drama (both play and film) takes place between a young Plantagenet prince and his mother (this time, Richard I and Eleanor of Aquitaine, not Henry II and Matilda), who accuses her son of being "unnatural". Richard's answer ("If poisoned mushrooms grow and babies come with crooked backs, if goiters thrive and dogs go mad and wives kill husbands, what's unnatural?") represents the breakthrough line for homosexual characters on screen: Richard claims his own desires as "natural" and refuses to be ashamed of them¹²⁶.

James Goldman (1927-1998) won an Academy Award for his *Lion* screenplay. The year after the film appeared, the gay rights movement was inaugurated in the United States, with the Stonewall Rebellion of 1969. The film, and Richard I's same-sex desire, surely played at least some small role in that development, by

undermin[ing] the sense in which the Middle Ages, in the words of Carolyn Dinshaw, [could] continue to be understood as the 'dense, unvarying, and eminently obvious monolith' against which the supposed eruption of modern polymorphousness ha[d] taken shape¹²⁷.

The triumphant breakthrough with *Lion*, produced after the abolition of the MPAA Code, was explicit, but Glenville's *Becket* (despite labouring under many restrictions of what could be shown or said) may have done just as much to explode popular notions of the Middle Ages as a time of unified sexuality, and total hetero-normativity. The review of the DVD release of *Becket* by Ed Gonzalez, writing for *The Village Voice*, shows how far we have come since Glenville's intervention: the film

reaches a laughable apotheosis when Henry and Becket's rendezvous on a beach is staged as a reunion between scorned lovers. In 1964, the film's innuendo might have seemed daring; today it's close to ridiculous¹²⁸.

Glenville's *Becket* played at least some small part in the early gay rights movement in the United Kingdom, and – whether directly or indirectly

126 R. Barton Palmer, *Queering...*, p. 57.

127 Ibidem.

128 One of the critical reviews on the Internet Movie Database (<http://www.imdb.com/>).

through its influence on *The Lion in Winter* – in the United States as well. Despite its problematic ethnic and gendered aspects, the film deserves recognition for its bold depiction of homosexual love, including among professional medievalists.

ABSTRACT

Gender-sensitive scholarship on medieval culture has addressed phenomena ranging from the power and influence of empresses, queens and noblewomen (female lords), through the mutilation of men and boys as part of the trade in eunuch slaves, to the teleological mythology of national “straightness” at the heart of modern European nation-states. This article forms part of a project to explore the themes of gender, sexuality and ethnicity/nationality in medieval culture through their representation on film. Medievalist historiophoty (filmed history) formed a significant strand of cinematic culture across Europe and North America between 1938 and 1968, decades during which cinema wielded a potent influence. The technological marvels of the era (such as the color production technique first used in the 1938 American film *The Adventures of Robin Hood*) combined with the limited possibilities for the consumption of film (sitting in a vast theatre, staring forward at a huge screen, honoring the “temporality” of the projector) made medievalist historiophoty appear to be a record – rather than a representation – of unfolding, irreversible events. Yet, medieval films are far more “ahistorical” than are other historical films; for instance, they more insistently allegorize contemporary concerns, rather than trying to apprehend the alterity of the period being depicted. Filmmakers regularly take drastic liberties with medieval materials, indicating that cinematic medievalism, or medievalist historiophoty, performs important cultural work. It is crucial to explore what this meant, in Europe and North America, during the middle decades of the twentieth century, when the cultural power of film was at its apogee. My article addresses the issues of ethnicity, gender and sexuality raised by the 1964 movie *Becket*, directed in the United Kingdom by Peter Glenville, through its domesticated, pathetic portraits of Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Empress Matilda, its false depiction of Thomas Becket as an ethnic Saxon, and its suggestion of a homoerotic bond between King Henry II and his archbishop.

III. KINGS IN CAPTIVITY

(CONTINUATION)

COURTNEY M. BOOKER
VANCOUVER

THE DIONYSIAN MIRROR OF LOUIS THE PIOUS



“He did everything wisely and carefully, and did nothing rashly, except that he trusted his advisers more than he should have. This happened because he was busy with psalm singing and zealous in reading”¹. Thus explained the chorbishop of Trier, Thegan, sometime between late 835 and early 838, inserting a brief, blunted criticism within his otherwise adulatory biography of Louis the Pious, Charlemagne’s sole heir and the Frankish kingdom’s current emperor². Another, far more strident critic, one who had participated in the failed rebellion of 833, would echo this complaint in hindsight two decades later. According to Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie, Louis had been daily seen to ruminate on God’s law, abandoning his proper temporal duties for the sake of divine matters³. Modern scholars have noted these twin

¹ Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, 20, in: Thegan, *Die Taten Kaiser Ludwigs; Astronomus. Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs*, ed. E. Tremp, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH), *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, LXIV, Hannover 1995, p. 204: *Omnia prudenter et caute agens, nihil indiscretae faciens, praeter quod consiliariis suis magis credidit quam opus esset. Quod enim fecit occupatio psalmodiae et lectionum assiduitas*. Translation by T.F.X. Noble, *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer*, University Park 2009, pp. 203-204.

² On Thegan, see: E. Tremp, *Studien zu den Gesta Hludowici imperatoris des Trierer Chorbischofs Thegan*, Hannover 1988; M. de Jong, *The Penitential State. Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840*, Cambridge 2009, pp. 72-79; C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions. The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians*, Philadelphia 2009, pp. 29-33; idem, *Reading a Medieval Narrative. An accessus*, in: *Chronicon. Medieval Narrative Sources*, eds. J.M. Bak, I. Jurković, Turnhout 2013, pp. 35-67.

³ Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, 2.2, 2.17, ed. E. Dümmler, “Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philologisch-Historische Klasse”

critiques of Louis's preoccupation with pious study and its consequence of ministerial negligence, and have assumed – following the more precise remark by Radbertus about “God's law” – that what the emperor was absorbed in was *meditatio* and *lectio divina*⁴. To be sure, scripture and its exegesis held pride of place in Louis's library, and no doubt comprised most of his reading⁵. But it was not all. In what follows, I wish to examine an urgent request made by Louis for a very special book – one that leapt to the top of his “reading list” at a very specific moment in his career and for equally specific reasons. By looking closely at this unusual imperial commission, I believe we can not only gain a better understanding of a critical moment in the history of the Carolingian empire, but perhaps even recover, in that deepest of hermeneutical digs, something of what that critical moment meant to Louis the Pious himself.

* * *

II (1900), pp. 63, 88. On Paschasius and the *Epitaphium Arsenii*, see: M. de Jong, *Becoming Jeremiah. Paschasius Radbertus on Wala, Himself, and Others*, in: *Ego Trouble. Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. R. Corradini et al., Vienna 2010, pp. 185-196; eadem, *The Penitential State...*, pp. 146-147, 164-170, 196-207; C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, pp. 42-50; D. Ganz, *The Epitaphium Arsenii and Opposition to Louis the Pious*, in: *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, eds. P. Godman, R. Collins, Oxford 1990, pp. 537-550.

4 E. Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme*, Darmstadt 1996, p. 4; B. Simson, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, Leipzig 1874, pp. 44-45. This is not an unreasonable assumption, given Thegan's boast in the preceding chapter (19) that Louis “knew very well the spiritual, moral, and anagogical meanings of all the Scriptures. He despised the pagan songs that he had learned as a youth, and he wished neither to read nor to hear nor to learn them”. The otherwise excellent correctives to older views of Louis's religious zeal and piety understood as weakness leave aside these contemporary critiques of Louis's preoccupation with psalmody and “divine” reading: T.F.X. Noble, *Louis the Pious and His Piety Re-Considered*, “Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire” LVIII (1980), pp. 297-316; idem, *The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire. The Case of Louis the Pious*, “Revue Bénédictine” LXXXVI (1976), pp. 235-250; M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, pp. 1-13. On the contemporary criticism of sovereigns, see: M. de Jong, *Admonitio and Criticism of the Ruler at the Court of Louis the Pious*, in: *La culture du haut moyen âge. Une question d'élites?*, eds. F. Bougard et al., Turnhout 2009, pp. 315-338; C.M. Booker, *Murmurs and Shouts. Speaking the Conscience in Carolingian Narratives*, forthcoming.

5 On Louis's library, see: B. Bischoff, *The Court Library under Louis the Pious*, in: idem, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 76-92; M. de Jong, *The Empire as Ecclesia. Hrabanus Maurus and Biblical Historia for Rulers*, in: *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, eds. Y. Hen, M. Innes, Cambridge 2000, pp. 191-226; and for reading within the court: P.E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age*, New York 2004, pp. 75-78. On *lectio divina*, see: D. Robertson, *Lectio Divina. The Medieval Experience of Reading*, Collegeville 2011; M.B. Parkes, *Reading, Copying and Interpreting a Text in the Early Middle Ages*, in: *A History of Reading in the West*, eds. G. Cavallo, R. Chartier, Cambridge 1999, pp. 90-102.

In the year 833, with his realm on the brink of civil war, the emperor was abandoned by his subjects. Left to the mercy of his rebellious sons and their coterie of bishops and counts, Louis soon offered to undertake a ritual of public penance by which he might humble himself, quell the divine anger provoked by his recent offensive behavior, and achieve satisfaction from God. Whether the penance – remarkably, the third he performed during his reign – was this time offered and carried out willingly or under coercion quickly became a matter of dispute. No less contentious were the ritual's consequences⁶. To the rebel party, led by Louis's elder sons Lothar, Pippin, and Louis the German, the desertion of Louis by his people had clearly been a judgment of God, an unequivocal sign of divine disfavor toward an increasingly iniquitous king. Perjury, sacrilege, murder – for these, and still other crimes and misdeeds, the *imperium* that God had entrusted to Louis's oversight and care was suddenly and manifestly revoked. The public penance that followed was thus understood by the people, Louis's sons, and Louis himself, to evince, confirm, and bind on earth what had been decided in heaven – Louis had lost the throne, but might still find salvation through a severe program of life-long humility, self-reflection, and prayer. Joining the order of penitents, the 55-year-old sinner was now effectively dead to this world and could play no further part in it. Lothar had rightly taken his father's place as the divinely designated imperial heir, with his younger brothers Pippin and Louis serving as dutiful sub-kings. At least, all this is the meaning ascribed to the events by Lothar, his supporters, and his propagandists in the months, and in some cases decades, after their occurrence.

On the other hand, to those loyal to Louis the Pious, such as his biographer Thegan mentioned earlier, the desertion of the emperor and his subsequent penance were hardly divine matters, but rather the shameful results of all too human avarice, fickleness, and fear. The people had broken their oaths of fealty to Louis when confronted with threats and promises from his rebellious son, and later, due to still more threats from Lothar, the captive emperor himself was compelled to feign a voluntary confession of sin and renounce the throne. The solemn ritual of public penance had been deviously exploited, Louis's supporters insisted, in order to impart upon the emperor the false semblance of a transgressor, wrongfully strip him of his regalia, make the fraudulent deed "irrevocably" binding, and at the same time perversely allow the cruel leaders of the rebellion to play the part of Louis' attentive "spiritual doctors". Their salutary appearance and deeds had merely been the histrionics of contrived *personae* – immediate roles masking ulterior motives. All this was

6 For much of what follows on Louis's penance in 833 and its interpretation, see: M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, pp. 214-270; C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*

confirmed, declared Louis's men, by what happened in the weeks after the penance: Lothar's brothers had begun to feel regret over their mistreatment of their father, and quickly grew resentful of Lothar's imperiousness and hauteur. Seeking to right their wrong, Pippin and Louis the German allied against their elder brother and with their combined forces chased him to Paris. There, in late February 834, Lothar, the would-be emperor, released his father and his 10-year-old half-brother Charles at the monastery of Saint-Denis and fled, only to submit to Louis the Pious's will, suffer his rebuke, and resent his mercy as the remnants of the rebellion foundered before him later that year⁷. With the help of his contrite sons and repentant subjects, Louis had recovered the throne and resumed his command.

These events, and the various Carolingian texts produced to establish and secure their meaning, have long been studied, evaluated, and judged by polemicists and scholars – groups that, at least with respect to this material, have largely been one and the same. Seeking to display their moral rectitude, devotion to truth, and, in times of monarchy, their own current loyalty to the crown, medieval and modern historians have nearly always allied themselves with the emperor's supporters. For centuries they have accepted the loyalist narrative, agreeing with its damning interpretation of the events as a series of frauds, and have either ignored the rebels' accounts or condemned them as an odious confection of lies and pretexts made in the service of *libido dominandi*⁸. Yet in nearly every such analysis, a crucial piece of evidence is left

7 On Louis's release at Saint-Denis in February, see: J.F. Böhmer, E. Mühlbacher, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern, 751-918*, Hildesheim 1966, pp. 373-374, nos. 9260, 9266p; B. Simson, *Jahrbücher...*, II, pp. 87-92, which collect all the contemporary accounts that mention the event. After Louis's surrender in June, 833, his youngest son Charles was taken away to the monastery of Prüm, only to be brought into Lothar's camp sometime shortly thereafter. See: Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, 52, in: *Thegan: Die Taten Kaiser...*, p. 492; Nithard, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, 1.4, ed. Ph. Lauer, rev. S. Glansdorff, Paris 2012, p. 20. Lothar capitulated to his father's and brothers' forces in August; see: Nithard, *Histoire...*, 1.5, p. 26; J.F. Böhmer, E. Mühlbacher, *Die Regesten...*, pp. 378-379, no. 931d. Louis's release at Saint-Denis has received little attention within modern scholarship; for some brief remarks, see: C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, pp. 125, 204, 237, 251; M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, pp. 50, 134, 249-250; E. Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme...*, pp. 203-210; L. Rid, *Die Wiedereinsetzung Kaiser Ludwigs des Frommen zu St. Denis (1. März 834) und ihre Wiederholung zu Metz (28. Februar 835)*, in: *Festgabe Alois Knöpfler zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres*, eds. H.M. Gietl, G. Pfeilschifter, Freiburg im Breisgau 1917, pp. 265-275.

8 See C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, pp. 1-182; idem, *Histrionic History, Demanding Drama. The Penance of Louis the Pious in 833, Memory, and Emplotment*, in: *Vergangenheit und Vergangenwärtigung. Frühes Mittelalter und europäische Erinnerungskultur*, eds. H. Reimitz, B. Zeller, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, XIV, Vienna 2009, pp. 103-127; idem, *The False Decretals and Ebbo's fama ambigua. A Verdict Revisited*, in: *Fälschung als Mittel der Politik? Pseudoisidor im Licht der neuen Forschung. Gedenkschrift für Klaus Zechiel-Eckes*, eds. K. Ubl, D. Ziemann, forthcoming.

out – one that provides still another narrative about the momentous events and their meaning.

Some time shortly after his release at Saint-Denis, Louis the Pious wrote a letter.

Addressed to Hilduin, the abbot of Saint-Denis, Louis's letter is actually a brief encomium on the glory and virtues of that monastery's saint and the special relationship the saint has maintained with Frankish kings over the centuries (for an English translation of the letter, see the Appendix below)⁹. Now, it was mentioned above that Louis had recovered the throne with the help of his contrite sons and repentant subjects, but that statement is not entirely correct. For in his letter, Louis stresses that it was in fact Dionysius (later known as Denis in the vernacular), his *provisor* (provider), *adiutor* (helper), and *solatiator* (supporter), his *specialis protector*, by whom he had regained divine favor and obtained his deliverance – not coincidentally – before the very altar at which that same great saint had once miraculously appeared to Pope Stephen II in 754 and healed him of a near-fatal illness¹⁰ (recall that Saint-Denis is where Lothar, before taking flight, released Louis from captivity). The emperor had continued his royal predecessors' and

9 For the Latin text see *Quantum muneris...*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, *Epistolae*, V, *Karolini aevi* III, Berlin 1899, pp. 325-327, no. 19; *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (henceforth: BHL), I, p. 328, no. 2172. For a comprehensive bibliography on the letter and a list of the manuscripts that preserve it, see *Clavis des auteurs latins du Moyen Age (territoire français 735-987)*, III, ed. M.H. Julien, Turnhout 2010, pp. 490-494, sub verbis: "HILDU 2" and "HILDU 2.1". See also M. Lapidge, *Hilduinus Sancti Dionysii Parisiensis Abb.*, in: *La Trasmissione dei Testi Latini del Medioevo/Mediaeval Latin Texts and Their Transmission*, IV, eds. P. Chiesa, L. Castaldi, Florence 2012, pp. 319-322. For the best recent discussions, see: A.L. Taylor, *Epic Lives and Monasticism in the Middle Ages, 800-1050*, Cambridge 2013, pp. 52-107; eadem, *Books, Bodies, and Bones. Hilduin of St-Denis and the Relics of St Dionysius*, in: *The Ends of the Body. Identity and Community in Medieval Culture*, eds. S.C. Akbari, J. Ross, Toronto 2013, pp. 25-60; E.A.R. Brown, *Gloriosae, Hilduin, and the Early Liturgical Celebration of St. Denis*, in: *Medieval Paradigms. Essays in Honor of Jeremy Duquesnay Adams*, II, ed. S. Hayes-Healy, New York 2005, pp. 39-40; G.P.A. Brown, *Politics and Patronage at the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis (814-98). The Rise of a Royal Patron Saint*, Ph.D. dissertation, New College, Oxford University 1989, pp. 207-217, 283-329; D.E. Luscombe, *Denis the Pseudo-Areopagite in the Middle Ages from Hilduin to Lorenzo Valla*, in: *Fälschungen im Mittelalter. Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.-19. September 1986*, I, Hannover 1988, pp. 133-152.

10 *Quantum muneris...*, pp. 326-327. In his letter, Louis remarks that the altar was "before the sepulcher of the oft-mentioned and the more-often-ought-to-be-discussed Lord Dionysius – [the altar] that, by the command of that same most holy martyr [Dionysius] through a divine and remarkable revelation, was dedicated in honor of God and His apostles Peter and Paul, who were shown to be present by the blessed and angelic man Stephen, the highest bishop". Louis is referring to an account of Stephen's vision and miraculous cure known to modern scholars as the *Revelatio Stephani*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, *Scriptores*, XV, 1, Hannover 1887, pp. 2-3; *Clavis des auteurs...*, pp. 503-507, sub verbo "HILDU 2.5"; BHL, p. 329, no. 2176; G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*, pp. 318-325; M.M. Delaporte, *Saint Denis, Hilduin's Headless Holy Man*, Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary 2004, pp. 30-31; and nn. 39, 45 below.

ancestors' devotion to Dionysius, and like them been the recipient of the saint's wondrous support¹¹. The benefits of this intimate patronage were made especially manifest, Louis explained to Hilduin, when recently,

in an event of human inconstancy, which should always be acknowledged as a just judgment of God, we were visited by the rod of His instruction, and raised up once more by the staff of his splendid mercy before the aforementioned altar through the merits and solace of our lord and most pious father, the precious Dionysius, and restored by divine virtue; and we took up again the sword-belt through episcopal judgment and authority, and up to the present we have been supported by the gracious assistance of that [martyr Dionysius]¹².

It is here that Louis comes to the point of his letter. Seeking to show his great thanks for the saint's recent assistance, he commands abbot Hilduin, the "venerable guardian and cultivator" (*venerabilis custos ac cultor*) of the saint, to collect a number of different Greek and Latin sources that tell of Dionysius's repute (*notitia*), and to use this diverse material to compose a new, uniform text about the saint in a single volume. To this composite text, Hilduin is then to add the account of Dionysius's appearance in a vision experienced by Pope Stephen II in 754, and the report of his role in Stephen's subsequent consecration of the Carolingian dynasty at the very altar of the saint's church. Hilduin should also append a collection of hymns about the saint, and a special Dionysian Night Office (*officium nocturnale*)¹³.

¹¹ On the early medieval cult of Saint Denis and his characterization as the patron and protector of Frankish kings, see: G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*; A. Thacker, *Peculiaris Patronis Noster. The Saint as Patron of the State in the Early Middle Ages*, in: *The Medieval State. Essays Presented to James Campbell*, eds. J.R. Maddicott, D.M. Palliser, London 2000, pp. 1-24; J. Ehlers, *Politik und Heiligenverehrung in Frankreich*, in: *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. J. Petersohn, Sigmaringen 1994, pp. 150-155; G.M. Spiegel, *The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship*, in: eadem, *The Past as Text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, Baltimore 1997, pp. 138-162; eadem, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis. A Survey*, Brookline 1978, pp. 23-24; and T.A.L. Choate, *The Liturgical Faces of Saint Denis. Music, Power, and Identity in Medieval France*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University 2009, p. 40, n. 6.

¹² *Quantum muneris... pp. 326-327: in humanae varietatis eventu, quo Dei ut semper fatendum est iusto iudicio in virga eruditionis suae visitati et baculo speciosae misericordiae eius ante prescriptum altare per merita et solatium domni ac piissimi patris nostri pretiosi Dionysii virtute divina reerecti et restituti sumus cingulumque militare iudicio atque auctoritate episcopali resumpsimus, et usque ad praesens ipsius gratioso adiutorio sustentamur.*

¹³ On the identification of these texts and their compilation, see: *Clavis des auteurs...*, pp. 490-512 (collectively known as the *Areopagitica*); M. Lapidge, *Hilduinus...*, pp. 315-348; A.L. Taylor, *Epic Lives...*, pp. 74-80; E.A.R. Brown, *Gloriosae, Hilduin...*, pp. 39-82; G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*, pp. 207-217, 283-329; D.E. Luscombe, *Denis...*, pp. 137-140; M. Lapidge, *The Lost 'Passio Metrica S. Dionysii' by Hilduin of Saint-Denis*, "Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch" XXII (1987), pp. 56-79. For details, see n. 39 below.

This hagiographical and liturgical compendium was meant to facilitate the devotion and edification of the faithful, explains Louis, and was to be written and compiled in such a way that “the grief of those less exacting, or capable, or zealous of reading can be allayed”¹⁴. But this was not all. Louis then orders Hilduin to create with great care still another book – one comprised of all the sources he could find about Dionysius’s life – and send this second volume to him as quickly as possible. This should be done, concludes Louis,

since we believe that we have the greatest and sweetest pledge of the desirable presence of that lord and consoler of ours, wheresoever we are, if, in prayer, conversation, or reading, we speak with him or about him or things said by him¹⁵.

This is a remarkable letter, one that says much about Louis’s plight in the months preceding it¹⁶. First, Louis conspicuously characterizes what had happened to him in 833 not as an act of desertion or treason (as several of his supporters soon would), but as a *humanae varietatis eventus*, an incident of human fickleness carrying no moral value of its own¹⁷. As the learned Bede once distinguished in his collection of rhetorical *differentiae*, bad things *accidunt*, good things *contingunt*, both *eveniunt*¹⁸. This usage is entirely in keeping with scripture – “all things are kept uncertain for the time to come”, says Ecclesiastes 9:2-3, “because all things equally happen (*aeque eveniant*) to the just and to the wicked, to the good and to the evil, to the clean and to the

¹⁴ *Quantum muneris...*, p. 327: *et fastidiosis minusve capacibus vel studiosis lectionis possit tedium sublevari*.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*: *quoniam maximum valdeque dulcissimum pignus desiderabilis presentiae ipsius domni et solatiatoris nostri, ubicumque simus, habere nos credimus, si cum eo vel de eo aut ab eo dictis oratione, conlatione sive lectione conloquimur*.

¹⁶ On the basis of its contents, most scholars date the letter to 834/835, not long after Louis’s release in March at Saint-Denis. See also n. 25 below.

¹⁷ In 840/841, the Astronomer (*Vita Hludowici...*, 48, p. 476), referred to the event as a *defectio*. A number of Louis’s supporters, including the Astronomer, dubbed the site of the desertion the “Field of Lies” (i.e., the place where Louis’s subjects, by abandoning him, disregarded – and thus reneged on – their oaths of fidelity); see: C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, pp. 17-18, 124, nn. 116-117; M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, p. 86. On filial treason in the early Middle Ages, see S. Joye, *Trahir père et roi au haut Moyen Âge*, in: *La trahison au Moyen Âge. De la monstruosité au crime politique (V^e-XV^e siècle)*, eds. M. Billoré, M. Soria, Rennes 2009, pp. 215-227. W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*, London 1969, p. 67, argued that a value-neutral understanding of the desertion is not surprising, since the act “was a specific application of the Germanic right of resistance: withdrawal by the troops was a mere fact, and did not constitute any moral evaluation of crimes or offences”. Rather, the truly surprising “ideological advance”, for Ullmann, was the interpretation of the desertion in ecclesiastical terms. See n. 22 below.

¹⁸ Bede, *De orthographia*, in: *Grammatici Latini*, VII, ed. H. Keil, Hildesheim 1961, p. 264: *Accidunt mala, contingunt bona, eveniunt utraque*.

unclean"¹⁹. A like connotation is found in Tobias 2:12, equating the sudden blindness of Tobias and the testing of Job: "Now this trial (*temptatio*) the Lord therefore permitted to happen to him (*evenire illi*), that an example might be given to posterity of his patience, as also of holy Job"²⁰. Second, in his letter Louis asserts that any such *eventus* should be understood as a judgment of God²¹. Here he actually agrees with the interpretation offered by the rebellion – what happened to him had indeed been a *iudicium Dei* – but he departs from the rebels in his understanding of that particular divine judgment's meaning²² (that Louis initially called it an *eventus* suggests a recognition of its interpretive ambiguity, which he then pinned down with exegetical precision); in accordance with Psalm 22:4-6, Louis may have been beaten by the Lord's rod, but it was also an instrument of discipline and correction (*virga eruditionis*)²³. Chastened by the rod, his lesson learned, he was then raised up again by the staff of splendid mercy (*baculum speciosae misericordiae*)²⁴. At the

19 *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, ed. B. Fischer et al., Stuttgart 1983, p. 994: *Omnia in futuro servantur incerta eo quod universa aequae eveniant iusto et impio bono et malo mundo et immundo.*

20 *Ibidem*, p. 678: *Hanc autem temptationem ideo permisit Dominus evenire illi ut posteris daretur exemplum patientiae eius sicut et sancti Iob.* See also: 2 Kings 11:25; Judith 8:27. Note that Thegan, *Gesta...*, 44, pp. 236-237, relying on these same lines of Tobias, would also equate Louis, his trial (*temptatio*) in 833, and his patience (*patientia*), with Job.

21 Within a decade, another layman, Louis's nephew Nithard, would also identify and interpret an *eventus* as only having happened (*evenire*) thanks to divine favor and will (*munere ac nutu divino*); Nithard, *Histoire...*, 2.8, pp. 70-72. K.F. Werner, *Gott, Herrscher und Historiograph. Der Geschichtsschreiber als Interpret des Wirkens Gottes in der Welt und Ratgeber der König (4. bis 12. Jahrhundert)*, in: *Deus qui mutat tempora. Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters*, eds. E.D. Hehl et al., Sigmaringen 1987, p. 20, n. 58, stresses the significance of the fact that Nithard, despite being a lay warrior writing for other lay warriors, presumed that his audience would share this "clerical and monastic" view of the relationship between particular events and divine will.

22 On the rebels' view of the desertion as a miracle/judgment of God – a divine revocation of the *imperium* entrusted to Louis, and avoidance of bloodshed among family, friends, and followers – and its rapid refutation by Louis's supporters, see: M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, pp. 48, 224-228; C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, pp. 124-125. W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance...*, p. 69, argued that the linking of "these two wholly unrelated matters – divine grace and desertion by the troops – was the great ideological advance made by the [rebel] bishops"; that it was "a mighty step towards replacing the non-ecclesiastical contingency [e.g., military desertion] by ecclesiastical measures". For a critique of this view as teleological, see C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, pp. 121-126.

23 Psalm 22:4-6: "For though I should walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evils, for thou art with me. Thy rod and thy staff, they have comforted me. Thou hast prepared a table before me, against them that afflict me. Thou hast anointed my head with oil; and my chalice which inebrieth me, how goodly it is! And thy mercy will follow me all the days of my life. And that I may dwell in the house of the Lord unto length of days".

24 This interpretation is in keeping with contemporary exegetes, such as Alcuin (MGH, *Epistolae*, IV, ed. E. Dümmler, Berlin 1895, p. 395, no. 245), Hrabanus Maurus (*De universo*, 22.13,

start of his letter, within his intitulation, Louis anticipates and underscores this experience of heavenly annealing. Where formerly his imperial documents carried the official title “Louis, having been ordained by divine providence, august emperor”, his letter to Hilduin and all palace documents as early as May 834 read “Louis, coming into favor once more by divine clemency, august emperor”, a scripturally allusive change suggesting the recognition that he had indeed fallen out of divine favor and was now fashioning himself as another humbled and pure-hearted King Solomon of old (3 Kings 8:39)²⁵. In his interpretation of the recent events, and his careful use of biblical language, Louis was certainly displaying the results of all that pious study for which he would later be gently criticized²⁶. Third, Louis has no doubt that the Lord showed him mercy and clemency for his wrongs thanks to the heavenly intercession of Saint Dionysius on his behalf, a fact made evident by his emancipation and rescue at that saint’s church. Louis’s sons and the people may have turned to aid him out of grief and shame, promises and persuasion, but Louis (and later his son Charles the Bald) discerned the deeper truth – that they had all been instruments of God set in motion by the merits and advocacy of his saint²⁷. According to a supporter of Louis, even

in: *Patrologia Latina* (henceforth: PL), CXI, col. 609C), and Hincmar of Reims (*De regis persona et regio ministerio*, 32, PL, CXXV, col. 856A), who in spirit follow the therapeutic teaching of Gregory the Great (*Regula pastoralis*, 2.6, PL, LXXVII, col. 38C) that “it is with a rod that we are smitten, but we are supported by a staff. If, then, there is the correction of the rod in striking, let there be the comfort of the staff in supporting”. Note, too, the remarks in 836 by abbot Lupus of Ferrières, *Servati Lupi epistulae*, ed. P.K. Marshall, Leipzig 1984, p. 9, no. 4, that the “judgment of God can be seen as an absolutely certain sign of [His] mercy rather than [His] anger”. On the relationship between *eruditio* and correction, see G.B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform*, New York 1967, p. 313, n. 38. As Ladner notes (at 402–403), the concept of linking progress, understood in a Christian spiritual sense, to *eruditio* has its basis in Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 10.14.

25 On the change of Louis’s intitulation, from “Hludowicus, divina ordinante providentia, imperator augustus” to “Hludowicus, divina repropitiante clementia, imperator augustus”, see: H. Wolfram, *Intitulatio*, II: *Lateinische Herrscher- und Fürstentitel im neunten und zehnten Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1973, pp. 64–65, 172; I.H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World* (c. 751–877), Leiden 2008, pp. 140–141; and E. Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme...*, p. 206, n. 172, who notes that the new title already appears in a charter for Corvey, 15 May 834. Whether the letter to Hilduin, which also bears the new intitulation, antedates or postdates this charter is unknown. On the new title’s evocation of King Solomon and the purity of his heart known to God (3 Kings 8:39), see R. Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte des fränkischen Königsthrons*, “Frühmittelalterliche Studien” II (1968), pp. 57–62. On Louis as a “new Solomon” more generally, see: P.J. Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings. Peace, Power, and the Early Medieval Political Imagination*, Oxford 2011, pp. 174–206; K.F. Werner, *Hludowicus Augustus. Gouverner l’empire chrétien – idées et réalités*, in: *Charlemagne’s Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, eds. P. Godman, R. Collins, Oxford 1990, p. 57, n. 198.

26 See nn. 1–4 above.

27 In 867, Charles the Bald, (*Nicolao papae directa*, in: MGH, *Concilia IV: Concilia aevi Karolini DCCCLX–DCCCLXXIV*, ed. W. Hartmann, Hannover 1998, p. 240), would recall the

the weather around Paris, “which seemed to have suffered an injury with [the emperor], now rejoiced in his restoration”²⁸. Fourth, Louis explains that after his liberation he was reinvested with his sword-belt (*cingulum militiae*), the symbol of his rule, by the authority and judgment of bishops²⁹. This deliberate, ritual act implies that Louis considered the public penance he had earlier performed with the rebel bishops in 833 to have been valid, and could be reversed only by another episcopally administered ceremony³⁰. No matter

events as follows: “At last the clemency of compassionate God, seeing the humility of the pious emperor, touched (*tetigit*) the hearts of those whom he wished, and with His mercy inspired (*inspiravit*) them to lead him from custody and restore him to imperial command”. Others discerned a variety of causes for the people’s change of heart, but not the deeper fillip of divine agency. According to *Nithard. Histoire...*, 1.4, p. 20: “Shame and regret (*verecundia et penitudo*) filled the sons for having twice deprived their father of his dignity, and the people for having twice deserted the emperor. Therefore, they all now agreed on his restoration”. Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici...*, 45, p. 238, noted that Louis the German “was driven by great grief (*magno dolore*) at his father’s suffering”. The anonymous annalist of the annals of Saint-Bertin, *s.a.* 833, (*Annales de Saint-Bertin*, eds. F. Grat, J. Vielliard, S. Clémencet, Paris 1964, p. 11), claimed that “Louis [the German] begged his brother Lothar most earnestly to act more gently towards their father and not hold him in such strict confinement. When Lothar refused to listen, Louis left in sadness (*tristis*). From then on, he kept thinking over with his men how he might rescue his father from his imprisonment”. The Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici...*, 49, pp. 480-484, provides the most detail, explaining that “the pathetic nature (*miseratio*) of an affair of this kind [of Louis’s penance in 833] and the changeableness (*permutatio*) of such affairs gripped everyone except those who started it all”. Deeply saddened (*mestus*) by such deeds, “the people of both Francia and Burgundy, and even of Aquitaine and Germany, flocked together and complained with bitter indignation at the emperor’s misfortune (*calamitosis querelis de imperatoris infortunio querebantur*). [...] Bernard and Werin won over the people in Burgundy by persuasion, attracted them with promises, bound them with oaths, and joined them into one will [to free the captive emperor from Lothar] (*suasionibus accendebant, promissionibus alliciebant, iuramentis adstringebant et in unum velle foederabant*)”.

²⁸ Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici...*, 51, p. 488: *etiam ipsa elementa viderentur et iniuriam patienti compati et relevato congratulari*; T.F.X. Noble, *Charlemagne...*, p. 284. On the Carolingian understanding of the relationship between God and the weather, see: P.E. Dutton, *Thunder and Hail over the Carolingian Countryside*, in: idem, *Charlemagne’s Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age*, New York 2004, pp. 169-188; idem, *Observations on Early Medieval Weather in General, Bloody Rain in Particular*, in: *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe. New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, eds. J.R. Davis, M. McCormick, Aldershot 2008, pp. 167-180.

²⁹ On the symbolic value of the *cingulum militiae* and its removal, see: R. Le Jan, *Frankish Giving of Arms and Rituals of Power. Continuity and Change in the Carolingian Period*, in: *Rituals of Power. From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, eds. F. Theuvs, J.L. Nelson, Leiden 2000, pp. 299-300; K. Leyser, *Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginnings of Knighthood*, in: idem, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe. The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, London 1994, pp. 51-71; Ph. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual. Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*, Princeton 2001, p. 41 n. 101.

³⁰ On Louis’s ad hoc restoration ceremony as a reversal (and thus implicit legitimation) of the penance of October 833, see: M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, pp. 249-250; eadem, *Power and Humility in Carolingian Society. The Public Penance of Louis the Pious*, “Early Medieval

whether it was the product of coercion or free will, the careful performance of the penitential ritual was understood by both Louis and his episcopacy to have a potent and lasting effect³¹.

As I noted previously, Louis's rich letter is rarely mentioned or cited by historians in their analyses and reconstructions of the emperor's troubles during 833-834, and has never been translated into English, despite its clear importance and relevance to the events³². Given that these years have long been considered the decisive turning point in the history of the Carolingian dynasty, and that the letter purports to give Louis's own understanding of them, why has it been shown such neglect³³? The letter has long been accessible, as it exists in many manuscripts (including one from the 9th century), was already in print by the 15th century, and was published at least a dozen times thereafter in various source collections (including the *Patrologia Latina* and the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*)³⁴. In short, while the letter

Europe" I (1992), pp. 42-43; W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance...*, p. 68. Cf. C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, pp. 186-187, 239.

31 On the presumed efficacy of the penitential ritual when performed scrupulously, according to proper doctrine and protocol, see: C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, pp. 164-165; M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, pp. 50, 244, 267.

32 The superb new survey of Carolingian history by M. Costambeys, M. Innes, S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World*, Cambridge 2011, p. 219, unfortunately supplies an erroneous date for Louis's reinstatement at Saint-Denis (835), and makes no mention of the letter. M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, says nothing of the letter (though she had mentioned it briefly in her much earlier article M. de Jong, *Power...*, pp. 42-43, J.L. Nelson, *The Last Years of Louis the Pious*, in: *Charlemagne's Heir...*, p. 148, briefly touches on the letter. A loose French translation of the letter is available in J.É. Darras, *Saint Denis l'Aréopagite, premier évêque de Paris*, Paris 1863, pp. 136-138. There are a few English extracts in A.L. Taylor, *Poetry, Politics, and Patronage. Epic Saints' Lives in Western Francia, 800-1000*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin 2006, pp. 66-69.

33 On the events of the early 830s – and Louis's penance in 833 in particular – as a historiographical turning point, see C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...* In contrast to Louis's letter, the interpretations offered in abundance both by the party of Louis's rebel sons and by Louis's apologists and supporters have for centuries been examined closely and used repeatedly as the basis for historical explanation, judgment, and condemnation. See: M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*; C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*; idem, *Histrionic History...*, pp. 103-127.

34 *Clavis des auteurs...*, pp. 493-494, has rendered a great service by identifying and listing the twenty-four extant manuscripts of the letter (an additional manuscript was destroyed in 1945). For a discussion of the transmission of the entire dossier of texts requested by Louis, including the letter of request itself (but which unfortunately does not distinguish among the various texts that comprise the dossier), see: C. Weltsch, *Der Einfluss der Vita S. Dionysii Areopagitae des Abtes Hilduin von St. Denis auf die hagiographische Literatur*, München 1922, pp. 18-27; R. Macaigne, *La vie de Sainte Geneviève et la passion de Saint Denis*, "Revue des questions historiques" XCII (1912), pp. 91-105. On the ninth-century manuscript (Berlin, Staatsbibl. theol. lat. oct. 159 [Phill. 16339]), see: B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, I, Wiesbaden 1998, p. 102, no. 485; M. Lapidge, *Hilduinus...*, p. 321. For the various

has certainly been known to historians of Louis's reign, it has been quietly passed over for two reasons. First, some scholars have claimed that Louis allowed the letter to be written in his name by abbot Hilduin of Saint-Denis, who bent the "feckless" emperor's will to his own designs of shamelessly promoting his saint's cult (by essentially writing an "urgent" imperial letter to himself)³⁵. Hilduin was a figure of considerable influence: he had been the abbot of several monasteries in addition to Saint-Denis; had been appointed by the emperor to the powerful position of archchaplain of the palace in 819; and had famously translated relics from Rome to Soissons in 826. Yet, by 834 he was looking to rebuild his reputation and enhance his prestige. Hilduin had joined the first rebellion by Louis's sons in 830, only to be disgraced upon its defeat. Pardoned by Louis shortly thereafter, he had been restored to the abbacy of Saint-Denis by 832 – but was pointedly stripped of his title *archicapellanus*. By allegedly dictating the terms of Louis's letter in 834 and requesting the creation of dossiers of texts on Saint Dionysius, Hilduin had shrewdly granted himself an opportunity to produce something "that would redound to the greater glory of his saint, his abbey and his own reputation"³⁶. When understood in this way, the letter says much about Hilduin's interests,

printed editions, see: BHL, p. 328, no. 2172; *Clavis des auteurs...*, p. 494; M. Lapidge, *Hilduinus...*, p. 322. Note that Dümmler's edition of the letter for the MGH (which remains the most recent and most critical edition) is based on only three manuscripts.

35 *Clavis des auteurs...*, p. 493, states that, while Louis did write the letter commanding Hilduin to create two compendia about St. Denis: "[I]es termes exacts de cette commande furent sans doute rédigés par Hilduin lui-même, pour correspondre plus étroitement au contenu du dossier qu'il avait réuni". A.L. Taylor, *Epic Lives...*, p. 75, similarly states, "Louis may have sent Hilduin a letter, but at the very least Hilduin redacted portions of it, shaping the emperor's words to suit his own agenda". Cf. p. 63: "The emperor's own diminished prestige in the wake of his sons' rebellions provided further opportunities [for Hilduin]". Others have depicted Hilduin's role as the letter's author more forcefully: E. Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme...*, p. 265; R.J. Loenertz, *La légende parisienne de S. Denys l'Aréopagite, sa genèse et son premier témoin*, "Analecta Bollandiana" LXIX (1951), p. 228; M. Buchner, *Die Areopagitika des Abtes Hilduin von St. Denis und ihr kirchenpolitischer Hintergrund*, Paderborn 1939, p. 5; G. Waitz, in: MGH, *Scriptores*, XV, 1, Hannover 1887, p. 2, n. 1. On this latter view, and its reliance on the notion of Louis as a feeble monarch, see the important discussion by G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*, pp. 283-288. In numerous writings on Hilduin and Saint-Denis, Max Buchner went so far as to argue that Hilduin was trying to elevate his own abbey into a second Rome and to fashion himself as a "vice-pope", an argument that has largely been rejected. See: D.E. Luscombe, *Denis...*, p. 139, n. 25; T.A.L. Choate, *The Liturgical Faces...*, p. 9, n. 22.

36 For the quotation, see A.L. Taylor, *Poetry...*, p. 72. On Hilduin and his career, see: Ph. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781-840)*, Sigmaringen 1997, pp. 250-256, no. 157; M. Lapidge, *The Lost Passio...*, pp. 56-79; idem, *Hilduinus...*, pp. 315-316; *Clavis des auteurs...*, pp. 482-486. On his translation of relics in 826, see J.M.H. Smith, *Old Saints, New Cults. Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia*, in: *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, ed. J.M.H. Smith, Leiden 2000, pp. 323-327.

assumptions, and interpretations during the early 830s, but little about those of Louis, hence its neglect³⁷. Second, even those who believe that Louis wrote the letter largely of his own volition focus not on the context of its composition and why Louis wrote what he did, but on the various texts that the letter elicited from Hilduin, and with which it was always compiled – works produced to disseminate and promote the fiction of the saint’s identity³⁸. Saint Dionysius had long been unwittingly accepted in Gaul as the amalgamation of three homonymous figures named Dionysius: the first-century convert of Saint Paul on the Areopagus in Athens (mentioned in Acts 17:34); a certain fifth-century Greek writer of complex mystical texts on the nature of God and ecclesiastical and heavenly hierarchies (known by modern scholars as “Pseudo-Dionysius”); and the third-century martyr and first bishop of Paris. In what quickly became a controversial act, Hilduin had responded to Louis’s epistolary demand by collecting a variety of materials and manipulating them, through suppression, selection, and outright invention, to create a *Passio* of Dionysius, one that sought to confirm the history and identity of this now exclusively Frankish saint (who, in Hilduin’s account, miraculously walked two miles with his severed head from Montmartre to the site where both he and the church built in his honor now rest)³⁹. The creation of this

37 A.L. Taylor, *Epic Lives...*, p. 75: “Although we cannot confidently use the letter as a source for Louis’s thoughts, we can see it and the other letters as the framework Hilduin provides for reading the narrative [which he assembled on St. Denis]”.

38 D.E. Luscombe, *Denis...*, pp. 137-140; E.A.R. Brown, *Gloriosae, Hilduin...*, pp. 39-40; M. Lapidge, *The Lost Passio...*, pp. 65-67; G.M. Spiegel, *The Cult...*, pp. 140-142; R.F. Berkhofer III, *Day of Reckoning. Power and Accountability in Medieval France*, Philadelphia 2004, pp. 19-20; and the many studies listed by *Clavis des auteurs...*, pp. 491-492, in the general bibliography on the so-called *Areopagitica* (on which, see the following note below). See also T.A.L. Choate, *The Liturgical Faces...*, p. 45, n. 21. Others have invoked the letter as important evidence for the dating of church construction at Saint-Denis. See J.J. Emerick, *Building more romano in Francia during the Third Quarter of the Eighth Century. The Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and Its Model*, in: *Rome Across Time and Space. Cultural Transmission and the Exchange of Ideas c. 500-1400*, eds. C. Bolgia, R. McKitterick, J. Osborne, Cambridge 2011, pp. 138-141, and the literature cited therein. The letter has also been used as evidence of Carolingian classicism, as it contains the rare, Suetonian word *conditorium*. See M. Innes, *The Classical Tradition and Carolingian Historiography. Encounters with Suetonius*, “International Journal of the Classical Tradition” III (1997), p. 276, n. 39.

39 The dossier that Hilduin created and compiled to meet the emperor’s command is known by modern scholars as the “Areopagitica” – a series of four texts that follow Louis’s letter in most of the manuscripts that contain it: A) Hilduin’s lengthy letter of acknowledgement of the emperor’s request, *Exultavit cor meum...*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, *Epistolae*, V, pp. 327-335, no. 20); see: *Clavis des auteurs...*, pp. 494-496, sub verbo “HILDU 2.2”); M. Lapidge, *Hilduinus...*, pp. 320-321; BHL, p. 328, no. 2173. B) Hilduin’s preface to his *Passio* of St. Denis, *Cum nos scriptura...*, ed. E. Dümmler, MGH, *Epistolae*, V, pp. 335-337, no. 21; see: *Clavis des auteurs...*, pp. 496-497, sub verbo “HILDU 2.3”); M. Lapidge, *Hilduinus...*, pp. 320-321; BHL, p. 329, no. 2174.

hagiographical legend (or more cynically, this forgery) has received most of the scholarly attention, and thus brought Louis's letter of request to Hilduin under the scrutiny of critics seeking either to deconstruct and historicize the legend or expose the fraud⁴⁰. Yet, in the end, such scrutiny has had little to say about Louis's letter itself, other than to subtly suggest some kind of guilt by association.

In 1989 this neglect and incidental treatment finally came to an end with Giles Brown's magisterial dissertation on the rise of Dionysius as the royal patron saint of the Franks – or at least it would have if the dissertation had been published. Looking closely at the history and development of the Franks' devotion to Dionysius, Brown argues forcefully that Louis's letter is indeed authentic and fits within a specific Carolingian tradition of royal *mandata*⁴¹.

C) Hilduin's *Passio* of St. Denis, *Post beatam ac salutiferam...*, PL, CVI, col. 23-50; see: *Clavis des auteurs...*, pp. 498-503, sub verbo "HILDU 2.4"; M. Lapidge, *Hilduinus...*, pp. 322-334, and for a list of manuscripts, pp. 340-348; BHL, p. 329, no. 2175. D) A short text (ascribed to Hilduin) recounting a miraculous, salutary vision of Saints Peter, Paul, and Denis experienced by Pope Stephen II in 754, when he had come to consecrate Pippin as king at the altar in the abbey church of Saint-Denis (G. Waitz, in: MGH, *Scriptores*, XV, 1, pp. 2-3); see: *Clavis des auteurs...*, pp. 503-507, sub verbo "HILDU 2.5"; BHL, p. 329, no. 2176. In his reply to Louis (text "A" above, chps. 8-9, 15-16, pp. 331-335; text "B", pp. 336-337), Hilduin notes that there are some among his contemporaries who disbelieve his identification of Dionysius. On this resistance and Hilduin's defensive tone, see A.L. Taylor, *Epic Lives...*, pp. 73-84.

40 The literature on the three Dionysii and their conflation (by Hilduin and others) into the St. Denis legend is vast and complex. Good points of departure are: T.A.L. Choate, *The Liturgical Faces...*; M.M. Delaporte, *Saint Denis...*; G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*; D.E. Luscombe, *Denis...*, pp. 133-152; G.M. Spiegel, *The Cult...*, pp. 138-162; R.J. Loenertz, *La légende...*, pp. 217-237. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *History in the Mind of Archbishop Hincmar*, in: *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, eds. R.H.C. Davis, J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, Oxford 1981, p. 45, charitably and/or condescendingly characterized Hilduin's construction of the St. Denis legend as the product of "fruitful confusion".

41 G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*, p. 287: "The beneficiary or recipient [of the letter], Hilduin, may have played some role in the drafting of it, but it is an expression of royal will nonetheless". As a comparable case, Brown cites three letters of Louis the Pious as drafted by Einhard; see P.E. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier. The Complete Einhard*, Peterborough 1998, pp. 138-139, nos. 19-21. On such *mandata*, see: M. Mersiowsky, *Regierungspraxis und Schriftlichkeit im Karolingerreich. Das Fallbeispiel der Mandate und Briefe*, in: *Schriftkultur und Reichsverwaltung unter den Karolingern*, ed. R. Schieffer, Opladen 1996, pp. 109-166. Cf. A.L. Taylor, *Epic Lives...*, p. 75: "Audacious as it seems for Hilduin to speak for Louis, writing in the emperor's voice was established practice among Carolingian courtiers". I know of no such Carolingian examples of courtiers writing to and soliciting works from themselves in the emperor's voice. Brown's conclusions about the authenticity of Louis's letter have slowly begun to be adopted: J.L. Nelson, *The Last Years...*, p. 148; E.A.R. Brown, *Gloriosae, Hilduin...*, pp. 39-40; T.A.L. Choate, *The Liturgical Faces...*, pp. 7, 44-48; G. Koziol, *Is Robert I in Hell? The Diploma for Saint-Denis and the Mind of a Rebel King* (*Jan. 25, 923*), "Early Medieval Europe" XIV (2006), pp. 246-247; idem, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas. The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)*, Turnhout 2012, p. 442; M. Lapidge, *Hilduinus...*, pp. 319-320.

With even sharper focus, he calls attention to a historical detail that is often forgotten with respect to Louis's letter of request – that the sons of Louis the Pious had not been alone in their rebellion in 833, but were accompanied by the pope himself, Gregory IV. As Brown observes, Gregory (827-844) had decided, or at least was perceived to have decided, to bring the spiritual authority of Saint Peter to bear in the sons' favor – a fact that, along with Lothar's threats and promises, likely had much to do with the erosion of fealty within Louis's camp⁴². In the aftermath of 833, with Lothar's defeat and Louis's restoration, the Carolingian monarchy's close connection with the papacy was severed⁴³. Disillusioned with the pope, Louis now sought a new spiritual patron, one whom he could trust. To mark a new beginning, explains Brown, the emperor selectively linked his present experience with those of his ancestors and predecessors, reverting to an earlier source of spiritual authority he now shared with them and would do his utmost to promote⁴⁴. As Louis himself noted in his letter, St. Dionysius had not only been responsible for his recent rescue and episcopal re-consecration, but had also been the spectral figure guiding Pope Stephen II's hand back in 754, when he consecrated the altar in Saint-Denis at which Louis's grandfather Pippin the Short was thereupon anointed and his dynasty established⁴⁵.

42 G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*, p. 323. On Gregory's role in the events of 833, see: C. Scherer, *Der Pontifikat Gregors IV. (827-844). Vorstellungen und Wahrnehmungen päpstlichen Handelns im 9. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2013, pp. 165-195; M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, pp. 47, 217-220, 224-228; E. Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme...*, pp. 192-199; C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, pp. 135-136, 178; T.F.X. Noble, *Louis the Pious and the Papacy. Law, Politics and the Theory of Empire in the Early Ninth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University 1974, pp. 321-352.

43 While this link would already begin to be repaired by 836 (see: G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*, p. 325 n. 1, citing Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici...*, 55-56, pp. 508-512), the pope would not venture north into Francia again for more than four decades, when in 878 John VIII landed at Arles en route to a council of his calling at Troyes. See *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, second edition, eds. P. Jaffé, P. Ewald, Leipzig 1885, p. 399, no. 3142.

44 G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*, p. 323: "In the aftermath of 833 Louis was casting around for a new patron saint. The letter to Hilduin [...] shows that he had chosen S. Denis, a natural choice given the eighth-century background as his letter makes clear"; *ibidem*, p. 326: "Louis had turned to S. Denis as his *provisor et auditor*, his *soliator*, for *conlatio* and *adiutorium*, because S. Peter and his representative had connived at his deposition the year before". See also: A.L. Taylor, *Epic Lives...*, p. 63; M.M. Delaporte, *He Darkens Me with Brightness. The Theology of Pseudo-Dionysius in Hilduin's Vita of Saint Denis, "Religion and Theology" XIII* (2006), pp. 226, 244-245; *eadem*, *Saint Denis...*, p. 11.

45 *Quantum muneris...*, p. 326. See: G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*, pp. 284-285, 309; T.A.L. Choate, *The Liturgical Faces...*, pp. 352-360; M.M. Delaporte, *Saint Denis...*, pp. 30-31, 59-60; and n. 10 above. G.P.A. Brown, *Politics...*, pp. 324-326, argues that Louis desired his restoration to be publicized as having taken place specifically at the altar in the church of Saint-Denis for still another reason: because the altar had been consecrated to Saint Peter by Pope Stephen II in 754, and because Stephen had allegedly left the symbols of Peter's authority on the altar

It is with this new beginning that we come at last to Louis's "Dionysian mirror". Recall that in his letter the emperor had demanded two books from Hilduin, the first an anthology of texts to promote the saint's fame (*notitia*), the second and more urgent (*quantocius*) a book for his personal use, a vademecum of texts about the saint to be kept close at hand, explained Louis (and this quotation bears repeating),

since we believe that we have the greatest and sweetest pledge of the desirable presence of that lord and consoler of ours [i.e., Dionysius], wheresoever we are, if, in prayer, conversation, or reading, we speak with him or about him or things said by him.

While a great deal of attention has been paid to the first book requested by Louis (who specified its contents in some detail), few have given much thought to the second, despite the fact that, of the two, it was the book the emperor wanted more eagerly⁴⁶. Indeed, because no text/s could be found that matched Louis's vague description of what he desired from Hilduin ("you are also to collect [...] whatever is found about [Dionysius]"), scholars have been uncertain whether the second collection was ever made at all. These doubts have only been deepened by Hilduin's hedging reply to Louis's request: sending a few sources about the saint to the emperor, the abbot stated "take this for now, until you receive more from the studies of your supporter"⁴⁷. Hilduin would never again mention the promised remainder (I would add that Hilduin's attempt to buy more time by momentarily appeasing the emperor also argues against his alleged authorship of Louis's letter)⁴⁸.

Such doubts about and disregard for Louis's second compendium have finally come to an end with the publication of two seminal, complementary studies. In 1987, Michael Lapidge announced his discovery of a lengthy verse life of St. Dionysius, one comprised of 2200 lines of Latin dactylic hexameter divided into four books. Attributing its authorship to Hilduin, Lapidge

(the pallium and keys), it was the holy altar itself that in 834, in the pope's stead, had served as a Petrine source of authority for Louis's reinstatement by way of his bishops. St. Peter's terrestrial representative, who had recently lost the emperor's trust, was thus unnecessary for this purpose. This was why Louis asked Hilduin to include the narrative about Pope Stephen's *revelatio et gesta* in the first compendium (see n. 39 "D" above) – to make manifest the alternate, proxy source of Petrine authority at Saint-Denis and the history of its creation.

⁴⁶ For scholarship on the first book and its contents, see n. 13 above.

⁴⁷ *Exultavit cor meum...*, 16, p. 334: *Haec interim, donec plura sumatis de cognitione suffragatoris vestri, Auguste serenissime, sumite*. See E.A.R. Brown, *Gloriosae, Hilduin...*, pp. 40, 61, n. 11.

⁴⁸ Cf. n. 35 above. Hilduin's authorship of the letter appears even more doubtful when one compares its text with an earlier letter from Louis (from 816-17) that also calls for the creation of a compendium (both letters use analogous language: e.g., *colligere, transcribere, textus, in unum*). See *Hludowici ad archiepiscopos epistolae (816-817)*, ed. A. Boretius, MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, Hannover 1883, p. 339.

demonstrated that it was one half of a “twinned” text on the saint – a genre not uncommon in the early Middle Ages (the so-called *geminus stilus*) – with one life written in prose (Hilduin’s well-known *passio* “Post beatam ac salutiferam”) and the other in verse⁴⁹. In 2006, Anna Lisa Taylor took the next step and made the connection suggested by Lapidge’s work: the unedited *passio metrica* on Dionysius is, she avers, the very text that Hilduin composed as Louis’s distinctive second book. The abbot had liberally interpreted Louis’s vague request for a volume containing whatever could be found about the saint, and created a new *passio* in verse – one that, like the prose passion Hilduin had written for the first compendium, was a bricolage of Dionysian texts and information taken from a variety of sources⁵⁰. Taylor pushes her identification even further by arguing that the language of Louis’s request to Hilduin points to the understanding of the desired book as a kind of textual relic, and that the peculiar form of the metrical *passio* itself – lines of verse surrounding, enclosing, and “ornamenting” sections of sacred prose – supports this view⁵¹. There is much to recommend this argument.

As Taylor observes, in his letter the emperor “uses language of reuniting disparate parts into a whole” and “implies that the collected *uolumen* will function as a *pignus* (pledge or promise) of the saint’s presence”⁵². Such

49 M. Lapidge, *The Lost Passio...*, pp. 56-79. See now idem, *Hilduinus...*, pp. 334-337. Lapidge offers a critical edition of the verse *passio* in his forthcoming study *Hilduin of Saint-Denis. The ‘Passio S. Dionysii’ in Prose and Verse*, “Mittelalters Studien und Texte”. On the prose *passio*, see n. 39 above, item “C”. On the *geminus stilus*, see: B. Friesen, *The Opus Geminatum and Anglo-Saxon Literature*, “Neophilologus” XCV (2011), pp. 123-144; P. Godman, *The Anglo-Latin Opus Geminatum. From Aldhelm to Alcuin*, “Medium Ævum” L (1981), pp. 215-229; G. Wieland, *Geminus Stilus. Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography*, in: *Insular Latin Studies. Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles, 550-1066*, ed. M.W. Herren, Toronto 1981, pp. 113-133. As M. Lapidge, *The Lost Passio...*, p. 67, n. 71, notes, other Carolingian “twinned” works include the prose and verse texts of Alcuin’s *Vita S. Willibrordi*, Hrabanus Maurus’s *In honorem sanctae crucis*, and Brun Candidus’s *Vita S. Eigili* (which Hrabanus instructed him to write on the model of *In honorem sanctae crucis*).

50 A.L. Taylor, *Poetry...*, p. 68. See now her monograph, *Epic Lives...*, pp. 52-107. While I find plausible Taylor’s identification of the verse *passio* as Louis’s second book, I cannot agree with her claim that “although Louis did not explicitly request a verse text, he did ask that the second volume be collected differently (*differenter*), a condition the *vita metrica* certainly meets”. I understand Louis’s use of the adverb *differenter* in the sense of “separately” – i.e., he wishes the sources about Dionysius to be collected in a different book, not – as Taylor would have it – in a different way. Cf. *Mittelaltersches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, München 2002, p. 611, sub verbo “*differenter*”, which cites Louis’s letter for its definition.

51 A.L. Taylor, *Poetry...*, pp. 85-90; eadem, *Epic Lives...*, pp. 101-107; eadem, *Books...*, pp. 25-60.

52 A.L. Taylor, *Poetry...*, p. 69, citing Louis’s remarks (*Quantum muneris...*, p. 327) that “you are also to collect separately and with its own completeness in another volume whatever is found about him”; and “since we believe that we have the greatest and sweetest pledge of the desirable presence of that lord and consoler of ours, wheresoever we are, if, in prayer,

diction and vocabulary, as Taylor rightly points out, are commonly found in contemporary discussions of saints' relics⁵³. Like the corporeal remains of Dionysius, the texts by him or about him, once collected and reassembled, were deemed by Louis to have their own numinous power, which could summon the saint's salutary *praesentia* by being spoken or read. In his reply, Hilduin actually acknowledges and endorses Louis's expectations in this regard, recalling that when the emperor's great gift to the abbey, the "authentic books" (*autenticos libros*) of (Pseudo-)Dionysius's works, written in Greek, had auspiciously arrived on the saint's feast day back in 827, there immediately followed nineteen "most noteworthy" (*nominatissimae*) miracles of healing, by which a number of people – some of whom, attests Hilduin, he knew extremely well – were cured of their various ailments⁵⁴. Through this reassuring act of recollection, Hilduin implies that Louis's faith in the miraculous presence and power of Dionysius in his books is well founded. Here, he seems to say, is irrefutable evidence that "just as the saint is present in his relics, so he is present in the codex of his works"⁵⁵.

Yet, Hilduin's implicit analogy between the Dionysian book he received in 827 and the new compendium Louis desired in 834 is in fact rather forced.

conversation, or reading, we speak with him or about him or things said by him". See also: A.L. Taylor, *Books...*, pp. 34-35; eadem, *Epic Lives...*, p. 104.

53 A.L. Taylor, *Poetry...*, pp. 68-70; eadem, *Books...*, pp. 34-35. See also P.J. Geary, *Sacred Commodities. The Circulation of Medieval Relics*, in: idem, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca 1994, p. 202; A. Grondeux, *Pignus ou le mutisme des dictionnaires médiolatins sur une évolution sémantique*, "Florilegium" XXIV (2007), pp. 143-156.

54 *Exultavit cor meum...*, 4, p. 330. The book of Greek texts by Pseudo-Dionysius, which Hilduin mentions (and which is extant: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec. 437), was originally given to Louis as a diplomatic gift by the Byzantine emperor Michael II in 827. Louis subsequently bestowed the book to Hilduin, who was commanded to translate it into Latin. For the large scholarly literature on this imperial gift, the Latin translations that followed (first by Hilduin, ca. 832, and again by John Scottus Eriugena, ca. 867), and their great theological influence, see: É. Jeuneau, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Denis introductrice de Denys en Occident*, in: *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident. Actes du colloque international, Paris 21-24 septembre 1994*, ed. Y. de Andia, Paris 1997, pp. 361-378; A.L. Taylor, *Books...*, pp. 25-60; eadem, *Poetry...*, pp. 71-76; D.E. Luscombe, *Denys...*, pp. 136-140; H. Omont, *Manuscrit des oeuvres de S. Denys l'Aréopagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Débonnaire en 827*, "Revue des Etudes grecques" XVII (1904), pp. 230-236.

55 The quotation is by A.L. Taylor, *Poetry...*, p. 73. On this point, see: A.L. Taylor, *Books...*, pp. 25-60; C. Rapp, *Holy Texts, Holy Men, and Holy Scribes. Aspects of Scriptural Holiness in Late Antiquity*, in: *The Early Christian Book*, eds. W.E. Klingshirn, L. Safran, Washington D.C. 2007, pp. 219-220; E. Rose, *Celebrating Saint Martin in Early Medieval Gaul*, in: *Christian Feast and Festival. The Dynamics of Western Liturgy and Culture*, eds. P. Post et al., Louvain 2001, p. 274. More generally see: G. Heydemann, *Relics and Texts. Hagiography and Authority in Ninth-Century Francia*, in: *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity*, eds. P. Sarris et al., Leiden 2011, pp. 187-204; E. Palazzo, *Le 'livre-corps' à l'époque carolingienne et son rôle dans la liturgie de la messe et sa théologie*, "Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae" XV (2010), pp. 31-63.

For the main purpose of recalling the book and the miracles associated with it was not to countenance Louis's request, but to provide additional evidence in support of Hilduin's controversial identification of the saint. This is why Hilduin stresses that the Dionysian codex presently at Saint-Denis is *authenticus*. While it is difficult to know precisely what he meant by this term – were the texts in the book authentic because they are in Greek? because, like the saint himself, their provenance was from the Byzantine East? because the codex contains only texts composed by the saint? because the texts were considered uncompromised or uncorrupted by pseudo-epigrapha and/or material forged in the saint's name? because they were believed to be an autograph, written by the very hand of the saint himself⁵⁶? Hilduin almost certainly understood the texts' authenticity to be a strong source of validation that helped him in his immediate efforts to establish the true identity of Dionysius and define and delimit the saint's textual corpus⁵⁷. Indeed, the bulk of his lengthy reply to the emperor is devoted to these same efforts⁵⁸. Consequently, insofar as the account of the book and its miracles also served as a precedent to reassure Louis that the saint would be present in his forthcoming compendium, it functioned (whether intentionally or not) to privilege Hilduin's "authentic" volume over – and thereby undermine his reassurance about – any such copy or compilation of Dionysian material. All books of Dionysian works were special, but one, Hilduin's remarks suggest, was more special than the others. Authenticity helped effect miracles, and miracles demonstrated authenticity.

In his request, such privileging of or concern for the authentic was not what Louis had in mind. While the emperor does indeed profess his belief in the miraculous presence and power of Dionysius in the saint's books, he understands this scriptural holiness in a personal, readerly way. To Louis, the saint's presence, protection, and consolation were gained not only by

56 On such issues relating to authenticity, see A. Grafton, *Forgers and Critics. Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship*, Princeton 1990. On autographs of saints, see: C. Rapp, *Holy Texts...*, pp. 212-219; J. Vezin, *Les livres utilisés comme amulettes et comme reliques*, in: *Das Buch als magisches und als Repräsentationsobjekt*, ed. P. Ganz, Wiesbaden 1992, pp. 107-115. John Scottus Eriugena, in his commentary on the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Dionysius, referred to the Dionysian Greek manuscript at Saint-Denis as having been produced by a scribe (*scriptor*), which suggests he believed it to be a copy (rather than an autograph); see P. Rorem, *Eriugena's Commentary on the Dionysian Celestial Hierarchy*, Toronto 2005, p. 21, n. 3. G. Théry, *Hilduin et la première traduction des écrits du Pseudo-Denis*, "Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France" IX (1923) 42, pp. 29-30, n. 21; idem, *Études Dionysiennes*, I, Paris 1932, p. 19, n. 3, believed that by "authentic" Hilduin simply meant the texts by (Pseudo-)Dionysius himself, as opposed to the interpretations of his works by others.

57 A.L. Taylor, *Poetry...*, pp. 72-74; eadem, *Books...*, pp. 25-26.

58 *Exultavit cor meum...*, pp. 327-335; G. Heydemann, *Relics...*, p. 190.

proximity to a book of his texts, but specifically by giving voice – whether in prayer, conversation, or reading – to the things one learned within it⁵⁹. The emperor may have expected to possess, by way of his Dionysian vademecum, the “greatest and sweetest pledge of the desirable presence of that lord and consoler of ours, wheresoever we are”, but he understood that pledge as contingent upon the attention he gave to, and instruction and edification he achieved by, the saint’s texts⁶⁰. In this sense, the textual relic that Louis desired was closer to those collections of moral maxims and exempla, the *speculum principis*, with which he was familiar, for it was meant to be read deeply, not just incantatorily. This parallel is even suggested within the text of Louis’s second compendium itself (if we follow Taylor’s identification of its contents as the verse *Passio* of Dionysius): the saint is described as sending his writings to a servant, who, “through studying them marveled [at them], just as an obliging mirror, by which both something distorted and beautiful is revealed”⁶¹. Like those prophets and kings after whom Louis was often urged to fashion himself, Dionysius offered an exemplar and guide, but one whose salutary presence was providentially connected with reading and pious study⁶². The emperor’s renowned devotion to scripture would now be supplemented with another book, but this one would serve as an amulet, a numinous mirror in whose text he would see not just an idealized form of

59 On the *praesentia* of the saint and its relation to hagiographic narrative, see D. Appleby, *Present Absence. From Rhetorical Figure to Eucharistic Veritas in the Thought of Paschasius Radbertus*, “Quaerens Intellectum” III (2003), pp. 144-145; G. Heydemann, *Relics...*, p. 198.

60 Cf. Louis’s remark regarding the first compendium that Hilduin was to make: that its contents should provide readers with the “utility of edification”: *Quantum muneris...*, p. 327: *pariterque omnibus aedificationis utilitas provideri*.

61 M.M. Delaporte, *He Darkens Me...*, p. 238, citing and translating a section (here, 2.154-56) from Michael Lapidge’s unpublished edition of the *Passio metrica S. Dionysii*:

Apta Dorotheo transmisit scripta ministro
Quo velut hec speculum studio miratus amenum,
Per quod distortum quoddam pulchrumque patescit.

62 On exemplars suggested for Louis by contemporary counselors and critics, see: K.F. Werner, *Hludovicus...*, pp. 56-69; M. de Jong, *The Penitential State...*, pp. 120-122, also 20, 54, 93-94; C.M. Booker, *Past Convictions...*, p. 290, n. 99. On Carolingian literary mirrors for rulers, see: G. Koziol, *Leadership. Why We Have Mirrors for Princes but None for Presidents*, in: *Why the Middle Ages Matter. Medieval Light on Modern Injustice*, eds. C. Chazelle et al., London 2012, pp. 183-198; W. Falkowski, *The Carolingian speculum principis – the Birth of a Genre*, “Acta Poloniae Historica” XCVIII (2008), pp. 5-27; R. Stone, *Kings Are Different. Carolingian Mirrors for Princes and Lay Morality*, in: *Le Prince au miroir de la littérature politique de l’Antiquité aux Lumières*, eds. F. Lachaud, L. Scordia, Mont-Saint-Aignan 2007, pp. 69-86; A. Dubreucq, *La littérature des specula. Délimitation du genre, contenu, destinataires et réception*, in: *Guerriers et moines. Conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l’Occident médiéval (IX^e-XII^e siècle)*, ed. M. Lauwers, Antibes 2002, pp. 17-39. H.H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonn 1968, is foundational.

himself, but the saint, on whose company and protection he could depend, looking over his shoulder⁶³.

APPENDIX⁶⁴

In the name of the Lord God and our savior Jesus Christ, Louis, coming into favor once more by divine clemency, august emperor, to Hilduin, venerable abbot of the monastery of the most holy martyrs and of our special protectors, precious Dionysius and his companions, eternal salvation in Christ.

How much favor and protection, not only to us and to our predecessors and ancestors but even to the peoples of our entire empire, the providence of the Lord, through the most blessed Dionysius, in great abundances of kindness, bestowed again and again – nay, continuously – all the generations of Gaul have felt through times past, [generations] which by his distinguished apostleship adopted the rudiments of faith, and secured the relief of salvation. And our predecessors did not cultivate in vain the glory of this outstanding witness and friend of God; since they honored his sacred watchmen on earth with what riches they could, out of the love and respect for our Lord Jesus Christ, they deserved to obtain, through his most worthy prayers, the privilege of honor both on earth and in heaven. Indeed, just as one of the ancient kings of the Franks, Dagobert, who had venerated not inconsiderably that same most precious martyr of Christ, was both elevated to immortal life

63 Louis was not alone in holding and professing such beliefs. In her description of the moral handbook that she wrote for her teenage son William, the Carolingian noblewoman Dhuoda stresses that its text will allow him, as he reads, to look upon her as if in a mirror, thereby establishing a connection between mother and child whom distance (and soon death) has separated: “in anticipation of the day when I shall no longer be with you, you have here as a memento of me this little book of moral counsels. And you can gaze upon me as on an image in a mirror (*quasi in picturam specula*) by reading with mind and body and by praying to God”. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, 1.7, ed. P. Riché, in: *Sources chrétiennes*, CCXXVbis, Paris 1991, pp. 114, 116. Praising it as “a bold stroke of individuality” and a feature that makes the work “moving and unique”, many scholars have commented on this aspect of Dhuoda’s text – a literary mirror in which readers were meant to see not only their own idealized reflection, but also an image of the careworn mother, whose instruction helped to shape it, peering over their shoulder. See: S. Butler, *The Matter of the Page. Essays in Search of Ancient and Medieval Authors*, Madison 2011, pp. 96-98; M. Thiébaux, *Dhuoda, Handbook for Her Warrior Son. Liber Manualis*, Cambridge 1998, p. 28; K. Cherewatuk, *Speculum Matris. Duoda’s Manual*, “Florilegium” X (1988-1991), pp. 49-64; P. Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages. A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (203) to Marguerite Porete (1310)*, Cambridge 1984, p. 36.

64 For the Latin text see: *Quantum muneris...*, pp. 325-327, no. 19; BHL, p. 328, no. 2172. Michael Lapidge will offer a new critical edition of the letter in his forthcoming study, *Hilduin of Saint-Denis. The ‘Passio S. Dionysii’ in Prose and Verse*, “Mittellateinische Studien und Texte”. For commentary on the letter, see n. 9 above. I wish to thank Meg Leja and Richard Pollard for their advice and assistance with this translation.

and, through his [the martyr's] help, freed from punishments, and set most enviably in everlasting life – just as a divine and renowned revelation makes manifest.

Our ancestors also embraced, not incongruously with pious love and the most loving piety, the mellifluous name of Lord Dionysius (for in their words and writings they were accustomed to refer to him in this way). For our great-grandfather Charles [Martel], illustrious ruler of the Franks, gave thanks that he had obtained the pinnacle of rulership through the prayers of that most excellent martyr [Dionysius], and, with the time of his mortal life having run its course, he commended faithfully to the same [Dionysius] that which at great cost he was able to have buried – namely, his own body to be revived on the day of the Great Judgment, and his soul to be presented to the Lord. And by this [deed] in particular, he clearly showed the devotion and trust of his heart toward his own special patron [Dionysius]. Near the altar which [lies] before the sepulcher of the oft-mentioned and the more-often-ought-to-be-discussed Lord Dionysius – [the altar] that, by the command of that same most holy martyr [Dionysius] through a divine and remarkable revelation, was dedicated in honor of God and His apostles Peter and Paul, who were shown to be present by the blessed and angelic man Stephen, the highest bishop – our grandfather of no less holy memory, Pippin [the Short], together with his two sons, namely Carloman and our lord and father of holy memory Charles, rightly entitled “the Great”, having been anointed as king of the Franks during the sacred service of the Masses by the same apostolic pope, received the blessing of celestial favor. And [when] the course of [Pippin's] life was completed, with what great humility he ordered himself to be buried before the threshold of the basilica of the holy martyrs, even the epitaph of that tomb makes clear.

But we, too, have experienced [Dionysius's] favors in many and frequent bestowals, yet especially [when], in an event of human inconstancy, which should always be acknowledged as a just judgment of God, we were visited by the rod of His instruction, and raised up once more by the staff of his splendid mercy before the aforementioned altar through the merits and solace of our lord and most pious father, the precious Dionysius, and restored by divine virtue; and we took up again the sword-belt through episcopal judgment and authority, and up to the present we have been supported by the gracious assistance of that [martyr Dionysius].

For this reason, O venerable guardian and cultivator of that provider and helper of ours, Lord Dionysius, we wish to tell you that you should bring together into one corpus and compose thereof a uniform text, according to what you know to be a harmony of things, events, and also of times, [1.] anything of his record acquired through translation from the histories of Greeks, or [2.] whatever from books written by him in his native tongue

and, by the order of our authority, and by your wise work, and by the toil of translators, laid out into our language [that would be] fitting to be inserted into this labor, and [3.] whatever also you have now found to that end in Latin books, having added [3.1] those things which are found in the little book of his passion, not to mention also [3.2] those things which you had found in a book of very ancient charters in the chest of the church of Paris (that is, of his holy seat) and had brought to the keen attention of our serenity. [You should make this particular collection and arrangement] so that [these things about Dionysius] can collectively be made known to the devoted, [that] the grief of those less exacting, or capable, or zealous of reading can be allayed, and equally [that] the utility of edification can be provided to all.

When these things have been collected thus, we wish that you adjoin [4.] the revelation made manifest to blessed Pope Stephen in the church of the same most holy Dionysius, just as it was related by him, [5.] and the deeds subjoined to that same [*revelatio* text], [6.] together with hymns, which you have about this most glorious martyr and bishop, and [7.] a Night Office. But you are also to collect separately and with its own completeness in another volume whatever is found about him, and that you send or present it to us as soon as possible, clearly and correctly transcribed, since we believe that we have the greatest and sweetest pledge of the desirable presence of that lord and consoler of ours, wheresoever we are, if, in prayer, conversation, or reading, we speak with him or about him or things said by him.

Be well in Christ, man of the Lord, always mindful of us in your holy prayers.

ABSTRACT

Deserted by his army and captured by his rebellious sons, Emperor Louis the Pious performed a striking public penance in October 833, pledging (perhaps willingly/perhaps under duress) to retire to monastic life, and thereby to forfeit his sovereignty to his eldest son, Lothar. Within the next four months, Lothar's younger brothers Pippin and Louis the German in turn rebelled against him, combining their forces to overthrow what they claimed was his domineering and arrogant rule. In late February 834, Lothar and his troops marched to Saint-Denis in Paris. When his brothers' armies arrived outside the city, Lothar abandoned his father, whom he had held in tow, and fled, only to capitulate later that year. Upon his release, Louis the Pious was restored to power in an ad hoc ceremony at Saint-Denis overseen by bishops, and restored once again with great pomp a year later at Metz in March 835. These political events and reversals have often been recounted by modern historians, who follow the details provided by early medieval narrators loyal to Louis the Pious. Yet, an important source for these same events and their contemporary meaning has long been neglected. Shortly after his emancipation at Saint-Denis, Louis the Pious sent a letter to Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis and custodian of Denis' cult. In this letter (= BHL 2172), the emperor explains his great love for and devotion to the saint, expresses his belief that it had in fact been the saint who brought about his recent release and restoration (not coincidentally at the saint's very church), and commands Hilduin to create two books for him that gather together every piece of information

about Saint Denis. One book was to be for general use and edification, the other was meant to be a personal vademecum used by Louis for his own pious study. This rich letter has been ignored by scholars because it has long been believed to be a letter written in Louis's name by Hilduin, who thereby sought to promote his church's cult of Denis. In this article, I provide a translation of this letter, reconsider its authenticity, and explore how it might change our understanding of the contemporary meaning of the events of 833-834 if taken a request from Louis the Pious himself.

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LOUIS IV D'OUTREMER, ROI CAPTIF, ROI DÉCHU (945-946)



Le règne de Louis IV d'Outremer, fils d'un célèbre captif, se situe au cours de ces quelque trente années (920-954) constituant la phase culminante de la crise politique et institutionnelle qu'a connue, depuis la fin du règne de Charles le Chauve, le royaume des Francs de l'Ouest. Il n'est pas de notre propos de décrire dans le détail – tout au plus les résumera-t-on¹ – les multiples rebondissements de cette crise marquée autour de 922-923 par la déchéance de Charles III, père de Louis IV, au profit de deux personnages issus de la haute aristocratie du royaume. Le premier, Robert, fils de l'ancien marquis de Charles le Chauve, Robert le fort, et frère de l'ancien roi Eudes, prit la tête de la rébellion contre le Carolingien accusé d'avoir privilégié, dans le gouvernement du royaume franc, les conseils d'un favori étranger, lotharingien de naissance, et d'avoir donné à ce dernier un *honor* inclus dans le royaume occidental. Robert évinça Charles et fut sacré roi le 30 juin 922. Mais Charles III, qui tenait alors le royaume de Lotharingie où il s'était réfugié, revint un an plus tard à la tête d'une armée. Le 15 juin 923, le roi Robert trouva la mort au cours d'une bataille perdue par le Carolingien, et les grands du nord du royaume, confirmant leur rejet, élirent à la royauté le propre gendre de Robert, le duc Raoul de Bourgogne.

Le fils de Robert, Hugues le Grand, s'est contenté des *honores* et positions considérables qu'avait occupés son père avant de devenir roi: la marche de Neustrie, plusieurs grandes cités tenues directement entre Seine et Loire, l'abbatiate laïque des plus grands monastères de la région, l'influence directe

¹ Pour un aperçu plus détaillé cf. Y. Sassier, *Hugues Capet, naissance d'une dynastie*, Paris 1987, p. 80-102.

sur plusieurs évêchés de Neustrie. Durant le règne de Raoul, les relations entre la royauté et la marche de Neustrie sont devenues plus distantes: le fils du roi Robert a profité de la rivalité opposant le roi à un puissant comte de *Francia*, Herbert de Vermandois, pour s'implanter au nord de la Seine, en Artois, Ponthieu et plus à l'est, dans les régions de la Marne. Dans cette lutte pour le partage des dépouilles de la royauté carolingienne au sein du vieux pays franc, Hugues a tour à tour soutenu Herbert – à la fois son oncle et son beau-frère!² – et le roi Raoul en un jeu où dominait la considération de ses seuls intérêts³. Herbert, qui, comme l'a relaté ici-même Wojciech Fałkowski, s'était emparé de la personne de Charles III le Simple, a pu, en pratiquant le chantage à la restauration du Carolingien, placer un fils mineur à la tête de l'archevêché de Reims, mettre la main sur plusieurs cités et forteresses de la région, s'emparer même de Laon et y construire une puissante tour faisant face à la cité épiscopale. Le Robertien l'a laissé faire et parfois pris son parti. Puis, lorsque Charles est passé de vie à trépas, Hugues s'est allié à Raoul contre Herbert et a prêté la main à la reconquête systématique des positions perdues, notamment de Reims dont le fils d'Herbert est chassé au profit d'un nouvel archevêque, Artaud, choisi par le roi. Hugues a tiré de son ralliement quelques avantages substantiels⁴: lorsque meurt Raoul en janvier 936, Hugues le Grand est, sans contestation possible, le plus puissant titulaire d'*honores* du royaume et son influence domine désormais bien au-delà de la Neustrie, jusqu'au cœur de l'ancien réduit carolingien.

Tels sont, décrits très succinctement, les événements qui ont précédé le règne de Louis IV, et qui permettent d'expliquer l'état d'extrême faiblesse dont souffre la royauté au moment où le jeune Carolingien s'apprête, à la fin du printemps de l'année 936, à recouvrer le trône ancestral. Pour comprendre les difficultés du règne et expliquer l'instant le plus sombre que sera, durant l'année 945, la captivité que devra subir Louis IV, il est bon de se pencher le plus rapidement possible sur les circonstances du retour de la dynastie et sur les premières péripéties du règne. Il est évident que Louis, adolescent exilé depuis sa plus tendre enfance à la cour de son oncle le roi Athelstan de Wessex, n'a dû sa couronne qu'à la seule volonté politique d'Hugues le Grand.

Au lendemain de la mort de Raoul, Hugues, pourtant fils et neveu de rois, n'a en effet pas souhaité devenir roi. Les *Annales* rédigées entre 919 et 966 par Flodoard, chanoine de l'Église cathédrale de Reims, sont la source

2 Hugues, fils de Robert de Neustrie, est né d'un second mariage de ce dernier avec Béatrice, sœur d'Herbert II. Une fille de Robert née d'un premier mariage de celui-ci a épousé Herbert II.

3 Y. Sassier, *Hugues Capet...*, p. 98-99.

4 Ibidem, p. 98.

la plus proche de l'événement⁵. Leur auteur, très fiable sans doute quant à la réalité et la chronologie des faits qu'il relate, se montre rarement soucieux de procéder à l'analyse des mobiles qui déterminent les actes des protagonistes de son récit. Le puissant marquis de Neustrie, Hugues le Grand, candidat possible au trône, décide-t-il de restituer le trône perdu par Charles III à son jeune fils, on ne saura donc rien, en lisant Flodoard, du motif de ce choix qui vient reculer d'un demi-siècle ce qui aurait pu se faire dès 936: une nouvelle accession des Robertiens au trône des Francs de l'Ouest. Ce motif est néanmoins déductible du contexte politique de cette année 936, ou tout au moins peut faire l'objet d'hypothèses vraisemblables. Observons ainsi, après Carl Ferdinand Werner, qu'en 936 Hugues ne semble pas avoir d'enfant mâle vivant à qui confier son commandement neustrien et le gouvernement des nombreuses cités et abbayes qu'il détient en propre: son accession à la royauté l'aurait inévitablement conduit à de dangereuses délégations de pouvoir et à la dispersion des *honores* robertiens. Observons de même ce statut d'oncle par alliance – Hugues est probablement encore marié, pour fort peu de temps, à une princesse de Wessex, Eadhild, soeur de la mère du jeune Louis IV – que peut revendiquer le Robertien à l'égard du Carolingien et qui l'habilite à l'exercice d'une sorte de tutelle sur ce jeune prince de quinze ans. Hugues le Grand aurait ainsi préféré échanger le retour du fils de Charles contre la reconnaissance de sa primauté au nord de la Loire, voire sur l'ensemble du royaume: une ambition qui, de notre point de vue, pourrait exclure que le jeune roi ait été accueilli sur la plage de Boulogne par d'autres grands que ceux qui formaient cercle autour du Robertien: vraisemblablement, ni le bourguignon Hugues le noir, frère de l'ancien roi Raoul, qui a profité de l'interrègne pour s'emparer de la cité de Langres, ni le normand Guillaume Longue-épée, ni le comte Herbert alors en mauvais terme avec le marquis de Neustrie, ni les grands du centre et du sud du royaume n'ont alors prêté *commendatio* au nouveau roi ou assisté à son couronnement le 19 juin 936.

Louis IV, âgé de 15 ans, accepte d'abord la tutelle d'Hugues et ressuscite au profit de ce dernier le titre de *dux Francorum* jadis porté par les maires du palais Charles Martel et Pépin le Bref: un titre qui fait du marquis de Neustrie, selon la formule figurant dans un diplôme royal, „le second après nous dans tous nos royaumes”⁶ et se concrétise immédiatement par l'annexion d'une partie de la Bourgogne (Sens, Auxerre), arrachée à Hugues le Noir, aux territoires

5 Sur Flodoard cf. M. Sot, *Un historien et son église, Flodoard de Reims*, Paris 1993. Nous utiliserons ici l'édition des *Annales de Flodoard* de Ph. Lauer, Collection de textes pour servir à l'enseignement de l'histoire, XXXIX, Paris 1905.

6 Ph. Lauer, *Le règne de Louis IV d'Outremer*, Paris 1900, p. 12 et s.; Y. Sassier, *Hugues Capet...*, p. 103.

contrôlés par le nouveau duc⁷. Mais cette tentative d'instrumentalisation d'une royauté sans véritable assise politique échoue: le jeune roi, dès les premiers mois de l'année suivante (937), tente de reprendre en main le gouvernement du royaume: il quitte le Robertien, gagne la cité de Laon et retire à son ancien tuteur son titre ducal⁸. Hugues, en réplique, entend bien se comporter en *princeps* et conserver la prérogative – et le titre, qu'il persiste à utiliser dans ses diplômes – d'un „duc des Francs”. Il se réconcilie avec le comte Herbert et le laisse s'emparer de l'important point stratégique qu'est, face à Reims, la forteresse de Château-Thierry. Le jeune roi, quant à lui, ne dispose que de faibles ressources: la cité de Laon, qui est sa résidence habituelle, celle de Reims, tenue par un archevêque, Artaud, dont la légitimité est contestée par certains. On a vu qu'Artaud a été élu sous l'égide de l'ancien roi Raoul, en remplacement d'un fils d'Herbert et en riposte aux immenses ambitions comme aux méthodes utilisées par ce dernier pour les atteindre. Bien des grands du centre et du nord du royaume – Guillaume de Normandie, Herbert de Vermandois, Hugues le Noir de Bourgogne, frère de l'ancien roi Raoul – n'ont pas, on l'a vu, participé à la restauration carolingienne et sont indifférents ou hostiles. Dès les premiers mois de l'année 938, Le roi entreprend de reconstituer l'assise territoriale perdue après l'éviction de son père dans les environs de Laon et de Reims en tentant d'audacieux coups de main contre des places fortes tenues par le comte de Vermandois⁹. En même temps, il s'attache à nouer ou renforcer ses liens avec certains grands du royaume: avec le comte Arnoul de Flandre, probablement déjà son fidèle et allié, auprès duquel il séjourne en 938; avec le Bourguignon Hugues le Noir, contre lequel Hugues le Grand l'avait entraîné deux ans plus tôt. Hugues le Noir lui prête *commendatio* et reçoit de lui le titre de marquis. Que Louis IV ait été contraint, pour nouer ce lien, de se rendre au sein du territoire de puissance que contrôle Hugues le Noir révèle assez la grande faiblesse de l'autorité royale.

Il reste que faire d'Hugues le Noir son fidèle et lui conférer le titre de marquis, c'est remettre en cause toute velléité de primauté du Robertien sur le *regnum Burgundiae* comme sur l'ensemble du royaume. Hugues, en réplique, entreprend alors d'isoler Louis IV et commence à s'attaquer directement

7 Sur la signification du titre de *dux Francorum* cf. Y. Sassier, *Hugues Capet...*, p. 104-105. O. Guillot, *Formes, fondements et limites de l'organisation politique en France au X^e siècle, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 19-25 aprile 1990, Spolèto 1991*, p. 57-124. Sur le détail des opérations menées en Bourgogne voir Ph. Lauer, *Le règne de Louis IV...*, p. 16-17.

8 Louis IV, dans les diplômes postérieurs à 936, donne désormais à Hugues le Grand le titre de *comes*. Sur la persistance d'Hugues à porter le titre ducal, cf. Ph. Lauer, *Le règne de Louis IV...*, p. 16 et n. 2.

9 *Annales de Flodoard*, année 938.

aux intérêts royaux dans la région de Reims. Il élargit aussi ses alliances en épousant en troisièmes noces une soeur du puissant roi de Germanie, Otton 1^{er}. Le jeune roi, quant à lui, se lance dans une politique aventureuse, sans rapport avec ses moyens réels, consistant à soutenir ou tirer profit de la formidable révolte qui éclate au début de 939 contre l'autorité du roi Otton 1^{er}. Louis IV hésite dans un premier temps, puis il accepte du duc Gilbert de Lotharingie, époux d'une autre soeur d'Otton mais en rupture avec ce dernier, le trône de Lorraine qu'avait occupé son père entre 914 et 924. Lorsque meurt accidentellement ce duc, en octobre 939, Louis va même jusqu'à épouser sa veuve – il devient donc lui aussi le beau-frère d'Otton de Germanie – et tente de se rallier les nobles et les évêques de Lorraine. La riposte ne tarde pas: c'est, avant même la mort du duc Gilbert, la rencontre entre Otton et Hugues le grand accompagné d'Herbert, mais aussi – détail très révélateur de l'isolement du jeune roi – du comte de Flandre et de celui de Normandie. C'est ensuite l'attaque menée contre Reims et Laon (940) par Hugues, Herbert et Guillaume de Normandie: Louis IV perd la cité de Reims dont l'archevêque, Artaud, est aussitôt déposé au profit du fils d'Herbert, Hugues de Vermandois. Seul élément favorable au roi: l'alliance et la fidélité nouvelle du comte de Poitou et d'Auvergne, Guillaume Tête-d'Étoupe, qui, de concert avec Hugues le Noir, prête main-forte au Carolingien: Louis IV contraint les comtes révoltés à lever le siège de Laon. C'est enfin, dans le temps même où le roi libère Laon de l'étau qui l'enserrait, l'entrée en scène d'Otton le Grand qui envahit le royaume et gagne Attigny. Là, Hugues le Grand et Herbert prêtent au roi de Germanie le serment de fidélité et joignent leurs forces aux siennes, contraignant Louis IV à fuir précipitamment vers la Bourgogne¹⁰.

En 941, Hugues semble bien avoir gagné la partie: il ne reconnaît plus Louis IV comme roi et il exerce sur tout le nord du royaume une quasi-royauté dont la portée se révèle lors d'une grande assemblée qui, le 7 janvier de cette année, réunit à Paris, autour du prince robertien, cinq évêques, six comtes et un nombre important de ses vassaux portant le titre évocateur de *vassi dominici*¹¹. Cette réunion a ainsi toutes les caractéristiques d'un plaid royal, et la charte qui la relate évoque tout particulièrement la mémoire d'Éudes et

10 Ibidem, année 940: *Quo comperto, Hugo et Heribertus, relicta obsidione Lauduni, noctu ad munitonem Petraepontem deproperant; indeque Othoni regi obviam proficiscuntur. Cui conjuncti ad Atiniacum eum perducunt, ibique cum Rotgario comite ipsi Othoni sese committunt. Ludowicus rex ingressus Laudunum, victus suis providet necessaria; sicque cum Hugone Nigro et Willelmo Pictavensi Burgundiam repetit.*

11 E. Mabile, *Introduction*, dans: *Chronique des comtes d'Anjou*, Paris 1872, p. CVIII, et *Pancarte noire de Saint-Martin de Tours*, Tours 1866, n° 125. Sur la date de cet acte voir W. Kienast, *Der Herzogstitel in Frankreich und Deutschland (9. bis 12. Jahrhundert)*, Münnich-Wien, 1968, p. 58 et n. 11.

de Robert en leur donnant le titre royal. Parmi les six comtes figurent deux anciens vicomtes nouvellement promus, ceux d'Anjou et de Blois: devenu le véritable chef du *regnum Francorum*, le duc des Francs a ainsi ressenti la nécessité politique de faire entrer dans les instances de conseil et dans le cercle étroit des grands du royaume – lesquels, chez les laïques, portent ordinairement le titre comtal – des personnages qui lui étaient tout dévoués¹². Mais la puissance robertienne en inquiète plus d'un: les Aquitains qui resserrent encore les liens les unissant au roi; le roi de Germanie qui, ayant rétabli son autorité sur la Lorraine et ainsi contré les ambitions de Louis IV, entend désormais assurer l'équilibre des forces entre ses deux beaux-frères. Flodoard, sans préciser la date – peut-être vers le milieu de l'année 942 – ni le lieu de l'événement, relate en quelques mots l'entrevue des deux rois et le traité d'*amicitia* conclu entre eux¹³; puis il fait état du rôle d'entremetteur joué par le roi de Germanie pour rétablir la paix entre Hugues le Grand et Louis IV¹⁴. La pression d'Otton et plus encore, peut-être, celle de la papauté qui, marquant son attachement à l'ancienne dynastie, exige bientôt (début 942) des grands du royaume la reconnaissance de Louis IV¹⁵, fissurent l'alliance des princes du nord: avant même la paix entre Louis et Otton, le normand Guillaume Longue-épée s'est rallié au roi¹⁶; Hugues le Grand lui-même, dans les derniers mois de cette année 942, finit par s'incliner pour éviter la formation d'une coalition des ralliés: le roi Otton, souligne Flodoard, „ramena Hugues au (dans le fidélité du) roi”. La *commendatio* du Robertien est aussitôt suivie de celle du comte Herbert¹⁷.

Le conflit qui s'achève ainsi a duré près de quatre années. Louis IV n'en est pas sorti vainqueur. Sans doute sa royauté, à l'origine instrumentalisée

12 Y. Sassier, *Thibaud le Tricheur et Hugues le Grand*, dans: *Pays de Loire et Aquitaine de Robert le Fort aux premiers Capétiens*, Poitiers 1997, p. 145-157; réédition dans Y. Sassier, *Structures du pouvoir, royauté et Res publica (France, IX^e-XII^e siècle)*, p. 49 à 62, notamment p. 50-52 et p. 62, n. 47.

13 *Annales de Flodoard*, année 942: *Ludowicus rex Othoni regi obviam proficiscitur, et amicabiliter se mutuo suscipientes, amicitiam suam firmant conditionibus.*

14 *Ibidem*, année 942 (suite du texte note 13): *Multumque de pace inter regem Ludowicum et Hugonem laborans Otho, Hugonem tandem ad eundem regem convertit.*

15 *Ibidem*, année 942: *Legatus Stephani papae, nomine Damasus, episcopus Romae ob hanc legationem peragenda ordinatus, in Franciam venit, afferens litteras apostolicae sedis ad principes regni cunctosque Franciae vel Burgundiae habitatores, ut recipiant regem suum Ludowicum; quod si neglexerint, et eum amplius hostili gladio persecuti fuerint, excommunicationis depromissurum interminationem.*

16 *Ibidem*, année 942: *Rotgarius comes apud Willelmum Nortmannorum principem functus legatione pro Ludowico rege, ibidem defunctus est. Willelmus regem Ludowicum regaliter in Rodomo suscepit.*

17 *Ibidem*, année 942, texte ci-dessus note 14 suivi de: *Heribertus etiam pariter cum aequivoco filio suo ipsius regis Ludowici efficitur.*

au profit d'un seul, est désormais reconnue par la plupart des princes du royaume qui, au hasard des événements, ont fini par lui prêter le serment de fidélité. Mais elle accuse faiblesse et indigence: la cité de Reims est perdue au profit du parti adverse; celle de Laon, où il réside, se trouve isolée au coeur d'un vaste territoire pour l'essentiel contrôlé par celui qui tient toujours Reims et son archevêché, le comte Herbert. La fidélité des grands est inconstante, incertaine et donc fragile, imprimant cette même incertitude quant à la force d'action de ce jeune roi pourtant courageux et entreprenant. Ce bref état des lieux aide à mieux comprendre ce qui peut apparaître comme le pire instant de la royauté de Louis IV: l'année 945 qui est celle de sa négation.

La seconde rupture entre le roi et son duc est la conséquence indirecte de deux événements qui, de prime abord, parurent ouvrir des perspectives de renforcement pour la royauté. Le premier est le meurtre, perpétré le 27 décembre 942, du comte normand Guillaume Longue-Épée sur l'ordre du comte Arnoul de Flandre. Guillaume laissait un fils mineur, Richard. Ce dernier fut aussitôt conduit auprès du roi Louis IV qui „lui concéda la terre des Normands” et reçut aussitôt la fidélité de certains grands de Normandie. Mais d'autres Normands portèrent leur fidélité à Hugues le Grand¹⁸. Tandis que Louis IV mettait la main sur Rouen et remportait une brillante victoire sur un parti normand hostile, Hugues intervint dans la région d'Evreux, mettant la main sur cette cité. L'affaire normande révélait ainsi un conflit d'intérêts entre le roi et le chef de cette Neustrie dont relevait historiquement la terre des Normands. Le second événement source de tension est la mort du comte Herbert survenue en février 943. Il semble qu'ait été dans un premier temps conclu une sorte d'accord entre le roi et le Robertien: Louis IV entendait avoir les coudées franches en Normandie, tandis qu'Hugues souhaitait que la succession d'Herbert entre ses nombreux héritiers ne fournisse pas au roi prétexte à remettre en cause l'équilibre des forces dans le nord-est du royaume¹⁹.

Pour faire de la Normandie sa chasse gardée, le roi fit les concessions qu'attendait Hugues: Il consentit à recevoir les fils d'Herbert comme ses fidèles. Quant à Hugues, il accepta de remettre au roi la ville et le comté d'Evreux et Louis IV, à la fin de l'année 943, fit à son égard un geste lourd de conséquence: „il délégua à Hugues, nous dit l'annaliste Flodoard, le *ducatum Franciae* et soumit à son autorité toute la Bourgogne”²⁰. Il est probable, comme

18 Ibidem, année 943: *Arnulfus comes Willelmum, Nortmannorum principem, ad colloquium evocatum, dolo perimi fecit. Rex Ludowicus filio ipsius Willelmi, nato de concubina Brittanna, terram Nortmannorum dedit; et quidam principes ipsius se regi committunt, quidam vero Hugoni duci.*

19 Ibidem, année 943 et notre analyse dans *Hugues Capet...*, p. 112-114.

20 *Annales de Flodoard*, année 943: *Hugo dux filiam regis ex lavacro sancto suscepit, et rex ei ducatum Franciae delegavit, omnemque Burgundiam ipsius ditioni subjecit.*

nous l'avions souligné dans notre *Hugues Capet*, que la portée de ce titre n'est pas celle de la fonction consentie en 936. En 943 le Robertien n'est plus, aux yeux du roi „le premier après nous dans tous nos royaumes". Louis IV n'entend pas qu'Hugues puisse agir de son propre chef en Normandie; il n'entend pas non plus le laisser s'implanter en Aquitaine au détriment de la relation directe existant depuis 940 entre lui-même et les grands de ce *regnum*. En 943, le Robertien est en charge d'une fonction qui, outre le service militaire du roi dans lequel il occupe le premier rang, se cantonnera, hors de la *Francia stricto sensu*, à la seule Bourgogne dont le chef, Hugues le Noir, paraît voué à entrer dans la fidélité robertienne.

Arrangement vite rompu: Louis IV entreprend dès 944 d'affaiblir le clan héribertien dont le chef, Herbert de Vermandois, est mort l'année précédente, s'emparant d'Amiens, remportant quelques succès dans la région de la Marne, tentant ensuite (printemps 945) de déloger de Reims l'archevêque Hugues. Le duc des Francs restera hors de la lutte, mais laissera un de ses grands vassaux – le comte Thibaud de Blois qui avait épousé une fille d'Herbert – s'opposer *manu militari* aux hommes du roi. Louis IV, en même temps, doit mener campagne dans une Normandie livrée à l'anarchie et à la rébellion, où affluent des bandes danoises venues de la mer. Le roi intervient à la fin de 944 pour pacifier de nouveau la région et obtient l'aide militaire de son duc: ce dernier est chargé de s'emparer de Bayeux et s'en voit promettre la concession. Louis IV opère dans la région de Rouen et, ayant reçu la soumission directe des Normands, exige du duc des Francs qu'il abandonne le siège de Bayeux²¹. De ce moment, qui est, comme le souligne Flodoard, celui d'un nouveau durcissement de la relation entre les deux hommes, Hugues semble bien avoir désormais perdu tout rôle dans la fonction de *consilium*. À partir des tout premiers mois de 945, Louis a choisi d'intensifier ses attaques contre les héritiers d'Herbert de Vermandois qui dominent les régions proches de la Marne: il tente de s'emparer de Reims tandis que certains Normands, très probablement alliés du roi, font diversion en envahissant les terres du duc. Mais Hugues chasse ces derniers et entreprend une négociation afin d'obtenir que le roi lève le siège de Reims, puis que soient définies les conditions d'une paix entre eux. Signe que, sans qu'il y ait encore d'affrontement direct, le roi et son duc se considèrent comme étant en conflit l'un contre l'autre. Tractations sans lendemain: „Rien de certain ne fut réglé, écrit Flodoard, quant à la paix entre eux, si ce n'est qu'ils s'accordèrent mutuellement une trêve jusqu'au milieu du mois d'août"²². Flodoard aborde alors l'enchaînement

21 Sur le détail des événements de l'année 944 cf. Ph Lauer, *Le règne de Louis IV...*, p. 108-125.

22 *Annales de Flodoard*, année 945: *Quibus hoc sibi tenore datis, rex ab obsidione recedit post quintam decimam, quo civitas obsessa fuerat, diem. Igitur circa missam sancti Johannis Hugo dux*

d'événements qui, en juillet 945, aboutira à la capture du roi, puis à la faveur de cette capture, à un rejet pur et simple, par le duc, de sa personne comme porteuse du *nomen regis*.

Evoquons rapidement ces événements qui se déroulent en quatre actes.

L'acte I se situe au cours de l'été 945: Louis IV est de nouveau, à la tête d'une petite troupe, en Normandie où la rébellion semble de nouveau menacer. Le 13 juillet, il tombe dans une embuscade tendue par un chef normand installé dans cette cité de Bayeux dont le roi avait reçu huit mois plus tôt la soumission. Ses compagnons sont massacrés. Le roi s'en échappe presque seul, accompagné d'un „Normand qui lui est fidèle” et parvient à gagner Rouen où il est arrêté par des Normands „qu'il croyait être ses fidèles”²³. Tel est le sobre et laconique récit de Flodoard. Il en existe deux autres, beaucoup moins sobres, fabriqués peut-être – la chose est sûre s'agissant du premier, moins évidente s'agissant du second – à partir des *Annales* de Flodoard: l'un date de la fin du X^e siècle et émane de l'historien rémois Richer de Saint-Remi²⁴; l'autre date des premières décennies du XI^e et nous vient de Dudon de Saint-Quentin, auteur d'un *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* que l'on hésite à considérer comme une oeuvre „historique”, tant elle semble trop visiblement verser dans le double registre du récit épique et du panégyrique²⁵. Richer, quant à lui, est bien connu pour ses amplifications à partir des renseignements que, pour la portion de son *Histoire* comprise entre les années 919 et 966, lui fournit Flodoard: il se forge sa propre logique des événements et de leurs enchaînements, formule ses propres jugements sur les protagonistes des faits qu'il relate, leur prêtant des mobiles et des intentions sur lesquels

placitum cum rege per sequestres habuit, in quo nihil certi de pace inter ipsos componenda gestum, nisi tantum quod indutias ad invicem sibi dederunt usque ad medium mensem Augustum.

23 Ibidem, année 945: *Dum rex Ludovicus moraretur Rodomi, Hagroldus Nortmannus, qui Bajocis praeerat, mandat ei, quod ad eum venturus esset condicto tempore vel loco, si rex ad illum locum accederet. Veniente denique rege cum paucis ad locum denominatum, Hagroldus cum multitudine Nortmannorum armatus advenit, invadensque socios regis, pene cunctos interemit. Rex solus fugam iniiit, prosequente se quodam Nortmanno sibi fideli. Cum quo Rodomum veniens, comprehensus est ab aliis Nortmannis quos sibi fideles esse putabat, et sub custodia detentus.*

24 Sur Richer, voir l'introduction de R. Latouche à son édition de Richer, *Histoire de France* (888-995), Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge, I, Paris 1930; l'introduction à l'édition plus récente de H. Hoffmann, Richer, *Historia*, dans: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXXVIII, Hannover 2000, p. 1-16. Voir aussi: H.H. Kortüm, *Richer von Saint-Remi: Studien zu einem Geschichtsschreiber des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1985; J. Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century. The Work and World of Richer of Reims*, Cambridge 2004; J. Lake, *Richer of Saint-Rémi: The Methods and Mentality of a Tenth-Century Historian*, Washington 2013.

25 Sur Dudon voir outre les articles et ouvrages de P. Bouet, F. Neveux, *La Normandie des ducs aux rois X^e-XII^e siècle*, Rennes 1998; P. Bauduin, *La Première Normandie, X^e-XI^e siècle*, Caen 2004. Voir aussi J. Lair, *Etude critique sur Dudon* en tête de son édition du *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, dans *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*.

l'annaliste Flodoard est resté muet, leur prêtant aussi des discours qu'ils n'ont probablement jamais prononcés. Richer écrit l'histoire sans souci d'exactitude, avec pour principal objectif de faire aussi bien, dans l'effet stylistique, dans la construction rhétorique, que les grands historiens de la fin de la République ou du début de l'époque impériale romaine. Dans le récit qu'il donne de cette journée du 13 juillet, le moine de Saint-Remi amplifie ce que relate Flodoard pour souligner que le roi, séjournant à Rouen sans crainte, entouré de quelques compagnons comme à l'accoutumée, est victime d'un complot ourdi par les Normands de Bayeux, mais dont le véritable instigateur est „le duc”, c'est-à-dire Hugues le Grand. „La trahison préparée chez le duc (*apud ducem*) par des transfuges, tenue jusqu'alors secrète, éclata au grand jour grâce à l'opportunité qu'offrait le faible nombre des chevaliers qui entouraient le roi. [...] Le roi se rendit sans défiance à son (Hagrolde, maître de Bayeux) invitation, car il allait chez un fidèle qu'il n'avait nullement en suspicion”²⁶. Richer nous montre la troupe royale succombant sous le nombre, et le roi obligé de fuir protégé par un *armiger* qui se fait tuer sur place. Arrivé seul à Rouen, il est pris et détenu par ses habitants, „qui avaient conspiré avec ceux de Bayeux”²⁷. Quant au récit de Dudon, il est fait pour magnifier les faits et gestes du parti normand hostile au roi et pour jeter l'opprobre sur le Carolingien, coupable aux yeux de beaucoup de s'être réconcilié avec l'assassin de Guillaume Longue-épée, le comte Arnoul de Flandre, et de faire fi des droits de son jeune héritier; et il vient mettre l'accent sur un trait de caractère du jeune roi que semblent bien, pourtant, démentir toutes ses actions antérieures. Louis IV, dans ses faits et gestes, présente à l'historien l'image d'un prince opiniâtre, courageux voire téméraire. Dudon de Saint-Quentin, qui grossit au passage l'importance de la troupe qui accompagnait Louis IV – ce dernier était, écrit-il, *comitum et militum frequentia constipatus* – le présente comme un prince lâche, dépourvu de toute dignité: pris par les Normands, le roi serait parvenu à s'enfuir, mais rejoint par un poursuivant adverse, il ne se serait pas défendu, se jetant en larmes à ses pieds, implorant qu'il le conduisît à Laon et lui promettant en échange la moitié de son royaume!²⁸ Le chevalier normand aurait eu pitié et

26 Richer, *Histoire de France...*, I, p. 202 (47): *Dolus apud ducem a transfugis paratus, qui ante latuerat, orta opportunitate ex raritate militum, in apertum erupit. Mam dum tempestivus adveniret, ab Hagrolde, qui Baiocensibus preerat, per legationem suasoriam accersitus, baiocas cum paucis ad accercentem, utpote ad fidelem quem in nullo suspectum habuerat, securus accessit.*

27 Ibidem, p. 202-203: *Barbarus vero militum inopiam intuitus cum multitudine armatorum regem incautum aggreditur. Cujus satellitum alios saucians, alios interimens, regem in fugam cogit. Et forte cepisset, nisi ab ejus armigero ressistente ibi mox interfecto aliquantis per detentus esset. Qua mora rex velocitate per devia raptus, Rhodomum solus pervenit, urbemque ingressus, a civibus, eo quod cum baiocensibus conspirassent, captus ac tentus est.*

28 J. Lair, *De moribus...*, p. 244. Soulignons enfin que cette capture de Louis IV par les Normands, puis sa libération sur intervention de Hugues le Grand (Dudon ne parle pas d'une

aurait caché le roi dans une île de la Seine avant d'être contraint de le livrer aux Normands de Rouen.

Acte II: Des négociations s'engagent entre les Francs et les geôliers du roi en vue de sa libération. Hugues le Grand est ici le négociateur principal, assumant ainsi pleinement son rôle de *dux* et, dit Flodoard, „il s'efforce d'obtenir la libération du roi". „Les Normands, ajoute-t-il, exigent qu'on leur remette en otage les fils du roi, mais la reine Gerberge ne remet aux envoyés que le plus jeune, déclarant qu'elle ne laissera pas aller le plus grand". Finalement, l'évêque Guy de Soissons se propose lui-même comme otage, et le roi libéré est accueilli par le duc Hugues. Le récit de Richer s'en tient à la logique du complot fomenté par Hugues le Grand: celui-ci se serait aussitôt rendu à Bayeux pour féliciter les Normands de la capture du roi et réclamer qu'il lui fût livré. Les Normands refusent, exigeant la remise des princes royaux, puis finissent par se contenter du dernier né – et de l'évêque de Soissons – et remettent le roi à Hugues le Grand.

Acte III: Mais Hugues ne rend pas sa liberté à Louis IV. Flodoard dit laconiquement qu'il „le confie à Thibaud, l'un de ses fidèles, avant de se rendre à la cour du roi Otton de Germanie qui refuse de le recevoir". Flodoard, ici, évite d'évoquer par un verbe fort le maintien du roi en détention. Il est chanoine de cette église de Reims contrôlée depuis quelques années par le clan Héribertien, proche d'Hugues le Grand et, par prudence peut-être, n'entend visiblement pas prendre parti dans le conflit entre le duc et le roi. Il est réaliste aussi, comme le suggère le titre de *princeps* qu'il donne à Hugues le Grand depuis la fin des années 930: c'est bien désormais en prince, affichant autonomie d'action et primauté dans l'ordre politique franc, qu'agit Hugues. A distance de l'événement, Richer n'a d'autre souci que celui de souligner l'aspect dramatique des situations qu'il décrit: *indignatio* et *deploratio* relèvent de ces classiques figures rhétoriques dont il sait abondamment user. „Alors qu'on croyait qu'il serait reconduit chez lui par le duc, écrit-il, le roi fut placé en détention par ce dernier qui le confia à la garde de Thibaud de Tours. Il apparut alors manifeste, ajoute le moine de Saint-Remi, que le tyran avait voulu abolir l'honneur de la lignée royale par la disparition du père et de ses fils"²⁹. Puis Richer évoque l'envoi par la reine Gerberge de messagers aux rois Edmond d'Angleterre et Otton de Germanie, la réaction indignée et menaçante

seconde captivité de Louis IV), donne à Dudon de Saint-Quentin l'occasion de souligner l'autonomie complète de la principauté normande: Louis IV, au moment de sa libération aurait de nouveau reconnu que la Normandie n'était pas un bénéfice tenu du roi.

29 Richer, *Histoire de France...*, I, p. 206 (48): *Rex itaque dimissus, cum a duce in sua deduci putaretur, ab eodem detentus est ac Teutboldo Turonico custodiendus deputatur. Unde et manifestum fuit regiae lineae decus in absumptione patris et filiorum penitus abolere tyrannum voluisse.*

des deux souverains, la réponse dédaigneuse d'Hugues aux envoyés du roi Edmond ainsi que sa vaine tentative de concertation avec Otton 1^{er}³⁰.

Acte IV: au terme de près d'une année de détention sur laquelle Flodoard ne dit rien, se bornant à relater d'autres faits marquants survenus tant à Paris qu'en Italie ou de l'autre côté du Rhin, l'annaliste nous apprend qu'au lendemain d'une ambassade adressée à Hugues le Grand par le roi Edmond d'Angleterre „pro restitutione regis ludovici”, le duc des Francs tint des *conventus publicos* avec ses neveux, les héribertiens, et les *primores regni*; de concert avec Hugues le Noir „et d'autres grands du royaume”, „le duc renouvela le roi Louis, détenu depuis près d'un an par le comte Thibaud, dans la royauté”. Flodoard laisse entendre que la condition de cette restauration fut la livraison du château de Laon, que tenait la reine, à son geôlier le comte Thibaud de Blois³¹. Le texte de Flodoard montre qu'il a fallu plusieurs assemblées de grands, et par conséquent une concertation entre le duc et ceux-ci, pour rétablir dans sa fonction – dans l'*honor* et le *nomen regium* – un roi qui, dès lors, était auparavant tenu pour déchu; mais l'annaliste laisse aussi entendre que l'acte de restauration, s'il requiert le conseil des plus grands, relève d'abord de la compétence du *dux Francorum* et implique le rétablissement du lien de fidélité entre lui-même, ainsi que les autres grands, et le roi. Le récit de Richer est tout autre: il n'évoque pas une *renovatio* du *nomen regium* décidée par Hugues le Grand. La libération du roi est en outre présentée par Richer comme la suite immédiate du refus du roi Otton 1^{er} de recevoir le duc et comme une décision prise par ce dernier après consultation de ses seuls fidèles, non des *primores regni*. L'intérêt du texte de Richer est de présenter Hugues tenant au roi encore prisonnier un discours dans lequel il lui fait le reproche d'avoir tenté de gouverner en se passant de son conseil. C'est un thème récurrent dans son *Historia* que la nécessité du gouvernement par conseil: une étude déjà ancienne³² nous avait donné l'occasion d'insister sur la multiplicité des allusions de Richer au *consilium* et de constater qu'à deux reprises, le moine de Saint-Remi fait de Louis IV, dans ce registre du conseil, le destinataire et l'objet d'un jugement critique; il semble donc pointer du doigt ce qui, selon lui, aurait constitué chez ce roi – comme d'ailleurs

30 Ibidem, p. 207-208 (49-50).

31 *Annales de Flodoard*, année 946: *Hugo dux Francorum, ascito secum Hugone filio Richardi, ceterisque regni primatibus, Ludovicum regem, qui fere per annum sub custodia detinebatur apud Tetbaldum comitem, in regnum restituit; recepto Lauduno castro, quod regina Gerberga tenebat, et eidem Tetbaldo commisso. Qui dux Hugo renovans regi Ludowico regium honorem vel nomen, ei sese cum ceteris regni committit primoribus.*

32 Cf. le récit pour une fois très détaillé du déroulement du synode d'Ingelheim par Flodoard (année 947), et Y. Sassier, *Richer et le Consilium*, „Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger” 1985.

chez les derniers Carolingiens – une carence expliquant les difficultés et les revers du règne. Ici, toutefois, Richer force la note et la critique faite par le duc au roi n'a rien de bienveillante; elle est celle, hautaine et humiliante, d'un vainqueur à l'égard d'un vaincu: Hugues rappelle à Louis que c'est à lui seul qu'il doit sa royauté et que ses affaires ont prospéré tant qu'il a suivi ses conseils. Le jeune roi „s'est écarté des conseils des gens sages", se fiant à l'avis d'hommes infimes et insensés, et une catastrophe en fut le résultat mérité. Rien n'est possible sans son conseil, dit en substance le duc, appelant au retour de la *virtus* royale garante de la restauration d'une relation de confiance entre eux, „toi commandant et moi servant", et du rétablissement, „par mon intermédiaire, du service de tous les autres". „Et puisque, achève Hugues le Grand, fait roi par moi, tu ne m'as rien donné, concède au moins Laon à celui qui s'apprête à te servir; cette concession sera la *causa fidei servandae*, la cause déterminant la fidélité conservée"³³. Et Richer de nous montrer le roi, saisi (*captus*: humilié?) par les paroles de son duc, donnant Laon, recouvrant la liberté, gagnant le palais de Compiègne où se trouvaient la reine et plusieurs évêques de Belgique, se lamentant sur son sort et criant vengeance.

L'on sait que le roi humilié fut entendu et secouru. Le roi de Germanie, celui de Bourgogne Transjurane, la papauté elle-même unirent leurs efforts pour venger l'affront fait à la majesté royale. A la fin de l'été 946, une grande armée franchissait la frontière du royaume, s'emparait de Reims, mettant en fuite l'archevêque Hugues de Vermandois aussitôt remplacé par l'ancien archevêque Artaud, tentait vainement de prendre d'assaut la montagne de Laon avant de dévaster des semaines durant Neustrie et Normandie; puis vint l'appui de l'Eglise: un concile d'évêques rassemblé sur convocation du pape au palais d'Ingelheim, en territoire germanique, en présence des rois Otton et Louis IV, excommunia Hugues le Grand, confirma la déposition de l'ancien archevêque Hugues et ordonna „qu'à l'avenir nul n'osât porter atteinte à la puissance royale ni la déshonorer par un perfide attentat". La lutte dura encore trois longues années au cours desquelles le roi Louis, désormais „protégé" par la puissance ottonienne, soutenu aussi par la Flandre, put reprendre

33 Richer, *Histoire de France...*, I, p. 210 (51): *Parvum te, o rex, adversariorum insectatio in partes transmarinas olim compulit. Meo vero ingenio et consilio inde revocatus, regnis restitutus es. Post, dum mei usus fuisti consiliis, rerum secundarum prosperis floruisti. Numquam nisi tui furoris pertinacia a te defeci. Infimorum ac imprudentium hominum dispositione usus, a sapientium consiliis plurimum aberrasti. Unde et rerum calamitas digne consecuta est. Quomodo enim praeter me necessaria tibi ac gloriosa provenire arbitrare? Multum, inquam, tibi in hoc derogatum est. Jam memineris te virum esse. Consideres quoque quid tuae rationi commodum sit; sicque virtus redeat, ut in benevolentiam nos revocet, te imperantem et me militantem, per me etiam reliquos militatum tibi reducat. Et quia rex a me creatus nihil mihi largitus es, Laudunum saltem militaturo liberaliter accomoda. Quod etiam causa erit fidei servandae.*

l'initiative et rétablir par d'audacieux coups de main certaines des positions perdues: à Amiens et à Laon. Puis vint la paix entre le roi et son duc (950)³⁴.

La captivité du roi Louis IV, moins longue et moins cruelle, sans doute, que celle de son père, avait confirmé les fléaux dont souffrait depuis la fin du IX^e siècle la société politique du royaume des Francs de l'Ouest: l'autonomie d'action des plus grands et cette crise très profonde des fidélités dont témoignent ensemble les faits et gestes d'Hugues le Grand, ceux de Guillaume Longue Epée, d'Herbert et des Héribaldiens, l'indifférence de certains des ces grands, les réactions tardives de certains autres aux tragédies qu'affrontèrent trente ans durant les survivants de la race de Charlemagne.

34 Y. Sassier, *Hugues Capet...*, p. 116 et s.

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BOLOGNA

“KING OF BOLOGNA”: THE CAPTIVITY OF ENZO, KING OF SARDINIA, BETWEEN HISTORY AND MYTH



One of the most significant events of the first half of the 13th century was the conflict among the emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen, the Papacy and the communes of Lombardy and of the Po Valley; those strengths fought against the imperial vision of sovereignty intended as the universal coordination of State and Society.

The events of this conflict are well known: the antagonism between Frederick and the Holy See, restrained until the 1220, burned up in the following decades, when Italian cities divided into Guelphs and Ghibellines (although these labels were actually referred to a shifting context, whose profiles changed depending on the different alliances)¹.

The capture and the imprisonment of Enzo, king of Sardinia, natural son of the Emperor and imperial vicar general in Italy, is central to this context, and make the young Hohenstaufen the “perfect” model of prisoner king. In fact, Enzo was kept prisoner in Bologna from the moment of his capture (Spring 1249) to the day of his death (March 1272).

Enzo was defeated and captured in 26th May 1249 from the Bolognese army during the Battle of Fossalta (a small location near Modena).

¹ About the Italian communes see: G. Milani, *I Comuni italiani*, Roma-Bari 2005, pp. 4-60; F. Ménéant, *L'Italia dei Comuni*, Roma 2010. About the relationship between Frederick II and the Italian cities see: H. Keller, *Federico II e le città. Esperienze e modelli fino all'incoronazione imperiale*, in: *Federico II e le città italiane*, eds. A. Paravicini Bagliani, P. Toubert, Palermo 1994, pp. 17-33; M. Vallerani, *Le città lombarde tra impero e papato (1226-1259)*, in: *Storia d'Italia*, ed. G. Galasso, VI, *Comuni e Signorie nell'Italia settentrionale. la Lombardia*, eds. G. Andenna, R. Bordone, G. Somaini, M. Vallerani, Torino 1998, pp. 455-480.

He was taken to Bologna and sentenced to life long imprisonment; his father died the following year. As a consequence, he remained prisoner in the name of a political ideal that had started to give out at the moment of his capture, and that maintained him in the limelight of History right when **that** History had already come to an end and everything around was changing.

Recent theories suggest that Heinrich, Frederick's natural son, called Heinz (*Encius* in Latin, Enzo in Vulgar language, to distinguish him from the eldest Emperor's son, Heinrich), was born between 1216 and 1222, more likely in 1220².

His mother, of German or Italian birth, probably belonged to a middle-high lineage, as the increasing role of the young man in the political and military scenery of the Po Valley demonstrates.

Enzo's cultural interests, his military skill, his passion for falconry and poem, his knowledge of Latin and Provençal, equate him to his brother Manfred; probably the king was educated in Sicily and in Puglia, at Frederick's court³.

Both the coeval Guelph and Ghibelline sources highlight his physical beauty and his military skill; they assimilate him to his father (in fact, Enzo was considered Frederick's mirror), and portray him like the perfect knight, the bold fighter and the cultured performer.

Salimbene de Adam describes him with these words:

Erat autem rex Hentius, qui et Henricus, naturalis, id est non legitimus, filius Friderici imperatoris condam depositi, et erat valens homo et valde cordatus, id est magnifici cordis, et probus armatus, et solatiosus homo, quando volebat, et cantionum inventor et multum in bello audacter se exponebat periculis: pulcher homo fuit medioscrisque stature⁴.

Daniel Deloc, in the prologue of the French translation of a falconry treatise that Enzo had commissioned to him, marks out his pleasant personality, his value and his bravery, due to his noble lineage:

Mon seigneur autresi li roi Henri de Sardeigne qi au meemes maine emperor Frein fu filz, et qi selonc la auteçe dou lignage noble sort oz autres nobles lignages dont il fu estreit et nez, fu entechiez parfitement de totes nobles teches qi en haut et noble prince deusent estre; et de ce li portent ferm garant tuti cil qi onques lo virent, et tuit cil qi onques

2 A.L. Trombetti Budriesi, *La figura di Re Enzo*, in: *Federico II e Bologna*, Bologna 1996, p. 212; C. Sperle, *König Enzo von Sardinien und Friedrich von Antiochia. Zwei illegitime Söhne Kaiser Friedrichs II. Und ihre Rolle in der Verwaltung des Regnum Italiae*, Frankfurt am Main 2001, pp. 105-109; F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna e Re Enzo. Costruzione di un mito debole*, Bologna 2012, p. 40.

3 F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna...*, pp. 42-44.

4 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, II, ed. G. Scalia, Bari 1966, p. 480.

oient parler de sa bonaireite, de sa franchise, de sa pleniere largeçe, de sa grant cortoisie, de sa noble valor, e de sa merveilleuse proeçe, dot il sou miauz valoir de chascune d'eles a suen leu et a suen tens qe nus autres princes qi onqes terre tenist, sauve lo unor l'empereor suen père soulemant⁵.

Even if these authors belong to opposite alliances (Salimbene belongs to the *pars Ecclesiae*, Daniel Deloc to the imperial *entourage*), they use similar words to describe Frederick's son: kindness, value and bravery. The presence of these attributes in the great part of sources strengthens the credibility of this representation.

Tommaso Tosco gives the most effective definition of Enzo's personality: he is the "*falconellus, quia ad omnia expeditus, corpora levis erat*"⁶. This adjective marks out the young king's agility, and the whole metaphor is provided with an important symbolic value, too: in the hierarchy of the birds of prey, the hawk was one step below the eagle, the imperial symbol. Therefore, the author suggests that seems to state that Enzo, although legitimated, came after the legitimate heirs⁷. On the other hand, Frederick used falconry to compare himself to Nature, in order to understand and dominate it: a prince called *falconello*, thus, was anyway a perfect prince in the imperial ideology⁸.

The rebellion of Enrico, Enzo's brother, and his brother Conrad's minority⁹, facilitated Enzo in his father's political plan, above all in the *Regnum Italiae*.

In sources, the first references to Enzo are in 1238, year of his knightly ordinance and of his wedding with Adelasia, queen of the giudicato of Torres and widow of Ubaldo II Judge of Gallura¹⁰.

5 C. Frati, *Re Enzo e un'antica versione francese i due trattati di falconeria*, in: *Miscellanea Tassoniana di Studi Storici e Letterari pubblicata nella Festa della Fossalta MDCCCXVIII*, eds. T. Casini, V. Santi, Modena 1908, p. 76; H. Tjerneld, *Moamin et Ghatrif. Traités de fauconnerie et des chiens de chasse*, Stockholm-Paris 1945, p. 97.

6 T. Tosco, *Gesta imperatorum et pontificum*, ed. E. Ehrenfeuchter, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (henceforth: MGH), *Scriptores*, XXII, Hannoverae 1872, p. 515.

7 A.L. Trombetti Budriesi, *Una città e il suo re fra storia e leggenda*, in: *Bologna, re Enzo e il suo mito. Atti della Giornata di Studio (Bologna, 11 giugno 2000)*, eds. A.I. Pini, A.L. Trombetti Budriesi, Bologna 2001, pp. 19-48.

8 *Ibidem*, p. 22. About falconry as Frederick's political and social universe mirror see A.L. Trombetti Budriesi, *Introduzione*, in: *Federico II. De arte venandi cum avibus. Edizione e traduzione italiana del ms. Lat. 717 della Biblioteca universitaria di Bologna collazionato con il ms. Pal. Lat. 1071 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, ed. eadem, Roma-Bari 2000, pp. XII-XIII; Cf., with a wide bibliography.

9 About the different phases of the conflicting relationship between Frederick II and his eldest see W. Stürner, *Enrico (VII), re di Sicilia e di Germania*, in: *Federico II. Enciclopedia Fridericiana*, I, Roma 2005, pp. 517-521.

10 *Chronicon de rebus in Italiae gestis*, in: *Chronicon Placentinum et Chronicon de Rebus in Italiae Gestis. Historiae stirpis imperatoriae Suevorum illustrandae aprissima edidii et prefazione*

Frederick II legitimated Enzo in July 1239: he became the imperial vicar general in Italy, and he was confirmed as the imperial successor in the absence of legitimate heirs:

Adicientes de gratia speciali, quod si casu superveniente de nobis alius heres non superesset legitimus, prefatus Henricus rex, filius noster, successionem regnorum seu bonorum nostro rum patrimonialium aut matrimonialium cum petitione acquisiteorum vel undecumque acquirendorum tamquam heres legitimus sibi valeat vindicare¹¹.

After the legitimation, he was sent to Sardinia for the marriage – immediately excommunicated – with Adelasia. The conflict with the Papacy was thus amplified; also the relationship between Frederick and Pisa (whose interests in the island conflicted with the imperial policy) were called into question.

Enzo was created *rex Sardiniae* from his father, claiming, in this way, the imperial superiority to the Pope rights; actually, his power was limited to the giudicato of Torres, since Gallura remained under the control of the Visconti family.

The king's stay on the island was short: in fact, the Pope's pressures had caused the break of the relationships between Frederick and Genoa, which allied with Venice against the Emperor. In 1239 the Emperor himself was excommunicated for the second time.

After the turn about of Genoa, Pisa remained the only foothold for the communications with the reign of Sicily; it was necessary to reconcile with the city. Enzo was thus recalled in the Continent, but he left on the island (where he would have never come back) a vicar to represent him¹².

In July 1239 Enzo was nominated imperial vicar general for Italy; he had judicial, judiciary, economic and fiscal tasks that he had to carry out as mirror of his father, "velut persone nostre speculum"¹³.

Despite the importance of his role, the documents concerning his activity are few and not meaningful; they concern above all his judiciary power and

instruxit, ed. J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, Parisiis 1859, p. 169. See also C. Sperl, *König Enzo...*, pp. 105-252, 327-336.

¹¹ E. Winkelmann, *Zum Leben König Entio's*, "Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte" XXVI (1886), pp. 311-312.

¹² Adelasia, abandoned by her husband, submitted herself to the Pope; in 1243 she was released from the excommunication, and in 1246 she obtained from Innocent IV the annulment of her marriage with Enzo. In this way, Enzo lost the titles he had obtained with the marriage (see F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna...*, pp. 46-50).

¹³ *Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum*, II, ed. L. Weiland, MGH, *Legum sectio*, IV, Hannoverae 1896, p. 301f; J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, VI, 5, Parisiis 1854, pp. 357f.

the concession of privileges and rights to some cities of Lombardy and Marche and to several ecclesiastical authorities¹⁴. This documentary shortage is due, in part, to the continuous changing of the administrative order of the *Regnum*, and it probably reflects the imperial will of controlling, through Enzo, the wide prerogatives of the offices¹⁵.

Therefore, the young king acted above all in the political and military context of Lombardy and of the Po Valley; his father remained the author of the most important political decisions, related to the irremediable contrast between the imperial plan and the autonomy of those cities.

At the end of 1239 the young king fought in the Marca Anconetana¹⁶, and he received the second excommunication; in 1240 he was at the siege of Ravenna and Faenza; in 1241 he took part in the capture of the Genoese boats carrying to Rome the cardinals that Pope Gregory IX had convened for a council where the Emperor should have been deposed¹⁷. In 1242 he fought against the Guelph communes of Lombardy; on this occasion he was wounded during a skirmish, and he retired in Cremona, which became his operation base¹⁸. In 1243 he continued his offensive in Lombardy; in 1244 he aimed for Piacenza, but at a later stage he fell back on Cremona for the arrival of a strong force of the Lombard League.

In 1245, after the election of Innocent IV, he was excommunicated for the third time, while his father was deposed during the Council of Lyon¹⁹; in the same year, Enzo was captured during a skirmish against the Milanese forces and he was confined for a short time in the bell tower of Gorgonzola (a prefiguration of his future destiny).

In 1247 the rebellion of Parma created problems to the Ghibelline scenery of the Northern Italy: while Federico was besieging the city, Enzo had to guard its entries. In February 1248 the troops of Parma destroyed the imperial city-encampment of Vittoria (placed between Parma and Fidenza; Frederick

14 A.L. Trombetti Budriesi, *Re Enzo e Bologna, l'Impero e i Comuni*, in: *Palazzo Re Enzo. Storia e restauri*, eds. P. Foschi, F. Giodano, Bologna 2003, pp. 16-17, with several documentary and bibliographic quotations.

15 P. Cammarosano, *Legatus totius Italiae*, in: *Enciclopedia Fridericiana*, II, pp. 140-141.

16 C. Sperle, *König Enzo...*, pp. 148-152.

17 During the battle, which took place between the Isola del Giglio and Montecristo, the imperial boats faced the Genoese ones: Genoa had offered its own help to Gregory IX. The Pope wanted the French and Spanish primates to be taken to a council (announced for Easter 1241) to excommunicate and depose Frederick II. The final break of the relationship between the house of Swabia and the Church of Rome was followed by rich preys and thousands famous prisoners, *Enciclopedia Fridericiana*, I, p. 731.

18 For a clear reconstruction of Enzo's military action between 1241 and 1249 see C. Sperle, *König Enzo...*, pp. 163-198.

19 G. Arnaldi, O. Capitani, *Lione I, concilio di*, in: *Enciclopedia Fridericiana*, II, pp. 205-209.

had built it in 1247 as a winter refuge)²⁰. This defeat represented the end of the great military operations in the Po Valley, and it caused the changing of the war destiny in aid of the Holy See.

Enzo, thus, came back to Cremona, where he became the podestà of the city.

At the end of May 1249, he left with his army to help Modena, which had been attacked by the Bolognese forces; in the afternoon of 26th May he reached the river Panaro, where he met a group of enemies who were getting firewood. They started a combat²¹, and the Bolognese force, recalled by the companions' yells, crossed the river, while the cavalry was surprising the sides of the imperial army. Enzo protected the rearguard, but at Fossalta a swollen stream transformed the retreat into a catastrophic defeat.

The king surrendered, together with one thousand and two hundred infantrymen and four hundred knights, among which there were also Buoso from Dovara, head of the army of Cremona, Marino from Eboli, podestà of Reggio, and Corrado from Solimburgo²². Modena was besieged until the October of the same year, and was forced to sign the peace treaty in December.

During the following months, the great part of the prisoners was released on payment of a ransom, but Enzo's destiny was different: he was kept prisoner in the castles of Castelfranco and Anzola dell'Emilia until 27th August, and in 24th August 1249 he was taken to Bologna. Here the communal council sanctioned – in opposition to the diplomatic custom in force – to keep him prisoner until the end of his life, as a living symbol of the superiority of the city towards the Emperor.

The “*dignitas que non moritur*”, which associated the father and the son and was the keystone of Frederick's idea of royalty, had become the reason of the life – long sentence against the young king.

Furthermore, Frederick did not do much to negotiate his son's liberation: the epistolary exchange between the Imperial chancery and the Bolognese

20 F. Roversi Monaco, *Vittoria*, in: *Enciclopedia Fridericiana*, II, pp. 910-911.

21 F. Roversi Monaco, *Fossalta*, in: *Enciclopedia Fridericiana*, I, pp. 658-666, *passim*.

22 Among the chronicles about the battle see in particular Pietro Cantinelli, *Chronicon (a.a. 1228-1306)*, ed. F. Torraca, in: *Raccolta degli Storici Italiani* (henceforth RIS), XXVIII, 2, Città di Castello 1902, p. 6; P. Villola, *Cronica*, in: *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. A. Sorbelli, RIS, XVIII, 1, Città di Castello-Bologna 1910-1940, p. 126; Matthaei de Griffonibus, *Memoriale historicum de rebus Bononiensium (1448 a. C. - 1472 d. C.)*, ed. L. Frati, A. Sorbelli, RIS XVIII 2, Città di Castello 1902, p. 12; G. Ortalli, *Alle origini della cronachistica bolognese, il Chronicon Bononiense (o Cronaca Lolliniana)*, Roma 1999, pp. 53-54; C. Sperle, *König Enzo...*, pp. 199-204. In the list of the prisoners there are the names of those who were closed in the New Palace with Enzo: Marino from Eboli, Corrado of Solimburgo, Antonino dell'Andito and Buoso from Dovara, L. Frati, *La prigionia del re Enzo a Bologna con appendice di documenti*, Bologna 1902, pp. 90-114.

commune (that for a long time was attributed to Pier delle Vigne and Rolandino Passaggeri), is so frail, from a textual point of view, to be considered a simply private exercise lacking of any reflection of a real diplomatic attempt.

According to this tradition, Frederick sent to Bologna a harsh and disdained letter, where he required the immediate liberation of his son. He would have received a likewise harsh response, where the Bolognese reaffirmed their will to "hold" the prisoner king forever: "sappiate che tenemmo in nostra mano Re Enzo, che lo teniamo e lo terremo"²³.

Actually this correspondence, apart from its authenticity, remained an *unicum*; in a letter of June 1249, sent to the citizens of Modena who were painful for the young king's destiny and for the one of the Empire, Frederick seemed to attribute only a partial value to the defeat, and he also underplayed Enzo's capture:

sed cum bellorum facta sint dubia et serenitatis nostrae gremium abundet copia filiorum, equanimiter huiusmodi nova suscipimus, et nostrae potentiae dexteram tanto propterea fortius in rebellium nostrorum potenter acuerit, et in detrimenta nos hostium ardentissime provocarit²⁴.

The Emperor, in fact, did not renew his own attempts, as if his *copia filiorum* did not make it necessary. In 1250 Frederick II died: he had not mentioned Enzo in his will; he had denied the suffered defeat and, as a consequence, also the existence of that son who had served him so faithfully, the hawk next to the eagle who had almost become the eagle itself.

The Emperor's death, however, did not prevent from a political re-elaboration of the defeat of Fossalta and of Enzo's capture in the city area; actually, it amplified the importance of the existing conflict (that was turning in favour of the Guelphes' forces).

Certainly the Bolognese pride grew up, as testified by the chronicles (also Ghibellines), which relate the episode with abundance of details, and place the city pride before the faithfulness of the parts engaged in the conflict. In this way Enzo's political myth arose, and he became the heroic and tragic

²³ For the edition of the letters see J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi...*, VI, 2, 737f; M. Giansante, *Pier delle Vigne e Rolandino Passaggeri: un duello di cancellerie fra mito e storia*, in: *Bologna, re Enzo e il suo mito...*, p. 123. For an accurate analysis see: idem, *Retorica e politica nel Duecento. I notai bolognesi e l'ideologia comunale*, Roma 1999, pp. 61-69; idem, *Tradizione retorica e simbologia biblica nello scambio epistolare fra Federico II. e il Comune di Bologna per la cattura di Re Enzo*, "I quaderni del M.A.E.S." IV (2001), pp. 135-161.

²⁴ J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi...*, VI, p. 739; L. Frati, *La prigionia del re Enzo...*, pp. 117-118.

protagonist of the “laic hagiographical legend”²⁵ that started to take form among History, memory and myth.

The king of Sardinia was taken to Bologna in 24th August 1249. The entrance of the winner army in the city was a great happening:

Et prima furono ornate tutte le vie di verdeggianti rami d'alberi, con panni d'arazzo. Poi tutto il Senato coi cittadini si addobbarono di ricche vesti e parimenti fecero le donne. Ordinate le cose mandò il Senato molti cittadini a cavallo incontro al capitano fino ad Anzola, acciò lo conducessero alla città, ove entrò con quest'ordine. Prima successero li trombetti sonando alla battaglia, poi seguitavano alcune squadre di cavalieri leggieri. Dopo loro venivano li fanti a piedi, coronati di quercia a cinque a cinque, con li tamburini et loro bandiere strascinando le bandiere pigliate de'nemici nella battaglia dietro loro per terra [...] Dietro alli fanti era tirato il carroccio tutto ornato, insieme con li buoi (che lo conducevano) e col bifolco, di scarlatto; sopra il quale era lo stendardo colle insegne del Senato e del popolo bolognese [...] seguivano il carroccio i prigionieri legati a due a due, e ultimamente il re Enzo, sopra un muletto. Stavano intorno ai prigionieri molti soldati, avendone cura che non fuggissero [...] Ognuno desiderava di vedere il Re con quelli altri prigionieri. Certamente era gran spettacolo questo a vedere prima le spoglie de' nemici e poi tanti nobili prigionieri; ma maggior era a vedere il re Hentio (che non passava ventiquattro anni), bello di corpo, con un'angelica faccia, avendo i capelli biondi istesi fino alla cintura²⁶.

“Biondo era, e bello, e di gentile aspetto”²⁷: Dante's verse about young Manfred is the model of Enzo's iconography, and it is confirmed by the contemporaries' descriptions, where the detail of the young king's blonde and leonine hair often recurs.

Enzo was confined in the New Palace of the commune, which later became King Enzo's Palace. The structure was built between 1244 and 1246 as a shield for the war machines and a place for the councils of the commune.

Enzo was placed in the garret, which was easier to be guarded and more suitable for the famous prisoner's needs. The height of the room, of about 7 metres, facilitated the partition of the space in lofts. They were accessible through internal stepladders and through the construction of a “bussola”, which was a sort of box, slightly elevated in respect to the floor and made of

25 A.I. Pini, *Origine e testimonianze del sentimento civico bolognese*, in: idem, *Città, Chiesa e culti civici in Bologna medievale*, Bologna 1999, p. 218.

26 Leandro Alberti, *Historie di Bologna*, I, Bononiae 1541 (Bologna 1970), p. 17.

27 Dante Alighieri, *Commedia*, Purgatorio, III 105-108, eds. U. Bosco, G. Reggio, Firenze 1985, p. 54.

wooden boards held together by iron clamps, closable outside and useful to contrast the Winter harshness, but also to pledge a private space.

Probably the description of this small room²⁸ originated some tales which accentuated the harshness of the king's imprisonment, relating that he was closed in an iron cage, similar to a torture tool, hung at the ceiling with a chain (Fig. 1)²⁹.

Sources are contradictory about this subject: it can be observed an alternation of dramatic descriptions (like the one of the fast imposed to the prisoner, remembered by Salimbene de Adam) and the image of a *honesta custodia more regio*, more suitable for a king³⁰.

The city Statutes are very useful to understand this matter, since they show a constant attention to Enzo's captivity.

A law issued in January 1252 regulated the prisoner's detention: it was committed to sixteen guards at least thirty years old, renewed every fifteen days, recalled from their service after six months and rewarded with two pennies a day; other keepers had to guard the other entries of the palace³¹.

In 1259 it was decided that the guards had to be 25 years old; nobody could talk to the king without the permission of the communal council, and one of the podesta's soldiers had to close in the prisoner every night after the bell ring; he had to look after one of the room keys, while the other one was kept by the guards. Finally, the guards were strictly forbidden to play ad “aççardum vel aliquod aliud ludum”, or to talk to the king or to the other prisoners.

From 1262 the guard's financial burden was shouldered by the commune, because of the prisoner's impoverishment.

In 1263 it was ordered to send Conrad from Solimburgo to another prison, in order to mitigate the king's incarceration, which had become unbearable

28 *Annales Ianuenses, a. 1249-1264*, MGH, *Scriptores*, XVIII, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hannoverae 1863 (Stuttgart 1990), p. 227: *Et captis ipso rege et multis militibus et peditibus Mutinensibus et Cremonensibus, Bononiensibus cum victoria et triumpho Bononiam feliciter redierunt. Ipsum autem regem in quadam aula palatii Bononiensis carceri et magnae custodiae manciperunt; omnes enim fenestras ferro clausurunt, et in medio aulae cameram lignis et ferro firmatam et suspensam a solo aulae fecerunt, in qua camera in qualibet nocte includitur, custodiis undique circumpositis*. See: F. Bergonzoni, *Il palazzo di Re Enzo in Bologna*, in: *Federico II e Bologna*, Bologna 1996, p. 298; F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna...*, p. 60f.

29 Among the sources, Giovanni Villani's *Chronica* stands out; in the Code Vat. Lat. Chig. L. VIII. 296 a miniature represents Enzo about to be closed in an iron cage, G. Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. G. Porta, Parma 1991, p. 325: [...] *sconfissollo e lui misono in carcere in una gabbia di ferro e in quella con grande misagio fini sua vita a grande dolore*.

30 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica...*, I, p. 480; Riccobaldi Ferrariensis, *Historia imperatorum*, in: L.A. Muratori, RIS, IX, Mediolani 1726, c. 131; *Chronicon Fratris Francisci Pipini Bononiensis*, in: *ibidem*, c. 657.

31 L. Frati, *La prigionia del re Enzo...*, pp. 119-120.

because of this cohabitation³². In 1253 a group of prisoners had escaped: it has been suggested that Enzo and Conrad's detachment after ten years was an attempt to avoid the danger of an escape. Actually, in absence of documentary sources, it is more likely to suppose a psychophysical worsening of the German noble, who might have gone crazy.

Furthermore, the king's captivity became, year after year, always more acceptable: Enzo had at his own disposal servants and pages, cooks, a tailor, a shoemaker, a goldsmith, some doctors, a notary and a money changer; they were all remembered in his will.

He also entered into friendship with many Bolognese nobles, for example Pietro degli Asinelli, "cavaliere gioviale e bel dicitore, sì anche perché possedeva la lingua tedesca assai bene"³³.

He quoted three daughters in his will (none of them was born from his marriage with Adelasia of Torres): this is a witness of the king's love relationships. The outward contacts are witnessed, on the other hand, by some letters addressed to Buoso of Dovara, who had been released in 1251.

Enzo's sister, Caterina, moved to Bologna in 1270 to keep closer to him.

Probably in the last years Enzo could also stay under the portico of a palace: a document of 1284, concerning an argument, relates, as extremity of this event, an arcade "ubi consuetus erat morari dominus Rex iusta viam publicam". It confirms, thus, Enzo's name popularity, as well as the hypothesis of his freedom of movement, although restricted³⁴.

Sources lack of political evaluations about Enzo's presence in Bologna, as though the simple fact of "keeping" him would make unnecessary every explicit recall to its symbolic function, in a context where, anyway, the idea of a universal Empire as regulating value for the society was already outdated been overtaken.

On the other hand, what emerges in the sources is the difficulty of understanding in a unique way the prisoner's existence: he was, at the same time, closed every night in the cell after the bell ring, but free of walking under the portico; he could not talk to his guards, but he could spend his time with Pietro degli Asinelli, speaking his native idiom; he was plunged into solitude, but he was the father of three daughters and he was a grandfather too; he was forced to alienation, but he was also a scientist and a poet. Salimbene defines him "Cantionum inventor" indeed.

³² *Non potest ducere vitam suam et ipse longo tempore passus fuerit societatem intollerabilem et ineptam*, in: L. Frati, *Statuti di Bologna dall'anno 1245 all'anno 1267*, III, Bologna 1877, lib. XI, r. LIII, p. 306; r. LXXXVI, p. 334; r. CXCIV, p. 490.

³³ C. Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna*, II, Bologna 1596 (Bologna 2005), p. 183.

³⁴ F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna...*, p. 62.

It has already been said about his education at his father's court, where he could attend the poets of the Sicilian School³⁵. The codes attribute him four texts, characterized from the precepts of that school, which assimilated the love service to the feudal relationship: the beloved's value was total, the loving one's was invalid, and the loved woman was like the lord to whom the vassal owed loyalty and devotion³⁶.

Enzo is considered the one who introduced the Sicilian lyric in Bologna³⁷, and his compositions propose again the courtly poems, revived from the hints to his own painful experience, in the sad awareness of the Fortune's power on the human destiny.

Two poems, in particular, reflect these feelings: the song *Amore mi fa sovente* and the sonnet *Tempo vene che sale chi scende*³⁸. The end of the song entrusts Enzo's memory to the *canzonetta*, and remembers, with nostalgic tones, *Toscana, tutta cortesia*, and *Puglia piana, la magna Capitana, là dov'è lo mio core nott'e dia*³⁹. The sonnet, on the other hand, highlights the cruel variability of Fortune⁴⁰, the pain coming from this knowledge and from the powerlessness against this fact:

tempo vene che sale chi discende
 e tempo da parlare e da tacere
 e tempo d'ascoltare a chi imprende
 e tempo da minacce non temere
 e tempo d'ubidir chi ti riprende
 tempo di molte cose provvedere.

Furthermore the king, during his captivity, commissioned to Daniel Deloc the translation from Latin to Provençal of the *Moamin*, which represents, together with the *Ghatrif*, one of the main Islamic essays about falconry. In the prologue, Daniel states that the king marked the French version "en la cité de Bologna", and describes him with the words quoted above.

Enzo, therefore, contributed to divulge the French language and the art of falconry in Bologna; it has been suggested that Enzo himself was the customer of Frederick's treatise on hunting *De arte venandi cum avibus*, preserved in Bologna.

35 R. Antonelli, *Introduzione*, in: *I poeti della scuola siciliana*, I: *Giacomo da Lentini*, ed. idem, Milano 2008, pp. XVII-LXXVII; *I poeti della scuola siciliana*, II: *I poeti della corte di Federico II*, ed. C. di Girolamo, Milano 2008, pp. XV-CII.

36 The texts consist of the two songs *S'eo trovasse pietanza*, and *Amor mi fa sovente*, which are part of the sonnet *Tempo vene che sale chi discende*, and of a fragment of the song *Alegru cori plenu*, C. Calenda, *Re Enzo*, in: *I poeti della scuola...*, pp. 714-750.

37 R. Antonelli, *Introduzione...*, XXIV-XXVI.

38 C. Calenda, *Re Enzo*, pp. 719-727, 747-750.

39 Ibidem, pp. 719-721.

40 Ibidem, p. 748.

Since Enzo commissioned the translation of the *Moamin* to Daniel Deloc, it could be possible to bestow him also the initiative of copying and painting in miniature the work *De arte venandi*⁴¹.

Poet, reader, customer of scientific essays, host of a literary and poetic circle: the possibility of receiving visits, of sending and receiving correspondence, of having love affairs, stated by the sources, is a witness of Enzo's captivity peculiarity: it was, *in primis*, symbolic, although set by the bell ring and by the locks clang.

His every day life carried on inside almost ritual boundaries, codified by the communal legislation; it can not be compared to the life of a real prison, because of the prisoner's royal nature and his cultural capacities.

Nonetheless, the mitigation of his captivity could not avoid the falling of hope for his freedom, also because the only release attempt had been the imperial letter following his capture.

None of his brothers worked to obtain his liberation; no source seem to talk about the silence he was sentenced to; on the other hand, there are many references to the material aspects of his captivity, always more soaked of legendary elements.

The imprisonment became something on itself, and its causes were forgotten; it led also to the loss of every reference to the historical and political context that had originated it. The context had changed, and nobody wondered anymore about the reason of the cruel oblivion inflicted to the once a time favourite son of Frederick II.

On the other hand, during his twenty years long captivity Enzo was a poet and a writer, a cultured host and a lover: so he lived; but he lived in a hanging time, anchored to a recent but already dead past, in an artificial present lacking of every future.

In 6th March 1272, seriously ill, he dictated his last wills in front of the communal authorities and the deeper friends: Bonanno, the Dominican's prior, Luchetto Gattilusio, the podestà of the city, and the Captain of the People Accursio Lanzavecchia⁴² (whose presence was a sign of the homage that the commune bestowed to its prisoner, and a rare, clear example of the institutional relationships maintained with him).

In his will Enzo considered himself his father's legitimate heir, provided with full succession rights; according to this principle, he arranged goods, in compliance with the legitimacy act of 1239: he mentioned Enrico and Ugolino, his daughter Elena and Guelfo of Donoratico's children as heirs of the kingdom of Sardeny; he addressed the reigns of Sicily, Arles, the Swabia dukedom and all the imperial rights to Alfonso X, king of Castile, and to his

41 See supra, n. 13; A.L. Trombetti Budriesi, *Introduzione...*, p. LXXX.

42 For the edition see L. Frati, *La prigionia del re Enzo...*, p. 123f.

nephew Frederick III of Thuringia (he left him also the duty of paying the debts and his sister Caterina's alimony). He probably knew Alfonso's ambitions to the imperial throne, and in this way he implicitly recognised them.

He bestowed one thousand golden *uncias* to his three daughters, Maddalena, Costanza and Elena.

Several devises, probably never settled, were reserved to his Bolognese friends, to his servants, to his two cooks, to the shoemaker, to the tailor, to the valets responsible of his own person and to the doctors that the commune had provided him⁴³.

On 14 March 1272 Enzo died, after having forgiven Bologna for the long captivity and after having implored benevolence for his funeral. The commune bestowed him all the honours consonant with his lineage:

e fu balsemado e vistido de guarnazza e de cappa de scarlacto foderado de varo cum una diadema d'oro e d'ariento e de pedre preciose in testa, e si havea una verga d'oro in mano e dui coverturi frodadi de varo, uno de scarlacto et uno de samito⁴⁴.

His body, thus, was embalmed according to an ancient ritual; this highlighted the principles of legitimacy through which, from active enemy, (the *hostis*), Enzo became, in the city perception, the *hospes*, the foreign guest, worth of all the honours and the power symbols (sword, spurs, a gold and a silver crown) representative of the great kings⁴⁵. Like a great king, he was buried in the church of Saint Dominic⁴⁶.

Frederick's son capture and imprisonment recently acquired an important symbolic function in the city awareness: Enzo was the most insight man after Frederick II, and he inspired historical and literary tales, centred on the mythical aspects of his captivity.

Ghibelline texts mark out his deplorable harshness; the Guelph ones highlight his greatest pleasantness; the tale of the king's capture was enriched

43 F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna...*, pp. 66-69.

44 *Cronaca Rampona*, in: *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, ed. A. Sorbelli, RIS, XVIII, 1, 4, Città di Castello-Bologna, 1906-1939; the *Chronicon Faventinum* (11) narrates that Enzo was buried "cum maximo honore", and also Salimbene (II, 708) and Matteo Griffoni talk about his body's embalming (Matthaei de Griffonibus, *Memoriale historicum...*, p. 20).

45 About this matter see P. Pirillo, 'Lo Re Enzo figliuolo dello imperadore'. *Bologna e la legittimazione dell'alterità*, in: *Bologna, re Enzo e il suo mito...*, pp. 251-261.

46 There are no traces of the original burial, but according to a register of 1291 it can be supposed that he was buried in the presbyteral zone of the church; in 1376 the sarcophagus was removed because of some works and put aloft; in 1533 the funeral monument was restored, and in 1586 Enzo's remains were taken from the original sarcophagus to a small case walled in and covered with a marble plate. In the 19th century, during some restore works, the tomb was situated in the current position, see F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna...*, p. 69, n. 141.

with details improving the symbolic event of the History of the commune, also through creative inventions.

Therefore, Enzo would not have been captured during the battle, but he would have been recognised by a Bolognese soldier after having disguised himself to explore the enemy positions. The soldier would have jumped on his horse and would have blocked the king's harms, guiding him and the animal towards his companions⁴⁷. This is a very particular elaboration, which highlights the ingenuousness of one who was considered an extraordinary fighter; at the same time, it reduces the *milites bononienses'* value, since they had become only the beneficiaries of a stroke of luck.

It has already been quoted the cage hanging from the ceiling, where Enzo would have been closed and tied every night, to avoid an attempt of escape⁴⁸.

Also Salimbene relates an episode casting a sinister light on the prisoner's conditions: one day Enzo's guards refused to feed him; friar Albertino from Verona, a Franciscan preacher, proposed them to play dice, asking for the king's food in case of victory⁴⁹. This narration is in a strong contrast with the punctilious description of the prisoner's meals related by Jacopo from Acqui, who states that the king had to receive every day bread, wine, fruit and a cake made of the things he liked most⁵⁰.

Salimbene avoids the *cliché* of the Guelph texts, which probably softened the characteristics of the captivity, and he shows his own respect for the king: "inter omnes vero filios quos habuit imperator Fridericus [...] plus valuit Hencius rex Sardinie"⁵¹.

From this point of view, the "dynastic" silence on the king of Sardinia, which has already been marked out, appears really deafening: the worthiest son of the king, removed from his role for a case that was really frequent in conflicting situations, merited only an attempt of liberation through a letter that, for a long time, was considered spurious.

Some Bolognese texts tried to rebuild a wider tradition, maybe with the aim of filling this deafening silence: Enzo himself would have offered, in return for his freedom – "per soa scampa" – "uno cerchio de argento largo et longo che circondasse Bologna intorno"; the silver circle became gold and,

⁴⁷ *Corpus Chronicorum Bononiensium*, p. 127; Matthaei de Griffonibus, *Memoriale historicum...*, p. 2. Enzo would have been tied with golden chains and fetters, in order to distinguish him from the other prisoners (L. Frati, *La prigionia del re Enzo...*, p. 10).

⁴⁸ See supra, pp. XXXX; A. Antonelli, R. Pedrini, *Appunti su Re Enzo nella cronachistica bolognese tra il XIII e il XVI secolo*, in: *Federico II e Bologna*, Bologna 1996, pp. 259-260.

⁴⁹ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica...*, I, p. 480.

⁵⁰ *Chronicon imaginis mundi*, III, cc. 1588-1589 (quoted by L. Frati, *La prigionia del re Enzo...*, pp. 138-139).

⁵¹ Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica...*, II, p. 684.

finally, it was promised by the Emperor himself. In this way, Frederick was given back by a fictitious memory to his role of father, careful for his *copia filorum*; despite that, the Bolognese did not bend and King Enzo remained at their mercy⁵².

Nonetheless, those attempts did not take roots, and, above all, they remained connected to a local dimension.

Gina Fasoli identified two phases in the political "invention of the tradition"⁵³ of Enzo of Swabia: the first one is close to the events, and was built on the capture, the imprisonment and the assignment to the king of a definite role in the clashes among the city alliances that led to the decline of the Bolognese commune⁵⁴.

The second one (15th century) is connected to the success of the Bentivoglio's *Signoria* and to the definitive establishment of the Pope's government; this tradition was characterized by a real process of re-invention: next to the military values of the commune, the friendly relationships between the king and the Bolognese aristocracy were highlighted. So the famous prisoner was bestowed of the role of forefather of the noble family⁵⁵.

In the rare 13th and 14th centuries chronicles⁵⁶, Enzo is related to the beginning of the fights among city factions, in particular starting from 1274. The king's demise would have coincided, thus, with the end of peace and harmony established on the commune of the people⁵⁷; this interpretation equates the sources of the both factions.

In the *Serventese dei Lambertazzi e Geremei*, anonymous poem of the Guelph range (dated to the beginning of the 14th century⁵⁸), the origin of the *partes* is

52 Cronaca Rampona..., p. 127; Cronica gestorum ac factorum memorabilium civitatis Bononiae edita a fratre Hyeronimo de Bursellis (ab urbe condita ad a. 1497), ed. A. Sorbelli, RIS, XXIII, 2, Città di Castello 1911-1929, p. 25.

53 E.J. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger, *L'invenzione della tradizione*, Torino 2002.

54 About Bologna in the 13th century see: R. Greci, *Bologna nel Duecento*, in: *Storia di Bologna*, II: *Bologna nel Medioevo*, ed. O. Capitani, Bologna 2007, pp. 499-579; G. Milani, *Il Medioevo nelle città italiane*. Bologna, Spoleto 2012, pp. 31-49; for the fights among the city factions see: G. Milani, *L'esclusione dal Comune. Conflitti e bandi politici a Bologna e in altre città italiane tra XII e XIV secolo*, Roma 2003; S. Menzinger, *Giuristi e politica nei comuni di popolo. Siena, Perugia e Bologna, tre governi a confronto*, Roma 2006; F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna...*, pp. 5-36, with a wide specific bibliography.

55 G. Fasoli, *Re Enzo tra storia e leggenda*, in: G. Fasoli, F. Bocchi, A. Carile, A.I. Pini, *Scritti di storia medievale*, Bologna 1974, p. 919.

56 About the Bolognese historiography between the 13th and the 14th centuries see F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna...*, pp. 71-75, with bibliographic indications.

57 O. Capitani, *Città e Comuni*, in: *Storia d'Italia UTET diretta da G. Galasso IV Comuni e Signorie: istituzioni, società e lotte per l'egemonia*, eds. O. Capitani, R. Manselli, G. Cherubini, A.I. Pini, G. Chittolini, Torino 1981, pp. 43-47; G. Milani, *I comuni italiani. Secoli XII-XIV*, Roma-Bari 2005, pp. 82-88; idem, *Bologna...*, pp. 41-49.

58 For the edition see *Serventese dei Lambertazzi e dei Geremei*, in: *Poeti del Duecento*, ed. G. Contini, II, Napoli 1960, pp. 843-875; For the dating and the comparison with the coeval

bestowed to Enzo's presence in the city. This was due also to the Ghibelline attempts to release the young man; from this point of view, he was considered the indirect responsible of the ruin that affected Bologna after his death, because, without him, the factions would have never formed.

At the same time, the poet can not deny that during the twenty years long king's imprisonment, the equilibrium between the parts had always been maintained, and the clash happened only after Enzo's death. Enzo is considered, thus, the guarantor of the city harmony (although responsible for its internal divisions), but also the detonator of the conflicts that were actually working from an ancient time: the alliances had been defined apart from the presence of the imperial heir (that was a fortuitous element in respect to the institutional development of the commune).

Probably the allusion to Enzo's role in the fratricide fights is due to the fact that his death was contemporary to the explosion of the conflicts; it must be remembered, furthermore, the symbolic importance of his funeral, which was suitable to be considered the starting or the final point of the coeval political processes.

The relationship of causality between Enzo's capture and the city harmony structured the political myth until the beginning of the 15th century, when the Historical narration about the captive king changed meaningfully, in connection with the political and institutional evolution of Bologna.

The development of the institutional orders always leads to the changing of the political necessities and of the representation of History too, in a process of continuous reinvention of the past, rebuilt according to a present that must be legitimated.

From the beginning of the 13th century, the autonomy of the Bolognese commune decreased: it was characterised by an alternation of *Signorie ante litteram*, "external" and "internal" *Signorie*, legations, uncertain returns of the communal regime, lordships more durable than others, under the "sword of Damocles" of the Pope's supremacy.

The political dynamic was divided into the evolution of the conflicting relationship with the Pope (in the sense of a "libertas contratta", as necessity of "confronto, obbligato e costante, con la Chiesa"), and the affirmation of the Bentivoglio's power⁵⁹.

texts see G. Milani, *La memoria dei rumores. I disordini bolognesi nel 1274 nel ricordo delle prime generazioni: note preliminari*, in: *Le storie e la memoria. In onore di Arnold Esch*, eds. R. Delle Donne, A. Zorzi, Firenze 2002, pp. 287-290.

⁵⁹ T. Duranti, *Diplomazia e autogoverno a Bologna nel Quattrocento (1392-1466). Fonti per la storia delle istituzioni*, Bologna 2009, 12f.

From 1463 Giovanni II Bentivoglio was the head leader of the city government: he gave life to a city epic based on his figure⁶⁰, through the promotion of magnificent architectural interventions and majestic city celebrations, with the help of the council of humanists that he had created around himself. The memorial re-elaborated version of Enzo's figure is part of this political culture: it was no more recalled his responsibility in the clash among the various factions, but it was highlighted the value of the 13th century's commune, which had defeated an exceptional warrior of imperial lineage. The fight between Frederick II and the communes, the relationship among Bologna, the Pope and the Emperor did not matter anymore; in the same way, also Enzo's capture and its insertion in a local conflict (but also in the general context of the imperial project), did not matter anymore, and it was narrated superficially, without any interest for the political and ideological meaning of the royal imprisonment.

There occurred the loss of the "conscious passion" for the meaning of those events in the collective awareness; the historical narration was deprived of references about the fundamental events of an already outdated context; at the same time, it was free to fill in with "invented memories" the emptiness left by the lack of a still conscious memory⁶¹.

Therefore the legendary aspects of the imprisonment were emphasised and, above all, it started a process of "filiation" of Enzo from the eminent families of the city: it suggested the existence of a friendly relationship between the king and some nobles of the city, and it led the powerful Bentivoglio's family to claim its lineage from the Hohenstaufen.

The new elaboration of Enzo's life events found its own space above all in Giovanni Garzoni's work⁶²: he was a literate, a humanist and the counsellor of Giovanni II Bentivoglio. In *De bello mutinense*⁶³, he describes in detail the

60 A. de Benedictis, 'Quale corte' per quale 'signoria'? A proposito di organizzazione e immagine del potere durante la preminenza di Giovanni II Bentivoglio, in: *Bentivolorum magnificentia. Principe e cultura a Bologna nel Rinascimento*, ed. R. Basile, Roma 1984, pp. 13-33; A.L. Trombetti Budriesi, *Giovanni II e i Bentivoglio a Bologna*, in: *Il castello di Bentivoglio. Storie di terre, di svaghi, di pane tra Medioevo e Novecento*, ed. A.L. Trombetti Budriesi, Bologna 2006, p. 41; F. Bacchelli, *L'insegnamento di umanità a Bologna tra il Quattrocento e il Cinquecento*, in: *Storia di Storia di Bologna*, III: *Bologna nell'età moderna II. Cultura, istituzioni culturali, Chiesa e vita religiosa*, Bologna 2008, p. 162f.

61 G. Milani, *La memoria dei rumores...*, pp. 291-292; about the evolution of the cultural and invented memory see: J. Assmann, *La memoria culturale. Scrittura, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche*, Torino 1997, p. 12f.; eadem, *Ricordare. Forme e mutamenti della memoria culturale*, Bologna 2002, pp. 10-24.

62 About Giovanni Garzoni see A. Mantovani, *Introduzione. Giovanni Garzoni e le Historiae Bononienses. Uno storico umanista alla corte dei Bentivoglio*, in: G. Garzoni, *Historiae Bononienses*, ed. A. Mantovani, Bologna 2010, pp. 9-23, with a wide bibliography.

63 *Ibidem*, pp. 28-31, 42. *Il De bello mutinense* is in the first book of *Historiae*, pp. 251-273.

Battle of Fossalta, the Modena embassy's prayers to the Bolognese state council to obtain, before the clash, the restitution of the usurped lands, the proud response of the Bolognese people, Enzo's rage after the first defeat, the powerlessness of the arrays and the fury of the battle. During the battle Enzo was pursued by Antonio Lambertazzi, until he surrendered in front of his astonished companions: a drama full of classical reminiscences culminating in the narration of the *triumphus* for the captured king's arrival in Bologna: "non ille monire exiliit gaudio quam Scipio africano cum victo et fugato Hannibale amplissimum ac nobilissimum omnium egit triumphum"⁶⁴.

No hints neither to the conflict among the Empire and the communes, nor to the internal city fights: the only, adulterated, reference to the 13th century factions was the attribution of the victorious guide of the troops to Antonio Lambertazzi. Enzo, according to this narration, was captured by a member of the city part that, on the contrary, had supported him.

So, this is a reminiscence of alliances which had maintained their names and labels, but were actually emptied of their deeper meaning. The main issue was to represent the golden age of Bologna, started with Enzo's capture: he was the hero – king, provided with every virtue, worth enemy of a likewise eminent city.

The narration of Enzo's history maintained its epical character, and removed what was no more suitable for the social needs; the empties were filled with artificial memories, created *ad hoc*.

Garzoni reported also the first reference to Enzo's unsuccessful escape – organised by Pietro Asinelli – inside a *brenta* (a container through which porters took wine into houses)⁶⁵. Cherubino Gherardacci relates the details of this attempt: the "robusto e forte" *brentator* Filippo emptied the wine *brenta* that he had taken for the prisoner, hid Enzo inside it and "con tanta gagliardia e destrezza la portava che pareva fosse vuota". He had an appointment with a certain "Rainerio de' Confalonieri piacentino", who was waiting for him with furnished horses, but

avvenne che un soldato, che lontano dagli altri passeggiava, rivolse gli occhi verso il brentatore, e vedendo la bionda chioma che usciva dalla sommità della brenta, tosto s'imaginò quello che era, e chiamati li presidii che a volo vi corsero, e fermato Filippo e deposta la brenta, dentro vi trovarono il re Hentio e preso il ridussero alla carcere⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ G. Garzoni, *Historiae Bononienses...*, pp. 268-269.

⁶⁵ A. Antonelli, R. Pedrini, *Appunti su Re Enzo...*, pp. 271-280; G. Garzoni, *Historiae Bononienses...*, p. 271.

⁶⁶ C. Gherardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna...*, I, p. 213. According to other sources, the escape would have been discovered by a woman looking out of the window, who saw the king's hair fluttering outside the *brenta*; she started to shout "scappa, scappa", and thus

A time again, the narrator's attention is concentrated on the blond young man's hair, which becomes the key of the narration: the long oscillating hair is the detail that mockingly frustrates the success of an escape masterly planned.

There are no documentary attestations about the king's escape, but it does not invalidate the importance of this information. During this phase, Enzo's legend was re-elaborated to exalt the dominating *Signoria*, and the imprisonment of the valorous Emperor's young son – without an attempt of escaping – would have sounded very strange. The image of a resigned Enzo, closed in the wide, cold and gloomy room of the New Palace, did not embrace well the cavalry interpretation of the city history: this empty was filled with the "invented memory" of an invented escape into a wine barrel and of its failure, due to the long and blonde king's hair. The heroic perspective is unwittingly transformed into a comic scene; its effect is probably sharper than the empty that had to be filled. But it enhances the construction of an artefact past offered to the city society.

The work of Garzoni created a fictitious memory that re-founded Enzo's action, since he was the famous enemy of a likewise famous commune; this memory characterised all the further productions, until the 16th century, when the king's metamorphosis was brought to completion. From imprisoned enemy, Enzo became the only king of Bologna, the custodian of the ruling dynasty's founding myth of the *Signoria*⁶⁷.

At the end of the 16th century arose the legend of the young king's love affair with the likewise young and beautiful Lucia of Viadagola, of humble origin:

Nota che il ditto Re se innamorò de una contadina di Via Dagola, che havea nome Lutia, la qual era la più bellissima giovine che si potesse vedere e quando la ditta Lucia veniva in Piazza, et il Re diceva: 'Anima mia, ben ti voglio'. Et meglio di Pietro degli Asinelli, che ogni giorno stava con lui, si adoperò e la fé venire dal Re. Et in soma se ingravidò et portavi un putto maschio et posili nome Bentivoglio. De quale ne discese la nobil casa di Bentivoglio. Et sono stati assai homini di Virtù et di Nobiltà et di magnificentia preclarissime⁶⁸.

she prevented Enzo's escape. For this reason, she received the surname of Scappi, *ibidem*, p. 17; A. Antonelli, R. Pedrini, *Appunti su Re Enzo...*, pp. 280-285.

⁶⁷ Next to sources with greater guarantees of historical truthfulness, like the work of Sigonio, this amplification went on in the historiography of the 16th century, in the works of Leandro Alberti and Cherubino Ghirardacci (see F. Pezzarossa, *La storiografia a Bologna nell'età senatoria*, in: *Storia di Bologna, III: Bologna nell'Età Moderna, II Cultura, Istituzioni culturali, Chiesa e vita religiosa*, Bologna 2008, pp. 223-250).

⁶⁸ G. Fasoli, *Re Enzo tra storia e leggenda...*, pp. 927-929; A. Antonelli, R. Pedrini, *Appunti su Re Enzo...*, pp. 275-276.

This tale can be found in some 16th century chronicles, but it was probably created during the period of the Bentivoglio's *Signoria*; the dynasty enforced this legend with the cavalry ordination of Annibale II, Giovanni II's son, in front of Enzo's tomb, which had to recall the illustrious origins of the dynasty⁶⁹.

The process of re-invention was thus accomplished: the fetish – prisoner (symbol of the strength of the Bolognese commune) gradually became the king of Bologna, through implicit allusions that did not deny Enzo's imprisonment, but neither highlighted its causes.

The ideological reversal of Enzo's function in the city memory was total: the Bolognese *populus'* enemy par excellence, whose action had really threatened the *libertas* of the cummune, changed into the noble dynasty's hero forefather, which had to protect the same *libertas*. From prisoner, thus, to progenitor.

The changing of Enzo's function (from symbol of the superiority of the Bolognese commune, to responsible of the city fights, to knight – hero whose value gives prestige to the city itself) was recalled without any variation from the following historiography and narrative production.

On the other hand, from the 16th century onwards his symbolic value in the city memory gradually decreased, because it was strictly connected to a past that did not represent the contemporary exigencies.

Some marks of this value remained in the popular tradition, which ascribed to the victory at Fossalta the origin of one of the most ancient Bolognese celebrations, the Porchetta Day; it occurred in Piazza Maggiore each 24 August, from the half of the 13th century to 1796.

The first documental statements about an annual race of the Palio, with the *cozitura* of the porchetta, go back to 1254, but this tradition was related to young Enzo's entry in the city only some years later⁷⁰. Actually, the connection between the feast and the young king's captivity was not attested by coeval documents, but some hints at it can be found in some chronicles of the end of the 15th century; this is a part of the already started process of rewriting of the city History, which was developed at scholarly level to legitimate the ruling power without involve the community.

A proof of this process is the Porchetta Day of 1696, entitled *Il re Enzo redivivo*⁷¹; the king, however, did not revive (Fig. 2). The comparison among the incision where he is pictured and the wonderful scenic miniatures

69 Ibidem, p. 272; *Cronica gestorum ac factorum...*, p. 103.

70 L. Savioli, *Annali Bolognesi*, III, 1, Bassano del Grappa 1795, pp. 232-233; L. Frati, *La prigionia del re Enzo...*, pp. 37-38.

71 *Il re Enzo redivivo. Dimostrazione per la festa popolare della Porchetta Fatta in Bologna l'Anno 1696. E Consacrata a gl'illustrissimi signori Gonfaloniere ed eccelsi Signori Anziani*, 1796.

of the *Insignia degli Anziani e del Confaloniere di Giustizia*, full of arches, obelisks, coaches, platforms, beasts, towers, trees, knights, boats, castles is disappointing and seems to convey the idea of a lost opportunity.

It would have been more understandable a scenic design based on the entry of the chained king in the city, with his long hair unleashed until his waist, the communal banners triumphant on the *carroccio*, the king's soldiers imprisoned.

Actually, neither the feast nor the Palio recall the victory at Fossalta and Enzo's imprisonment. The king seems to be a mere opportunity recalled only in the title of the feast, and the connection with Enzo is dictated by a tradition posterior to the historical occurrences. No recollection, aside from his name; the myth is empty; only the etiquette and the form survive, but lacking of its contents: *Re Enzo redivoivo* has never appeared so dead and forgotten.

And the *Vita di Arrigo di Svevia* of Celestino Petracchi⁷², dated to 1750 and addressed to cardinal Filippo Monti, "prestantissimo patrizio chiarissimo per sangue", was written

da un amatore de' pregi di Bologna, città delle più ragguardevoli, per dimostrare a chi sosteneva che *Enzo* non fosse mai stato al mondo la sua realtà storica e l'essere la sua prigione il pregio maggiore di tale e tanta città.

Certainly the rhetorical amplification reduces the importance of this statement; nevertheless, it is important since it suggests the idea of an existence that is so ancient to be considered only a legend, a tale, as if king Enzo would have never existed.

The popular reworked version of Enzo's myth found its own culmination in the heroic poem *La secchia Rapita*, written by Alessandro Tassoni from Modena in 1622⁷³. This work is structured like a classical epic poem (statement of the theme, invocation to Apollo, dedication), but its subject is totally comic and parodic. It narrates the story of a wooden bucket stolen to the Bolognese by the Modenese after the Battle at Fossalta. Tassoni joined, with an anachronism, the two most important clashes of the communal era between Modena and Bologna, which are Fossalta and the Battle of Zappolino (1325), ended with a dreadful defeat for the Bolognese people.

In this narration, the Modenese won at Fossalta, since they chased the Bolognese until the city walls, they entered in the city and stole a wooden bucket from a well as a proof of their value. By his father's command, Enzo

⁷² C. Petracchi, *Vita di Arrigo di Svevia, re di Sardegna, volgarmente Enzo chiamato*, Faenza 1750.

⁷³ A. Tassoni, *La Secchia Rapita* (with annotations of P. Papini), Firenze 1912, VIII, 43, pp. 141-142.

joined the victorious Modenese citizens to protect them from the Bolognese attempts of revenge, and finally he was captured. Ezzelino da Romano was entrusted by Frederick to negotiate the prisoner's release, and he offered to the Bolognese embassy to "barattar la secchia col re Sardo"⁷⁴.

Tassoni's Enzo is the antithesis of the blonde, kind looking and pride knight: he looks like a puppet in his father's hands and, above all, he is depicted like a victim of his passions and impulses, which involve him in embarrassing situations, inappropriate for his lineage⁷⁵.

From the end of the 16th century, thus, a comic and popular interpretation of Enzo's myth triumphed.

The aware memory of the communal Middle Ages and of Enzo's life had been lost since the development of the city orders had established a similar changing of the political and ideological values: also the historical narration had to answer to this new course.

Probably the legend of Enzo's love affair with fair Lucia had a greater fortune; but at this stage the Emperor's son was prisoner again, closed into the limits of the story that had developed in the previous centuries, lacking of a further possibility of invention.

The curve that transformed him from prisoner to progenitor is a closed orbit indeed, which marks out the depletion of his role in the construction of the city memory.

translated by Flavia Manservigi

ABSTRACT

One of the most significant events of the first half of the 13th century was the conflict among the emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen, the Papacy and the communes of Lombardy and of the Po Valley; those strengths fought against the imperial vision of sovereignty intended as the universal coordination of State and Society.

The events of this conflict are well known: the antagonism between Frederick and the Holy See, restrained until the 1220, burned up in the following decades, when Italian cities divided into Guelphs and Ghibellines (although these labels were actually referred to a shifting context, whose profiles changed on the strength of the different alliances).

⁷⁴ See A. Tassoni, *La secchia rapita...*, pp. 141-142. Also two 18th century comedies, *Enzio* and *Re Enzo in Campo*, propose a tragicomic interpretation of the myth, see F. Roversi Monaco, *Il Comune di Bologna...*, pp. 97-104.

⁷⁵ In Lib. III Venus appears to him in a dream, encouraging him to take the arms to save Modena from the danger, and predicting him the meeting, in Bologna, with a kind girl, with whom he would have originated the descent that would have ruled the city. This is a clear reference to the Bentivoglio's family, but what is marked out is the comic element, since Enzo, waking up with a jump, waves his sword and breaks the chamber pot next to his bed, A. Tassoni, *La secchia rapita*, III, vv. 7-44.

The capture and the imprisonment of Enzo, king of Sardinia, natural son of the Emperor and imperial vicar general in Italy, is central to this context, and make the young Hohenstaufen the "perfect" model of prisoner king.

Enzo was kept prisoner in Bologna from the moment of his capture (Spring 1249) up to the day of his death (March 1272). He was defeated and captured in 26th May 1249 from the Bolognese army during the Battle of Fossalta (a small location near Modena).

He was taken to Bologna and sentenced to life long imprisonment; his father died the following year. As a consequence, he remained prisoner in the name of a political ideal that had started to give out at the moment of his capture, and that maintained him in the limelight of History right when *that* History had already come to an end and everything around was changing.

The Emperor's death, however, did not prevent from the political re-elaboration of the defeat at Fossalta and of Enzo's capture in the city area; actually, it amplified the importance of the existing conflict (that was turning in favour of the Guelphes forces).

Certainly the Bolognese pride grew up, as testified by the chronicles (also Ghibellines), which relate the episode with abundance of details, and place the city pride before the faithfulness of the parts engaged in the conflict. In this way Enzo's political myth arose, and he became the heroic and tragic protagonist of the "laic hagiographical legend" that started to take form among History, memory and myth.



Fig. 1. King Enzo taken to prison; miniature, Giovanni Villani, Cronica, cod. Vat. Lat. Chig. L. VIII. 296 (sec. XIV), Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

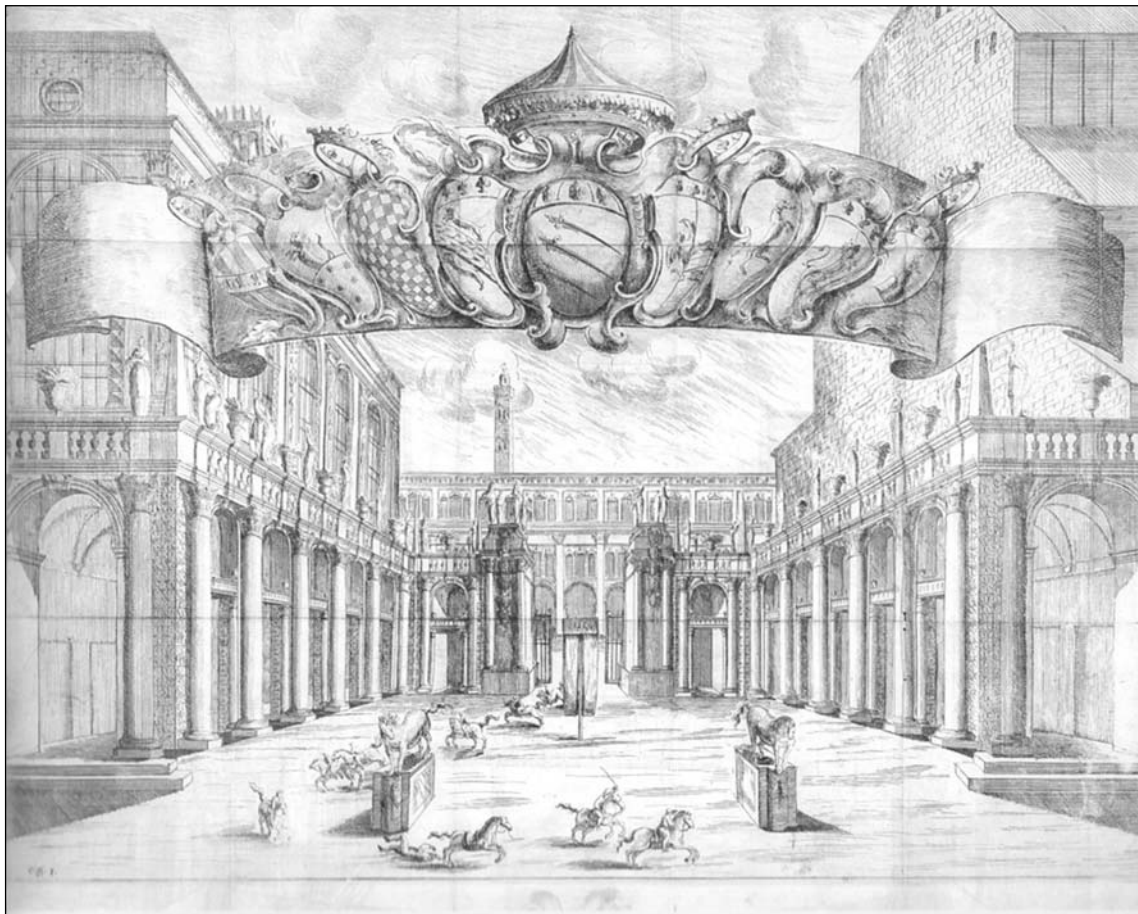


Fig. 2. The scenic design of the 1696 Porchetta Day about the theme "Il Re Enzo redivivo"; engraving, *Insigna degli Anziani Consoli*, vol. XI, cc. 7b-8a, Bologna, Archivio di Stato.

STANISŁAW A. SROKA
KRAKÓW

THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN QUEENS: ELIZABETH OF BOSNIA AND MARY (1386-1387)



In the summer of 1386 Elizabeth of Bosnia, widow of the Hungarian king Louis of Anjou (in Hungary called Louis the Great), went on an expedition to the south of the kingdom of Hungary together with her daughter Maria. Their aim was to quell a rebellion stirred up by the Horváth family who had taken over areas of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia. The Hungarian expedition of the queens ended tragically for them. On 25 July 1386 they were captured in Diakóvár by the rebels (at the head of which stood John Horváth), and were shut first in the castle at Gornec and then in Novigrad. There, in January 1387, Elisabeth was murdered in front of her daughter. Maria survived until her release in June 1387, which to a large extent was due to the efforts of her husband, the newly crowned Hungarian king, Sigismund of Luxemburg.

The tragic fate of the Hungarian queens has already been the subject of numerous scientific studies – mainly in the Hungarian literature. Historians have tried to carefully follow the development of the political situation after the death of Louis, the struggle for the Hungarian throne and circumstances surrounding the queens getting captured. Already in 1885 these problems had been discussed by the Austrian researcher Alfons Huber¹, as well as the Hungarian historian Sándor Márki². The first focused his attention on the imprisonment of the Hungarian queens, while S. Márki wrote a biography of Queen Mary which could not avoid a broader discussion of these events. In

¹ A. Huber, *Die Gefangennehmung der Königinnen Elisabeth und Maria von Ungarn und die Kämpfe König Sigismunds gegen die neapolitanische Partei und die übrigen Reichsfeinde in den Jahren 1386-1395*, "Archiv für österreichische Geschichte" LXVI (1885), pp. 507-548.

² S. Márki, *Mária Magyarország királynéja 1370-1395*, Budapest 1885.

the same period there was an analysis of the events of interest here conducted by Ede Wilczek in a discussion of the uprising in the southern parts of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Horváth family³. At the end of the 19th century much attention was paid to this same issue by Antal Pór, the famous Hungarian medievalist, who also took an interest in Polish-Hungarian relations. Two articles about Elizabeth of Bosnia and the tragic events associated with the last year of life of Charles the Short, the king of Naples, and Elizabeth of Bosnia were written by him⁴. Last day of 1385 Charles the Short had come to Hungary and been crowned king in Székesfehérvár. As a result of this act Mary was deprived of the crown. Five weeks after his arrival in Hungary Charles was killed as a result of a coup on 7 February 1386 (the wounded king died on 24 February in the castle of Visegrád). Antal Pór's article, based on a rich selection of archive material, is an important contribution to the study of the described events and has not lost its value even today. In 1986 the eminent Hungarian historian Erik Fügedi wrote a slim volume on the subject of the events in Hungary between the death of Louis and the accession to the throne of Sigismund in which he also discussed the imprisonment of the queens. The book, despite its undoubted scholarly character, does not have footnotes which hinders following the line of argument of the author⁵.

It was only at the beginning of the 21st century that there was a renewal of lively interest in the scientific literature in the imprisonment of Queen Elizabeth and her daughter Mary. This is thanks to the Hungarian medievalist Szilárd Süttő who published in 2003 a two-volume work devoted to the development of the political history of Hungary in the years 1384-1387⁶. There is not only discussion of the imprisonment of the queens in this very detailed monograph, but also, as a separate volume, a list of all documents relating to the events in question. This study, based on a rich source basis, is undoubtedly the most thorough study of this issue in the scientific literature. Simultaneously with the work of Szilárd Süttő, appeared a book written by the Slovak historian Jaroslav Perniš about the Angevin dynastic politics concerning the queens. This book is, however, a commercial production

3 E. Wilczek, *A Horváthy család lázadása, és a magyar tengervidék elszakadása*, "Századok" XXX (1896), pp. 617-633, 705-715, 804-822.

4 A. Pór, *Iffabb Erzsébet királyné, Nagy Lajos király felesége*, "Századok" XXIX (1895), pp. 833-844, 902-921; idem, *Kis Károly és Erzsébet utolsó évei*, "Századok" XXX (1896), pp. 129-147.

5 E. Fügedi, *Könyörülj, bánom, könyörülj...*, Budapest 1986.

6 S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország alkonya. Magyarország politikai története Nagy Lajostól Zsigmondig, az 1384-1387 évi belviszályok okmánytárával*, I-II, Szeged 2003. See also idem, *A II. (Kis) Károly elleni merénylet 1386. február 7-én*, "Hadttörténelmi Közlemények" CXIII (2000), pp. 379-396.

devoid of scientific apparatus⁷. It is also interesting to note the article of Péter Kovács which explores the circumstances of the conclusion of the 1387 Hungarian-Venetian agreement which contributed to the release of Queen Mary⁸. The imprisonment of Elizabeth and Mary is not given much attention in the Serbian and Croatian literature although both queens were the subject of various scientific studies there⁹. In the Polish literature a concise description of these events was recently given by Jarosław Nikodem in his biography of Hedwig of Anjou¹⁰. The itineraries of the queens, catalogued by Pál Engel and Norbert Tóth, have also proved helpful in the analysis of the issues¹¹. The background of the events of the period, that is what was happening in Hungary and especially in Dalmatia at the time, has been described by Giuseppe Praga, Bálint Hóman and Pál Engel¹².

Louis of Anjou died at night between 10 and 11 September 1382 in Nagyszombat (Trnava)¹³. Before his death he had convened a meeting on 25 July in Zwolen where Polish nobility swore loyalty to Sigismund of Luxemburg as their future monarch¹⁴. The latter therefore had set off with his troops to Poland. The news of the Hungarian king's death reached him on the way. At the time of the death of Louis Sigismund was already in Poland where he proceeded to receive tributes from the cities. These activities however aroused much resistance among the Polish nobles who saw him as a representative of a dynasty hostile to Poland. The Austrian historian Thomas Ebendorfer in his chronicle assigns to Louis the same dynastic designs. According to this, King Louis had allocated the Polish throne to Sigismund of

7 J. Perniš, *Vznešená žena stredoveku: Princezné v dynastickej politike Anjouovcov*, Budmerice 2003. See also idem, *Posledná anjouovská kráľovná Mária Uhorská (1371-1395)*, "Historický časopis" XLVII (1999), pp. 3-17.

8 P.E. Kovács, *Mária királyné kiszabadítása. Magyar-velencei szövetség 1387-ben*, "Századok" CXL (2006), pp. 925-937.

9 P. Rokai, *Bibliografsko-genealoška beleška o ugarskoj kraljici Jelisaveti Kotromanić*, "Zbornik za istoriju" XXVIII (1983), pp. 129-133; A. Munk, *The Queen and Her Shrine: An Art Historical Twist on Historical Evidence Concerning the Hungarian Queen Elizabeth, née Kotromanić, Donor of the Saint Simeon Shrine*, "Hortus Artium Medievalium" X (2004), pp. 253-262.

10 J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga król Polski*, Wrocław 2009, pp. 248-249.

11 P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum et reginarum Hungariae (1382-1438)*, Budapest 2005. There was a sharp polemical reaction to this publication by S. Süttő, *Uralkodói itineráriumok 1382-87-ből: szakmai és etikai problémák* C. Tóth Norbert *itinerárium-készítésében*, "Gesta. Miskolci történész folyóirat" VI (2006) 2, pp. 56-73. See also: Tóth's answer (*Néhány gondolat Süttő Szilárd "Recenziójáról"*), *ibidem*, pp. 74-80) and the repeated polemic remarks by Süttő (*Viszontválasz C. Tóth Norbert "Gondolataira"*), *ibidem*, pp. 81-83).

12 G. Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*, Varese 1981; B. Hóman, *Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria 1290-1403*, Roma 1938; P. Engel, *Szent István birodalma. A középkori Magyarország története*, Budapest 2001.

13 S.A. Sroka, *Genealogia Andegawenów węgierskich*, Kraków 1999, p. 30.

14 J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata Ludwika Wielkiego 1370-1382*, Kraków 1918, p. 371; S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, I, p. 67.

Luxemburg and his fiancée Mary, and would place Wilhelm von Habsburg, betrothed to his daughter Hedwig, on the throne of St. Stephen¹⁵. These plans, however, crumbled after the death of Louis “like a house of cards” to use the phrasing of the Slovak historian Jaroslav Perniš¹⁶. It was the voice of the people that was eventually to decide the fate of the Hungarian and Polish thrones¹⁷. Mary was crowned king of Hungary on 17 September 1382. The 15th-century Hungarian chronicler John Thuroczy described Mary as “rex femineus”¹⁸. Ruling in her name (since the time of accession to the throne she was in fact only eleven-year-old) was her mother Elizabeth of Bosnia but in reality the decisive role in government was played by the representatives of the great families among which the leading role played the palatine Nicholas Garay¹⁹.

While Mary took the throne of St. Stephen without difficulty the placing on the Polish throne of her sister Hedwig took some time, and had been preceded by intensive consultation between the Polish magnates and Queen Elizabeth of Bosnia. In November 1382 a convention was held in Radomsko with representatives from Lesser and Greater Poland. There it was decided that the Polish throne should go to whichever of the daughters of Louis who would permanently stay in Poland²⁰. The memory of the regency governments in the absence of King Louis was still fresh and encouraged the nobles to adopt such a position. Sigismund of Luxemburg was stripped of his support and decided to leave Poland – he was not even admitted to Cracow. Negotiations about the succession of Louis on the Polish throne took on a new momentum now. The Hungarian emissaries at the Congress of Sieradz in February 1383 announced the imminent arrival in Poland of the youngest daughter of Louis, Hedwig, who became then a major candidate for the Polish throne²¹. The internal situation in the country during the interregnum period became more complicated. One factor was the internal armed struggles in Greater Poland between two powerful families called Grzymała-Nałęcz Family War²².

15 S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, I, p. 67, f.n. 300: *fertur suam voluntatem ultimam coram multis positis apparuisse, ut dux Wilhelmus una cum sponsa Hedwige regnum sortiretur Ungarie, pro quo duces Austrie plurimum desudarunt, dominus vero Sigismundus una cum Maria regno Poloniae potiretur, quod plurimum Bohemi ambierunt.*

16 J. Perniš, *Vznešená žena...*, p. 137.

17 J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata...*, p. 372.

18 Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, I: *Textus*, eds. E. Galántai, J. Kristó, Budapest 1985, p. 191.

19 E. Fügedi, *Könyörülj...*, pp. 41-47; P. Engel, *Szent István...*, p. 167.

20 T. Jurek, E. Kizik, *Historia Polski do 1572*, Warszawa 2013, p. 311.

21 J. Wyrozumski, *Królowa Jadwiga. Między epoką piastowską i jagiellońską*, Kraków 1997, p. 48; J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga...*, pp. 93-95.

22 W. Moszczeńska, *Rola polityczna rycerstwa wielkopolskiego w czasie bezkrólewia po Ludwiku W.*, “Przegląd Historyczny” XXV (1925), pp. 103-159; W. Łojko, *Wojna domowa*

A second factor was that the Mazovian duke Siemowit IV had aspirations for the throne, and he even went so far as to plan the kidnapping of Hedwig in order to force her to marry him. This plan failed because Hedwig did not arrive in Cracow as had been scheduled. The proud duke did not abandon his intentions and began efforts to gain the crown by military action. After subjugating the Cuyavia region he was even elected king by a handful of his followers – this act, however, hadn't any significance. Finally Siemowit IV was defeated in the Mazovia region by the combined forces of Lesser Poland and Hungaria and he was forced in October 1383 to conclude a settlement²³.

During the next meeting in Radomsko on 2 March 1384 the impatient nobles representing Lesser and Greater Poland demanded that the widowed queen, Elizabeth of Bosnia, send Hedwig to Poland by May 1384. They threatened Elizabeth that, in the event that this term was not kept, they would break off existing agreements and choose their own candidate for the crown. Provisions were made to ensure the safety of the country due to the prolonged interregnum²⁴. Before Elizabeth of Bosnia decided to send Hedwig to Cracow she had made another attempt to settle Sigismund of Luxemburg as governor in Poland. The plan failed, and Sigismund was prevented from entering Poland. In autumn 1384 the youngest daughter of the late King Louis, Hedwig, came to Cracow where on 16 October of that year, was crowned king of Poland²⁵.

Not only in Poland there was reluctance towards Sigismund of Luxemburg, but also in Hungary. According to the Polish historian John Długosz, Elizabeth of Bosnia queen of Hungary:

feeling hatred for her son in law, the husband of her daughter Mary, the Moravian margrave Sigismund, the son of the Holy Roman emperor and

w Wielkopolsce w latach 1382-1385, "Gniezno. Studia i Materiały Historyczne" II (1987), pp. 69-97; J. Tęgowski, *Postawa polityczna arcybiskupa gnieźnieńskiego Bodzanty w czasie bezkrólewia po śmierci Ludwika Węgierskiego*, in: *Genealogia. Rola związków rodzinnych i rodowych w życiu publicznym w Polsce średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym*, eds. A. Radziwiński, J. Wroniszewski, Toruń 1996, pp. 131-151; A. Szweda, *Ród Grzymałów w Wielkopolsce*, Toruń 2001, pp. 127-132.

23 J. Bieniak, *Epilog zabiegów Siemowita IV o koronę polską*, "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia" IX (1973), pp. 72-79; M. Palczewski, *Walka Siemowita IV o tron Polski (1382-1385)*, "Prace Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie. Zeszyty Historyczne" I (1993), pp. 7-21; B. Dymek, *Walka Siemowita IV o koronę polską*, "Rocznik Mazowiecki" XI (1999), pp. 57-82; J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga...*, pp. 109-113.

24 J. Szujski, *Uchwały zjazdu w Radomsku dnia 2 marca 1384. Przyczynek do dziejów ustawodawstwa polskiego XIV wieku*, "Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny" I (1874), pp. 163-173; J. Wyrozumski, *Królowa Jadwiga...*, p. 54; J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga...*, pp. 115-119.

25 M. Derwich, *Monarchia Piastów (1038-1399)*, Warszawa-Wrocław 2003, pp. 194-195; J. Wyrozumski, *Królowa Jadwiga...*, p. 57; J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga...*, p. 120.

Czech king Charles, due to some reckless deeds of that Sigismund tried to break up the marriage of her daughter Mary with the said Sigismund desiring to give her as a wife, along with the Hungarian Kingdom, to the brother of the king of France, the duke of Orleans²⁶.

The plan of marry Mary to Louis, duke of Orleans, brother of King Charles VI of France, arose at the end of 1383. Prince Louis had been previously engaged to Mary's sister Catherine who had, however, died unexpectedly in 1378 as an eight-year-old child²⁷. The potential marriage of Mary with Louis would mean breaking her engagement with Sigismund (Długosz mistakenly writes about their marriage but this had taken place only in 1385). Although, the possible marriage of the French duke to the Hungarian princess would lead to major changes on the political map – concrete steps towards its successful implementation were made. On 7 March 1384 King Charles VI of France appointed Nicholas Garay the palatine of Hungary and also one of the closest collaborators of Queen Elizabeth of Bosnia as a member of his great council²⁸. In May 1385 a French embassy came to Buda, headed by John La Personne, then a Hungarian embassy went to France, led by Ladislaus Losonczi the voivode of Transylvania. As a result of this a wedding *per procura* was conducted in June between Louis and Mary²⁹. In consequence Duke Louis set off for Hungary in September 1385³⁰. Probably he did not realize that he would never get there; on the way he learnt from one of his messengers that in Hungary there had been a radical change in the political situation. The armies of Sigismund of Luxemburg and the prince of Naples Charles the Short were poised to fight for the crown of St. Stephen, moreover, as a part of this rivalry, the former had already married his betrothed Mary. Not having anything to look forward to in the distant and foreign country Louis returned to France.

When in May and June 1385 intensive efforts to marry Mary with the duke of Orleans were ongoing, the queen while staying at Pozsegavár in the south of Hungary³¹ was in negotiation with representatives of the local nobles who supported the candidacy of the king of Naples Charles the Short to the Hungarian throne. Unfortunately, a lack of sources prevents us from

26 Joannis Dlugossii *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, X, Varsaviae 1985, pp. 146-147.

27 N. Valois, *Le project de mariage entre Louis de France et Catherine de Hongrie et le voyage de l'Empereur Charles IV a Paris*, "Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France" XXX (1893), pp. 209-223.

28 J. Perniš, *Vznešená žena...*, p. 185.

29 G. Wenzel, I. Mária királynénknak Lajos orleansi herceggel *per procura* véghez ment házasságáról (egykoru eredeti források nyomán értekezett az MTA kis gyűlésén, apr. 14. 1851), "Magyar Academiai Értesítő" 1851, pp. 116-121; E. Fügedi, *Könyörülj...*, p. 62.

30 J. Perniš, *Vznešená žena...*, p. 186.

31 P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, *Itineraria...*, p. 37.

learning very much about these negotiations³². However, they did not bring a peaceful resolution, and Charles the Short, supported by the Horváth family, arrived in September 1385 at the Dalmatian port of Senj, and on 23 October he entered the city of Zagreb³³. However, before the ruler of Naples crossed the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary Sigismund had made a decisive move for the Hungarian crown.

At the beginning of 1385 he left Hungary and went to Brno in Moravia³⁴ to gain the help of his brother Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia and the Moravian margraves Prokop and Jost in raising an army to intervene in Hungary. The recruitment took place mainly in Moravia, and the funds for this purpose came from the pawning of several towns in Brandenburg to Prokop and Jost on 9 July 1385 for the amount of 50 thousand kopas (3 million) of Prague groschens³⁵. The size of the army collected may be judged from a letter sent 1 June 1385 by the city of Pozsony (now Bratislava) to Queen Elizabeth of Bosnia. This informed her that, according to news reaching the city, within two days (i.e. 3 June) an army headed by Sigismund would enter Hungary. This contained 4 thousand foot soldiers, 6 hundred knights with retinues (*lances fournies*), not including the 4 hundred *lances fournies* under the command of John Niedersperger beseiging the castle of Éleskő³⁶. If the average size of knight's retinue is calculated as four persons, the army of Sigismund of Luxemburg heading for the city of Pozsony had a population of 8 thousand knights³⁷. In fact, Sigismund's military intervention in Hungary came a little later than the letter from Pozsony had indicated. We have confirmation of his army outside the city Pozsony only on 16 August 1385³⁸. Getting the army across the Danube took a few days. It was already on the opposite bank on 22 August, and had an open road to Buda, reached at the end of August³⁹.

Sigismund wanted first to enter into marriage with Mary who had been married for a few months (but only by proxy) to the French duke. We do not know the exact date of the marriage between Mary and Sigismund. It

32 E. Fügedi, *Könyörülj...*, pp. 73-75; idem, *Die Verhandlungen der Königin Elisabeth in Pozsega 1385*, in: *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift für Attila T. Szabó und Zsigmond Jakó*, hrsg. von K. Benda, Th. von Bogyay, H. Glassl, Zs.K. Lengyel, München 1988, pp. 149-158; S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, I, pp. 86-90.

33 J. Perniš, *Vznešená žena...*, p. 187.

34 P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, *Itineraria...*, p. 56.

35 *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae* (henceforth: CDM), ed. V. Brandl, XI, Brünn 1885, nr 365; V. Štěpán, *Moravský markrabe Jošt (1354-1411)*, Brno 2002, passim; S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, I, p. 94; II, p. 240.

36 S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, I, pp. 95-96; II, p. 228.

37 The Hungarian investigator S. Süttő considers that number to be an exaggeration. See *ibidem*, I, p. 96.

38 *Ibidem*, II, p. 252: *in campis prope Posonium*.

39 P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, *Itineraria...*, p. 56.

appears from the chronology of the events mentioned that Jan Dąbrowski is right in suggesting that the wedding took place in August 1385⁴⁰. In the Slovak literature Sigismund's wedding with Mary is given a slightly later date – the end of October or beginning of November⁴¹. This dating of the event is, however, contrary to the itinerary of Sigismund who in the first half of October left Buda and Pozsony, heading for Moravia⁴². Thus, his marriage with Maria would have taken place soon after the invasion of Buda, i.e. the end of August 1385.

When Sigismund, after successfully arranging his marriage with Mary, left Hungary and had returned to Moravia, his competitor to the throne, Charles the king of Naples, was just entering Zagreb. The widow queen had established contact with Charles assuming that he would keep the promise, he once gave to Louis concerning respecting the rights of his daughters to the throne⁴³. Wanting to win over the middle nobility to her side, she convened on 8 November 1385 a diet in Buda to which came four representatives of the gentry from each county. During this parliament she confirmed all the privileges of the nobility and freedoms which they had received from the previous Hungarian rulers⁴⁴. Meanwhile, Charles the Short at the head of his army, along with his followers arrived at the beginning of December 1385 in Buda, and on the last day of that month was crowned king of Hungary in Székesfehérvár by Archbishop Demetrios of Esztergom. Witnessing this act were also the two Hungarian queens⁴⁵. The news of the coronation of the Neapolitan ruler as the king of Hungary reached Naples on 21 January 1386, and the authorities ordered the evening illumination of the city. On 10 February came a letter from Charles himself which reported winning the crown of St. Stephen⁴⁶.

Charles had originally promised Mary that she would keep her royal title; Mary mentions such a promise made by Charles in a document dated 28 February 1386 which rewarded her faithful knight Blažej Forgáč for his courage in his part in the assassination of Charles⁴⁷. The new king however

40 J. Dąbrowski, *Ostatnie lata...*, p. 20; S.A. Sroka, *Genealogia Andegawenów...*, p. 53.

41 J. Perniš, *Posledná...*, p. 14.

42 P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, *Itineraria...*, p. 56.

43 J. Perniš, *Posledná...*, p. 14.

44 *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, ed. G. Fejér (henceforth: Fejér), X, 1, Buda 1834, nr 111.

45 There is a description of the coronation in the chronicle of Lawrence de Monacis: *Laurentii de Monacis Veneti carmen, seu historia de Carolo II cognomento Parvo rege Hungarie*, in: *Laurentii de Monacis Veneti Crete cancellarii chronicon de rebus Venetis etc.*, ed. Flaminus Cornelius senator Venetus, Venetiis 1758. See A. Pór, *Kis Károly...*, p. 137; S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, I, p. 109.

46 A. Pór, *Kis Károly...*, p. 137.

47 S. Süttő, *A II. (Kis) Károly...*, pp. 393-394.

did not keep this commitment, not only depriving Mary of her crown, but also looting the country.

Charles the Short was king of Hungary only thirty-nine days. The initiator of the attack was probably Elizabeth of Bosnia who invited him to his court under the guise of handing him a letter from her son in law, Sigismund of Luxemburg. The audience took place on 7 February 1386. A trusted knight of Queen Mary, Blažej Forgáč, the cupbearer⁴⁸, attacked Charles with a sword hitting him with a few thrusts in the face, left eye and twice in the head. The wounded ruler was taken after a week (14 February) to the castle of Visegrád where he was to be cured of the headaches that affected him. The drugs administered by the royal doctors, instead of relieving the pain, only increased it and as a result on 24 February Charles died⁴⁹. Because the ruler of Naples had been excommunicated, his burial had no religious character, and his remains were deposited in a house near the Benedictine monastery at Visegrád. Ladislaus the king of Naples was only able to obtain permission for his father's inhumation in a church from Pope Boniface IX in 1391⁵⁰. Queen Mary rewarded Forgáč for his courage giving him on 28 February 1386 castle of Gimes located in Nitra county with appurtenances. Her trusted knight, filled with the courage of a lion (*leonina fretus audacia*) – as the act of donation put it – had repaid Charles for his lawlessness in deprivation of legal ruler of the royal crown⁵¹.

The news of the death of Charles the Short encouraged the Czech king Wenceslaus to intervene in Hungary in the interest of his brother Sigismund. The Czech army was led by Wenceslaus and his supporters: the Moravian

48 P. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457*, I, Budapest 1996, p. 44.

49 A. Pór, *Kis Károly...*, pp. 141-142; S. Süttő, *A II. (Kis) Károly...*, p. 386.

50 *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia*, series I, Budapestini 1888, III, nr 164: *Exhibita nobis pro parte carissimi in Christo filii nostri Ladislai, regis Sicilie illustris, petitio continebat, quod, licet dudum in clare memorie Carolo olim rege Sicilie, genitore suo, tempore sui obitus signa penitencie apparuerint manifesta, tamen, pretextu quorundam processuum per felices recordationis Urbanum papam VI predecessorem nostrum contra dictum Carolum factorum, per quos idem predecessor ipsum excommunicationis sententia innodavit, corpus eiusdem Caroli non fuit traditum ecclesiastice sepulture, sed positum extitit in quadam domo prope monasterium sancti Andree de Promontorio castri Wissegradiensis, ordinis sancti Benedicti, Vesprimiensis diocesis, ubi adhuc inhumatum conservatur.*

51 S. Süttő, *A II. (Kis) Károly...*, p. 393. In the Hungarian literature there is an ongoing discussion whether during the reign of Charles the Short there was a dual reign that is of Charles and Queen Mary or whether upon Charles' coronation Mary lost her royal prerogatives. See: I. Bertényi, *Beszélhetünk-e kettős uralomról hazánkban (II.) Kis Károly országglása idején? (1385. december 31 - 1386. február 7.)*, in: *Studia professoris – professor studiorum: Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára*, eds. T. Almási, I. Draskóczy, É. Jancsó, Budapest 2005, pp. 21-29; S. Süttő, *Volt-e kettős uralom Magyarországon Kis Károly országglása idején? Válasz Bertényi Ivánnak, "Aetas" XXI (2006) 2-3*, pp. 232-246.

margraves Jost and Prokop and also in the army heading towards Buda was also Sigismund of Luxemburg. They crossed the frontiers of the Kingdom of Hungary in April 1386. Opposing the Czech troops was the Hungarian army at the head of which were the two queens. Queen Mary had mentioned on 6 March 1386 the preparations for a great expedition⁵². We learn that the expedition was already in progress on 2 April from a document of the court judge Emeric Bebek⁵³. The Czech king arrived in Pozsony with his troops in mid-April, and deployed his camp in late April and early May in the vicinity of Győr⁵⁴. There he entered negotiations with the Hungarian queens. Elizabeth and Mary had agreed on 1 May to arbitration by the Czech king Wenceslaus in their dispute with Sigismund of Luxemburg⁵⁵. The next day, 2 May 1386, the queens issued a document in which they promised the Czech ruler that without his permission they would not allow the coronation of Sigismund as the king of Hungary⁵⁶. It is known that there was a poor relationship between Wenceslaus and Sigismund. Jarosław Nikodem was right when he wrote that Elizabeth of Bosnia “clearly overestimated her own abilities”⁵⁷. Nevertheless, on 12 May 1386 Wenceslaus managed to reconcile the warring parties⁵⁸. Although the actual enthronement of Sigismund as king of Hungary was still a long way off Wenceslaus in a letter to the king of France, Charles VI boasted that even then (in May) he was able to restore his brother Sigismund to power in the State of St. Stephen⁵⁹.

52 S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, II, p. 341: *Cum nos universas regnicolarum nostrorum causas propter nostram grandem expeditionem, quam in brevi sumus habiture, generaliter iusserimus prorogari.*

53 *Ibidem*, pp. 353-354.

54 *Ibidem*, p. 379: *in campis prope Jaurinum.*

55 CDM, XI, nr 393. The dispute concerned the following issue scrupulously recorded in the document: *videlicet super relaxatione et dimissione plenaria omnis indignacionis per predictum conthoralem et filium nostrum contra quoslibet ecclesiasticos et seculares regnicolas regnorum nostrorum ac eis adherencium conceptas; item de observandis libertatibus et antiquis consuetudinibus Ungarie et aliorum regnorum nostrorum tam pro ecclesiasticis quam secularibus personis quibuscunque; item pro sedandis et reformandis gwerris et litibus hactenus in regnis nostris per ipsos habitis et subortis; item super dispositione roboracione et securitate dotalicii nostri videlicet Elizabeth regine predictae, necnon bonis et proventibus ad nos spectantibus universis et super concambio ordinato post mortem divi quondam Ludovici regis Ungarie et literis suis vite tempore nobis date; item de et super cohabitatione nostra, Marie videlicet et Sigismundi ac ordinacione status eiusdem Sigismundi aut super certa deputacione terrarum pro eodem domino Sigismundo; item super iterata traducione nostra Marie videlicet predictae et assignacione persone nostre dicto carissimo fratri nostro, domino Romanorum regi, quoad traducionem thori dicti fratris sui.*

56 *Ibidem*, nr 394.

57 J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga...*, p. 248.

58 CDM, XI, nr 397.

59 S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, I, p. 135: *inter eas et predictum germanum nostrum omni sedata discordia, eundem germanum nostrum ad possessionem et gubernationem regnorum et terrarum Ungariae circa medium transacti iam mensis Maii magnifice reduximus et potenter.*

Strengthening her own position within the Kingdom of Hungary, following the advice of her trusted advisor palatine Nicholas Garay, Elizabeth of Bosnia decided to journey with her daughter Mary to the southern areas of Hungary to soothe the discords there that had arisen since the tragic death of Charles the Short. The ruler's death had led to uprisings in Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia⁶⁰. As Jarosław Nikodem correctly pointed out "the expedition was organized in a very strange way, as if it were a routine journey of the monarch in times of inner peace. No care was taken to ensure both queens adequate security measures"⁶¹. It started at the end of June 1386 because even on 22 June Mary was in Buda⁶². Probably the next day she set out on the journey. After three days the procession reached Székesfehérvár. On 11 July the queens are documented as being on the river Drava in Apátirév⁶³.

On 25 July, when the procession of the queens was located between the cities of Diakóvár and Gara, it was attacked on the public highway by John and Ladislaus Horváth and their supporters. There was then a bloody battle between knights of the queens who stood in their defence and the attackers. We have an exact description of the attack in the relation of Queen Mary contained in a document issued in Debrecen on 14 September 1387⁶⁴. Nicholas Garay and his kinsmen were killed in the fighting as Blažej Forgáč was. The queens were arrested and taken to be imprisoned in the castle of Gomnec. The noblemen, who had been accompanying them and survived the ambush, were imprisoned in several other castles (Pozsegavár, Orjava, Csáktornya, Pacsítel). The severed heads of Nicholas Garay and Blažej Forgáč and probably also of Paul Bánfi were sent by Paul Horváth, bishop of Zagreb, to Naples as a sign of contempt⁶⁵. They were paraded through the streets of Naples, and on 16 September exposed to public view in the town market⁶⁶.

From Gomnec castle the queens were taken to the prison in the Újvár castle (Novigrad). In January 1387 Queen Elizabeth of Bosnia was murdered in the castle of Novigrad in front of her daughter Mary⁶⁷. The news of the tragic death of Elizabeth arrived in Zadar on 16 January 1387. The funeral of the queen took place on 9 February at the local monastery of St. Chrisogonus⁶⁸.

60 B. Hóman, *Gli Angioini...*, pp. 469-471; P. Engel, *Szent István...*, p. 169.

61 J. Nikodem, *Jadwiga...*, p. 248.

62 P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, *Itineraria...*, p. 38.

63 *Ibidem*.

64 Fejér, X, 3, Buda 1838, nr 40, pp. 312-323.

65 *Ibidem*, pp. 315-316.

66 A. Pór, *Kis Károly...*, p. 147.

67 Fejér, X, 3, nr 40, p. 316: [...] *et tandem antefatam dive memorie illustrem dominam Elizabeth reginam matrem nostram in dicto castro Wywar vocato, inopinabili austeræ necis interitu ferientes, nobis cernentibus immaniter iugularunt.*

68 A. Pór, *Kis Károly...*, p. 147. The date of the funeral is given in the chronicle of Paul Pawlovich of Zadar. See S. Sütő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, I, p. 153, f.n. 873: *Die sabbati 9 mensis*

On learning the news of the imprisonment of the queens, Sigismund came to Hungary and began preparing for the trip to the south of Hungary in order to free Elizabeth and Mary. The expedition began in late 1386/1387. On 12 November Sigismund's army was in Pásztó, and at the end of the month in Segesd. At the beginning of February Zygmont even reached the Gomnec castle⁶⁹, in which the queens had been detained immediately after imprisonment, but at the moment when he appeared there, Maria had been moved to Novigrad, while Elizabeth was already dead. During the expedition there had been no big battles fought, and at the end of February Sigismund hastily returned in the direction of Buda, not having secured the release of Mary⁷⁰. This return was certainly prompted by the news that the former ban of Macsó John Horváth, together with his supporters had gathered a sizeable army against the supporters of the queens. Interestingly, some lords standing on the side of the queens in early April still did not know about the death of Elizabeth. On 7 April 1387, Sigismund, already in Buda, received a letter from John Frangepán who expressed the hope that the queen was still among the living⁷¹. On the way back from the southern edges of the Kingdom, Sigismund turned in the direction of Székesfehérvár, the coronation place of Hungarian rulers, and on 31 March 1387 the Crown of St. Stephen was placed on his head⁷². In accordance with a centuries-old tradition, for that coronation to be legal, it should have been carried out by the Archbishop of Esztergom. The see however was vacant at the time due to the death of Archbishop Demetrius on 20 February 1387⁷³. The coronation of Sigismund was therefore carried out by the Bishop of Veszprém Benedict Himházi.

In order to release his wife Maria from prison, Sigismund began negotiations with Venice, with the support of Pope Urban VI. The participant in the negotiations on behalf of the Venetians was Pantaleon Barba who promised that the Venetians would effectively block the attempt to transport Mary from Novigrad to Naples. He also promised to assist in the liberation of the queen from the hands of the insurgents⁷⁴. The Venetian fleet under the command of Admiral John Barbado surrounded Novigrad from all sides. Problems with supply eventually forced the insurgents to make concessions, which resulted in Maria regaining her freedom on 4 June, 1387. In the middle

Februarii fertur, quod corpus dominae reginae fuit portatum Iadram et repositum in monasterio Sancti Grisogoni.

⁶⁹ P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, *Itineraria...*, p. 57.

⁷⁰ S. Süttő, *Anjou-Magyarország...*, I, p. 149.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 152.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 154.

⁷³ P. Engel, *Magyarország világi...*, I, p. 64.

⁷⁴ P.E. Kovács, *Mária királyné...*, pp. 926-927; J. Perniš, *Posledná...*, p. 192.

of the month she was transported to the port of Zengg⁷⁵. On 19 June the Senate of the Republic of Venice sent six representatives to this city who greeted and congratulated the queen on her regaining freedom. Then, in the company of two delegates of the Venetian Senate, Leonardo Dandolo and Paolo Morosini, Maria was escorted to Zagreb, where on 4 July 1387 she met with Sigismund of Luxemburg⁷⁶. Before she came to this meeting the queen had already (30 June) sent a letter of thanks for her release to Antoni Venier, the Doge of Venice. In this letter she particularly emphasized the role of Admiral John Barbadoico with whom she remained in friendly relations in the following years, and in 1391 sent him even jewels and money⁷⁷. In the second half of 1387, Queen Mary gave estates confiscated from the Horváth family to her trusted knights who had lived through imprisonment with her⁷⁸. In this way was closed a tragic episode in her life which certainly contributed to the early death of the queen in 1395⁷⁹.

The imprisonment of the Hungarian Queens Elisabeth of Bosnia and her daughter Maria by the rebel Horváth family is a significant episode in the history of medieval Hungary. It was a consequence of the tragic events associated with the accession to the royal crown by the ruler of Naples Charles the Short, followed by his murder, in which Queen Elizabeth was a major instigator. The expedition of the queens to the south of Hungary, in order to suppress the discontent which had arisen there, was completely ill-prepared, allowing the royal party to fall into an ambush and the queens and a host of knights were imprisoned by the actual ruler of these territories – the Horváth family. Queen Elizabeth did not survive the imprisonment, being murdered and Mary the wife of Sigismund of Luxemburg, was released only with the help of the Venetian fleet. The death of Elizabeth and imprisonment of Mary was utilised by Sigismund of Luxemburg in March 1387 to enable his coronation as king of Hungary. He himself some time experienced something similar when he was imprisoned by the Hungarian nobility (1401).

translated by Paul Barford

75 Fejér, X, 1, nr 190: *Anno Domini MCCCLXXXVII die IV mensis Iunii de mane serenissima princeps et domina nostra naturalis domina Maria, regina Vngarie, liberata fuit a captivitate et exiit in castro Nouigrad, in quo detinebatur et die Veneris sequenti (VII. Iunii) ivi ad eam Nonam et die crastina die sabbathi, locutus fui suae maiestati, et die lunae immediate (X Iunii) concessi a Nona, licentiatu ab ea. Postea die sabbathi inde sequentis, die scilicet XV praedicti mensis, recessit a Nona, cum galeis Venetorum et applicuit Segniam cras die dominico. Unde recessit die Lune, prima Iulii, et die Iovis (IV Iunii) in nomine Sancte Trinitatis coniunxit se cum rege, illustrissimo consorte eius.*

76 A. Huber, *Die Gefangennehmung...*, pp. 520-521; J. Perniš, *Posledná...*, p. 192; P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, *Itineraria*, p. 38; P.E. Kovács, *Mária királyné...*, pp. 930-931. See also the previous footnote.

77 J. Perniš, *Posledná...*, p. 192.

78 Fejér, X, 1, passim.

79 S.A. Sroka, *Genealogia Andegawenów...*, p. 53.

ABSTRACT

The article discusses the circumstances surrounding the imprisonment of the Hungarian queen Elizabeth of Bosnia widow of Louis the Great and their daughter Mary in the summer of 1386. There has been quite a lot of work done on this topic, above all in the monograph of the Hungarian historian Szilárd Süttő, who published a two-volume study of the political history of Hungary in 1384-1387.

In the summer of 1386, Elizabeth of Bosnia, together with her daughter Mary undertook an expedition to the southern regions of the extensive Hungarian kingdom. Their aim was to put an end to the rebellion led by the Horváth family in the territories of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia. This expedition came to a tragic end. On 25 July 1386, in Diakóvár the royal party was captured by the rebels (led by John Horváth) and imprisoned initially in the Gornec castle and later in Novigrad. It was there, in January 1387 that Elizabeth was murdered while her daughter was forced to watch; the news of her death reached Zadar on 16 January 1387, and the Queen's funeral took place on 9th February there in the monastery of St Chrisogonus.

Sigismund of Luxemburg utilized the death of Elizabeth and the imprisonment of Mary to organize his coronation as king of Hungary in March 1387. Then, in order to set his wife free he began negotiations with the Venetians with the support of Pope Urban VI. A Venetian fleet under the command of admiral John Barbadoico surrounded Novigrad. Cut off from supplies the rebels were forced to surrender and Mary regained her freedom on 4 June 1387. In the second half of that year, Mary gave estates confiscated from the Horváth family to the knights who had experienced imprisonment with her. This brought to an end the tragic episode in her life which certainly led to the premature death of the queen in 1395.

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POLITICS, HONOUR AND DISPLAY: THE CAPTIVITY OF JOHN THE GOOD



John the Good, king of France (1350-1364), spent a third of his reign as a prisoner of the English crown. His captivity began when he was captured by Edward, prince of Wales, at the battle of Poitiers on 19 September 1356¹. John spent the first eight months of his imprisonment at Bordeaux, the capital of English Gascony, after which he was brought to England, where he remained until July 1361. He then spent three months in the English-held town of Calais, from where he was released to return to his kingdom on 26 October 1361, after the English crown received the first instalment of his ransom. When his son, Louis, broke the terms of his ransom, John voluntarily returned to captivity in England in January 1364, where he remained until his death on 8 April 1364. Although John was not the only French king to be captured in battle, he spent the longest time in foreign captivity². The four years and four months that John spent as a prisoner had a deep and lasting impact on his kingdom, and brought the Valois monarchy to its nadir. In the late 1350s, the kingdom of France was weakened by foreign and domestic conflict, urban and peasant revolts, economic chaos, and challenges to the royal government by those who sought to reform the monarchy. This article will focus on John's response to these crises, particularly his efforts to maintain control over his kingdom and sustain his royal dignity during his first period of captivity (September 1356 to October 1361).

¹ Edward was also known as the "Black Prince", and this is how he will be referred to throughout this article.

² Louis IX was captured at the battle of Fariskur in April 1250 and ransomed for 400 thousand dinars, while Francis I was captured by Charles V's Spanish troops at the battle of Pavia in February 1525 and imprisoned in Madrid.

We are fortunate to possess a substantial amount of surviving primary material detailing his time in captivity. As John was physically removed from the government of his kingdom during his captivity, he developed an epistolary style of rule. His surviving letters provide us with a wealth of information on his aims and methods of rule. The capture of the French king was a momentous event for both England and France, and the conditions of John's captivity were recorded in detail by numerous chroniclers on both sides of the Channel. In addition to these narrative sources, we are fortunate to possess the financial accounts kept by the household staff who served John during his captivity, which detail the French monarch's day-to-day activities in England³. Furthermore, the abundant administrative records of the English crown provide information on the conditions of John's captivity. Using these sources and others, this article will assess the methods taken by John the Good to assert his royal dignity and control his public image in both France and England during a period when his status was being challenged. It will examine the Valois monarch's legal position and his attempts to maintain control over France, as well as considering his subjects' responses to their king's actions.

DEFEAT AT POITIERS AND CAPTIVITY AT BORDEAUX

On early October 1356, Edward III, king of England, learned that his son Edward, the Black Prince, had defeated the French royal army on 19 September. As well as routing the French forces, the Black Prince and his supporters captured numerous French nobles, including the Valois monarch, John II, and his youngest son, Philip. As a mark of the scale of his victory, the Black Prince sent his father the helm of the French king, which John had surrendered to his captor⁴. Although the ransom of high-ranking prisoners was a standard element of medieval warfare, the capture of the Valois monarch was especially significant because Edward III claimed to be the rightful king of France, and John II the son of an usurper (Philip VI), who had taken his French throne unlawfully⁵. How, then, was John to be treated in captivity?

As the reigning king of France, John the Good was one of the most powerful men in Europe. Honour and reputation were key qualities of

3 L. Douet-d'Arcq, *Journal de la dépense du roi Jean en Angleterre*, in: *Comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France au XIV^e siècle*, Paris 1851, pp. 193-299; Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents relatifs à Jean, roi de France, et à captivité en Angleterre*, "Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society" II (1855), pp. 1-190; idem, *Nouveaux documents relatifs à Jean roi de France, communiqués par M. Leon Lacabane*, "Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society" V (1858-1859), pp. 1-24.

4 J. Deviosse, *Jean Le Bon*, Paris 1995, p. 385.

5 For the ransom of prisoners during the Hundred Years' War see R. Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2013.

kingship, and John was mindful of the importance of being seen to act in a kingly manner. For Geoffroi de Charny – who carried the Oriflamme (the French holy war banner) at Poitiers, and who died fighting alongside the king – war was the most honourable feat that a knight could engage in⁶. Medieval manuals of chivalry attached a strong importance to individual acts of bravery, and stated that the most renowned knights were those who performed valiant feats on the battlefield⁷. John II displayed a particular concern with his chivalric image throughout his life, as it was as a source of competition with the English king. For example, John II established the Order of the Star in 1351 in response to Edward III's creation of the Order of the Garter three years earlier. The founding principals of the Order of the Star stated that those members who fled from the battlefield in a shameful way would be expelled from the order⁸. The retreat of a substantial part of John's army, including his eldest son, Charles, and brother, Louis, from the battlefield at Poitiers prompted John to lead a futile charge into the Anglo-Gascon ranks in an attempt to save his honour from the shameful behaviour of his commanders⁹. Although this was a tactically flawed move (and taken against the counsel of his advisors), it allowed John to reaffirm the honourable behaviour that was expected from a French king. While his actions on the battlefield plunged France into a deep financial and political crisis that brought misery for thousands of his subjects, they were acclaimed by many of his contemporaries¹⁰. Indeed, John's actions on the battlefield led the Black Prince to accord him the place of honour at the banquet held on the evening of the battle¹¹. As well as allowing the Black Prince to acknowledge John's bravery in battle, the French monarch's presence at the table also permitted the English commander to draw attention to his own chivalrous behaviour. The Black Prince was aware that John had instructed his soldiers to give no mercy to the English during the battle, which meant that they were to take no prisoners¹². During the banquet, the Black Prince asked John: "Beau cousin, si vous m'eussiez pris, merci à Dieu, comme je vous ai pris, que faisiez-vous de

6 R.W. Kaeuper, E. Kennedy, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: Text, Context, and Translation*, Philadelphia 1996, pp. 33-34, 59.

7 R. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, Harlow 1970, p. 193.

8 The founding principals of the order are given in J. Viard, E. Déprez, *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, II, Paris 1905, pp. 205-207. For the Order of the Star see A.J.D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520*, Woodbridge 1987, pp. 167-210.

9 J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years' War, II: Trial by Fire*, London 1999, pp. 241-246.

10 F. Autrand, *Charles V: le sage*, Paris 1994, p. 218.

11 W.M. Ormrod, *Edward III*, London 2011, p. 353.

12 For the Oriflamme see P. Contamine, *L'Oriflamme de Saint-Denis aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, "Annales de l'Est" VII (1973), pp. 179-224.

moi?”, to which “ne respondi riens le roy [John II]”¹³. The Black Prince drew attention to his own magnanimous actions by contrasting them with the less than honourable instructions given by the French monarch. As we shall see, throughout his time in captivity, both the Black Prince and Edward III used their treatment of John as a means to articulate their own qualities.

From the battlefield, the Black Prince brought John to Bordeaux, where he received a ceremonial reception on 5 October 1356. The Black Prince’s herald, Sir John Chandos, who witnessed the event, tells us that the royal party was greeted “with crosses and processions, singing their orisons, [and] all the members of the collegial churches of Bordeaux came to meet them, and the ladies and the damsels, old and young, and serving-maids”¹⁴. The deference shown to the French king by the English following the battle continued during his stay in the city. Rather than placing John in strict confinement within the city’s royal castle, the Château de l’Ombrière, he was lodged in rooms close to those of the Black Prince at the abbey of Saint-André¹⁵. Aside from considerations of status and chivalry, there were also more prosaic reasons that lay behind the good treatment accorded to John and the other high-ranking French captives. The prisoners’ ransoms, especially those of the king and his son, were sources of great potential revenue for the English king and his supporters. Moreover, John’s custody offered Edward III considerable political leverage, to say nothing of his propaganda value for the Plantagenet monarchy, which he could use to force the French into making major territorial concessions in the forthcoming peace talks. By entering Bordeaux at the side of John II, the Black Prince drew attention to the scale of his victory at Poitiers. It was a demonstration of the military prowess that was expected from Edward III’s heir. Furthermore, the money which English and Gascon nobles expected to gain from the ransoms of the French prisoners taken at the battle boosted the Plantagenet monarchy’s ability to enrich its supporters, which was an essential attribute of successful medieval rulership.

The population of Bordeaux profited from the extended stay of the Black Prince and John II in the city. Although Bordeaux was the capital of Aquitaine and the wealthiest city in south-western France, its distinct geo-political situation meant that it was rarely visited by kings. It was ruled by the kings of England, whose power-base lay a thousand kilometres to the north. While the English monarchs campaigned extensively in France during the

13 S. Luce, *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*, Paris 1862, pp. 57-58.

14 M.K. Pope, E.C. Lodge, *Life of the Black Prince by the Herald of Sir John Chandos*, Oxford 1910, p. 147.

15 J.A.C. Buchon, *Chroniques de Froissart*, VI, Paris 1824, p. 362; P. Hoskins, *In the Steps of the Black Prince: The Road to Poitiers, 1355-1356*, Woodbridge 2011, p. 197.

Hundred Years' War, they did not travel to Bordeaux; indeed, the last king of England to visit the city was Edward I, who resided there from 1286 to 1289¹⁶. Moreover, while Aquitaine was held by the English king-duke as a fief of the French crown, persistent conflict between England and France meant that the city had not been visited by a French monarch since July 1137, when the future Louis VII had travelled there to marry Eleanor of Aquitaine¹⁷. As pre-modern princely courts consumed prodigious amounts of goods, the financial cost of the victuals, as well as those of the numerous festivities which took place in the city during the royal visit, generated substantial revenue for Bordeaux's citizens¹⁸. Furthermore, Gascon nobles received money raised from the ransoms of the French prisoners during this time¹⁹. In addition to these economic benefits, the presence of John II and the Black Prince in the city placed Bordeaux at the centre of European diplomacy. Between September 1356 and March 1357, representatives of the English and French crowns negotiated a truce that was to last from 9 April 1357 to 9 April 1359, during which time a lasting peace settlement was to be devised²⁰.

While his leading advisors negotiated the terms of the peace of Bordeaux, John attempted to maintain his rule in France. The Valois monarch was not isolated from news of events in his kingdom, as a steady stream of French messengers and officials travelled between Paris and Bordeaux, keeping him up-to-date with events in France²¹. John continued to issue acts as king during his time in Bordeaux, and he had the great seal brought to the city in January 1357²². He wrote numerous letters to the political elites of the kingdom in an effort to maintain a degree of control over his government's actions. John's

16 M. Prestwich, *Edward I*, London 1988, pp. 305-308.

17 C. Higounet, *Bordeaux pendant la haut Moyen Age*, Bordeaux 1963, pp. 64-65; F.B. Marsh, *English Rule in Gascony, 1199-1259: With Special Reference to the Towns*, Ann Arbor 1912; Y. Sassier, *Louis VII*, Paris 1991, pp. 60-61. For English Gascony see: E.C. Lodge, *Gascony under English Rule*, London 1926; Y. Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, Bordeaux 1965; J.P. Trabut-Cussac, *L'Administration anglaise en Gascogne sous Henry III et Edouard I^{er} de 1254 à 1307*, Genève 1972; M.G.A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399-1453: A Study of War, Government and Politics during the Later Stages of the Hundred Years' War*, London 1970.

18 J. Deviosse, *Jean le Bon*, pp. 383-384.

19 M.W. Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony*, London 1980, pp. 143-144; J.M. Tournour-Aumont, *La Bataille de Poitiers (1356) et la construction de la France*, Paris 1940, p. 329; J. Deviosse, *Jean le Bon*, pp. 404-405; J.A.C. Buchon, *Chroniques...*, pp. 366-367.

20 Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica, inter reges Angliae, et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel, communitates [...] habita aut tractata*, III, Londini 1727, pp. 348-351; H. Denifle, *La désolation des églises, monastères et hopitaux en France pendant la guerre de cent ans*, II, Paris 1899, pp. 147-148.

21 J. Deviosse, *Jean le Bon*, p. 389.

22 R. Cazelles, *Société politique, noblesse et couronne sous Jean le Bon et Charles V*, Genève-Paris 1982, p. 241.

ability to send and receive letters was dependent on the permission of the Black Prince, and could be removed at any time²³. However, it was in the interests of the English crown to permit the French king to keep in contact with his subjects, so that he could promote the peace that his advisors were then brokering with the English. John used his letters to emphasise the importance of peace for the security of France. In his letter to the ruling council of Paris on 12 December 1356, he stated that “nous voulons bien que vous sachiés qu’il est impossible que vous nous puissés jamais ravoir par guerre, ne autrement que par traitié d’accort et de pais”²⁴. John emphasised the importance of his release for the good of the kingdom, and fostered sentiments of loyalty towards him. In his December letters to the Parisians, for example, John wrote of the city’s “bone affection et le tres grant désir et volenté que vous et euls avés à nostre délivrance”²⁵.

As soon as the truce with England was agreed in early April 1357, John sent three senior members of his royal council (Guillaume de Melun, Jean d’Artois and Jean de Melun-Tancarville) to announce its terms in the capital. Despite the king’s efforts to promote peace with England, the Bordeaux agreement was so unpopular with the Parisians that John’s representatives had to flee the capital in fear of their lives²⁶. Furthermore, the levying of a war subsidy by the Estates General in Paris threatened to break the terms of the Bordeaux truce²⁷. This came as a blow to John, who had sent letters to Paris underlining the importance of his release for the overall safety of the kingdom²⁸. From John’s perspective, the truce made at Bordeaux made the war subsidy unnecessary. He ruled that the revenue was to be diverted towards his ransom, and instructed the Estates not to go ahead with their planned meeting on 25 April 1357²⁹. However, it soon became clear that the conditions

23 Ibidem, p. 229.

24 A. Guésnon, *Documents inédits sur l’invasion anglaise et les états au temps de Philippe VI et de Jean le Bon*, Paris 1898, p. 37.

25 Ibidem.

26 *Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, ed. R. Delachenal, I, Paris 1920, pp. 108-109; R. Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris de la fin du règne de Philippe Auguste à la mort de Charles V 1223-1380*, Paris 1972, p. 310. Although the truce was generally unpopular with the population of northern France, it did benefit some enterprising merchants, including Jean de Wadencourt from Picardy and Vincent de Castelis from Dieppe, who made use of the truce re-establish trade with England: *Calendar of Patent Rolls. Edward III* [henceforth: CPR], X: 1354-1358, London 1909, p. 594.

27 P. Paris, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France, selon que elles sont conservées en l’église de Saint-Denis en France*, VI, Paris 1836, p. 54; A. Coville, *Les Etats généraux de 1322 à 1357, “Le Moyen Age” VI* (1893), pp. 60-61.

28 R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, p. 276.

29 P. Paris, *Les Grandes Chroniques...*, p. 57.

of John's captivity meant that the king's ability to control the actions of his government was limited, and he was only able to delay the opening of the Estates by five days³⁰. The physical distance that separated John from his administration in Paris made it difficult for John to control the day-to-day running of his kingdom³¹.

John's attempts to continue to rule from captivity were particularly troublesome for his eldest son, Charles, who had taken the title "lieutenant du roi" on 20 September 1356³². The scale of the defeat at Poitiers threw the government of France into disarray. A large number of the kingdom's political elite were either killed or captured at the battle, including most of the members of the royal council. Although Charles called a meeting of the Estates General in October 1356, seeking their help to rule, the defeat at Poitiers generated strong opposition to France's ruling class from the delegates³³. In particular, they placed the responsibility for the disaster at Poitiers on a number of prominent royal officials, such as the chancellor, Pierre de La Forêt, and John's government was largely discredited in their eyes. It was a source of considerable anger to the Estates that these same ministers were behind the peace negotiations in Bordeaux, which further compromised John's policies. The Estates, which met over the course of eighteen months under the dominance of Étienne Marcel, the *prévôt-des-marchands* of Paris, set about reforming the royal government³⁴.

As the effective head of the royal government in Paris, the young and inexperienced dauphin, Charles, had to contend with the actions of an increasingly hostile Estates, which had grown more powerful as a result of the king's captivity. In December 1356, Charles travelled to Metz to meet his uncle, Emperor Charles IV, in order to seek his advice about how best to deal with the problems that he faced. Before leaving Paris, Charles ordered a new coinage as part of his efforts to restore the economy. However, the Estates challenged the crown's right to manipulate the currency, and Marcel compelled Charles's younger brother, Louis (who the dauphin had placed

³⁰ J.B. Henneman, *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth-Century France: The Captivity and Ransom of John II, 1356-1370*, Philadelphia 1976, p. 49; R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, I-V, Paris 1909-1931, here II, pp. 312-313; G. Bordonove, *Jean II: Le Bon*, Paris 2000, pp. 214-216.

³¹ R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, p. 230.

³² R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, I, p. 246-247; F. Autrand, *Charles V...*, II, pp. 246-248.

³³ J. Deviosse, *Jean...*, pp. 380-381.

³⁴ J. d'Avout, *Le meurtre d'Étienne Marcel: 31 Juillet 1358*, Paris 1960, pp. 51-57; G. Small, *Late Medieval France*, Basingstoke 2009, pp. 114-115. See also S. Savisky, *L'Ordonnance du 3 mars 1357. Les Valois dans la tourmente*, Chamalières 2001. For events in Paris during this period see J. Krynen, *Entre la réforme et la révolution: Paris 1356-1358*, in: *Les révolutions françaises*, Paris 1989, pp. 98-112.

in control of the royal government during his absence), to suspend the new currency³⁵. The dauphin's efforts to control the increasingly volatile political climate in Paris was compounded by his father's efforts to continue to rule from Bordeaux, especially after John wrote a letter to Étienne Marcel in which he apparently legitimised the actions of the *prévôt des marchands* to resist his son's policies³⁶. When John wrote a further letter to Marcel in March 1357 to proclaim that the war subsidy levied by the Estates was illegal, the *prévôt-des-marchands* forced Charles to annul his father's instruction. As a result of these actions, John instructed the consuls of Montpellier on 8 April not to implement the decisions of the dauphin, "qui n'agit plus de sa pure et franche volonté"³⁷. Although John was attempting to reinforce royal power in the face of a challenge by the Estates, his actions proved detrimental to the authority of his son's government, which was weakened as a result.

Essentially, John and his son were pursuing two different policies, each of which derived from the different challenges that they faced. Whereas the dauphin's principal aims were to restore financial stability and control the actions of the Estates, John's overriding goal was to obtain his freedom and return to France. For the Valois monarch, his release was the panacea that would restore the health of his kingdom. While the realisation of John's aims rested on the maintenance of the truce with England, the Estates developed an aggressive war policy³⁸. John's actions were also motivated by the challenges he faced in France, especially from Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, who had a claim to the French throne and acted a figurehead for opposition to the crown³⁹. John's conciliatory letter to Étienne Marcel in December 1356 was driven by a concern to try and prevent Paris from supporting Charles the Bad⁴⁰. By the time that John sailed from Bordeaux to England in April 1357, the Valois monarchy was beset by numerous challenges and was about to enter its "année terrible"⁴¹.

35 J.B. Henneman, *Royal Taxation...*, pp. 42-43; J. Deviosse, *Jean le Bon*, p. 400. For Marcel see R. Cazelles, *Étienne Marcel: Champion de l'unité française*, Paris 1984.

36 R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, p. 239.

37 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, pp. 312-313.

38 R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, p. 275.

39 R. Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire...*, p. 316.

40 For Charles the Bad see A. Plaisse, *Charles, dit le Mauvais: comte d'Évreux, roi de Navarre, capitaine de Paris*, Évreux 1972. While Étienne Marcel would become one of the leading opponents to the crown, his actions towards John in 1355 had been conciliatory: R. Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire...*, p. 301.

41 F. Autrand, *Charles V...*, p. 292. Edward III instructed the Black Prince to bring John to England as he feared that he was vulnerable to rescue in Bordeaux: F. Bock, *Some New Documents Illustrating the Early Years of the Hundred Years War*, "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library" XV (1931), p. 99; T. Rymer, *Foedera...*, pp. 133-136.

JOHN THE GOOD'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND

The Black Prince sailed from Bordeaux with his French prisoners on 11 April 1357. They arrived at Plymouth on 5 May, and John was led on a progress across southern England⁴². As at Bordeaux, the Black Prince underlined the extent of his victory in France by displaying his French captives to the English. His successes in France were of particular benefit to the townspeople of southern England, who stood to profit from the resurgence of the Anglo-Gascon wine trade that came in the wake of the Black Prince's victory at Poitiers. The ceremonial entry of John and the Black Prince into London on 23 May was the centrepiece of the progress. Although Edward III came out of London to offer "grant honneur et reverence" to John, he returned to the city in advance of the public entry⁴³. This was a gesture of respect towards his son, whose victory in France had earned him the right to make a triumphal entry into London. At the conclusion of the entry, John was brought to his residence at the Savoy Palace, which was reckoned to be one of the most beautiful residences in England. By lodging John in this prestigious location, Edward III was able to display the extent of his wealth to his rival, as well as providing accommodation that befitted John's status⁴⁴. The degree to which the Lancastrian monarchy treated the king of France with honour and reverence is highlighted when we contrast the conditions of John's captivity to those of the Scottish king, David II, who was also in London as a prisoner of Edward III in 1357⁴⁵. Although David's lodgings were comfortable, they were considerably inferior to those of the king of France. In addition to seasonal clothing, the Scottish king was given a daily allowance to provide for his needs. The fact that he could not afford to pay for his upkeep was humiliating for David⁴⁶. In contrast to the Scottish king, as well as paying for his own upkeep, John the Good engaged in lavish displays of expenditure on gifts, clothing, food and decorations during his time in England as a means to maintain his royal dignity.

John spent his first two years of his captivity in England at the Savoy Palace. The French king and his son were permitted a considerable degree of freedom of movement, which they used to pursue princely activities,

⁴² CPR, X, p. 53; G.H. Martin, *Knighon's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, Oxford 1995, pp. 148-151; W.M. Ormrod, *Edward III...*, p. 387; T. Rymer, *Foedera...*, p. 348.

⁴³ *Chronique des règnes...*, p. 110.

⁴⁴ P. Paris, *Les Grandes Chroniques...*, p. 58; T. Rymer, *Foedera...*, pp. 401-402.

⁴⁵ G.H. Martin, *Knighon's Chronicle...*, p. 153.

⁴⁶ M.A. Penman, *David II, 1329-71*, East Linton 2004, p. 183. For David II in captivity see E.W.M. Balfour, *Papers Relating to the Captivity of David II*, "Scottish History Society Miscellany" IX (1966), pp. 9-35.

including hunting. Although hunting was a common activity for later medieval rulers, French monarchs were especially renowned for their devotion to the chase⁴⁷. Regular participation in hunts allowed John to highlight his status as the king of France during a time when his position was being challenged by both foreign and domestic enemies. As well as using his freedom of movement to make numerous trips to Edward III at Westminster and Windsor, John also developed networks with French noblewomen who were then living in England. In particular, he made regular visits to Isabella, the daughter of Philip IV of France, who was based at Hertford Castle, which lay 50 kilometres to the north of London. Isabella could sympathise with John's situation, as she had spent a long period in captivity for her role in the deposition and murder of her husband, Edward II⁴⁸. John's visits to Isabella at Hertford also led him to develop a friendship with Marie, countess of Pembroke, who was a member of the prominent French Châtillon family⁴⁹.

Although John was a prisoner in a foreign kingdom, the social environment in which he lived was not alien to him. This was a francophone society, and English and French nobles shared a common culture⁵⁰. Gift giving was used to construct and consolidate relations between groups and individuals during the Middle Ages, and was especially important to kings who used largesse as a means to maintain their status. As well as exchanging gifts with Isabella and Marie, John also exchanged gifts with prominent English nobles⁵¹. The most significant gifts he made were those which he offered to Edward III, as they formed part of his efforts to assert his superior status⁵². When Edward sent John a silver goblet from his own table, John immediately responded by sending him "en don le proper henap à quoy il buvoit, qui fu Monseigneur St Loys"⁵³. As St. Louis was the most revered

47 R.H. Bautier, *Diplomatique et histoire politique: ce que la critique diplomatique nous apprend sur la personnalité de Philippe le Bel*, "Revue Historique" CCLIX (1978), pp. 3-37; M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270-1380*, Oxford 2001, pp. 182-183.

48 E.A. Bond, *Notices of the Last Days of Isabella, Queen of Edward the Second, Drawn from an Account of the Expenses of Her Household*, "Archaeologia" XXXV (1854), p. 461; K. de Lettenhove, *Récits d'un bourgeois de Valenciennes (XIV^e siècle)*, Louvain 1877, p. 292.

49 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, p. 58. He also regularly exchanged gifts with both Isabella and Marie: Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents...*, p. 97; L. Douet-d'Arcq, *Journal...*, p. 259; P. Paris, *Les Grandes Chroniques...*, p. 215.

50 M. Vale, *The Princely Court...*, pp. 249-250; N. Wilkins, *Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages*, in: *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, London 1983, p. 183.

51 Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents...*, p. 106.

52 For example, after Edward III invited John to dine with him at Windsor on 28 June, the French king reciprocated by sending him *les coffres ou estuiz d'une ceinture et d'une aigle*: L. Douet-d'Arcq, *Journal...*, p. 267.

53 *Ibidem*, p. 270.

king in later medieval Europe, this gift was of greater cultural value than the cup offered by Edward, and provided a demonstration of the superior power (and lineage) of the French monarch.

John was granted the freedom to send and receive letters during his first period of his captivity in England; indeed, the scale of his contacts was considerable⁵⁴. As the French king was physically cut off from his government in Paris, he relied on letters to maintain communication with his kingdom. These letters were brought across the Channel by his own messengers, as well as by those of the other French nobles who were in English captivity⁵⁵. John also relied on trusted contacts he made during his time in England to carry letters on his behalf. For example, he had Marie of Warenne's valet carry letters to the dauphin on his behalf⁵⁶. As well as being a considerable mark of trust in the countess, John may have sent letters by her messenger in the hope that these would not be subject to the same degree of inspection by English officials as those sent via his own messengers were. John used his freedom of communication to maintain regular contact with key supporters in France, such as Robert, seigneur de Fiennes, the constable of France, who persistently worked to obtain the king's release⁵⁷. In return, he received letters from his principal representatives in France, informing him of events in the kingdom⁵⁸.

Despite these freedoms, John was still a prisoner of the English crown. This meant that he could not exercise the full prerogatives of a sovereign monarch. What liberty he was permitted was dependent on the good favour of Edward III, who was able to regulate access to him. In the summer of 1357, for example, Edward prohibited Cardinal Tallyrand (one of the principal negotiators at the London peace talks) from speaking privately with John⁵⁹. While the French king was permitted a great deal of freedom of movement, he was in the keeping of Sir Thomas Swynnerton, who ensured that John had a substantial guard with him at all times⁶⁰. As well as being a practical measure to prevent John's escape or rescue, this action also made it clear that the French king was ultimately in the control of the English monarchy.

54 In July 1359, for example, he received letters brought by the sergeant of Frederick, king of Sicily: *ibidem*, p. 208.

55 Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents...*, pp. 109, 112, 114.

56 *Ibidem*, p. 108.

57 *Ibidem*, pp. 133, 134.

58 See, for example the letters from his son, Louis, count of Poitiers and governor of the Languedoc: *ibidem*, p. 99.

59 F. Bériac-Lainé, C. Given-Wilson, *Les prisonniers de la bataille de Poitiers*, Paris 2002, pp. 134-135.

60 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, p. 57; *Register of Edward the Black Prince Preserved in the Public Record Office, III: Palatinate of Chester, A.D. 1351-1365*, London 1930-1933, p. 278.

DIPLOMACY, DISPLAY AND THE FIRST TREATY OF LONDON

According to Sir John Chandos, John II's presence in England was the catalyst for a prolonged period of "dancing, hunting, hawking, feasting, and jousting, as in the reign of Arthur"⁶¹. Numerous celebrations punctuated the first period of French king's captivity in England, including an especially notable night tournament at Bristol⁶². The apogee of these festivities came in Easter 1358, when Edward III held a series of celebrations at Windsor to promote the peace between the two kings. The centrepiece of the Easter celebrations was an international tournament, held on St. George's Day (23 April), which contemporaries considered to be especially magnificent⁶³. The English chronicler, Henry Knighton, writes that "The splendour of the festival was richly varied, and it is not within our powers to do it justice"⁶⁴. The tournament at Windsor was designed to promote England's standing on the European stage by capitalising on the prestige which the kingdom had gained through its military successes in France. Given the importance of this tournament to his international reputation, Edward III spent prodigiously on the event. A large number of Gascons came to England to compete in the tournament, as did the duke of Brabant⁶⁵. By inviting guests from across Europe to participate in the event, Edward III was inviting them to witness the splendour of his court, especially the array of high-ranking captives who were then in his custody.

The Windsor festivities celebrated the first treaty of London, which had resulted from months of discussions⁶⁶. Despite the slow progress of the negotiations, which began in August 1357, a draft treaty was reached in December that year and a ransom placed on John II. The French king had been working towards a lasting peace since his time in Bordeaux, and he promoted the terms of the treaty of London to his subjects. For example, he wrote to the consuls of Montpellier from Windsor on 3 December 1357 to inform them that after "pluseurs debas" an agreement had been reached "sur paix final

61 M.K. Pope, E.C. Lodge, *Life of the Black Prince...*, p. 148.

62 F.S. Haydon, *Eulogium (Historiarum sive temporis): Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad annum Domini M.CCC.LXVI*, III, London 1863, p. 227.

63 Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica, 1272-1363*, ed. A. King, Woodbridge 2005, p. 151; G.H. Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle...*, p. 158; *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis*, ed. J. Tait, Manchester 1914, pp. 43, 45, 130.

64 G.H. Martin, *Knighton's Chronicle...*, p. 159.

65 R. Barber, *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine: A Biography of the Black Prince*, Woodbridge 1978, p. 154.

66 N.P. Zacour, *Tallyrand: The Cardinal of Périgord (1301-1364)*, "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society" L (1960), p. 57; R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, p. 59.

et sur nostre delivrance, au proffit de tout nostre royaume"⁶⁷. Although John took steps to promote the terms of the peace in Paris, he handled the situation badly, perhaps unaware of the extent of the anti-royal sentiment in the city. The delegation that he sent to Paris on 27 January 1358 with the terms of the treaty of London was composed of individuals who were unpopular with the Parisians. They included men such as Renaud d'Ancy, who was among the twenty-two royal officers that Étienne Marcel had excluded from public office in 1357⁶⁸. D'Ancy was hunted down and killed by armed Parisians, as a result of which a copy of the treaty of London fell into the hands of the supporters of Charles the Bad, who were alarmed by the scale of the territorial concessions to England⁶⁹. Although John was disconcerted by events in Paris, he nonetheless believed that he possessed the necessary authority to push the peace through. The treaty was formally concluded at Westminster on 8 May 1358, and celebrated at a feast during which John II and Edward III exchanged rings as a symbol of their new friendship⁷⁰.

Despite the hostile reception of his officials in Paris, the situation in France seemed to be improving for the crown, as the Estates which met at Compiègne in May 1358 was sympathetic to John's situation. The terms of the treaty of London stipulated that the first instalment of John's ransom was to be paid by 1 November 1358, and the Estates levied a tax to raise this sum⁷¹. John then wrote to his officials in Languedoc to implement the aid promised at Compiègne⁷². He sent out a steady stream of letters to his subjects, exhorting them "lui faire aide, prestement et convenablement, par voie de don ou de prêt, chacun de selon son pouvoir"⁷³. In these letters, he stated that his captivity brought dishonour the kingdom. He wrote to the consuls of Montpellier in September 1358 to ask them to deliver the ransom promptly, stating that its delay "seroit au grant deshonnour de nous et de vous et de noz autres bons et loyaux subgiez"⁷⁴. While John encouraged his subjects to give generously to his ransom fund, the economic situation in France was dire, especially in the north of the kingdom, where a wide-spread peasant rebellion, known as the *Jacquerie*, erupted in the summer of 1358. As a result of these

67 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, pp. 393-394.

68 *Chronique des règnes...*, pp. 143-144.

69 R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, p. 300; J.B. Henneman, *Royal Taxation...*, p. 84; R. Cazelles, *Nouvelle histoire...*, pp. 328-329.

70 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, pp. 67-69; Archives Municipales [henceforth: AM] Nîmes LL 1 (deposited in the Archives départementales du Gard).

71 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, pp. 67-69.

72 M. de Laurière et al., *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race recueillies par ordre chronologique*, III, Paris 1732, pp. 692-693; IV, pp. 188-194; AM Nîmes LL 1.

73 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, p. 69.

74 *Ibidem*, p. 433.

difficulties, only a fraction of the first instalment was collected by November 1358, which meant that the treaty of London was rendered null⁷⁵.

Despite the collapse of the treaty, John continued to work to develop a lasting peace with Edward III. While the Bordeaux truce was due to expire on 9 April 1359, John persuaded the English monarch to extend it to 24 June⁷⁶. Rather than representing a success of John's diplomacy, Edward agreed to the prolongation of the truce as he needed time to prepare an army to invade France. Furthermore, the collapse of the first treaty of London left John in a very weak negotiating position, which meant that the Plantagenet monarchy was able to impose more severe terms on the French in the second treaty of London (24 May 1359)⁷⁷.

The freedom of communication granted to the French monarch allowed him to interfere with his son's efforts to rule, and the dauphin learned of his father's new diplomatic efforts with alarm. While John negotiated the second treaty of London, Charles was attempting to reimpose his authority over the north, which had been destabilised by the *Jacquerie* and a revolt in Paris led by Étienne Marcel⁷⁸. John's letters from England undermined his son's efforts to cope with these events. When Charles attempted to reassert his authority over Paris after the murder of Etienne Marcel brought an end to the city's revolt, John sent a letter to the city's ruling administration to thank them for ending the rebellion, in return for which he offered them a pardon⁷⁹. The French king attempted to rule his kingdom from England with little consideration for the pressures facing the dauphin⁸⁰. He agreed to the punitive terms of the second treaty of London without a regard for the difficulties that they would cause his son. Indeed, John rarely consulted Charles on matters of policy, and simply sent him a copy of the second treaty of London with instructions to have it implemented in France. As a consequence of the problems caused by John's continuing efforts to rule his kingdom, Charles assumed the full

75 Moreover, Charles the Bad made his own treaty with Edward III in 1358, the terms of which effectively cancelled those of the treaty of London: E. Deprez, *Une conférence Anglo-Navarroise en 1358*, "Revue Historique" XCIX (1908), pp. 34-39.

76 J. Le Patourel, *The Treaty of Brétigny, 1360*, "Transactions of the Royal Historical Society" X (1960), p. 28.

77 R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, p. 355; H. Denifle, *Désolation...*, p. 324; J.B. Henneman, *Royal Taxation...*, pp. 93-94.

78 S. Luce, *Histoire de la Jacquerie d'après des documents inédits*, Paris 1894; M.T. de Medeiros, *Jacques et chroniqueurs. Une étude comparée de récits contemporains relatant la Jacquerie de 1358*, Paris 1979; M. Mollat, P. Wolff, *Ongles bleus, Jacques et Ciompi: Les révolutions populaires en Europe aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Paris 1970, pp. 123-131.

79 *Recueil de pièces servant de preuves aux Mémoires sur les troubles excités en France par Charles II, dit le Mauvais, roi de Navarre et Comte d'Evreux*, Paris 1755, pp. 87-88.

80 G. Small, *Late Medieval France...*, p. 117.

powers of royal authority by taking the title of regent, declaring that his father's captivity prevented him from reigning⁸¹. John was not consulted before Charles took the title regent, and Raymond Cazelles believed that it is unlikely that he would have given his approval; indeed, John attempted to re-assert his authority in France the wake of this action. He wrote a letter to the officials of the *Chambre des Comptes* in Paris calling for them to implement the terms of the peace treaty, which his son was attempting to block⁸².

The dauphin was alarmed by the scale of the territorial submissions that were to be imposed on France by the second treaty of London, which included some of the wealthiest parts of the kingdom. As the loss of these territories would lead to a reduction in the French monarchy's tax base, it would be unlikely that Charles could raise his father's ransom money. The duchy of Normandy was one of the regions to be handed over to the English. Not only would its loss be a personal blow to Charles, who was the duke of Normandy, it was also a major source of concern for the Parisians, whose wealth was dependent on the free movement of fluvial traffic down the Seine. The implementation of the treaty would have been disastrous for Paris, as it would have effectively cut off their access to the Channel. While John wrote to his son in April 1359 instructing him to have the terms of the London agreement accepted in France, the dauphin encouraged the Estates General, which met on 19 May, to reject the treaty⁸³. The Estates took little persuasion, as the terms of the second treaty "fut moult déplaisant a tout le peuple de France", and they ruled that it was neither "passable ne faisable"⁸⁴. The rejection of the treaty was a shock for John, whose hopes of obtaining his freedom were shattered. Not only did the failure of the second treaty of London lead to a return to war between England and France, it also had a profound impact on the conditions of John's captivity.

CONFINEMENT AT SOMERTON

The rejection of the second treaty of London by the Estates led to the conditions of John's captivity becoming more severe. The security around the French king was increased, and his movements restricted⁸⁵. John was first transferred

⁸¹ R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, p. 307.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 308; R. Delachenal, *Charles V...*, II, pp. 400-402.

⁸³ F. Bériac-Lainé, C. Given-Wilson, *Les Prisonniers...*, p. 139. John also sent word to his second son, Louis, count of Poitiers and governor of the Languedoc, to announce word of the peace in the south, see AM Nîmes LL 2.

⁸⁴ P. Paris, *Les Grandes Chroniques...*, p. 215.

⁸⁵ *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward III, X*, London 1908, p. 482; CPR, X, p. 142.

from London to Hertford castle, before being brought to Somerton castle on 4 August⁸⁶. His new residence was considerably less comfortable than the Savoy Palace, and it lay over 200 kilometres from London in the remote county of Lincolnshire. Edward III first raised the possibility of moving John to Somerton in December 1358, when he began to raise an army to invade France. As such, the Lancastrian monarch's plan to remove John from London must be situated within the wider context of his war preparations. Whereas John was accorded a great deal of freedom of communication during the peace talks in Bordeaux and London, the failure of the second treaty of London, and the subsequent return to war, caused Edward to sever John's communication with France and restrict his visits⁸⁷. In the early period of his captivity in England, John received a steady stream of visitors from France; between June 1359 and May 1360, however, his network of contacts was largely limited to those French prisoners who were also held in England⁸⁸. English officials monitored all communication with the French king, and it was hard even for members of John's household staff to gain access to him. When the French monarch's secretary, Jean le Royer, returned from France, where he had been sent by John in May 1359 to promote the second treaty of London, he found it difficult to reach his master. Indeed, Jean le Royer had to be granted a special order to see the French king, and he was only permitted to reside with when John's minstrel, Sauxonet, was sent back to France by the English. In addition, the safe conducts granted to those officials who were permitted to stay with the Valois monarch had to be renewed on a monthly basis. This measure was part of the wider restrictions placed on the French who were resident in England following the resumption of hostilities between the two kingdoms. For example, the French merchants who had started to trade with England as a result of the truce of Bordeaux were ordered to return to France⁸⁹.

The increasingly severe conditions imposed on John during the summer of 1359 also reflected concerns amongst the English that he was involved in plots. Some of the English population were critical of the level of freedom that Edward III had granted John to communicate with France, as they suspected that the French king had issued secret instructions to his subjects to reject the London treaties. The English chronicler Henry Knighton writes that after

⁸⁶ Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents...*, pp. 44, 117; CPR, XI: 1358-1361, London 1911, pp. 251, 315; Ch.T. d'Eynecourt, *Notice of a Portrait of John, King of France*, "Archaeologia" XXXVIII (1860), pp. 196-201; T. Rymer, *Foedera...*, pp. 438-439.

⁸⁷ F. Bériac-Lainé, C. Given-Wilson, *Les Prisonniers...*, p. 140; R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, p. 366.

⁸⁸ F. Bériac-Lainé, C. Given-Wilson, *Les Prisonniers...*, 140.

⁸⁹ Ch. Scott-Stokes, Ch. Given-Wilson, *Chronicon Anonymi Cantuariensis – The Chronicle of Anonymous of Canterbury, 1346-1365*, Oxford 2008, p. 49.

the terms of the first treaty of London had been agreed, John “against the oath that he had sworn, sent letters into France saying that he would never willingly concede a foot of his land of France to the king of England”. He tells us that the messenger carrying these letters was captured at sea, and that John was transferred to Somerton as a result⁹⁰. However, this seems unlikely, as John’s efforts were consistently directed towards making the peace that was necessary to obtain his freedom⁹¹. Nonetheless, Knighton’s suspicions were not without foundation, as John’s household accounts provide evidence that he was in secret communication with France during his captivity in England. Despite the freedom of communication permitted to John, the French king still found it necessary to send and receive covert letters. For example, an unnamed sailor was paid for “asporta secrètement lettres” to the French king⁹². Having sailors carry covert correspondence was a prudent move, as they crossed the Channel regularly and were subject to fewer searches than official messengers coming from France. In contrast, John had to obtain safe conducts for messengers to carry “official” letters to France⁹³. It was a condition of the safe conducts, which were issued by the English government, that secret letters were not to be brought into France by the holder. As well as taking time and requiring money to obtain the safe conducts, letters sent by this means were subject to inspection by Edward III’s officials in England and Calais⁹⁴. The sending of secret letters enabled John to avoid such difficulties and restrictions.

As we saw, the resumption of war with France in 1359 created a heightened sense of fear amongst the English population, which was reflected in their attitude towards the Valois monarch. This fear was shared by the English government, who were concerned that a French force would invade England in order to rescue their king. Indeed, the French planned a naval expedition to England in December 1359, which was intended to free the king. The expedition, which sailed from the Picard port of Le Crotoy in March 1360, was poorly planned, and rather than rescuing the king, its principal achievement was the sack of the Channel port of Winchelsea⁹⁵. This shameful attack impinged on the honour of John II, who offered donations to the town’s religious houses in recompense for his subjects’ actions. The

90 G.H. Martin, *Knighton’s Chronicle...*, p. 163.

91 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, pp. 141-142.

92 L. Douet-d’Arcq, *Journal...*, p. 265.

93 The cost of the safe conducts were covered by John, who had to pay English officials for their issue: *ibidem*, pp. 233, 247.

94 F. Bériac-Lainé, C. Given-Wilson, *Les Prisonniers...*, pp. 135-136.

95 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, pp. 178-182; A. Germain, *Projet de descente en Angleterre [...] pour la délivrance du Roi Jean: Extrait de documents originaux inédits*, Montpellier 1858.

Winchelsea expedition also led to a further clampdown on John's conditions in England. The English government planned to move him from Somerton to the stronghold of Berkhamstead, as it was believed to be a more secure location, before deciding to return the French king to London under a heavy guard⁹⁶. Rather than returning the French king to the comfort of the Savoy Palace, he was brought instead to the Tower of London, as it was believed to be one of the most secure locations in the capital. Indeed, John's security was of such as concern to the English monarchy that the state archives were moved out of the Tower and the French king installed in their place⁹⁷.

John's transfer to Somerton also allowed Edward III to reduce John's visibility. This was an important move for the Plantagenet monarch, who had reasserted his claim to the throne of France after the failure of the second treaty of London. Edward led the campaign of 1359-1360, the objective of which was to capture the city of Reims, where French kings were traditionally crowned. Edward's renewed emphasis on his French throne made John's visibility in London a problem for the English king. John made use of display during his time in London to assert his position as king of France, which was awkward for Edward, as John's public actions undermined his claims to the French throne. As well as moving the Valois monarch out of London to a more remote location, Edward also introduced a series of measures that were designed to diminish John's royal status. One of the principal means the Lancastrian monarch took to achieve this was to restrict the size of John's household, which was reduced from to twenty people on 26 July 1359. In total, Edward ruled that thirty-five were to be expelled from the French king's household, including his senior officials, Gace de la Buigne and Arnoul de Grandpont⁹⁸. John protested against this measure, which he believed was unduly severe, and some of his expelled servants were permitted to return⁹⁹. Despite the restrictions placed on John at Somerton, he attempted to maintain the standard six offices common to late medieval princely households, which his position and dignity as king of France demanded¹⁰⁰.

John was expected to cover the expenses of his household during his time in England. While his ability to do so allowed John to maintain his dignity as king, it meant that he had constant financial concerns. On 18 March 1358,

⁹⁶ T. Rymer, *Foedera...*, p. 477; CPR, X, p. 340; *Register of Edward...*, IV: 1351-1365, London 1933, p. 345.

⁹⁷ T. Rymer, *Foedera...*, pp. 470, 475.

⁹⁸ F. Bériac-Lainé, C. Given-Wilson, *Les Prisonniers...*, p. 142.

⁹⁹ T. Rymer, *Foedera...*, p. 436. The deportation to France of a number of John's household his staff also had the unintended consequence of alerting the dauphin to Edward's plan to capture Reims: S. Luce, *Chronique...*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁰⁰ See: E. Lalou, *Hôtel du roi*, "Lexikon des Mittelalters" V (1991), pp. 140-141; J. Viard, *L'hôtel de Philippe VI de Valois*, "Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes" LV (1894), pp. 465-474.

for example, he wrote to the *Chambre des Comptes* in Paris of the “grant et notable deffaut de finance” that he had suffered since his capture at Poitiers, seeking money “pour nostre vivre et nostre estat maintenir du nostre, et nostre honneur garder”¹⁰¹. As well promoting peace with England, John encouraged his French subjects to send him money to cover his expenses in England. Kings were expected to display their status by consuming large numbers of luxury goods. This drained royal finances, which was an issue of particular concern to John. Not only was he cut off from many of his normal sources of revenue, his government in France were more concerned to use his kingdom’s finances to pay for the war, rather than see to his needs. Despite these difficulties, John attempted to use his authority to obtain funds from the central government. For example, he instructed the *maître visiteur general des ports et passages* to provide him with information on the goods that could be exported out of the kingdom, and how much revenue they could expect to generate¹⁰². Furthermore, there was a regional element to the level of financial support that he received from his kingdom. On the whole, his subjects in the south were more sympathetic to his plight than those in the north. They provided him with the bulk of his funds during his time in captivity; indeed, his subjects in the south introduced financial measures to raise money for his ransom within a month of his capture. On 15 October 1356, the Estates of Languedoc met at Toulouse and voted to levy a subsidy “pour l’amour et la rédemption du roi de France”¹⁰³. They also continued to send him money to cover his living costs during his time in England. In February 1360, a delegation from Languedoc, composed of representatives from the *sénéchaussess*, towns and nobility, arrived in England in order to visit John¹⁰⁴. This was a difficult and expensive journey. They had to purchase safe conducts from both the pope and king of England, and they were mistakingly arrested as traitors upon their return to France¹⁰⁵. His southern subjects has taken the arduous journey to check the conditions of the king’s captivity, his health and to put themselves at his disposal; most importantly, they brought him 10 thousand gold florins¹⁰⁶.

101 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, p. 401.

102 M. de Laurière, *Ordonnances...*, III, pp. 254-257.

103 Ibidem, pp. 88, 106.

104 This delegation was composed of inhabitants from Toulouse, Montpellier, Nîmes, Béziers, Le Puy, Narbonne and Montréal: C. de Vic, J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, IX, Toulouse 1885, p. 688.

105 Henri d’Orléans, duc d’Aumale, *Notes et documents...*, p. 39; F. Bériac-Lainé, C. Given-Wilson, *Les Prisonniers...*, p. 137.

106 C.V. Langlois, *Instructions remises aux Députés de la Commune de Montpellier qui furent envoyés au roi Jean pendant sa captivité en Angleterre (1358-1359)*, Montpellier 1888, pp. 2-7; C. de Vic, J. Vaissette, *Histoire générale...*, p. 1153.

Despite difficulties in obtaining regular funds from France, the officials in John's household were skilled at raising the sums of money necessary to allow him to sustain his royal dignity in captivity. In addition to sums of money, his subjects provided him with victuals, including wine¹⁰⁷. As revenues and gifts from France declined the longer that John remained in captivity, his household officials raised funds by importing southern French wines to sell in London, which was the centre of the Gascon wine trade in England¹⁰⁸. The money from the sale of surplus wine provided John's household with a regular source of income; for example, his officials generated 94 l. 7 s 9 d. from the sale of wine at All Saints 1359¹⁰⁹. The French king used his income to spend profligately on clothing for himself, his son and the members of his household. Items of luxurious clothing made from expensive fabrics were purchased almost every month, such as the "drap d'or" bought in December 1358, along with a wide range of other clothes and accessories for his son, Philip¹¹⁰. Kings were expected to dress in clothing which was of a quality and richness that was superior to those around them. Beyond clothing, John bought a range luxury goods in England, such as the expensive "gobelet d'or" purchased on 11 May 1359¹¹¹. As well as acquiring clothing and silverware, kings also displayed their elevated status through food, especially spices, which were one of the principal luxury goods in medieval Europe. John's household purchased large amounts of spices each month, even during his confinement at Somerton¹¹².

THE TREATY OF BRÉTIGNY

Edward's French campaign of 1359-1360 achieved little, and he was ready to negotiate when he encountered the dauphin's army in late April 1360¹¹³. John received notification of the Anglo-French peace settlement made at Brétigny on 8 May 1359 from messengers sent by the count of Tancarville and Philippa of Hainault, queen of England. That the dauphin did not send word of the treaty to his father, as well as the fact that it was agreed without

107 CPR, X, p. 597.

108 C.M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200-1500*, Oxford 2004, pp. 84-85.

109 L. Douet-d'Arcq, *Journal...*, p. 200; Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents...*, p. 80.

110 Henri d'Orléans, duc d'Aumale, *Notes et documents...*, pp. 89, 111. See for example L. Douet-d'Arcq, *Journal...*, p. 207.

111 L. Douet-d'Arcq, *Journal...*, p. 198.

112 L.G. Matthews, *King John of France and the English Spicers*, "Medical History" V (1961), pp. 65-78.

113 J. le Patourel, *Treaty...*, p. 20.

John's approval, illustrates the degree to which the French king was politically marginalised during his confinement at Somerton¹¹⁴. Despite John's exclusion from the negotiations, he welcomed the treaty; indeed, he was so overjoyed by the peace that he gifted the enormous sum of one hundred nobles to the messenger who first brought him news of it. For John, the most important point of the treaty was that it provided for his release. The two kings swore to respect the terms of the treaty in John's lodgings the Tower of London on 14 June 1360, and three days later preparations were made to transport John over the Channel to the English-held town of Calais¹¹⁵. The Valois monarch's ransom was fixed at 4 million golden *écus*, which was fifteen times the annual revenue of the French crown¹¹⁶. By the terms of the treaty, the first instalment of the ransom had to be paid at Calais no later than three months after John's arrival for the king to obtain his freedom¹¹⁷. Despite the economic distress that his kingdom suffered to raise his first ransom payment, John's final weeks in England were marked by profligate spending in a display of royal magnificence¹¹⁸. John was kept in seclusion in Somerton, which denied him the opportunity to assert his position as king of France in public. With his return to London, however, John reasserted his royal status. He made numerous bequests to churches and religious houses, such as the jewel worth two hundred marks which he offered to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury Cathedral¹¹⁹. John spent prodigiously on such gifts after his release from Somerton, as displays of devotion and largesse befitted his position as king of France.

John wrote continually to his subjects in the wake of the treaty of Brétigny to encourage them to have the ransom ready by the due date. This was an issue of great concern to the French king, as his kingdom had failed to raise the first instalment of his ransom in 1358¹²⁰. He wrote to the officials of the *Chambre des Comptes* in Paris, who organised the collection of the ransom, instructing them to provide him with a list of the towns which were to

114 L. Douet-d'Arcq, *Journal...*, pp. 248-250.

115 T. Rymer, *Foedera...*, p. 499.

116 J. le Patourel, *Treaty...*, p. 32; G. Small, *Late Medieval France...*, p. 117.

117 P. Paris, *Les Grandes Chroniques...*, pp. 184-185.

118 M. Champollion-Figeac, *Lettres de rois, reines et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre depuis Louis VII jusqu'à Henri IV tirées des archives de Londres par Bréquigny*, II, Paris 1847, p. 120; L. Douet-d'Arcq, *Journal...*, p. 270.

119 V.H. Galbraith, *Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, Manchester 1927, p. 65.

120 F. Boyer, *Ville de Riom. Inventaire sommaire des archives communales antérieures à 1790*, Riom 1892, pp. 12, 65; M.L. Delisle, *Une lettre du roi Jean relative à l'exécution du traité de Brétigny*, "Journal des Savants" 1900, pp. 309-310; P. Varin, *Archives administratives et législatives de la ville de Reims: collection de pièces inédites pouvant servir à l'histoire des institutions dans l'intérieur de la cité*, III, Paris 1848, pp. 163-164; R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, p. 443.

contribute to his ransom, the amount they were to contribute, and the names of those who were collecting the money¹²¹. He then wrote letters to the municipal councils, explaining that his ransom was “pour le commun profit de nostre royaume et de toute Crestienté, plus que pour nostre delivrance”. He warned that a default on the payment would be to the great dishonour of the entire kingdom, and even suggested ways through which they could raise the sum¹²². For example, he proposed to the municipal elite of Reims that they pawn their wives’ jewels¹²³. The upturn in his correspondence also reflected his efforts to try and resume control of his government, which had subsided with the failure of the second treaty of London. On 3 September, for example, he appointed Pierre de La Landes as *bailli* of Chartres and granted a number of pardons¹²⁴.

John arrived in Calais on 8 July, and was kept under strict surveillance in the royal castle. He corresponded with the two treasurers of his ransom, Aleaume Boistel and Jacques Le Riche, who were based in the abbey of Saint-Bertin in the town of Saint-Omer, to check on its progress. As the abbey lay close to Calais, it was hoped that there would be little delay in bringing the sum to the English, and less chance of it getting stolen during transportation¹²⁵. The terms of the treaty stipulated that the first instalment was to be received by the end of October. However, despite John’s best efforts to encourage his subjects to raise the full amount of the first payment, his treasurers were only able to raise two thirds of the payment in time¹²⁶. Nonetheless, Edward had no wish to return to war and he accepted the reduced payment. The two monarchs ratified the treaty on 24 October, and John was released from captivity the following day¹²⁷. His departure from Calais was followed by a series of events in which John displayed himself to his subjects and reasserted his position as king of France. He made a progress around the north-east of his kingdom, making entries into Amiens, Boulogne, Compiègne, Hesdin, Noyon, Saint-Omer and Senlis – all of which had contributed to his ransom. Furthermore, John participated in noble activities such as jousting, which reasserted his martial attributes¹²⁸. The centrepiece of the progress was his entry into Paris

121 R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, p. 389.

122 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, p. 217.

123 *Ibidem*, p. 226.

124 R. Cazelles, *Société politique...*, pp. 389-390.

125 *Ibidem*, p. 389.

126 D.M. Broome, *The Ransom of John II, King of France, 1360-1370, “Camden Miscellany”* XIV (1926), pp. IX-X.

127 L. Douet-d’Arcq, *Journal...*, p. 275; P. Paris, *Les Grandes Chroniques...*, p. 215.

128 P. Paris, *Les Grandes Chroniques...*, pp. 217-218, 220; V.H. Galbraith, *Anonimalle chronicle...*, p. 47.

on 13 December 1361. This event marked a moment of innovation in French royal propaganda, as a canopy was carried above the monarch during a royal entry for the first time. The use of the canopy permitted John to associate himself with the host, which was carried under a canopy during Corpus Christi processions. John used the Paris entry to emphasise the sacral character of the French monarchy to the Parisians, who, under the leadership of Étienne Marcel, had attempted to limit the power of the crown during his time in captivity¹²⁹. After hearing mass at Notre Dame, John went to the royal palace, where the bourgeois of the city came to offer him a gift of silverware "qui pesoit environ mil mars d'argent"¹³⁰. As the offering of silverware was traditionally associated with a vassal's recognition of their rightful lord, these gifts formed part of the Parisians' efforts to try and re-establish good relations with the king.

* * *

By the time of John's capture in September 1356, France had already suffered from almost two decades of war with England. This conflict had devastated numerous regions, especially in the north, drained the kingdom's finances and led to an upsurge in social disorder. In addition, the impact of plague from 1348 brought further devastation to a kingdom that was suffering the strains of war. The defeat of the French army at Poitiers and the capture of the king compounded these problems. It led to a growth in hostility towards the French nobility and royal government, which came as a consequence of their inability to protect the population from the depredations of war. As well as exacerbating existing problems, the death or capture of a large number of France's political and military leaders generated a number of additional difficulties, such as the growth in the power of the Estates. Although these challenges brought the Valois monarchy to its lowest point, they provided the young dauphin Charles with valuable experience in rulership.

As well as contending with peasant and urban revolts, financial crisis, foreign invasion, constitutional challenges and domestic strife, Charles also had to deal with the actions of his father. John's efforts to rule his kingdom from captivity weakened the French royal government by undermining the dauphin's authority. Furthermore, the physical limitations placed on John during captivity meant that he was unable to respond quickly to the volatile political situation in France, which required prompt and decisive action. Moreover, Charles attempted to politically marginalise John, especially after

129 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, p. 265.

130 *Chronique des règnes...*, p. 331; R.A. Newhall, *The Chronicle of Jean de Venette*, New York 1953, p. 106.

the French king agreed to the severe conditions of the second treaty of London. While John was prepared to have his sons act as lieutenants and governors in his absence, he did not want to relinquish ultimate control of his government. Charles's assumption of the regency was made without his father's consent, and the Valois monarch persistently attempted to impose his authority over his subjects. In the 1350s, John was attempting to create a stronger and more centralised monarchy by emphasising the dignity of the king. He tried to retain the prerogatives of his royal position throughout his captivity, when they were coming under threat from both domestic and foreign forces.

The upholding of his honour and dignity were important concerns for the John, and underpinned his actions. Before he obtained his release, John swore to Edward that he would return to captivity if the terms of his ransom were broken¹³¹. When his son Louis, who took his father's place in captivity, escaped in July 1363, John felt that his honour was impinged¹³². His decision to return to England in January 1364 was consistent with his concern to protect his status, which was apparent from his actions at Poitiers. While satisfying his own honour, his return to England was unpopular with his subjects, who had suffered a great deal to raise his ransom. An upsurge in anti-royal sentiment led his son's government to devise a propaganda campaign, whereby they claimed that John had returned to England in order to plan a crusade to the Holy Land¹³³.

Although his actions were devastating for France, John was received with great honour when he returned to England¹³⁴. The advantages which Edward gained from John's return were lost three months later, when John died at his lodgings in the Savoy Palace. However, even in death, the honourable treatment of the French king provided the Lancastrian monarch with an opportunity for propaganda. Edward III, the royal family and the nobility of England wore mourning clothes, and held a lavish obsequies for John at St. Paul's cathedral in London, which involved a great profusion of light from thousands of candles. The scale of this event, and Edward's honourable treatment of John's body, won acclaim for the Lancastrian king in both

131 R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V...*, II, p. 218.

132 John had displayed a strong concern for his honour and reputation throughout his first period of captivity; indeed, as early as June 1360, he wrote to the bourgeois of Montpellier stating that *par tel défaut* [of money], *il nous convenait...retourner en Angleterre*: J.M. Tourneur-Aumont, *La Bataille...*, p. 443.

133 *Ibidem*, p. 442. However, this propaganda effort failed to convince all his subjects, and Jean de Venette remarks that "There were those who said that he went back to England merely for diversion and against the will and counsel of his nobles who repeatedly and in all humility sought to dissuade him from sailing" – R.A. Newhall, *Chronicle...*, p. 116.

134 *Chronique des règnes...*, p. 340.

England and France¹³⁵. John's body was escorted to the coast in a solemn procession, and he returned to France for the final time with all the honour that he had tried so hard to maintain in life.

ABSTRACT

This article examines the four year and four months which John II spent as a prisoner of the English crown. John's captivity had profound impact on France, provoking a series of crises for the Valois crown. Despite the restrictions imprisonment placed on him, John attempted to maintain control over his kingdom, though his actions were often to the detriment of his government in France. As it was particularly important for John to be seen to act in a kingly manner during his captivity, he used ceremony, gift giving and display in his competition for honour with Edward III. Denied the ability to use force of arms to assert his power, John relied on spectacle to reaffirm his status as the king of France. Indeed, the ways in which John emphasised his dignity during his captivity lie at the heart of the how royal power was expressed during this period. Although the Valois monarch was a prisoner in a foreign kingdom, the social environment in which he lived was not alien to him. This was a francophone society, with English and French nobles sharing a common culture. As such, this article will go on to study the interaction between John's court and its environment, analysing how it operated in captivity.

¹³⁵ Ch. Scott-Stokes, Ch. Given-Wilson, *Chronicon...*, p. 135; R.A. Newhall, *Chronicle...*, pp. 119-120. J. Lemoine, *Chronique de Richard Lescot: religieux de Saint-Denis (1328-1333) suivie de la continuation de cette chronique (1344-1364)*, Paris 1896, pp. 244-245; Ch. Scott-Stokes, Ch. Given-Wilson, *Chronicon...*, p. 135.

III. CURRENT RESEARCH

PRZEMYSŁAW TYSZKA
LUBLIN

HUMAN BODY AND CORPOREALITY IN PROVISIONS OF PENITENTIALS (6TH-11TH CENTURY)



From the perspective of a contemporary researcher, human body and corporeality appear in penitentials¹ mostly, but not only, in relation to human sexuality, particularly descriptions of various sexual behaviours or practices. These aspects may also be observed in references on fertility and procreation (menstruation, child conception, pregnancy or childbirth), their natural limitations (infertility, impotency) or human-triggered barriers (contraception, abortion, non-procreative sex). Thus by “sexuality” I understand not only a broad concept of sexual activity, but also certain properties and sexual functions of women and men in a physiological sense. Although this study concentrates on penitential provisions related to sexual sins, or in a wider

1 The source material for the study is a collection of penitentials (i.e. sets of sins and penances) created across the 6th-11th centuries in Ireland, Scotland, England, Gaul, Italy, Spain, and on the areas of the contemporary Germany. Penitentials are available in several separate editions. In this study, I used an extensive collection of texts published in the volume *Księgi pokutne (Libri poenitentiales)*, eds. A. Baron, H. Pietras SJ, Kraków 2011. The edition is based on previous ones, particularly: *Paenitentiale pseudo-Theodori*, ed. C. van Rhijn, Turnhout 2009; *Paenitentia minora Franciae et Italiae saeculi VIII-IX*, eds. R. Kottje, L. Körntgen, U. Spengler-Reffgen, in: *Corpus Christianum. Series Latina*, CLVI, Turnhout 1994; *Paenitentia Hispaniae*, eds. F. Belzer, L. Körntgen, Turnhout 1998; P. Ciprotti, *Penitenziali anteriori al sec. VII*, Milano 1966; *The Irish Penitentials*, ed. L. Bieler, in: *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, V, Dublin 1963; F.W.H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, Graz 1958; *S. Columbani Opera*, ed. G.M.S. Walker, in: *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, II, Dublin 1957. For more information on who created penitentials,

sense, to the sexual aspect of a human life, the key point is not mere “sex” or “sexuality”, but the corporal aspect of those phenomena². It should be emphasised that this discussion touches upon not only body, but also corporeality, i.e. various aspects of the corporal aspect of a human being, which goes beyond the strict meaning of “a body”.

When undertaking a study on human body and corporeality as aspects of human sexuality in penitentials, one must face a significant methodological issue. It is a fact that their authors or editors did not know or use notions such as “corporeality”, “sexual sins”³ or “sexuality”. Thus, a question arises if the method used in the study can consist in utilising those categories for describing and interpreting phenomena presented in penitentials. It entails a certain risk that using contemporary concepts and terms in analysing the content of the penitentials, the message contained therein might be distorted. In other words, one may see content the authors did not mean there, because they used a completely different set of notions than the contemporary one.

Another research method that could be applied consists in recreating notions used by authors of penitentials to describe sins that a contemporary scholar considers sexual or corporal. Although the method seems to be appropriate and to provide cognitive perspectives, it also entails a limitation – phenomena described in penitentials may be interpreted using the set of notions employed by their authors only. Moreover, it seems considering

when and where, or how they got disseminated, see: R. Kottje, *Überlieferung und Rezeption der irischen Bussbücher auf dem Kontinent*, in: *Die Iren und Europa in früheren Mittelalter*, I, ed. H. Lowe, Stuttgart 1982, pp. 511-523; A.J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England*, New Jersey 1983; L. Körntgen, *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterliche Bußbücher*, in: *Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter*, VII, Sigmaringen 1992; L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections of Early Middle Ages (ca. 400-1140). A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, Washington 1999.

² Sex and sexuality in penitentials is extensively analysed in: J.L. Flandrin, *Un temps pour embrasser. Aux origines de la morale sexuelle occidentale (VI^e-XI^e siècle)*, Paris 1983; P. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials. The Development of a Sexual Code 550-1150*, Toronto-Buffalo-London 1984; J. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, Chicago-London 1987; H. Lutterbach, *Sexualität im Mittelalter. Eine Kulturstudie anhand von Bussbüchern des 6. bis 12. Jahrhunderts*, Köln-Wiemar-Wien 1999; M. Carden, *Sodomy. a History of a Christian Biblical Myth*, London 2004, pp. 165-174; C.B. Pasternack, L.M.C. Weston, *Sex and Sexuality in Anglo-Saxon England. Essays in Memory of Daniel Gillmore Calder*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, CCLXXVII, Tempe 2004; *Medieval sexuality*, eds. A. Harper, C. Protector, New York-London 2008; K. Skwierczyński, *Mury Sodomy. Piotra Damianiego Księga Gomory i walka z sodomią wśród kleru*, Kraków 2011.

³ In penitentials, generally speaking, the notion of corporal sin does not exist. Instead, there is a reference to the sin of lust committed *in corde* and *in corpore* – *Poenitentiale Vinniani*, XVII, in: *Księgi pokutne (tekst łaciński, grecki i polski [henceforth: Księgi pokutne])*, Synody i Kolekcje Praw, V, eds. A. Baron, H. Pietras SJ, Kraków 2011, p. 16: *Si autem preseroanter concupivit et non potuit, quia non suscepit eum mulier sive erubuit dicere, iam mechatus est eam in corde suo. Sed in corde et non in corpore unum est peccatum, sed non eadem penitentia est.*

phenomena such as nudity, menstruation, conception, infertility, or impotency as aspects of human corporeality does have a cognitive value even despite the fact that authors of penitentials had not used these categories. Likewise, it is justified to claim sexuality includes such practices as anal intercourse or masturbation although they do not appear in penitentials. Thus, contemporary (but appropriate) labels are given to phenomena that occurred in early Middle Ages as well. The fact the then authors did not know them does not mean what we now consider “corporeality”, “sexual sin” or “sexuality” never occurred at that time.

Therefore, if the mentioned contemporary notions are employed in this study, it is done with awareness that authors of penitentials did not use the concepts unknown to them. This does not concern the then notions, but the phenomena to which they related. Indeed, it is crucial to differentiate between the notion of *fornicatio* or *corpus* from an adulterous sexual act that actually occurred or a physical human body that actually exists. Thus, in a methodologically conscious way, the author will utilise contemporary notions to examine the ones used by authors of penitentials in illustrating phenomena such as body, corporeality or sexuality. It also seems that contemporary and early medieval terms do not differ in all the cases. There may be some similarities or shared concepts; seemingly, one of them is the concept of “a body”.

It should also be noted that although in the penitential discourse the term *corporalitas* (“corporeality”) did not appear, there were words such as *corpus*, *caro*, *carnalis*, or *corporaliter*. One of the aspects discussed in the study below is how authors of penitentials understood the notion of “body” and how they used it. Here, a question arises: does the way they used the term indicate the fact that they comprehended the role of human body in committing sexual sins or those related to sexuality? If it turned out to have been the case, it would mean that they considered such acts as corporal or at least observed their corporal aspect. This topic will be discussed further below.

However, it is crucial to consider the matter of body and corporeality in the penitential discourse in a broader way. A question appears whether authors of penitentials considered body parts (a hand, a penis, a vulva, breast, thighs, lips) they mentioned in descriptions of various sins as aspects of a body itself. On the one hand, perceiving the use of words such as *corpus* or *caro* in describing a given sin by early medieval authors with corporal categories is clearly justified. On the other hand, it is not that obvious in fragments where only a single body part was mentioned. To an even greater extent the question seems valid for such phenomena as menstruation, child conception, post-natal period, infertility, inability to have sexual intercourse, release of semen, etc. In such cases, penitential provisions mentioned neither body as a whole nor its separate parts. Therefore, is it justified to claim that in those particular fragments authors considered menstruation, infertility or nocturnal

emission as corporal phenomena or believed that they are manifestations of corporeality from the contemporary perspective only?

Another important matter is the association of corporeality with sexuality. In penitentials, one can observe a number of practices or behaviours that, in the contemporary world, are deemed aspects of human sexuality or eroticism. However, to indicate e.g. a sexual act or masturbation, authors used their own terms, usually different from the contemporary ones (such as *fornicatio*, *adulterium*, *coitus*). This particular terminology itself could be a perfect subject of an entire study. Nevertheless, for the sake of what is discussed here, it seems a more significant question is whether those practices, sexual activities and other associated phenomena were perceived by the authors with relation to a body, as manifestations of corporeality or were they seen in another way, i.e. within moral categories.

THE NOTION OF 'BODY'

The study on human body and corporeality as phenomena and notions will begin with discovering the meaning given by authors of penitentials to words such as *corpus*, *caro* or *carnalis* and with indicating how these were used. It is essential to determine the contexts they were used in. The fact these words appeared in penitentials directly suggests that the authors had strong interest in body (and corporeality) and that they thought on sins using corporal categories.

Human body appears in penitentials not only in the provisions related to specific sins, but also in prologues, where authors elaborated on the sinful nature of man, sins and the need for atonement or satisfaction for immoral acts. In those fragments, human body was presented from a medical point of view, which included its damage and illnesses it suffered. The medical aspect of a human body was part of a metaphor, which suggested that there was an analogy between its ailments (and the methods for treating them) and illnesses of a soul, i.e. sins and ways to rectify the moral flaws.

Here follows a fragment of the prologue of the Burgundian Penitential as an example presenting a part of a discourse on treating body and soul:

A variety of culpabilities entails a variety of ways for atonement. Likewise bodily doctors (*corporum medici*) prescribe medicines according to various principles. There are different ways to treat wounds, illnesses, bloating, lividness, gangrene, anaemia, fractures, or burns. Thus, spiritual ailments, illnesses, guilt, pains, indisposition, infirmity need separate ways of treatment⁴.

⁴ *Paenitentiale Burgundense, Prologus*, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 261 (a penitential from the 1st quarter of the 8th century): *Diversitas culparum diversitatem faciat paenitentiarum. Nam*

According to the Christian doctrine, human body was presented in the context of a soul. It was also perceived as a subject of medical procedures, which were intended to free it from traumas and illnesses. Here, it should be noted that human body was presented somewhat separately from the person it belonged to.

Poenitentiale Pseudo-Gregorii not only refers to the need to treat illnesses and ailments of a human body, but also highlights its contribution in committing sins:

What is noteworthy is that if bodily doctors (*carnales medici*) provide various medications for bodily indispositions (*infirmities corporum*), it is even more significant for priests to redress the countless immoral fruit of corporal acts (*operae carnis*)⁵.

The aim of the medical metaphor was to present human body as a moral object. Such a way of comprehending the body is justified in texts that are lists of sins and atonements for people who commit them. Likewise in the prologue to the Burgundian Penitential, human body was perceived as an independent entity or sometimes even as an active agent – a perpetrator of sins. Usually, however, human body (or one of its parts) in penitentials was a tool of sin, a sort of a medium through which a sinner committed a specific act. Examples of such situations can be observed in the below penitential provisions.

In an introduction to *Excarpsum Egberti* (dated at 732-766), there is a reference on how treating human body or its specific parts was perceived. The author observed:

[...] as those treating bodies (*medici corporum*) prescribe various medications and infusions for various illnesses [...] It is essential that you, God's priests, are significantly more careful in considering and providing various treatments for the souls of visible men, so the spiritual wounds do not get worse through fault of foolish physicians, as says the prophet: "They will deteriorate scars on my face due to my silliness"⁶.

et corporum medici diversis generibus medicamenta componunt. Aliter enim vulnera, aliter morbos, aliter tumoris, aliter livores, aliter putridinis, aliter caliginis, aliter confractiones, aliter combustionibus curant. Ita igitur etiam spiritalis medici diversis curationum generibus animarum vulnera, morbos, culpas, dolores, aegretudines, infirmitates sanare debent; see also Paenitentiale Merseburgense, I, 5, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 286.

⁵ *Poenitentiale Ps.-Gregorii III, Praefatio, 2, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 346 (a penitential from the 9th century.): Et hoc animadvertendum est, quod si carnales medici contra infirmitates corporum diversa constituunt medicamina, quanto magis sacerdotes Dei contra illicitos operae carnis fructus innumerabilia medendi debent recompensare solitia?*

⁶ *Excarpsum Egberti, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 181: sicut medici corporum diversa medicamenta vel potiones solent facere contra diversitatem infirmitatum [...] quanto magis igitur, o sacerdotes Dei, diversa medicamenta animarum visibilibus hominibus pensare et tractare oportet, ne per stultum*

The author's line of thoughts was as follows: he first made a general comment on illnesses or ailments, which are usually treated by doctors; then he provided an example of a specific situation, i.e. an incompetent treatment of scars on a patient's face. Through analogy, it can be believed that he considered a face as part of a greater whole, i.e. a body. He presented both body and its single fragment as objects of medical activities. It is a significant conclusion, because the mentioned example may indicate a widely accepted way of how authors of penitentials perceived single body parts in the descriptions of sins. Therefore, it seems plausible that when referring to a hand, a penis or breasts, they saw them as body parts, as single "objects" constituting manifestations of a greater whole.

The word *corpus* also appears in descriptions of particular sins in several penitentials, though not frequently. Let us analyse the references to illustrate how authors of penitentials made use of the notion of body. The first example comes from Decrees of Burchard, the bishop of Worms, which were most probably written in 1008-1012 and included a penitential. It stands out among others due to extensive, exact, vivid descriptions of various sorts of sins. Burchard put a lot of emphasis on forbidden acts of sexual character as well as those where human body played a key role, not necessarily in a sexual way.

Among others, he presented the following act:

Did you do what indecent women usually do? They take off their clothes and put honey on the entire naked body (*totum corpus nudum*). Then, they place a material with wheat on the ground and roll on it from one side to another. All the grains of wheat that stuck to their bodies are finally collected and placed between quern-stones. They rotate them counter to the movement of a millstone, so flour is produced out of which they bake breads and feed them to their husbands. The aim of the procedure is to make them fade and deprived of strength⁷.

Here, the author depicted a naked female body that was used to produce bread out of wheat flour and eventually would make her husband weaker. The description of the magical procedure clearly suggests that without using

medicum vulnera animarum fiant peiora, propheta dicente: Conputruerunt et deterioraverunt cicatrices meae a facie insipientiae mee.

⁷ Burchardi Wormacensis ecclesie episcopi decretorum liber decimus nonus de poenitentia, 185, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 399: *Fecisti quod quaedam mulieres adulterae facere solent? Deponunt vestimenta sua, et totum corpus nudum melle inungunt, et sic mellito suo corpore supra triticum in aliquot lineto in terra deposito, sese hac atque illac saepius revolvunt, et cuncta triticia grana, quae humido corpori adhaerent, cautissime colligunt, et in molam mittunt, et retrorsum contra solam molam circuire faciunt et sic in farinam redignunt, et de illa farina panem conficiunt, et sic maritis suis as commedendum tradunt, ut comesto pane marcescant et deficient? Si fecisti, quadraginta dies in pane et aqua poeniteas.*

her body, the depraved wife would not achieve anything. Therefore, it is clear that Burchard treated human body as a separate object, which was a tool in the hand of a sinful woman, likewise honey, grains of wheat, quern-stones, flower, and bread that was produced.

Human body was presented here explicitly and with full awareness of its role in the mentioned activity. It also seems justified to interpret the scene on a corporeal level, because the woman must have believed that the grains stuck to her body would acquire special features that are crucial in weakening her husband. Thus, it was not only about the body itself, but also about its impact on the grains. Nudity is also mentioned and it clearly is a manifestation of corporeality.

Perceiving human (here, a female) body as a semantically separate object may also be observed in another fragment of Burchard's Decrees (V, 176). In this case, he focused on the sin of procuration (*lenocinium*) and prostitution (*meretricium*). We can read:

Did you procure yourself or anyone else? Precisely, did you make your body (*corpus tuum*) available to lovers for groping and defiling, likewise prostitutes, in exchange for money, or, what is worse and more horrifying, did you sell to lovers a body of anyone else (*alienum corpus*), e.g. of your daughter, granddaughter or another Christian person?⁸

Here, a body is presented explicitly as goods that is sold for money. One can also see the direct relation of a body to a sexual activity, both on the part of women and their clients, here referred to as lovers. In both the mentioned fragments of the Decrees human body is understood as a whole.

In penitentials, however, one can observe other, more laconic and less extensive uses of the notion of human body. One of the examples of such a discourse can be a fragment of Poenitentiale Parisiense dated at 750.

If anyone used tickling on their body (*corpus suum*) to stimulate themselves to fornication, they should atone for 40 nights; and if they are defiled with the excitement, then 70 days and 7 fasts⁹.

The word *corpus* appears here, but the context suggests that what the author meant was stimulating one's genitalia, particularly male. This is what the

⁸ Ibidem, V, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 398: *Exercuisti lenocinium aut in te ipsa, aut in aliis, ita dico, ut tu meretricio more tuis amatoribus corpus tuum ad tracandum et ad sordidandum, pro precio traduisses, seu quod crudelius est et periculosius est, alienum corpus, filiae dico, vel neptes, et alicuius Christianae, amatoribus vendidisti, vel concessisti, vel internuncia fuisti, vel consiliata es ut stuprum aliquod tali modo perpetraretur?*

⁹ Poenitentiale Parisiense, XLIII, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 275; *Si quis corpus suum titille in consurgendo fornicare, XL noctes paeniteat et si pollutus fuerit titillatione, LXX diebus et superpositus VII.*

second part seems to suggest, where defiling is mentioned, i.e. most probably ejaculation. Here, a body is reduced to a strictly sexual (genital) aspect.

PHYSICAL TOUCH OF SEXUAL CHARACTER

The above overview of how the notion of body was used in the descriptions of sins illustrates that yet another case where authors of penitentials referred to human body was acts consisting in physical contact. Therefore, let us examine the content of the provisions on this kind of acts. In penitentials, one can find a number of fragments related to various sorts of physical touch of sexual character. They took many forms – from glances with sexual intentions through erotic kisses, hugs, to touching women’s breasts and vulva, stimulating one’s genitalia (most frequently, male) to a variety of ways aimed at reaching sexual satisfaction (masturbation, intercourse “between thighs”, as well as oral, vaginal, or anal ones). Let us analyse specific provisions of various penitentials with regard to how bodies of persons performing sexual acts were presented in the descriptions of sins. Particular forms of physical contact will also be examined.

A significant question arises, however: did sexual touch relate to a body, semantically, according to the authors? Sparse cases seem to indicate a positive answer to that question. One of them is a fragment of the Decrees by Burchard of Worms related to prostitution. As author mentioned, a woman committing the sin made available “her body to lovers for groping and defiling, likewise prostitutes” (“ut tum meretricio more tuis amatoribus corpus tuum ad tracandum et ad sordidandum, pro precio traduisses”). The phrase *corpus tuum* directly indicates a physical, corporeal aspect of the “touching” and “defiling”. Here, “groping” meant that a woman was touched by a man, while “defiling” must have referred to a sexual act, particularly to the female body’s contact with male semen.

In an explicit way touching a woman’s body was mentioned in *Canones de remediis peccatorum* (dated at the end of the 8th century): “Who defiled a woman by a hug; who [defiled her] by licentious touch to her body” (“Qui complexu feminam illecebrose pollutus est, dies XX; qui contactu eius invercundo ad carnem”)¹⁰. What is meant here is erotic embraces and shameless touch of one’s body. It is noteworthy that the author used the word *caro*. Thus, it has been explicitly admitted that a sinner touched a woman’s body. It is yet another reference proving that authors of penitentials perceived

¹⁰ *Canones de remediis peccatorum*, II, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 196; *Paenitentiale Silense*, IX: *De diversis fornicationibus*, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 464: CXXII: *Osculum illecebrosum facientes, XX dies paeniteant*; CXXIII: *Cum inquinamento et complexu, XL dies paeniteant*.

sexual contact as an activity related to body. The association of touch and body can also be observed in the passage quoted above from *Poenitentiale Parisiense*: "If anyone used tickling on their body (*corpus suum*) to stimulate themselves to fornication". Therefore, it is clear that the association of touch and body was the case not only when referring to the contact of two persons, but also to touching oneself.

Furthermore, descriptions from the Decrees and from *Canones de remediis peccatorum* referred to a body of a person who was touched, not to the doer. In *Poenitentiale Parisiense* it is touching one's own body, i.e. not a different person than the one who touched. Such a way to present touch as physical and sexual contact is typical of penitentials. Various sexual acts were described in penitentials from the perspective of the active partner, not the passive one (a woman or a second man)¹¹.

BODY, ITS PARTS AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOURS

It has been supposed that sinful acts are perceived in the context of a human body not only when authors of penitentials used the words *corpus* or *caro*, but also when they indicated specific body parts in the descriptions of sins. In several penitentials one can find references that explicitly mention men (both clergymen and secular) touching vulvas and breasts of women. A few examples of such fragments follow below. In *Poenitentiale Hubertense* (ca 850), one can read:

Si quis obtrectaverit puellam vel mulierem, pectus vel turpitudinem earum, clericus vel laicus annum I paenieat, monchus vel sacerdos a ministerio remotus III annos paeniteat. Scriptum est enim: Neque tetigeritis, neque obtrectaveris¹².

Similarly, in the Decrees by Burchard of Worms:

Si obtrecaſti turpitudinem, tu coniugatus alicuius feminae, ita dico, ſi mamillas et eius verenda obtrecaſti¹³.

The word *obtrecto* means "defame", but from the context one may draw a conclusion that what was meant was not provocative or obscene words

¹¹ R. Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe. Doing unto Others*, New York-London 2005, pp. 3-5.

¹² *Poenitentiale Hubertense*, XLIV (*Si quis obtrectaverit puellam vel mulierem*), in: *Księgi pokutne*, p. 338.

¹³ *Burchardi Wormacensis...*, 122, in: *Księgi pokutne*, p. 390; *Capitula Theodori*, XXIX, *ibidem*, p. 173: *Si quis obtrectaverit puellae, aut mulieris pectus, vel turpitudinem earum, si clericus est, quinque dies; si laicus, tres dies poniteat.*

on the sexual attributes of a woman, but physical contact. In the Merseburg Penitential (dated at the end of the 8th century), a fragment focused on the same act mentioned the word *contracto* which means “to grope”, “to feel”¹⁴. Thus, it seems justified to claim they relate to physical contact and, more precisely, to an explicitly sexual touch or groping of female genitalia or breasts.

The quoted fragments were formulated to mention touching a person (e.g. “obtrectaverit puellam vel mulierem”) and specific parts of their body (e.g. “pectus vel turpitudinem earum”). The mere word “body” was clearly not used. It might also be the case, however, that the body parts were perceived analogically to the holistic perspective on the body. A question arises: in what way did they perceive “objects” such as *pectus* or *verenda* and, furthermore, did they consider them as body parts or perhaps saw them in the context of a touched person?

Let us then analyse the way in which authors of penitentials comprehended the category of body parts. A second matter is the association of the body parts with the notion of body as a single unit (particularly, did they see the relation as a parts-whole relationship?). What plays a significant role here is the way words such as *membrum* (part, part of a body) and *membra* were used. In a penitential by Halitgar, one can read a passage that indicates the way he interpreted the mentioned terms. See below: “It is crucial, my dearest brother, for us to take care of sinners since we are but parts [to one another]. Thus if one part is suffering, they all feel the same suffering” (“Necesse est ergo nobis, frater carissime, sollicitos esse pro peccatoribus, quia sumus alterutrum membra (Rom 12, 5), es si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur omnia membra”)¹⁵. The words *membrum* and *membra* are here used metaphorically. One may, however, assume that physical parts were meant. The fragment focuses on their suffering, which indicates they were considered a living being or an organism. However, what is more important here is that he refers to a collection of body parts and to a single part that belongs to the collection. Hence, this is a description of a relation of an entirety to its part.

In the Decrees one can find another metaphorical phrase that is essential to our discussion, because it explicitly mentions a body. It reads as follows: “Occidisti seniore[m] tuum, vel in concilio fuisti ut occidetur, vel uxorem tuam, partem corporis tui?”¹⁶. What is mentioned here is that a wife was killed and

¹⁴ *Paenitentiale merseburgense* b, II, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 306: *Si quis contractaverit puellam aut mulierem, pectus aut turpitudinem earum, clericus vel laicus annum I paeniteat, monachus vel sacerdos a ministerio remotus III annos paeniteat. Scriptum est enim: Neque tetigeritis, neque obtrectaveritis.*

¹⁵ *Poenitentiale Halitgarii ep. Camarcensis*, II, 2, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 315; *Paenitentiale Merseburgense* a, II, 2, ibidem, p. 287: *Necesse est ergo nobis, fratres carissimi, sollicitos esse pro peccantibus, quia sumus alterutrum membra, et si quid patitur unum membrum, compatiuntur alia membra.*

¹⁶ *Decreta Burchardi*, V, 12, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 373.

referred to as “a part of your [i.e. the sinner’s] body”. Certainly, naming husband and wife one body Burchard made a reference to a fragment of the Bible (Gen 2, 24). The metaphor on marriages only makes sense, however, if one comprehends the meaning of the phrase “part of your body”. Even though Burchard used it in the quoted sentence only, it is clear he knew both the notion of “body” and “a part of a body”. Therefore, it seems probable that when he referred to touching woman’s breasts and vulva he considered them to be parts of her body. Moreover, the notions of *membrum* and *membra* may have been perceived in a similar way, i.e. as parts of a body. Yet there is no clear text reference indicating how this category was associated with the notion of “body”. It could have been a semantic conjunction between single elements (e.g. a hand, a penis, etc.) and a body as a whole, consisting of a collection of objects called together *membra*.

It should also be noted that in the cited fragments of penitentials the use of “body”, the notion of a person or specific body parts depended on the context. The same applied to phrases related to various forms of physical contact. In situations when touch potentially related to an entire body and not to any specific place on it, authors of penitentials (Burchard of Worms, the Decrees, V, 176, and author of *Cannones de remedii peccatorum*) used words such as *corpus* or *caro* in the descriptions of sins. In this way, they indicated an “object”, understood holistically, but partially separated from the notion of a human being that was a subject of what a sinner did. However, when they referred to touching specific parts of a body, they did not make use of the word “body” in the descriptions. In such cases, authors defined objects of such an action in a narrower way, i.e. using names for specific parts of a body, somewhat instead of using the words meaning “body” itself. In lieu of writing about “a woman’s body” or “one’s body” (i.e. a body of a person who committed a sin), they mentioned “woman’s breasts” or “a woman’s vulva” as touched objects. Such a way of using the word “body” and phrases referring to its parts indicates that the authors of penitentials (e.g. Burchard of Worms, see: Decrees, V, 176 and 122) certainly were aware of the connection between those two types of objects. They did not specify the type of relationship between them, though. One may also claim that authors of penitentials perceived body as a whole and its parts as an aspect of a person or objects belonging to them. It should finally be noted that they preferred indicating specific parts of a body.

SEXUAL PRACTICES AS PHYSICAL CONTACT

Besides the discussed provisions on kisses, embraces and touching, in penitentials one may also find clauses related to other forms of physical contact, i.e. to practices aimed at satisfying one’s sexual needs. To be precise,

what is meant is masturbation (of both men and women), mutual satisfying each other's needs using their hands or by the use of an artificial penis, as well as coitus (both homo- and heterosexual). The mentioned records touch upon kinds of physical contact and parts of a body that were used in performing the given sexual activities. Taking into consideration that particular body parts were perceived as manifestation of an entire body of a person who commits a given sin or takes part in it, let us proceed to presenting descriptions of individual cases of this kind.

In some provisions found in penitentials one may find statements explicitly suggesting that their authors considered sexual intercourse directly connected with human body. This can be observed in the following fragment of *Poenitentiale Egberti* (10th century): "If he couples with a brother by connecting their bodies [...]" ("Si frater cum fratre coeat per copulationem corporis [...]"). A similar statement can be found in *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Cummaeani* (dated at the 8th century): "Si cum fratre naturali fornicationem per commistionem carnis [...]"¹⁷. The provisions are related to homosexual intercourse. In *Poenitentiale Parisiense* one may also find a similar fragment that could have been related to heterosexual intercourse: "Si per turpiloquium vel aspectu, tactu vel osculo coinquinatus, id est pollutus fuerit, tamen non voluit fornicare corporaliter [...]"¹⁸. In penitentials, performing fornication (*fornicatio*) meant what nowadays can be understood as engaging in sexual intercourse. It was here explained as "connecting bodies" or "physical connection" (*copulatio corporis; commistio carnis*). Thus, associating sexual practices with human body in this case is not an indication that provisions included in penitentials were perceived by means of notions related to sexuality and corporeality (or understanding of those) that are common to the contemporary world. Instead, it is a conclusion related to concepts used by medieval priests.

It must be noted, however, that provisions in which the word "body" appears in the context of any sexual practice are rarely found in penitentials. More often, terms designating specific parts of a body were mentioned, though quite selectively. One could observe only those directly involved in a given act. It should also be emphasised that the abovementioned fragments of penitentials related to touching parts of a woman's body constitute exceptionally rare examples of statements in which corporeal sexual features of a man were explicitly named. In most cases, however, names of the parts of both male and female body were not revealed. A penis is referenced as rarely

¹⁷ *Poenitentiale Egberti*, IV, 79, in: *Księgi pokutne*, p. 241; *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Cummaeani*, II, 3, *ibidem*, p. 91.

¹⁸ *Poenitentiale Parisiense*, XXXIX, in: *Księgi pokutne*, p. 274.

as a vulva or breasts. Sparse examples where a penis is mentioned can be found in Decrees by Burchard of Worms, who was significantly more precise and detailed in formulating descriptions of sins than other authors.

For instance, a male organ was explicitly named and its role specifically defined in the provisions on mutual masturbation of two men, masturbation of oneself with the use of one's hand and with the help of a hole in a plank. The first of them reads as follows:

Fecisti fornicationem, ut quidam facere solent, ita dico ut tu in manum tuam veretrum alterius acciperes, et alter tuum in suam, et sic alternatim veretra manibus vestris commoveretis, ut sic per delectationem semen a te proiiceres?¹⁹

There are two men who grabbed each other's penises and made them ejaculate by repeated moves of their hands. Here, Burchard provided a short, but detailed description of a sexual interaction between two men, i.e. how they stimulated each other and thus reached satisfaction. He mentioned a penis (*veretrum*, in the fragment on individual masturbation – *membrum virile*), a hand (*manus*), a kind of physical contact (*in manum tuam veretrum alterius acciperes*), and the move of a hand (*manibus vestris commoveretis*), followed by ejaculation. Hence, there is an explicit reference to specific organs and activities in which they were involved. In the following example the author described in a very similar way masturbation of a man. One can read about how he took his penis in his hand, moved it repeatedly in order to reach orgasm and ejaculate. One additional detail was also included – the man touched and pulled his foreskin (*et sic duceres praeputium*)²⁰.

The author also wrote on the particular effect of the activities, i.e. on *delectatio* (literally, "satisfaction"). The mentioned word appears in a specific context ("ut sic per delectationem semen a te proiiceres" – "that due to a pleasure you released your semen"), which indicates an orgasm, reaching a sexual ecstasy. Thus, the description of the sexual behaviours referred to not only those activities, but also to a specific state of mind that was created afterwards. Pleasure and sexual satisfaction were elements of Burchard's discourse concerning sexual sins. However, he did not conclude that

¹⁹ Burchardi Wormacensis..., V, 110, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 389.

²⁰ Ibidem: *Fecisti solus tecum fornicationem, ut quidam facere solent, ut tu tuum virile membrum in manu tuam acciperes, et sic duceres praeputium, et manu propria commoveres ut sic per delectationem semen a te proiiceres?*; ibidem, V, 112: *Fecisti fornicationem, ut quidam facere solent, ut tu tuum virile membrum in lignum perforatum, aut aliquod huiusmodi mitteres, ut sic per illa commotionem et delectationem a te semen proiiceres?* On masturbation in the early middle ages, see T.W. Laqueur, *Samotny seks. Kulturowa historia masturbacji*, eds. M. Kaczyński, A. Leśniak, G. Uzdański, M. Sosnowski, Kraków 2006, pp. 114-120 (*Solitary Sex. A Cultural History of Masturbation*, New York 2003).

ejaculation and the accompanying pleasant state constituted satisfaction of a corporeal need. Nevertheless, this does not mean he did not consider ejaculation and orgasm to be directly related to one's body. Burchard described a particular sexual practice which he named fornication. The mentioned organs' contribution was its integral part. Obviously, he perceived sexual touch and coitus as corporeal phenomena (see Decrees, V, 176). Along with other acts of that sort, this particular form of fornication was performed with the use of certain organs. In this way, Burchard emphasised the corporeal aspect of the discussed activity.

In penitentials, one may encounter regulations on other forms of sexual intercourse between men. Decrees by Burchard of Worms comprise a short, but substantial description of an anal homosexual intercourse: "Fecisti fornicationem sicut Sodomitae fecerunt, ita ut in masculi terga et in posteriora virgam tuam immitteres, et sic secum coires more Sodomico?"²¹. The sentence not only mentions a penis (*virga*), but also illustrates how it penetrated an anus ("in posteriora virgam tuam immitteres", which means: "you introduced your penis in between buttocks"). The word *anus* was not used here, but *posteriora* is more explicit and closer to the notion of anus than the word *terga* ("back") used in other penitentials for this sort of activity. Apparently, within the examined collection of penitentials, it is the only description of an anal sexual intercourse in which a penis and buttocks are mentioned simultaneously and where the physical contact of two partners is explained.

Other provisions related to anal intercourse (homo- and heterosexual) in virtually all the penitentials only referred to an anus (in an indirect way). They did not mention penises and the type of physical contact of partners was only referred to indirectly. This sort of sex was very often described as "fornication in the back" or "coupling in the back" (*in terga fornicantes*)²². In other provisions, anal intercourses were mentioned in an even more laconic and immaterial way, e.g.: "Si quis fornicaverit sicut sodomitae fecerunt, X annos paeniteat, III ex his in pane et aqua et numquam cum alio dormiat"²³.

21 *Burchardi Wormacensis...*, V, 108, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 389.

22 *Poenitentiale Vinniani*, after the item LIII, supplement, 2, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 23: *In terga vero fornicantes, si pueri sint*; *Poenitentiale Cummaeani*, X, 15, *ibidem*, p. 82: *In terga vero fornicantes, si pueri sunt*; *Excarsum Egberti*, c. V, 19, *ibidem*, p. 186: *Si autem in terga fornicans, III annos; si pueri, II annos*; *Poenitentiale Parisiense*, LIX, *ibidem*, p. 276: *Si quis vero in terga fornicantes, si pueri sunt, II annos, si viri III, si iteraverint VI [VII], si autem in consuetudine vertunt, paenitentia addatur*.

23 *Paenitentiale Burgundense*, IV, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 262; *Poenitentiale Bobbiense*, III, *ibidem*, p. 266: *Si quis autem fornicaverit, sicut Sodomitae fecerunt, decem annos paeniteat, tres in pane et aqua, et numquam cum alio dormiat*; *Paenitentiale Vigilantium (Albeldense)*, LXIII, *ibidem*, p. 410: *Si quis cum animalibus vel cum sodomico more, cum conmatre sua, cum sorore sua, cum privigna, cum noverca, cum consorbina, cum filia avunculi, cum gentile, cum Iudea, vel mulier cum iumneto, vel cum relicta fratris, quae pene prius soror extiterat, fornicaverit, XV annos paeniteat*.

Thus far, we discussed sexual practices performed by men. However, in penitentials one may read a number of descriptions of sexual sins committed by women as well. In *Decrees by Burchard of Worms*, there is a fragment on a sexual act performed by two women. It read as follows:

Fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent, ut faceras quoddam molimen aut machinamentum in modum virilis membri, ad mensuram tuae voluntatis, et illud loco verendorum tuorum, aut alterius, cum aliquibus ligaturis colligares, et fornicationem faceres cum aliis mulierculis, vel aliae eodem instrumento, sive alio, tecum?²⁴

What is mentioned here is an object that is “shaped like a male penis” (*in modum virilis membri*) that was connected to one of the women’s genitalia (*loco verendorum*) and used to “fornicate” (*fornicationem faceres*). Although it was not suggested by the author directly, the description clearly indicates that the woman with artificial penis penetrated the other woman’s vagina. He stated that the object was “suitable for your [i.e. the woman’s] willingness”, which might have meant it was tailored to the size of her vagina or at least to her bodily needs. However, it should be noted that Burchard neither named the organ nor mentioned the body of the penetrated partner.

In yet another provision related to sexual intercourse of two women, its bodily aspect was emphasised to a greater extent. Burchard put it as follows:

Fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent, quando libidinem se vexantem extinguere volunt, quae se coniungunt quasi coire debeant et possint, et coniungunt in invicem puerperia sua, et sic confricando prurimum illarum extinguere desiderant?²⁵

The cited women connected their genitalia (“coniungunt in invicem puerperia”)²⁶ and, by rubbing them together, they satisfied each other’s desire (“et sic confricando prurimum illarum extinguere desiderant”). The author wrote that the aim of that activity was to “extinguish the desire which tosses them” (“libidem se vexantem extinguere”). Thus, the description concerned mutual interaction of two women through the use of a specifically mentioned organ, as well as the resulting sexual satisfaction. The author referred not only to a particular part of a body and the movement, but also to desire and

²⁴ *Burchardi Wormacensis...*, V, 145, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 394; another reference (V, 146) concerned masturbation of a woman with the use of an artificial penis: *Fecisti quod quaedam mulieres facere solent, ut iam supradicto molimine, vel alio aliquo machinamento, tu ipsa in te solam faceras fornicationem? Si fecisti, unum annum per legitimas ferias poeniteas.*

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 394.

²⁶ The word *puerperium* actually means labour, but in this context Burchard used it to refer to “reproductive organs”; thus, non-literal translation as “genitalia” seems justified.

reaching climax or, employing the expression that seems closer to the register used in Decrees, discharging the desire (“libidinem [...] extinguere”). Yet again, thus, in Burchard’s writing one can see a description of a body part, the way it was used and the sensual result of the activity. Likewise with the mutual masturbation of men and the anal intercourse between them, it seems Burchard perceived the discussed act between women as “fornication”, i.e. sins of sexual nature. Individual parts of a body or the type of physical contact constituted an integral element of the description of the mentioned practices although the mere words “body” or “bodily” were not used at all.

In other penitentials, references to intercourse between women did not include any details on the form of physical contact and did not reveal which organs played the key role in a sexual act. They simply stated that sexual intercourse took place. In the fragments below one can see their content and the way they were formulated: “Mulier quae se fornicationis amore ad alteram coniunxerit” or “Si mulier cum muliere fornicaverit”²⁷. In some cases, authors added that the intercourse happened with help of some objects (*molimen, machina*), certainly an artificial penis (likewise in the Decrees by Burchard): “Mulier quaecumque molimine aut per se ipsam aut cum alteram fornicans [...] Si sanctimoniales cum sanctimoniale per machinam”²⁸. The mentioned references, however, are quite laconic; they only indicate fornication took place between two women (secular or nuns) or that they masturbated.

Nevertheless, provisions related to heterosexual intercourse (within and beyond the boundaries of a marriage) are usually even more laconic. Most frequently, they merely confirmed the fact intercourse took place. It is only in a relatively small number of cases that more details were included on how a sexual act was performed, i.e. the form of physical contact and its corporeal aspect. One can read a typical “bodiless” provision below: “Si quis vero fornicaverit quidem cum mulieribus, sed non filium generaverit”²⁹. The

27 *Capitula Dacheriana*, LXXXVII, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 123; *Dicipulus Umbriensium*, I, c. II, 12, in: ibidem, p. 134; *Dicipulus Umbriensium*, I, c. XIV, 15, p. 144: *Mulier, quae se more fornicationis ad alteram coniunxerit, III annos poeniteat, sicut fornicator; Poenitentiale Ps.-Gregorii III, XXX, 7, ibidem, p. 359: Si qua mulier cum altera coitum fecerit, quatuor quadragesimas poeniteat. Canones de remediis peccatorum, II, 23, ibidem, p. 195: Si mulier cum muliere fornicans, III annos; Poenitentiale Floriacense (De machine mulierum) LVI, ibidem, p. 283: Si mulier cum muliere annus III, id est si mulier, qui se more fornicatoris ad alteram coiunxerit; Paenitentiale Merseburgense a, V, XCV, ibidem, p. 298: Si mulier cum muliere fornicaverit, aut sola cum se ipsa coitum habet, III annos poeniteat.*

28 *Poenitentiale Floriacense*, L, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 283; *Canones de remediis peccatorum*, II, 24, ibidem, p. 195.

29 *Paenitentiale Sancti Columbani*, B, IV (XVI), in: Księgi pokutne, p. 33; *Paenitentiale Burgundense*, VIII, ibidem, p. 262: *Si quis adulterium commiserit, id est cum uxore aliena (alterius) aut sponsa vel virginitate corruperit, si clericus, III (V) annos poeniteat, unum (duos) ex his pane et aqua, si diaconus septem, tres ex his in pane et aqua, si presbyter VII (XII) annos, III (quinque) ex his in pane et aqua.*

author emphasised that the intercourse did not result in conception. In certain penitentials, sins leading to conception were examined separately from those that did not. However, no details on the sexual act were mentioned.

Nonetheless, there is a group of regulations concerning heterosexual intercourse “from behind” and anal intercourse, e.g.: “Si quis nupserit cum muliere sua retro” and “Primo autem si in terga nupserit, sic poeniteat, quomodo de animali”³⁰. In most cases, both forms of intercourse were placed in two consecutive points or even together, in one provision. Anal intercourse were specified, likewise homosexual acts, as *in terga (tergo) nupserit*, which means “he would couple in the back”. Here, a fragment of the woman’s body was revealed while the body of a man remained obscure. With sexual acts “from behind”, bodies of the partners were not revealed at all. What is mentioned is only “the behind” (*retro*), i.e. the “behind side” of a woman. The phrase “nupserit cum muliere (uxore) sua retro”, thus, indicated her body only, or, to be more precise, her position during the intercourse.

The discussed examples of various sexual practices – masturbation, mutual masturbation (of both men and women), anal intercourse (homo- and heterosexual), “between thighs” intercourse, heterosexual and female homosexual acts – all these descriptions indicate a variety of ways in which authors presented them. Sparse regulations mentioned coupling is a “physical connection”. In some of the cases discussed (particularly in the Decrees by Burchard) the mentioned acts were described by indicating specific organs and emphasising their role in a given act, especially in the form of physical contact.

They mentioned not only various sins of sexual nature (often referred to as fornication), but also how particular organs of sinners were engaged in performing the sinful acts. The extent to which a body (or its parts) took part in committing the sins varied across a number of descriptions. In some

30 *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Cummaeani*, c. III, 11-12, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 95; *Discipulus Umbriensium*, c. XIV, ibidem, p. 145: 21. *Si vir cum uxore sua retro nupserit, XL dies poeniteat; 22. Si in tergo nupserit, poenitere debet quasi ille qui cum animalibus; Excarpsum Egberti*, c. VII, 10, ibidem, p. 188: *Si vir cum muliere sua retro nupserit, poeniteat, quomodo cum animalibus, id est, si consuetudine erat III annos. Si in terga nupserit vel consuetudo erit, VII annos poeniteat. Canones de remediis peccatorum*, c. II, ibidem, p. 196: 38. *Si quis cum uxore sua retro nupserit, XL dies poeniteat; 39. Si in tergo, III annos poeniteat, quia sodomiticum scelus est; Poenitentiale Floriacens*, ibidem, p. 283: LIV. *Si vir cum muliere sua retro nupserit, poeniteat quomodo de animalibus, id est si consuetudine erit, III annos. LV. Si vero in terga nupserit et consuetudine erit, VII annos poeniteat; Poenitentiale Merseburgense a, c. V, CLVI, ibidem, p. 303; Poenitentiale Ps.-Gregorii III, c. XXX, 9, ibidem, p. 359: Si quis vir cum uxore sua retro nupserit, corripendus est ne faciat, et in seipso poeniteat; Burchardi Wormaciensis..., V, 41, ibidem, p. 379: Concubuisti cum uxore tua vel cum alia aliqua retro, canino more? Si fecisti, decem dies in pane et aqua poeniteas; Canones poenitentiales Ps.-Hieronim, c. III, ibidem, p. 428: 109. Si vir cum uxore sua retro nupserit, XL dies poeniteat; 110. Si in tergo nupserit, poenitere debet quasi ille qui cum animalibus coiret.*

provisions (particularly, the Decrees by Burchard) the touched and touching organs were mentioned, i.e. those belonging to both sinners. In others, only the touching parts (e.g. a hand) or those belonging to only one of the partners (e.g. thighs, back or buttocks), usually the “passive” participant of a sexual act. In yet other fragments, one could read about mere acts (of fornication, adultery or coupling), but without references to the contribution of a body or how they were performed. Thus, descriptions of sexual sins might have implied their corporeal aspect, but not necessarily did so.

THE NAKED BODY

Corporeality, and a body’s sexual aspect in particular, appears in penitentials also in provisions related to nudity and, more precisely, the fact it was prohibited for men to see naked women. Nudity is a tangible manifestation of corporeality; it may have meant the presence of a naked body, as well as its sexual features, which constituted a significant point of interest for authors of penitentials. I have already discussed the fragment of Decrees related to a woman who smeared her body with honey so it could glue with grain used to bake a bread for her husband (see n. 7). In the description, the author used the phrase *totum corpus nudum*. There are as well penitential provisions that forbade a husband to see his wife naked: “Maritus quoque non debet uxorem suam nudam videre”³¹. It does not mention a “naked body” explicitly, but a “naked wife”, which clearly indicates the author meant a naked body. Let us observe, however, that in contrast to most penitential regulations, this is a recommendation without atonement for committing the act.

In addition, there were provisions related to a man and a woman sharing a bath, which should be interpreted as preventing not only a situation that could encourage engaging in the forbidden intercourse, but also watching each other’s nude bodies while staying together in a bath or in a bathhouse. Here comes an example of such a fragment from a penitential by Burchard of Worms, who illustrated the following situation: “Lavasti te in balneo cum uxore tua, et aliis mulierculis, et vidisti eas nudas, et ipsae te?”³² It should also be noted that the above fragment was included in a chapter titled *De incestu* (“On impurity”), along with the previously discussed provision of the Decrees related to touching woman’s breast and vulva. This suggests

³¹ *Discipulus Umbriensium*, liber II, c. XII, 30, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 158, from the turn of the 7th and 8th centuries; *Capitula Dacheriana*, LXVIII, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 121: *Maritus non debet uxorem suam nudam videre*; penitential from the turn of the 7th century; *Poenitentiale Egberti*, liber I, c. XX, 1, ibidem, p. 209: *Non decet virum uxorem suam nudam videre*.

³² *Burchardi Wormacensis...*, V, 123, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 390.

that Burchard observed the connection between the shared bath and touch of sexual nature. In other provisions related to shared baths (e.g. “*Si quis in balneum cum muliere lavare praesumpserit*”³³) the nudity motif was not mentioned explicitly, but one could infer that the aim was to prevent spouses watching each other’s bodies.

NOCTURNAL EMISSION AND MENSTRUATION AS MANIFESTATIONS OF CORPOREALITY

The discussion thus far concerned sexual aspects of a human body and corporeality, which appeared in the context of sins that, to varying extent, consisted in physical touch with another person or with oneself. However, it appears that physical contact was not prerequisite to all sexual sins or those for which body or corporeality played a key role. In the examined texts, one can find a large group of provisions related to various corporeal or physiological features of a human body. By their authors, they were perceived from a moral or ritual-religious perspective, but occasionally also from a medical-healthcare one. The group consists of fragments on menstruation, pregnancy, delivery, post-natal period, fertility, men’s potency or impotence, increasing or decreasing one’s sexual desire, and semen release. Also in relation to those phenomena, a question ought to be raised: did authors of penitentials consider them part of a corporeal sphere of human existence?

In penitentials, semen release, as they put it, occurred in several situations. In the Merseburg Penitential there is a reference on ejaculation caused by an erotic kiss (“*Si presbyter feminam per desiderium osculaverit, XX dies paeniteat, et si semen per osculum mittit, XL dies paeniteat*”³⁴). Ejaculation was illustrated here as a direct result of a kiss. What is also noteworthy in this provision is the use of the phrase *per desiderium*, which indicates the motivation of the priest who kissed a woman. Another situation when ejaculation might occur was during sleep³⁵. In this case, it is a purely physiological phenomenon, which, in one of the penitentials, was referred to as polution or nocturnal

33 *Penitentiale Merseburgense* b, V, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 306; a penitential from the late 8th century; *Capitula Theodori*, c. XXX, ibidem, p. 173: *Si quis in balneo se lavare praesumpserit cum mulieribus, tres dies poeniteat, et ulterius non praesumat; Poenitentiale Hubertense*, XLVII, ibidem, p. 339: *Si quis in balneo cum mulieribus se lavare praesumpserit, emendation pollicita anno I paeniteat et ulterius non praesumat*; a penitential dated back to around 850.

34 *Paenitentiale Merseburgense* a, c. V, C, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 298; *Burchardi Wormaciensis...*, V, 113, ibidem, p. 398: *Dedisti osculum alicui feminae per immundum desiderium, et sic te polliusti?*

35 On this subject: C. Leyser, *Masculinity in Flux. Nocturnal Emission and Limits of Celibacy in the Early Middle Ages*, in: *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D.M. Haldley, London-New York 1999, pp. 103-120.

stain. Authors of penitentials frequently emphasised the fact that the nocturnal semen release occurred in a church. This suggests that such provisions related to priests and not necessarily to secular persons. For example: "Qui semen dormniens in ecclesia fuderit"³⁶.

In the 14th chapter of the Egbert's Penitential (dated at the 10th century), one can observe an interesting explanation for a nocturnal emission (*nocturna pollutio*). Its author, according to Egbert (the archbishop of York), was Pope Gregory I, who replied on this matter to Augustine, the archbishop of Canterbury³⁷. He claimed that there were three reasons for nocturnal emissions: physical indisposition and weakness, overconsumption of food and drink and the fact that "on that day one thought on and considered vacuous or forbidden matters and what they had in mind throughout the day happened during the night"³⁸. It should be noted that Augustine and Egbert referred to priests and particularly raised a question whether or not nocturnal emissions should make them not allowed to receive communion and celebrate a mass. In the first case, the pope decided that a man who experienced nocturnal emission is innocent; in the second case, he was deemed guilty, but was allowed to receive communion and celebrate a mass. When the emission occurred for the third reason, it was considered a sin in its full meaning, because the mentioned priest was not allowed to receive communion and he was ordered to confess and do penance.

The first reason for a nocturnal emission had medical and corporeal background, according to Egbert. He put it this way: "Itaque, cum quis in somno pollutus sit ex carnali imbecillitate"³⁹. Here, he used the phrase "due to the weakness of one's body". In another fragment (XIV, 2), he used a very similar construction: "ex naturali infirmitate et imbecillitate", which means "due to an innate weakness and infirmity". It seems that Egbert connected

³⁶ *Discipulus Umbriensium*, c. VIII, 8, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 140; *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Cummaeani*, c. II, 21, ibidem, p. 93: *Qui semen dormniens in ecclesia fuderit*; *Poenitentiale Egberti*, c. V, ibidem, p. 205: *Si quis in ecclesia dormniens semen suum effuderit*; *Paenitentiale Merseburgense a*, CXLII, ibidem, p. 301: *Si quis semen dormniens in ecclesia fuderit, III dies ieiunet, peccans non pollutus, XXIII psalmos cantat*; *Poenitentie Ps.-Gregorii III*, c. XXIV, 6, ibidem, p. 356: *Si semen fuderit in ecclesia dormniens, cantet Psalterium, vel tres dies poeniteat*; *Paenitentiale Cordubense*, CIV, p. 446: *Si quis dormniens in ecclesia semen fuderit*; *Paenitentiale Silense*, CXX, ibidem, p. 464: *Si quis dormniens in ecclesia semen fuderit*.

³⁷ *Poenitentiale Egberti*, III, c. XIV, 1, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 231: *Simul ac sanctus Augustinus in Anglorum natione baptisma introduxisset, et Dei servos ubique constituisset, et ordnavisset, mittebat epistolam Romam ad sanctum Gregorium, qui papa ibi erat, et rogabat eum ut per epistolam ipsi mitteret quid faciendum sit circa nocturnam pollutionem quae saepe hominibus in somno accidit; utrum crastino die ad eucharistiam abire, vel eucharistiam consecrare possit, si presbyter esset*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 2, p. 231: *interdum ex naturali infirmitate et imbecillitate, interdum ex superfluitate cibi et potus, interdum etiam cum quis die cogitat et meditatur inania et prohibita, quae cum vigilans die cogitat, haec dormienti noctu obveniunt*.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, 3, p. 231.

nocturnal emissions with one's medical condition and perceived them as "corporeal infirmity". A second reason for the discussed phenomenon was the fact that a priest consumed an excessive amount of food and drink (*ex superfluitate cibi et potus*). In this case, the author did not write about the sinner's medical or physical condition. Seemingly, however, what he could have in mind was a specific state of one's organism caused by excessive consumption of food and beverages. It is not clear if authors of penitentials considered semen release and the semen itself in the context of a human body. Certainly, Egbert believed that the phenomenon of nocturnal emission has corporeal and medical background in some cases. He might have perceived what was caused by "corporeal infirmity" (or "innate weakness and infirmity") as a manifestation of how body works.

The third case presents a different situation. The examined text refers to a person who, throughout a day, would be thinking about and imagining "forbidden things", sinful love (*die videat, vel cogitet, vel meditetur rem prohibitam, et noxius amor accidat*), as well as desire (*cupidoardens*). Thus, in a clear way, the author stated that the reason for a nocturnal emission was erotic fantasies and dreams, which he referred to as "a devilry illusion" (*diaboli stimultio*). This time it was a psychophysical mechanism – the sin of thought influenced the mind and body in a way that resulted in ejaculation during sleep. However, this is a contemporary interpretation of the nocturnal emission mechanism. Egbert did not claim that fantasies or erotic dreams could have any impact on a human body.

Menstruation was often mentioned in penitentials as a situation and time when a woman was not allowed to enter a church or receive communion. Authors of penitentials perceived period as a condition that makes women incapable of connecting with *sacrum* and thus attending public religious practices. One of such provisions reads as follows: "Mulieres menstruo tempore non intrent in ecclesiam, neque communicent, neque sanctimoniales, nec laicanae; si praesumunt, tres hebdomadas poenitent"⁴⁰. Yet another situation which excluded women from entering a church was the time after

⁴⁰ *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Cummaeani*, c. III, 14, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 95, Women experiencing menstruation are forbidden from entering a church or receiving communion; this applies to both nuns and secular women. If they dare to disobey, they shall atone for 3 weeks. *Discipulus Umbriensium*, XIV, 17, *ibidem*, p. 145: *Mulieres autem menstruo tempore non intrent in ecclesiam neque communicent, nec sanctimoniales nec laicae. Si praesumant, tribus ebdomadibus ieiunent; Poenitentiale Floriacense*, LVII, *ibidem*, p. 283: *Mulieres menstruo tempore non intrent in ecclesiam neque communicant nec sanctimoniales nec laicae. Si praesumant, tres hebdomadas poeniteant; Paenitentiale Vigilantium (Albeldense)*, LXXXVI, *ibidem*, p. 412: *Muliere in menstruo tempore non intrent ecclesiam, neque communicent, neque sanctimoniales nec laicales. Si praesumpserit, XX dies poeniteat; Canones paenitentiales Ps.-Hieronimi*, 105, *ibidem*, p. 428: *Mulieres menstruo tempore non intrent in ecclesiam, neque communicent, nec laicae nec monachae; et si ipsum sumpserint, III hebdomadas ieiunent.*

labour, in penitentials specified as “before cleansing the blood”. For instance: “Similiter poeniteant, quae intrant ecclesiam ante mundum sanguinem post partum, id est XL dies”⁴¹. It indicates that a woman that was pregnant and during the time directly after labour was considered as impure, because her blood was impure⁴².

Not all the authors of penitentials considered menstruation as a condition excluding a woman from practising a public form of cult or contacting the sacrum. In two penitentials – Poenitentie Ps.-Gregorii III and Paenitentiale Merseburgense – it was clearly stated that period is not an obstacle in entering a church and receiving communion⁴³. It appears that there was a fundamental disagreement among ecclesiastics on the matter. The author of the former penitential used the issue to present a broader discussion on the topic of monthly loss of blood by women. He certainly derived his arguments from

⁴¹ *Discipulus Umbriensium*, I, c. XIV, 18, in: Księgi pokutne, p. 145; *Capitula Theodori*, c. XXVIII, ibidem, p. 172: *Mulier quae intrat ecclesiam ante mundum sanguinem post partum: si masculum genuit, triginta tres dies: si feminam, quinquaginta sex; Poenitentiale Egberti*, C. XXIX, 3, ibidem, p. 212: *Mulier quae ecclesiam intrat antequam a sanguine suo se purgat, ieiunet quadraginta dies; Poenitentiale Ps.-Gregorii III*, c. XXX, 10, ibidem, p. 359: *Si qua mulier ante mundum sanguinem ecclesiam intraverit, quia nec in usu habetur, quadraginta dies poeniteat; Paenitentiale Vigilantium (Albeldense)*, LXXXVII, ibidem, p. 412: *Similiter poeniteat qui intra ecclesiam ante mundum sanguinis partum, id est XV diebus poeniteat; Canones paenitentiales Ps.-Hieronymi*, III, 106, ibidem, p. 428: *Similiter poeniteat quae intrat in ecclesiam ante mundum sanguinem post partum, XL dies poeniteat.*

⁴² In Paenitentiale Bigotianum (dated at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century), one can find statements taken from the Book of Leviticus, which can be interpreted as a confirmation of the thesis and explanation for both the prohibition of sexual intercourse between spouses and participation of women in a public form of cult after conception and labour, *in cuius Sacramento etiam in Levitico immunda fieri mulier dicitur quae concepto semino peperit* (“As confirmation of what was said, the Book of Leviticus states that a woman who conceived from a semen and gave birth becomes impure”) (Lv 12, 2-5) and – *Sed interim: Quae peperit masculum, octava die et qui natus est circumcidatur et illa sit munda* (“However: If any of them gave birth to a male child, on the eighth day the newborn is to undergo circumcision and then the woman becomes pure”) – *Paenitentiale Bigotianum*, 17, 19, in: Księgi pokutne, pp. 250-251; ibidem, 18: *Non solum immunda erit, sed dupliciter immunda; bis enim septenis diebus in immunditia scribitur permanere* (“Not only will she be impure, but impure twofold; since it is written that she stays impure for seven days twice”) (Lv 12, 5).

⁴³ *Poenitentie Ps.-Gregorii III*, c. XXV, 2, in: Księgi pokutne, pp. 356-357: *Si quis mulier consuetudine menstrua patitur, prohiberi in ecclesiam intrare non debeat, qui naturae superfluitas ei in culpa non valet reputari, et per hoc quod invita patitur, iustum non est ut ab ingressu ecclesiae privetur; Paenitentiale Merseburgense* a, c. V, LXXXIX, ibidem, p. 297: *Si qua mulier, dum menstruo patitur, prohiberi ab ecclesia non debet, qui naturae superfluitas in culpa non reputabitur, sanctam autem communionem in hisdem diebus percipere, non debet prohiberi, si autem ex veneratione magna percipere non paresumit, laudanda est, et si perceperit, et non est iudicanda* (“When a woman menstruates, she should not be forbidden from entering a church, because the natural loss of blood is not considered her fault. Neither should receiving communion be forbidden during the time. If it is by great respect that she does not dare to receive it, it is essential to praise her, but if she decides to receive it, she should not be judged”).

a letter of Pope Gregory I to Augustine, the archbishop of Canterbury, which was placed in *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*⁴⁴ by Bede the Venerable. Here comes the fragment:

If a woman menstruates, she should not be prohibited from entering a church, because she cannot be blamed for what results from nature. Given what she must bear with against her will, it would be unfair not to allow her entrance to a church. We know that a woman who experienced loss of blood came to the Lord from behind, with humility, touched his robe and the sickness passed. Therefore, if the one experiencing loss of blood could touch the clothes of our Lord, why should any woman experiencing the same be forbidden from entering the church of our Lord? If the one who touched our Lord's robe was right, because instantly her weakness left her body, then why other women suffering from the weakness of their nature are not allowed to do so? They are also not to be prohibited from participating in the sacrament of the holy communion during those days. Should she refuse to receive it out of respect, praise her; if she does receive it, do not judge her. The monthly loss of blood is not the fault of women, but results directly from their nature⁴⁵.

The above statement is significant in the present discussion, because the author of the *Poenitentiale Ps.-Gregorii III* referred to "a loss of blood" (*fluxus sanguinis*) and to blood itself or the monthly bleeding (*menstrua sanguine*). He perceived such situations in the context of the medical condition of a woman experiencing the loss of blood who was cured when she touched the robe of Christ, as well as women, in general, who menstruate. The following sentence is noteworthy:

Si igitur bene praesumpsit quae vestimentum Domini in languore posita tetigit, quod uni ex persona infirmitatis conceditur, cur non concedatur cunctis mulieribus quae naturae suae vitio infirmantur.

⁴⁴ *Bede's ecclesiastical history of English people (Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum)*, eds. B. Colgrave, R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1969, p. 90.

⁴⁵ *Poenitentiale Ps.-Gregorii III*, c. XXV, 2, in: Ksiegi pokutne, pp. 356-357: *Si quis mulier consuetudine menstrua patitur, prohiberi in ecclesiam intrare non debeat, qui naturae superfluitas ei in culpa non valet reputari, et per hoc quod invita patitur, iustum non est ut ab ingress ecclesiae privetur. Novimus namque quod mulier quae fluxum patirbatur sanguinis, post tergum Domini humiliter veniens, vestimenti eius fimbriam tetigit, atque ab ea statim sua infirmitas recessit (Mt 9, 20). Si ergo in fluxu sanguinis posita laudabiliter potuit Domini vestimenta tangere, cur quae menstrua patitur sanguine, ei non liceat Domini ecclesiam intrare? Si igitur bene praesumpserit quae vestimentum Domini in languore posita tetigit, quod uni ex persona infirmitatis conceditur, cur non concedatur cunctis mulieribus quae naturae suae vitio infirmantur? Sanctae autem communionis mysterium in esidem diebus percipere non debent prohiberi. Si autem ex venertione magna accipere non praesumit, laudandaest; sed si susceperit, non di iudicanda. Menstrua enim consuetudo mulieribus non aliqua culpa est, videlicet quia naturaliter accidit.*

A haemorrhage (*fluxus sanguinis*) of the woman was referred to as “a weakness” (*languor*) and “sickness” (*infirmitas*), which “passed from [her] person” (“ex persona [...] conceditur”). Likewise, the author described a monthly bleeding as an infirmity that consists in “them being sickly (weak) due to a defect (corruption) of their nature” (“quae naturae suae vitio infirmantur”). It should be reminded that in the prologue to the Poenitentie Ps.-Gregorii III the author used a phrase *infirmitates corporum* (weakness, sickness of a body). Thus, one may believe that, in the discussed fragment, he connected phrases such as *languor* or *infirmitas* with a human body. Then, if a haemorrhage and menstruation were referred to with those words, they were considered as the mentioned “weakness of a body”. However, it should be noted that in the same fragment, the author stated that weakness or sickness left the person of a woman suffering from a haemorrhage. In view of his statements on sickness in the prologue, it seems that he did not perceive the notion of “a person” and “a body” as contradictory. Instead, the way he used them suggests he considered them quite close.

translated by Piotr Gumola

ABSTRACT

The subject matter of my article is human body and corporeality as aspects of human sexuality. As source material for the study I used penitentials that were created between the 6th and the 11th centuries in Western Europe. The discussion touches upon not only body, but also corporeality, i.e. various aspects of the corporal aspect of a human being, which goes beyond the strict meaning of “body”. Furthermore, the study concentrates on penitential provisions related to sexual sins, or in a wider sense, to the sexual aspect of a human life; however, the key point is not mere “sex” or “sexuality”, but the corporal aspect of those phenomena. A few matters are discussed in the paper. The first one is how authors of penitentials understood the notion of “human body”. Then, the key matter is analysed: whether or not the authors considered sexual sins as manifestations of human corporeality. The question was examined through an analysis of penitential provisions related to various forms of touch of sexual nature, various sorts of sexual intercourse, nakedness, or physiological phenomena such as nocturnal emissions or menstruation. What is more, the discussion continues on the understanding of the relation between individual organs and a body as a whole in order to determine whether the former were considered as manifestations of a human body in the descriptions of sexual sins. As a result, it is concluded that there are reasons to claim that authors of penitentials considered touch, various kinds of intercourse and sexual practices, as well as nocturnal emissions and menstruation as activities and phenomena of corporeal character.

JAN VIDEMAN, NAĀA PROFANTOVÁ
KROMĚŘÍŽ, PRAHA

AN DER OSTGRENZE DES FRANKENREICHES EIN HORTFUND VON DENAREN VON LUDWIG DEM FROMMEN BEI JEDOMĚLICE (BEZIRK Kladno), BÖHMEN



In den Frühlingsmonaten des Jahres 2006¹ haben zwei Raubgräber mit Minensuchgeräten in einem Wald westlich der Gemeinde Jedomělice, Bezirk Kladno in Mittelböhmen, ein verstreutes Depot frühmittelalterlicher Münzen entdeckt. Der Schatz bestand ausschließlich aus Denaren des fränkischen Kaisers Ludwigs des Frommen (813 Mitkaiser, 814 Kaiser - 840), eines Sohnes und Nachfolgers Karls des Großen. In der relativ bunten Sammlung sind ausschließlich Denare der ersten beiden Typen vertreten, die während Ludwigs Herrschaft geprägt wurden.

- a) 13 Stück des 814-819 geprägten Bildnisdenars, der an die späten Prägungen Karls des Großen anschließt und an vier Orten geprägt wurde: Dorestad, Quentovic, Straßburg und Aachen;
- b) der chronologisch anschließende Typ mit ein- bzw. mehrzeiliger Inschrift mit dem Namen der Prägestätte, mehr als 50 Stück. Denare dieses zweiten Typs werden in die Zeitspanne 819-822 gereiht. Vertreten waren Prägungen aus den Münzstätten in Dorestad, Melle, Aachen, Pavia, Mailand, Venedig und dem katalanischen Empúries.

Die Gesamtzahl der Fundmünzen bewegte sich ursprünglich um 60-70 Stück; 45 Denare konnten fachgerecht beschrieben werden (Abb. 1-3)².

1 Das genaue Funddatum konnte nicht ermittelt werden. Alle Informationen wurden erst mit mehrjähriger Verzögerung von einem der Raubgräber erhalten.

2 Dokumentiert wurden insgesamt 18 Denare aus der Venezianer Münzstätte und 9 Denaren aus der Münze in Mailand. Nach mündlicher Mitteilung waren im Fund ursprünglich 26 Denare aus Venedig und 17 aus Mailand vorhanden. Die übrigen Exemplare und auch ein Bildnisdenar aus der Münze in Dorestad sind bei ausländischen Auktionen verkauft worden, ehe es den Autoren ermöglicht wurde, die Räuber zu kontaktieren.

Durch diese Entdeckung ist die innerhalb der letzten Jahre auch so gewachsene Anzahl karolingischer Fundmünzen aus Böhmen wesentlich bereichert worden. Zum heutigen Tage sind fünf solcher Funde bekannt: der ältere Fund eines Denars Karls des Kahlen (840-877) in der Šárka, Prag aus dem Jahr 1964³, vier Denare Karls des Großen (768-814) vom Burgwall Hradec bei Hudčice 2007⁴ und der unlängst in Tismice bei Český Brod entdeckte Denar Karls des Großen⁵. Neu wurde im Verlauf der Abfassung dieses Beitrags eine Münze Karls des Großen in Kostelní Hlavno bei Stará Boleslav, Bezirk Prag-Ost entdeckt. Der Fund aus Jedomělice ist der erste, durch den auf böhmischem Gebiet Prägungen Ludwigs des Frommen gefunden wurden und gleichzeitig ist es der erste Hort- bzw. Schatzfund dieser Gattung in Böhmen.

Aus dieser Sicht handelt es sich um einen außerordentlichen Fund im Rahmen des ganzen mitteleuropäischen Zusammenhangs. Ein Hortfund karolingischer Münzen westlich des Rheins war bisher nur aus Freising bekannt⁶.

Ein weiterer außerordentlicher Aspekt des Schatzes von Jedomělice besteht in seiner Aussagekraft bezüglich des Datums der Thesaurierung und rückwirkend, dank der möglichen Bindung an einen konkreten historischen Hintergrund, auch in der Möglichkeit, die Richtigkeit der heute anerkannten Chronologie und Datierung einzelner Münztypen Ludwigs des Frommen zu bestätigen.

Erster Typ, mit dem Kopf des Herrschers und der Umschrift HLVDOVICVS IMP AVG auf dem Avers und einigen weiteren Bildmotiven auf der Rückseite, begleitet vom Namen der Münzstätte, evtl. der Kirche und der Umschrift KRISTIANA RELIGIO, wird in die Jahre 814-819 gesetzt, evtl. 814-818⁷. Es handelt sich um den ältesten Typ von Ludwigs Denaren, was einerseits durch den Anschluss an die bildlich identischen Prägungen Karls

3 J. Hásková, *Nález karolinského denáru v Šárce. K obchodním stykům českých Slovanů s říší franskou*, „Numismatický sborník“ IX (1966), S. 5-10. Zum archeologischen Kontext des Fundes N. Profantová, *Zum gegenwärtigen Erkenntnisstand der frühmittelalterlichen Besiedlung des Burgwalls Šárka, Prag 6*, „Památky archeologické“ XC (1999), S. 65-106.

4 J. Videman, M. Lutovský, *Nález denáru Karla Velikého z hradiště Hradec u Hudčic (okr. Příbram)*, „Numismatický sborník“ XXVI (2011), S. 201-210.

5 J. Militký, N. Profantová, J. Videman, *Pozdně římské mince a denár Karla Velikého (768-814) z areálu hradiště Tismice*, „Numismatický sborník“ XXVII (2013), S. 35-46.

6 C.M. Haertle, *Karolingische Münzfunde aus dem 9. Jahrhundert*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1997, Teil 1, S. 54; H. Emmering, *Der Freisinger Münzschatzfund und das Geldwesen in Bayern zur Karolingerzeit*, in: 38. *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Freising*, hrsg. von U. Götz, Freising 2004, S. 11-75.

7 S. Coupland, *Money and Coinage under Louis the Pious*, in: Coupland, *Carolingian Coinage nad the Vikings, Studies on Power and Trade in the 9th Century*, Plate I-IV, Aldershot 2007, S. 24-27; G. Depeyrot, *Le numéraire carolingien, Corpus des monnaies*, Wetteren 2008, S. 38-39.

des Großen, andererseits durch die Vertretung der ältesten Funde mit Münzen dieses Herrschers unterstützt wird. Aufgrund des heutigen Erkenntnisstandes wurde dieser Typ in zwölf Münzstätten geprägt⁸.

Der Übergang zum Münztyp mit Kreuz und Umschrift HLVDVVICVS IMP auf der Vorderseite sowie mit ein- oder mehrzeiliger Inschrift mit der Bezeichnung der Münzstätte auf dem Revers ist in den Kapitularien von der Wende der Jahre 818/819 belegt⁹. Denare des zweiten Typs wurden meist in größerem Umfang an mehreren Orten geprägt (insgesamt sind heute fünfundvierzig Münzen erwiesen)¹⁰. Mit Ausnahme der Münzstätte im bayerischen Regensburg konzentrieren sich jedoch die Prägestätten vor allem auf die westliche Reichsfläche, zu unserem Raum waren am nächsten die norditalienischen und rheinländischen Münzstätten.

Der letzte und am zahlreichsten geprägte Denartyp Ludwigs des Frommen wurde an der Jahreswende 822/823 eingeführt. Auch zu diesem zweiten Wechsel des Münztyps liegen schriftliche Belege vor. Es handelt sich um ein kaiserliches Edikt von 825, das einen drei Jahre zurückliegenden Wechsel erweist¹¹. Dieser Typ zeigt auf der Vorderseite wiederum ein Kreuz mit dem Namen und der Titulatur des Kaisers in der Umschrift sowie die Abbildung eines Tempels mit vier Säulen und Kreuz in der Mitte sowie zwei waagerechten Linien unten sowie die Umschrift XRISTIANA RELIGIO auf dem Revers. In unserem Hortfund sind jedoch Denare des jüngsten Typs, wie gesagt, nicht aufgetreten.

Beide älteren Typen sind in kleineren Gesamt Mengen als der dritte Typ gefunden worden und gleichzeitig ist der ältere Typ gegenüber den späteren Typen deutlich seltener. Für die bisherige Forschung zur Chronologie der älteren Typen standen bisher lediglich zwei bedeutende und erforschte Depots zur Verfügung, die Funde aus Apremont-Veuillin in Zentralfrankreich (1871)¹² und aus Belv ezet (1836)¹³.

8 S. Coupland, *Money and Coinage...*, S. 25.

9 *Capitulare missorum* c. 12, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (weiter als MGH). *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, hrsg. von A. Boretius, Berlin 1883, S. 290, nach S. Coupland, *Money and Coinage...*, S. 24, Anm. 6.

10 S. Coupland, *Money and Coinage...*, S. 28.

11 *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines* c. 20, MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, S. 306, nach S. Coupland, *Money and Coinage...*, S. 28, Anm. 20.

12 C.M. Haertle, *Karolingische M unzfunde...*, Teil 1, S. 27-30; H.H. Voelckers, *Karolingische M unzfunde der Fr uhzeit, 751-800. Pippin Karlmann, Karl der Grosse, I. und II. M unzperiode*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu G ottingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Folge 3, Nr 61, G ottingen 1965, S. 115, Nr. 50; K.F. Morrison, H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, CLVIII, New York 1958, S. 344, Nr. 15.

13 C.M. Haertle, *Karolingische M unzfunde...*, Teil 1, S. 31-33; H.H. Voelckers, *Karolingische M unzfunde...*, S. 115-116, Nr. 51; K.F. Morrison, H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*, S. 344, Nr. 14.

Der zahlreichste Fund aus Veullin enthielt über 700 Münzen des In-schriftentyps und lediglich einen einzigen Bildnisdenar, und zwar aus der Prägestätte in Arles¹⁴. Im Fund von Belvézet mit einer Gesamtzahl von 293 Exemplaren waren auch zwei Denare Karls des Großen aus der Zeit nach der Währungsreform 793/794 enthalten, ein Bildnisdenar Ludwigs des Frommen, zufälliger Weise gleichfalls aus Arles, ausschlaggebend war die Anzahl der Denare mit Inschriften desselben Herrschers aus 29 verschiedenen Münzstätten und darüber hinaus auch drei Denare sowie ein Obolus des dritten, jüngsten Typs mit der Legende *XRISTIANA RELIGIO*. Aufgrund dieser letztgenannten Stücke wird die Thesaurierung des Schatzes von Belvézet als unmittelbar nach 822 datiert. Ein weiterer Fund von Belvézet (aus dem Jahr 1845/1846), dessen Beschreibung umstritten und der heute verschollen ist, enthielt sechs Bildnismünzen direkt aus Dorestad sowie einen Bildnisdenar aus Straßburg, die restlichen Prägungen wurden wiederum den beiden späteren Typen zugeordnet¹⁵.

Alleine schon dieser Fundzustand zeugt von der außerordentlichen Bedeutung des Depots von Jedomélice, das den ersten Beleg für die Anfänge der Herrschaftszeit Ludwigs des Frommen mit einer großen Anzahl an Stücken des Bildnistyps enthält: die 13 Denare bilden ca. 20% der vorausgesetzten Gesamtmenge. In dieser Ansammlung von Bildnisdenaren sticht die große Variabilität der verwendeten Prägestempel hervor. Nicht nur zwei verschiedene Denare aus der Münzstätte in Straßburg, einer Münze, die bisher nur durch lediglich einige wenige Exemplare vertreten war, sondern auch die vielfältige Skala der Prägestempel aus der Prägestätte in Dorestad, wo zu dieser Zeit wohl die meisten Münzen geprägt wurden. Damit bildet dieser Fund einen bedeutenden Beitrag zur Erkenntnis dieses Abschnitts des karolingischen Münzwesens (Abb. 4-5).

¹⁴ F. Bompois, *Notice sur un dépôt de monnaies carlovingiennes découvert en juin 1871 aux environs du Veullin, commune d'Apremont, département du Cher*, Paris 1871.

¹⁵ C.M. Haertle, *Karolingische Münzfunde...*, Teil 1, S. 35-36; H.H. Voelckers, *Karolingische Münzfunde...*, S. 1376, Nr. 3; K.F. Morrison, H. Grunthal, *Carolingian Coinage*, S. 345, Nr. 18. Der Fund besteht aus einer Sammlung von einzeln gefundenen Münzen, vgl. C.M. Haertle, *Karolingische Münzfunde...*, Teil 1, S. 35, Anm. 38.

Tab. 1. Der Inhalt des Fundes von Jedomélice.

Num- mer	Münzstätte	Typus (Perio- de)	weight(g)	Diameter (mm)	Depey- rot	Moris- son- Grunt- hal	Prou	Ann.
1	STRASSBURG	814-819	1,812	18,3	955	324	43	
2	STRASSBURG	814-819	1,693	18,75	955	324	43	
3	QUENTOVIC	814-819	1,700	17,8	802	351	187	
4	DORESTAD	814-819	1,695	19,0	413	330	63	
5	DORESTAD	814-819	1,772	18,8	413	330	63	
6	DORESTAD	814-819	1,383	18,3	413	330	63	
7	DORESTAD	814-819	1,748	18,1	413	330	63	
8	DORESTAD	814-819	1,749	19,6	413	330	63	
9	DORESTAD	814-819	1,509	19,0	413	330	63	abge- bro- chen
10	DORESTAD	814-819	1,646	18,4	413	330	63	
11	DORESTAD	814-819	nicht ermitteln	nicht er- mitteln	413	330	63	
12	XRISTIANA RELIGIO	814-819	1,756	18,2	1172	469	984-986	
13	XRISTIANA RELIGIO	814-819	1,716	17,7	1172	469	984-986	
14	IMPVRIAS	819-822	1,715	21,0	39	–	827-828	
15	DORESTAD	819-822	1,697	19,0	416	335	69	
16	METALLVM	819-822	1,603	19,8	609	398	715-720	
17	PALATINA MONETA	819-822	1,870	20,2	743	320	8-10	
18	PAPIA	819-822	1,736	20,4	780H	447	902-3	
19	MEDIOLANVM	819-822	1,705	20,8	662I	451	909	
20	MEDIOLANVM	819-822	1,661	19,3	662I	451	909	
21	MEDIOLANVM	819-822	1,652	20,6	662I	451	909	
22	MEDIOLANVM	819-822	1,617	20,3	662I	451	909	
23	MEDIOLANVM	819-822	1,697	17,7	662I	451	909	
24	MEDIOLANVM	819-822	1,845	20,3	662I	451	909	
25	MEDIOLANVM	819-822	1,679	19,2	662I	451	909	
26	MEDIOLANVM	819-822	1,730	20,2	662I	451	909	
27	MEDIOLANVM	819-822	nicht ermitteln	nicht er- mitteln	662I	451	909	
28	VENECIAS MONETA	819-822	1,363	20,4	1116C	455	894	
29	VENECIAS	819-822	1,790	21,1	1116D	456	917-920	
30	VENECIAS	819-822	1,260	20,7	1116D	456	917-920	
31	VENECIAS	819-822	1,560	20,3	1116D	456	917-920	
32	VENECIAS	819-822	1,558	20,3	1116D	456	917-920	

33	VENECIAS	819-822	1,329	18,9	1116D	456	917-920	
34	VENECIAS	819-822	1,040	19,65	1116D	456	917-920	
35	VENECIAS	819-822	1,146	21,4	1116D	456	917-920	
36	VENECIAS	819-822	1,153	20,1	1116D	456	917-920	
37	VENECIAS	819-822	1,330	20,4	1116D	456	917-920	
38	VENECIAS	819-822	1,430	20,45	1116D	456	917-920	
39	VENECIAS	819-822	nicht ermitteln	nicht er- mitteln	1116D	456	917-920	
40	VENECIAS	819-822	nicht ermitteln	nicht er- mitteln	1116D	456	917-920	
41	VENECIAS	819-822	nicht ermitteln	nicht er- mitteln	1116D	456	917-920	
42	VENECIAS	819-822	nicht ermitteln	nicht er- mitteln	1116D	456	917-920	
43	VENECIAS	819-822	nicht ermitteln	nicht er- mitteln	1116D	456	917-920	
44	VENECIAS	819-822	1,545	20,2	1116D	456	917-920	
45	VENECIAS	819-822	0,891	20,1	1116D	456	917-920	

DIE ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN ZUSAMMENHÄNGE

Die Münzen wurden schrittweise im Wald, bei parallel verlaufenden Waldwegen, auf einer Fläche von etwa 3×5 m, in einer Tiefe von bis zu 80 cm gefunden. Die Stratigraphie war der nachträglich durchgeführten Bohrungen zufolge recht einfach: dunkler Humus mit organischen Resten bis zu einer Tiefe von 40 cm, darauf folgte grauer Lehm, der Felsuntergrund bestand aus Kreide. In dieser Quellsenke unterscheidet sich der Boden vom Rest des Waldes.

Die Fundmünzen lagen frei verteilt, ohne irgendwelche Anzeichen von einem Behälter. An der Fundstelle wurden keine weiteren Funde gemacht. Die Fundstelle befindet sich in der Nähe der jüngeren Dorfwüstung Ostrov.

Im Gelände wurde parallel zum Hauptweg ein etwa 300-450 m langer Abschnitt eines älteren Hohlwegs entdeckt, der sich hier schon im Frühmittelalter befunden haben könnte, eine genauere Datierung ist nicht möglich (Abb. 3). Die Fundstätte hat in der archäologischen Literatur zum Frühmittelalter bisher so gut wie keine Erwähnung gefunden. Von den Gemeinden in der Umgebung sind mehrere Körpergräberfelder bekannt, die eher in die 2. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts zu setzen sein würden.

Am nächsten ist das Gräberfeld in Libovice, Bez. Kladno, auf Parz. 929 und Umgebung, bei Konkr.-Nr. 110¹⁶. Hier fanden sich mindestens sieben

16 A. Knor 1976, NZ 3689/76, Archeologický ústav AV ČR, v.v.i.

Gefäße, davon wurden sechs veröffentlicht¹⁷, eines davon ist eine mit flacheren Wellenlinien verzierte Flasche. Drei Gefäße entsprechen aufgrund ihres Erscheinungsbildes, dem Rand und der Verzierung noch dem letzten Drittel des 9. Jahrhunderts¹⁸. Die übrigen gehören in das 1. und 2. Drittel des 10. Jahrhunderts.

Weitere entsprechend alte Körpergräberfelder fanden sich in Přelíc¹⁹. Das unlängst ausgegrabene Gräberfeld aus der 2. Hälfte des 9. - 1. Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts liegt in Slaný-Kvíček, südöstlich des Münzfundes²⁰. Die nächstgelegene Besiedlung aus dem 8. und dem Verlauf des 9. Jahrhunderts liegt in Slaný-Kvíček²¹, Slaný-Pod Slánskou horou²², Slaný-u Fraškářů²³, Slaný, 9.-Května-Platz²⁴, auch die ehemalige Ziegelei Bubova am Weg nach Studeněves²⁵, die ehemalige Ziegelei Panská, heute Plynárenská-Straße²⁶ und Slaný, ohne nähere Beschreibung²⁷, also in Slaný selbst mindestens drei Siedlungen und zwei Gräberfelder, ferner in Trpoměchy²⁸, Hrdlív²⁹, im Norden dann Hořešovice³⁰ (alles bis zu einer Entfernung von ca. 6 km) und etwas weiter entfernt Mutějovice und Nesuchyně im Westen, Cvrčovice, Stehelčevs und Dřetovice³¹ an der Ostseite, im Hinterland des späteren Budeč Burgwall. Die nächstgelegenen Fundorte sind auf Abb. 6 dargestellt, zu sehen ist, dass die Siedlungsdichte in Richtung Schlaner Plateau, also nach Osten hin, zunimmt³². Nächstgelegene Befestigung oder zumindest strategische

17 J. Sláma, *Mittelböhmen im frühen Mittelalter I. Katalog der Grabfunde*, „Præhistorica“ V (1977), S. 70, Taf. XII:1-4, 6, 9.

18 Ibidem, Taf. 12:3, 9 und wohl auch 1.

19 Ibidem, S. 130, Taf. XXXIII:7, S. 6 und XXXIV:1.

20 Grabung von J. Mařík: idem, *Záchranný archeologický výzkum pravěkého a raně středověkého pohřebiště ve Slaném-Kvíčku*, „Zprávy ČAS - supplementum“ LXXV (2009), S. 27-28.

21 Grabung: V. Moucha – J. Bubeník, *Archeologické prameny k dějinám osídlení Čech v 7. až polovině 9. století*, Praha 1997, S. 33.

22 Areal der landwirtschaftlichen Baugenossenschaft, Grabung V. Moucha, erfasst wurde ein Grubenhaus, siehe J. Bubeník, *Archeologické prameny...*, S. 64.

23 Aus dem Objekt stammt ein Gefäß aus der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts.

24 J. Sláma, *Mittelböhmen...*, S. 149.

25 Ein unvollständiges Gefäß mit mehrfachen Wellenlinien: ibidem, S. 150, Taf. 41:7.

26 Die mit Kammwellenlinie verzierte Schale stammt wahrscheinlich erst aus der 1. Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts.

27 Ibidem, Taf. 41:1, 2.

28 J. Bubeník, *Archeologické prameny...*, S. 70.

29 Ibidem, S. 21.

30 Grabung V. Moucha, gefunden wurde ein Grubenhaus: ibidem, S. 19.

31 Dazu I. Krutina, *Stegel'čevs, R-n Kladno: selišče 6-12 vv., mogil'nik 8-12 vv.*, in: *Archeologičeskije izučeniya pamjatnikov 6-15 vekov v Čechii 1975-1985 gg.*, Praha 1985, S. 237-238; zu den Gräbern von Stehelčevs: N. Profantová, A. Šilhová, *K problematice kaptorg v Čechách. Na základě detailního studia hrobu 22 z Klecan II.*, „Památky archeologické“ CI (2010), S. 283-310.

32 Hier besteht natürlich ein kausaler Zusammenhang zwischen der intensiveren Forschungstätigkeit des Museums in Slaný und des Archäologischen Instituts in Prag.

Stelle ist Hřivice, Bez. Louny³³, nördlich des vorausgesetzten Weges. Erst später entstand Libušín, eine bedeutende befestigte Siedlung in der Nähe (ca. 10-11 km) unserer Fundstelle³⁴.

Der Hortfund fand sich in der Nähe eines Weges aus dem Egertal, wir können vorsichtig einen Verbindungsweg zwischen dem Burgwall Rubín bei Podbořany³⁵, vielleicht über Budeč, das zur Zeit der Prägung der Münzen nachweislich bereits besiedelt, obzwar unbefestigt war³⁶, nach Prag erwägen. Die Gestalt Prags in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts ist allerdings nur teilweise bekannt, es gab jedoch bereits ganz bestimmt eine leicht befestigte Prager Burg und wahrscheinlich auch schon die älteste Befestigung der Kleinseite³⁷, einen ausgedehnten Burgwall in Prag-Šárka mit erwiesenen Kontakten zum Ausland (Denar Karls des Kahlen, spätawarische gegossene Beschläge)³⁸, Eben zu diesem Burgwall führte wahrscheinlich der von uns erwogene Weg. Eine komplexere Rekonstruktion ist mit Rücksicht auf Datierungsprobleme bisher nicht möglich. Der Burgwall Prag-Šárka lag jedoch mit Sicherheit an einem der wichtigsten Fernwege von Prag nach Nordwesten.

Rubín, das zweite Ende der erwogenen Verbindungslinie, war ein wichtiger Ort an der Strecke vom Main nach Böhmen³⁹. Vom Burgwall und

33 V. Čtverák, M. Lutovský, M. Slabina, L. Smejtek, *Encyklopedie hradišť v Čechách*, Praha 2004, S. 106.

34 L. Varadzin, *Libušínské hradiště. Hlavní poznatky z revizního zpracování výzkumů – The Early Medieval Stronghold Libušín. The Main Findings from a Review of Excavations*, „Archeologické rozhledy“ LXIV (2012), S. 723-774.

35 J. Bubeník, *Die Besiedlung des südöstlichen Vorfelds des Berges Rubín in der Burgwallzeit und ihre Chronologie (Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1984-1991)*, „Památky archeologické“ LXXXVIII (1997), S. 56-106; N. Profantová, D. Stolz, *Chronologie a význam hradiště Rubín u Podbořan ve světle nových raně středověkých nálezů*, „Archaeologia historica“ XXXI (2006), S. 165-180; N. Profantová, *Nové nálezy zbraní a nákončí opasku z hradiště Rubína (Dolánky a Pšov) a okolí*, „Archeologie ve středních Čechách“ XVII (2013), S. 179-184.

36 Die Revision der Befunde auf dem Burgwall Budeč verlegt die Entstehung eines befestigten Zentrums von der 1. auf die 2. Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts; dazu A. Bartošková, *Revizní analýza archeologické situace u rotundy sv. Petra a Pavla na Budči – Revisionsanalyse der archäologischen Situation bei der St.-Peter-und-Paul-Kirche in Budeč*, „Památky archeologické“ (2003), S. 183-218.

37 Dazu J. Čiháková, J. Havrda, *Malá Strana v raném středověku, stav výzkumu a rekapitulace poznání*, „Archeologické rozhledy“ LX (2008), S. 187-228; I. Boháčová, *Pražský hrad a jeho nejstarší opevňovací systémy*, in: *Pražský hrad a Malá Strana*, Mediaevalia archaeologica, III, Praha 2001, S. 179-301.

38 N. Profantová, *Zum gegenwertigen Erkenntnisstand der frühmittelalterlichen Besiedlung des Burgwalls Šárka, Prag 6*, „Památky archeologické“ XC (1999), S. 65-106; B. Nechvátal, J. Novák, J. Zavřel, *Záchranný archeologický výzkum na raně středověkém hradišti v Šárce*, „Archaeologia historica“ XXXVII (2012), S. 401-418.

39 J. Bubeník, *Příspěvek k poznání rozsahu a rozvoje osídlení Čech ve starší a střední době hradištní*, „Archeologické rozhledy“ XLV (1993), S. 57-71; N. Profantová, *Problém importů a rekonstrukce cest v 8.-9. stol.*, „Archaeologia historica“ XXIII (1998), S. 79-88, Abb. 2.

seiner Umgebung sind Riemenzungen merowingischer Prägung bekannt, zwei karolingische Beschläge aus dem Ende des 8. und dem Anfang des 9. Jahrhunderts, aber auch Fragmente von Kettenhemden wohl westlichen Ursprungs, Streitäxten usw.

Wenn wir versuchen, den Weg weiter nach Westen zu führen, so bietet sich die Strecke über das Egertal nach Cheb (Eger), zum Main und dann weiter nach Karlburg, ein damals bedeutendes Zentrum⁴⁰ und Würzburg, sowie über Mainz bis nach Frankfurt oder über das weiter südlich gelegene Burglengenfeld (gleichfalls mit Funden karolingischer Denare Ludwigs des Frommen)⁴¹ nach Regensburg (zwei Denare). Der nächste Denarfund Karls des Großen stammt noch von Enns in Österreich, westlich dann aus Eysölden⁴².

Im breiteren Zusammenhang erscheinen wichtige karolingische Importe des 9. Jahrhunderts vor allem in Mittelböhmen, besonders in den reichen Fürstengräbern (Kolín [Abb. 9] und Kouřim)⁴³, evtl. in Nordwestböhmen (Želénky) und im Egerland (Cheb)⁴⁴. Die zahlreichsten Siedlungsfunde wurden auf den Burgwällen Libice⁴⁵, Češov⁴⁶ und Rubín gemacht; Zatec ist etwas jünger, jedoch tritt noch das bereits oben erwähnte Tismice⁴⁷, Hrad-

40 Zusammenfassend: P. Ettl, *Der frühmittelalterliche Zentralort Karlburg am Main mit Königshof, Marienkloster und zwei Burgen in karolingisch-ottonischer Zeit*, in: *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, hrsg. von J. Macháček, Š. Ungerman, Studien zur Archäologie Europas, XIV, Bonn 2011, S. 459-478; zur karolingischen Münze aus dem Grubenhaus: R. Obst, *Münzdatierte Keramik der Karolingerzeit aus Karlburg am Main, Stadt Karlburg, Lkr. Main-Spessart*, in: *Hochmittelalterliche Keramik am Rhein*, hrsg. von L. Grundwald, H. Pantemehl, R. Schreg, Mainz 2012, S. 97-103.

41 B. Päßgen, *Ein karolingischer Denar der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts aus dem Vicusgelände von Burghöfe*, in: Ch. Later, *Der mittelalterliche Burgstall Turenberc/Druisheim. Archäologische Untersuchungen 2001-2007 am römischen Militärplatz Submuntorium/Burghöfe an der oberen Donau*, Wiesbaden 2009, S. 133-140, Abb. 52.

42 B. Päßgen, *Ein karolingischer Denar...*, Abb. 52.

43 Zusammenfassend: N. Profantová, *Karolinské impoty a jejich napodobování v Čechách případně na Moravě (konec 8 - 10. stol.) – Karolingische Importe und ihre Nachahmungen in Böhmen bzw. in Mähren (Das ausgehende 8.-10. Jahrhundert)*, hrsg. von V. Turčan, *Karolinská doba a Slovensko Sborník SNM – supplementum*, Bratislava 2011, S. 71-104; auch M. Lutoský, *Kolínský knížecí hrob: ad fontes*, „Sborník Národního Muzea v Praze“ Řada A XL VIII (1996), S. 37-76.

44 Das Magnatengrab mit tauschierten Reiterspornen mit kurzem Dorn, Messer mit wellenförmiger Schweißnaht in der Kapelle in Eger ist bisher nur unzureichend veröffentlicht: B. Štauber, *Geneze nejstarších kostelů v Chebu*, „*Archaeologia historica*“ XXXVIII (2013), S. 291-308, besonders Abb. 4-5.

45 N. Profantová, *Karolinské impoty...*, Abb. 11:1-3; mindestens drei weiteren bedeutenden Funde aus der Grabung J. Mařík sind bisher unveröffentlicht.

46 Ibidem; N. Profantová, *Nově získané kovové předměty z hradiště Češov a jeho okolí*, „*Archeologie ve středních Čechách*“ XVI (2012), S. 315-320. Gleichzeitig weise ich darauf hin, dass der Burgwall Češov von Amateuren mit Minensuchgeräten aus Holland zerstört wurde, die seit etwa drei Jahren organisiert den Fundort heimsuchen.

47 J. Militký, N. Profantová, J. Videman, *Pozdně římské mince a denár Karla Velikého (768-814) z areálu hradiště Tismice*, „*Numismatický sborník*“ XXVII (2012-2013), S. 35-46.

ko im Bezirk Mělník⁴⁸, Martinice/Hudčice im Bezirk Příbram⁴⁹, Němětice in Südböhmen⁵⁰ usw. hinzu.

In unsere Karte haben wir bedeutende Importe aus dem 9. Jahrhunderts aufgenommen, dazu noch Münzfunde ca. bis zur Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts. Dabei handelt es sich um etwa 25/26 Fundorte (Abb. 7) einschließlich mehrerer komplex noch unveröffentlicher Befunde. Wir wissen noch nicht, inwieweit die Anhäufung von Funden in Mittelböhmen⁵¹ damit zusammenhängen könnte, dass wir mit den Hauptzentren und gleichzeitig Orten zu tun haben, bei denen militärische Auseinandersetzungen (also eine bestimmte Form von Auslandskontakten) auftraten, oder inwieweit lediglich der schlechtere Forschungsstand im westböhmischem Raum ausschlaggebend ist.

HISTORISCHE ZUSAMMENHÄNGE

Der Hortfund von Jedomělice enthielt kein einziges Exemplar der zahlreichsten Münze Ludwigs des Frommen, des dritten Typs mit dem Namen des Herrschers und einer Kapelle mit der Umschrift *XRISTIANA RELIGIO*. Aufgrund gängiger Meinung setzte die Prägung dieser Münze 822 ein. Daraus ergibt sich die Möglichkeit, das Zeitintervall, in dem der Hortfund in die Erde gelangte, relativ genau abzugrenzen. Offensichtlich geschah es nicht vor 818 und wahrscheinlich auch nicht lange nach 822.

Eben zum Jahresdatum 822 gehört der einzige historische Beleg, der den Namen Ludwigs des Frommen unmittelbar mit Böhmen verbindet. In diesem Jahr erwies ihm Vertreter des böhmischen Stammes (*gens*) anlässlich des Reichstags in Frankfurt ihre Ehre. Die Versammlung fand im Dezember 822 unter Teilnahme verschiedener an der Grenze des Fränkischen Reiches angesiedelter Slawen statt, mit denen der Kaiser die Angelegenheiten ihrer Länder verhandelte. Neben den Böhmen kamen auch die Obodriten, Wilzen, Sorben, Praedenecenti und Awaren aus Pannonien. Überhaupt zum ersten Mal werden die Mähren erwähnt. Die *Annales regni Francorum*⁵² erwähnen ausdrücklich eine slawische Delegation offensichtlich im Zusammenhang mit

48 N. Profantová, *Karolinské imperty...*, Abb. 12:1; M. Lutovský, *Raně středověké nákončí opasku z Hradskou Mšena, okr. Mělník*, „Archeologie ve středních Čechách“ XVII (2013), S. 727-730.

49 M. Lutovský, J. Videman, *Nález denárů Karla Velikého na hradišti Hradec u Hudčic, okr. Příbram*, „Archeologie ve středních Čechách“ XV (2011), S. 523-537.

50 N. Profantová, *Karolinské imperty...*, Abb. 12:2.

51 Neueste: N. Profantová, *Luxusní karolinská průvlečka a nákončí z Kosiček, okr. Hradec Králové*, „Archeologie ve středních Čechách“ XVIII (2014), S. 869-873.

52 *Annales regni Francorum ad 822*, hrsg. von. D. Bartoňková, L.A. Havlík, in: *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici* (weiter als MMFH) I, Brno 1966, S. 47.

dem ausklingenden Krieg gegen den niederpannonischen Herzog Ljudovit und es handelt sich um eines der wenigen Indizien für die Bemühungen des erwähnten Kaisers, die wohl sehr freie Hegemonie des Reiches über die Slawen an der Elbe und nördlich der Donau zu betonen.

Die Böhmen wurden in diese Konstellation 805-806 aufgenommen⁵³. Der damals wiederholte Zug des fränkischen Heeres nach Böhmen wurde durch einen Frieden unterbrochen, der mit Tributzahlungen und der Anerkennung des Kaisers von böhmischer Seite erkaufte wurde. 817 fiel Böhmen und weitere slawische Gebiete bei der Reichsteilung an den Sohn Ludwigs des Frommen, Ludwig den Deutschen. Kern dieses Reiches war Bayern, ferner auch, neben Böhmen auch das Gebiet der Karantanen, Awaren und der „Slawen östlich von Bayern“⁵⁴. Es ist jedoch nicht bekannt, dass er sich vor 825 faktisch der Herrschaft angenommen hätte, als er sich als König der Baiern zu betiteln begann und Regensburg zu seiner Residenzstadt machte. Ab 829 war er jedoch für lange Zeit mit Machtkämpfen im Reich beschäftigt und erst in den 40er Jahren begann dieser Karolinger eine intensive Slawenpolitik zu betreiben.

Wir wollen aber noch einmal auf den Reichstag von 822 zurückkommen. Vertreter der slawischen Stämme brachten Geschenke für den Kaiser mit und aufgrund der damaligen Gepflogenheiten ist zu schließen, dass sie, nach Bestätigung ihrer Verpflichtungen auch als Beschenkte wieder zurückkehrten. Selbstverständlich bietet sich die Überlegung an, bei den Münzen von Jedomělice handle es sich um ein kaiserliches Geschenk. Unterstützt wird diese These sowohl von der Lage des Fundes auf dem Weg von Frankfurt über den Main ins Zentrum Böhmens, als auch durch die relative typologische Einheit der Münzsammlung sowie die Absenz von Belegen für einen längeren Umlauf der Münzen. Trotz all dieser Indizien handelt es sich zwar um eine verlockende, jedoch kaum zu erweisende Hypothese. Falls wir eine mögliche Verzögerung zwischen den letzten Prägungen und der Übergabe der Münze in Betracht ziehen, könnte auch noch ein weiteres Ereignis in Erwägung gezogen werden: Die Taufe von 14 böhmischen Adligen in Regensburg im Jänner 845⁵⁵. Eben mit Taufgeschenken werden nämlich die luxuriösesten karolingischen Funde in Verbindung gebracht, wie wir sie z.B. aus dem fürstlichen Doppelgrab in Kolín kennen⁵⁶. Diese Möglichkeit erscheint jedoch mit Rücksicht auf die Zusammensetzung des Hortfundes als

53 *Chronicon Moissiancense ad 805, 806*, MGH SS, I, Hannover-Berlin 1826, S. 308.

54 *Divisio imperii*, hrsg.von D. Bartoňková, K. Haderka u.a., MMFH IV, Brno 1971, S. 31.

55 *Annales Fuldenses ad 845*, MMFH, I, S. 90.

56 M. Lutovský, *Kolínský knížecí hrob...*, S. 37-76; N. Profantová, *Karolinské imperty...*, Abb. 3, 7.

weniger wahrscheinlich und die zeitliche Verzögerung wäre kaum einfach zu erklären.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem eigentlichen Münzfund kommen wir auch um die Frage nicht umhin, warum er gerade an dieser Stelle in die Erde gelangte und logischer Weise auch, warum der Schatz bis heute ungeborgen geblieben ist.

In unmittelbarer Nähe der Fundstelle liegen keine Anzeichen für Siedlungsaktivitäten vor. Ebenso berechtigt nichts zu der Annahme, genau durch diese Stelle habe irgendein Weg geführt. All das zeugt von einer intentionellen Thesaurierung an einer ausgesuchten Stelle in der Nähe eines Bündels von Waldwegen, die in der Nähe einer Waldquelle am Fuß einer mehrere Meter hohen Felswand entlang des Hauptweges liegt. Die Quelle könnte zumindest als Orientierungspunkt gedient haben, um die Stelle später wiederfinden zu können. Wir können allerdings auch erwägen, ob die Quelle in der Felswand damals nicht heilig war⁵⁷ und ob es sich bei dem Schatz nicht um ein Opfer handelt. Zur Unterstützung einer solchen Theorie müssten wir jedoch zeitgleiche oder zumindest etwa zeitgleiche Analogien finden.

Der magische und kultische Charakter der Thesaurierung von Münzschatzen in den Boden wird seit langem bei den Hortfunden der sog. Wikinger Ära diskutiert, vor allem im nördlichen Milieu, er betrifft die Zeit ab der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts, vor allem des Endes des 10. und des Anfangs des 11. Jahrhunderts⁵⁸. Die Diskussion dieses Themas hat unlängst in Polen zugenommen, sie betrifft jedoch vor allem auch die späteren Etappen, das 10./11. Jahrhundert, als die meisten Schätze in den Boden gelangten⁵⁹.

Jedoch sollte der Münzfund von Jedomělice nicht nur aus der Sicht der Mächtessymbolik des Beschenkten oder aus symbolischer Sicht bewertet

⁵⁷ Die Verehrung von Quellen ist für die jüngere Zeit durch den Chronisten Cosmas (Opfer zu Pfingsten) erwiesen: *Chronica Boemorum* III, 1, hrsg. von B. Bretholz, *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, MGH SS, Nova Series, Bd. II, Berlin 1923; im 9. Jahrhundert ist eine kultische Bedeutung der Quelle oder des Sees U Libuše auf dem Burgwall in Kouřim erwiesen, vgl. M. Šolle, *Stará Kouřim a projevy velkomoravské hmotné kultury v Čechách*, Praha 1966, S. 136-145, Abb. 5 und vor allem Abb. 33. Etwa im 10. Jahrhundert beschreibt Thietmar von Merseburg eine heilige Quelle/See der Glomaci/Daleminzen, später wird ein Orakelsee beim Heiligtum in Radegost erwähnt, vgl. Chronik I, 3, VI, 24; hrsg. von M.Z. Jedlicki, *Kronika Thietmara*, Poznań 1953, S. 6-7, 344-345, 348-349; vom erwähnten heiligen Ort ist auch ihr Name Glomaci abgeleitet.

⁵⁸ Z.B. G. Hatz, *Handel und Verkehr zwischen dem Deutschen Reich und Schweden in der späten Wikingerzeit*, Lund 1974, S. 160-161.

⁵⁹ Z.B. M. Bogucki, *Dlaczego we wczesnym średniowieczu powstawały skarby złomu srebrnego?*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczne“ XLVIII (2004), S. 49-76; W. Duczko, *Zebrać, zdeprecjonować, schować i zapomnieć. O skarbach srebrnych Skandynawii okresu wikingów*, „Wiadomości Numizmatyczne“ XLIX (2005), S. 205-218; Übersichtlich bei: S. Suchodolski, *Kultowa czy ekonomiczna geneza skarbow epoki wikingów?*, in: *Numizmatyka średniowieczna*, Warszawa 2012, S. 230-242.

werden. Die Münzen liefern einen wertvollen Hinweis auch auf das Wirtschaftsleben. Die geprägten Münzen setzten sich im karolingischen Raum als Tausch- oder Zahlungsmittel – besonders im Vergleich zur antiken Welt – nur relativ langsam durch. Der Vorteile waren sich die damaligen – ob nun weltlichen oder kirchlichen – Eliten des Karolingischen Reiches wohl bewusst.

Noch zu Anfang der Herrschaftszeit Ludwigs des Frommen befanden sich die östlichsten Münzprägestätten am Rhein. Obwohl ihre Gesamtzahl zur Zeit Karls des Großen bei mehreren Dutzend lag, können wir erst für die 890er Jahre eine Ausbreitung auch nach Osten hin erwägen. Zweite Quelle, aus der karolingische Münzen an die mittlere und obere Donau gelangten, war die Lombardei. Der Konzentration der Münzprägestätten entspricht auch die Lage der Münzfunde⁶⁰. Auch diese liegen überwiegend westlich des Rheins, jedoch nehmen schrittweise auch Funde aus dem Raum östlich dieser Grenze zu. Ihr Verzeichnis ist unlängst von H. Emmerig im Zusammenhang mit der Revision des karolingischen Münzfundes in Freising aus dem Jahr 1938 revidiert worden. Außerordentlich wertvoll für die Erkenntnis der Rolle der Münzen als Zahlungsmittel, sind die vom Autor verarbeiteten Aufzeichnungen im Freisinger Traditionsbuch für die Jahre 744-907/911⁶¹. Daraus geht hervor, dass als Tauschmittel Edelmetall, Getreide, Vieh und in bestimmtem Maße auch Denare verwendet wurden.

Beleg für die Bemühungen um die Durchsetzung der Münze als Zahlungsmittel im Königreich Baiern war die Eröffnung einer Prägestalt in Regensburg. Die ältesten Münzen der Regensburger Münze waren Denare des zweiten Typs mit dreizeiliger Inschrift REGA – NESB – VRC. Bisher sind sie in vier Exemplaren bekannt⁶². Vom Geldumlauf im Königreich Baiern wird noch für den Anfang der 820er Jahre geschlossen, dass er in den Kinderschuhen steckte, umso mehr überrascht ein Münzschatz in Böhmen. Überhaupt wurden im ganzen westslawischen Territorium Münzen aus dieser Zeit nur ganz ausnahmsweise gefunden. Der Schatz von Jedomělice ist zwar exklusiv, und das im gesamteuropäischen Zusammenhang, jedoch ist er Bestandteil des sich neu formierenden und erstarkenden Stromes karolingischer Münzen auf böhmischem Gebiet. Entgegen älteren Konzepten

⁶⁰ C.M. Haertle, *Karolingische Münzfunde...*, S. 15-24; G. Depeyrot, *Le numéraire carolingien...*, S. 102.

⁶¹ H. Emmerig, *Der Freisinger Münzschatzfund...*, S. 44-51.

⁶² W. Hahn, *Grundzüge der Altbaierischen Münz- und Geldgeschichte. 2. Teil: die Karolingerzeit bis zu König Arnulf*, „Money Trend“ XI (2000), S. 59 f. W. Hahn meldet Bedenken, ob in allen Prägestätten notwendigerweise zum Münztyp *XRISTIANA RELIGIO* bereits 822 übergegangen worden sein muss und erwägt ein späteres Entstehungsdatum dieser Prägungen, dies ändert allerdings nichts am Gesamtbild von den Bemühungen um die Durchsetzung der Münze in den Geldumlauf der damaligen Zeit.

der tschechischen Numismatik zeigt sich immer überzeugender, dass die Kenntnis der Münzen sowie eine bestimmte Form ihrer Verwendung im heimischen Milieu im Frühmittelalter weit tiefer in die Vergangenheit zurück reicht, als bisher angenommen wurde. Trotzdem sollten wir aber auch eine von jener im Königreich Baiern abweichende Rolle der Münzen in unserem Raum berücksichtigen. Die Slawen haben aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Funktion der Münzen in ein System integriert, in dem neben dem Tausch von Gütern auch noch normierte Barren aus Edelmetalllegierungen, die Grivnas, und wahrscheinlich auch Tücher oder Felle mit festgelegtem Kurs zu den Grivnas oder Münzen als Zahlungsmittel dienten⁶³. Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass weitere Funde dieses Bild noch verschärfen werden.

ABSTRACT

The hoardfind of more of 63 silver coins was found by the amateurs in the year 2006 in the woods near Jedomělice, distr. Kladno, near spring. The deniers of Louis the Pious are minted in the years 814-819 (13 pieces) and 819-822 (more than 50 pieces), only 45 coins are lengthly documented (Dorestad, Melle, Aachen, Pavia, Mediolanum, Venetia/Venice and so on). This unique hoardfind was probably related to the road in direction Prague-Šárka hill-fort (with the denier of Charles the Bald minted in Melle 845), Rubín Hill-fort near Ager/Ohře river (Carolingian imports), Eger through the center Karlsburg, Würzburg to Frankfurt am Main. In December 822 an assembly took place in Frankfurt am Main. It was visited by Slavs living near the eastern border of Frankish/Carolingian empire, also by Czech messenger (Annuaire regni Francorum ad. 822). One of most probable interpretation of the unique hoardfind is, that coins were an official present of the emperor Louis the Pious during this occasion. We can not answer the question why the messengers - probably duces - hid the treasure. Finds of the Carolingian coins in Bohemia are very rare - it is evidently a new theme, and the research practically only begins. The fact itself that the Carolingian deniers started to be found in Bohemia represents a revolutionary discovery. We dispose with 5 sites with Carolingian deniers at the moment (Jedomělice, Kostelní Hlavno (unpublished), Martinice-Hudčice - 4 pieces minted in Pavia, Prague-Šárka, Tismice (the oldest one, minted in Amiens in 771-793/4). It is necessary to take in mind that only three Carolingian pieces are known in the milieu of Great Moravia from main center Mikulčice - two coins of Lambert and one struck under Berengar I - all younger than Bohemian coins. Bohemian Slavs have integrated the function of the coins into the system, in which silver ingots played an important role and probably kerchief or marten pelts were used as currency with an exchange rate to ingots and foreign coins.

63 Etwas jüngere Belege bei Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb (Ibrahim ibn Ya'kub, in Ibn 'Abdal-Mun' in Al-Himjarī's text: *Kitābu r-raudi l mi'tāri fi chabari l-aktāri*, hrsg. von I. Hrbek, MMFH III, Brno 1969, S. 413-416; *Helmoldi presbyteri Chronica Slavorum* I, 38, hrsg. von G.H. Pertz, in: *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannoverae 1868, S. 82; *Pravda Russkaja*, hrsg. von M.B. Sverdlov, 2006-2011, elektronische Version des Institut Russkoj Literatury RAN.

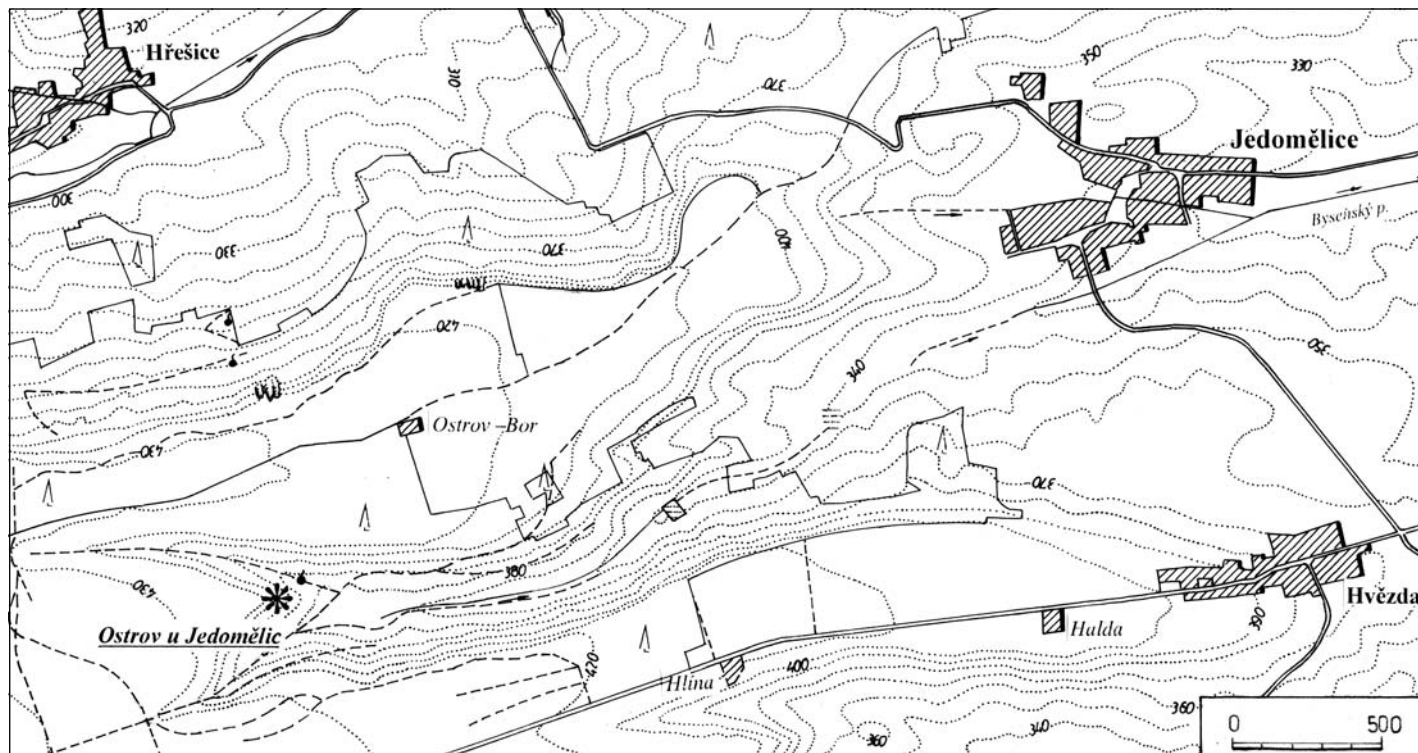


Abb. 1. Karte des Jedomnělice, Bez. Kladno (Schlan) mit Angabe der Fundstelle.



Abb. 2. Fotografie der Fundstelle mit Quelle im Hintergrund. Foto J. Videman.



Abb. 3. Jedomělice, bez. Kladno. Die undatierte alte Wege. Foto N. Profantová.

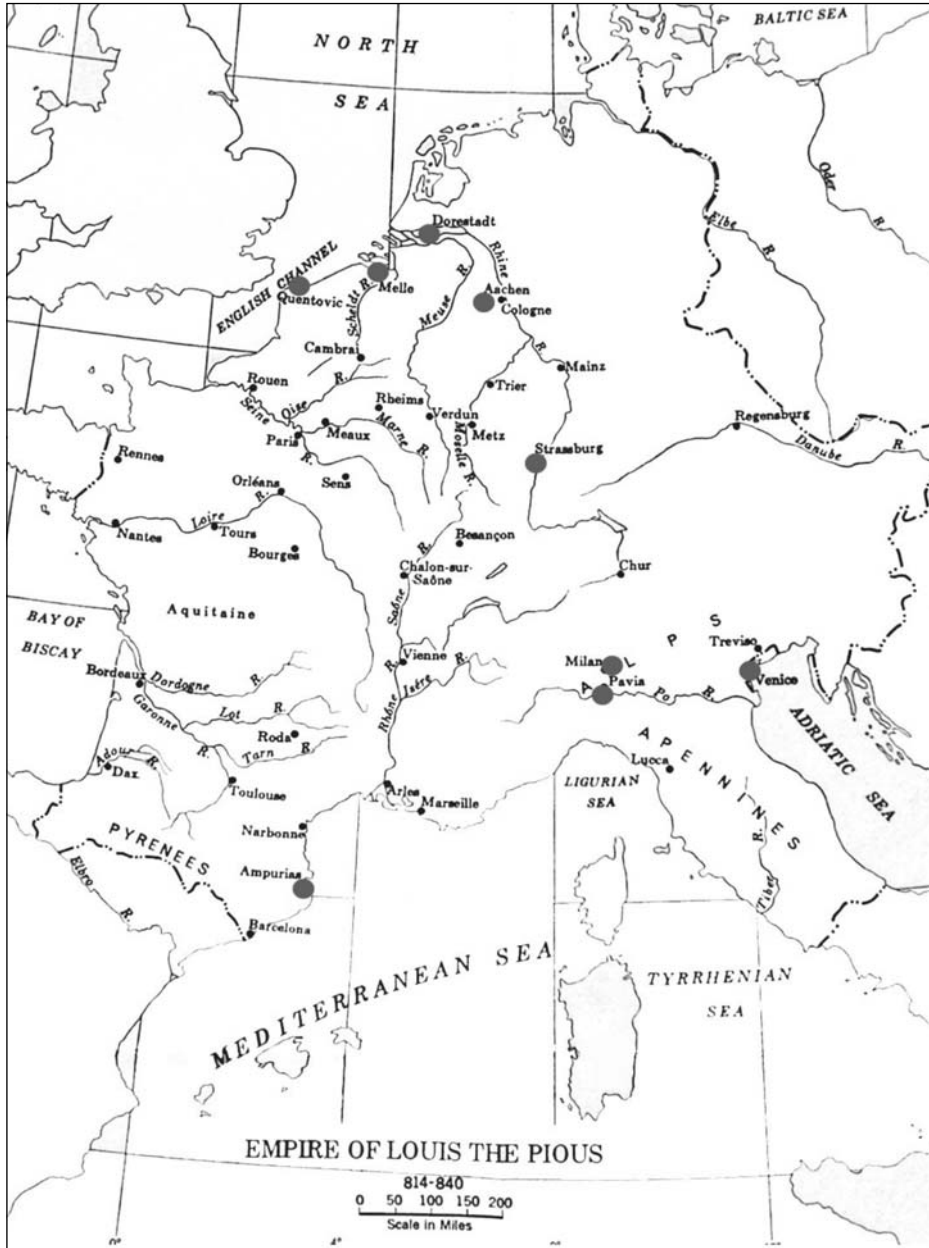


Abb. 4. Karte der Münzprägestätten, die im Fund vertreten waren.



Abb. 5. Abbildung der Prägungen. Die Nummern in der Abbildung entsprechen den Nummern in der Tabelle 1.

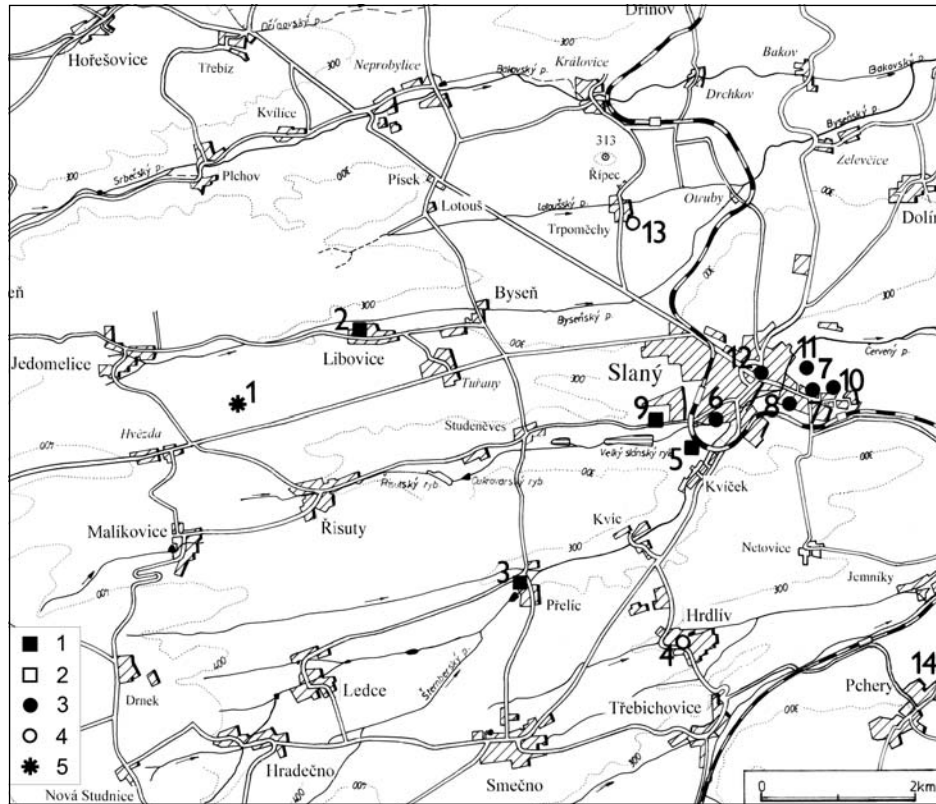


Abb. 6. Umgebung von Jedomělce mit Funden aus dem Ende des 8. und dem 9. Jahrhundert: 1 – Jedomělce; 2 – Libovice, Gräberfeld; 3 – Přelíc, Gräberfeld; 4 – Hrdlív, Siedlung; 5 – Slaný-Kvíč, Gräberfeld; 6 – Slaný-Kvíček, Jiráskova-Straße, Siedlung; 7 – Slaný-Pod Slánskou horou, Siedlung; 8 – Slaný, U Flaškářů-Straße, Siedlung; 9 – Slaný, Ecksteinova-Straße, frühe Ziegelei Bubova, Gräberfeld; 10 – Slaný, Bau- und landwirtschaftliche Genossenschaft, Siedlung; 11 – Slaný-Slánská Hora, Siedlung; 12 – Slaný, Masarykovo-Platz; 13 – Trpoměchy, Siedlung; 14 – Pchery, Gräberfeld. Legende zum Markierungen auf der Karte: 1 – Gräberfeld, 2 – Grab?, 3 – Siedlung 9. - erste Dritte 10. Jahrhundert; 4 – Siedlung des 8.-9. Jahrhundert; 5 – Hortfund. Graphik H. Mínarčíková.

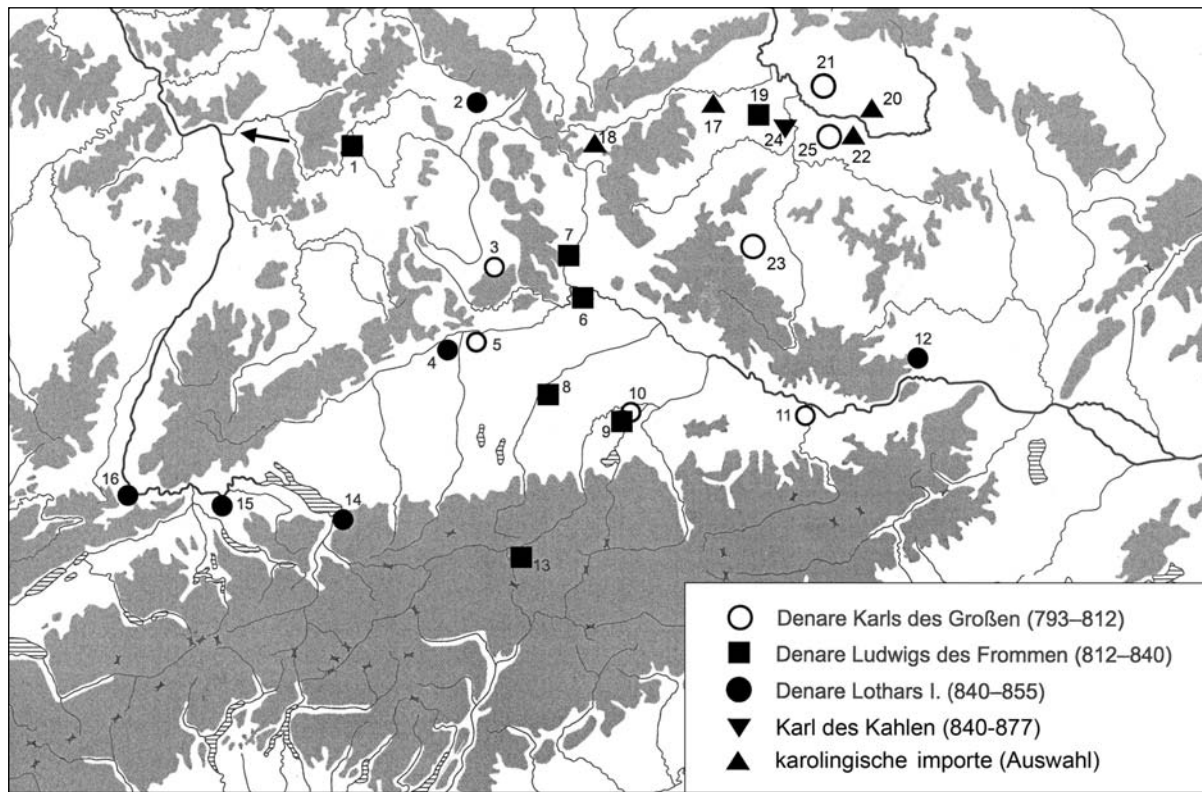


Abb. 7. Karolingische Münzen (in Oberitalien geprägte) in Ostbayern, Österreich, Ostschweiz und alle Münzfunde aus Böhmen. Der Pfeil zeigt zu Frankfurt. Lokalitäten: 1 – Karlburg, 2 – Einberg, 3 – Eysölden, 4 – Burghöfe, 5 – Burgheim, 6 – Regensburg (2 Exemplare), 7 – Burglengenfeld, 8 – Freising (24 Exemplare), 9 – Hüttenberg, 10 – Altötting, 11 – Enns, 12 – Kronsegg, 13 – Ampass, 14 – Lauterach (16 Exemplare), 15 – Bülach, 16 – Basel. Böhmen: 17 – Dolánky, 18 – Eger und Jindřichov, 19 – Jedomnělice (60-70 Exemplare), 20 – Kolín, 21 – Kostelní Hlavno, 22 – Kouřim, 23 – Martinice/Hudčice (4 Exemplare), 24 – Prag-Šárka, 25 – Tismice. Die Grundlage nach B. Paffgen.

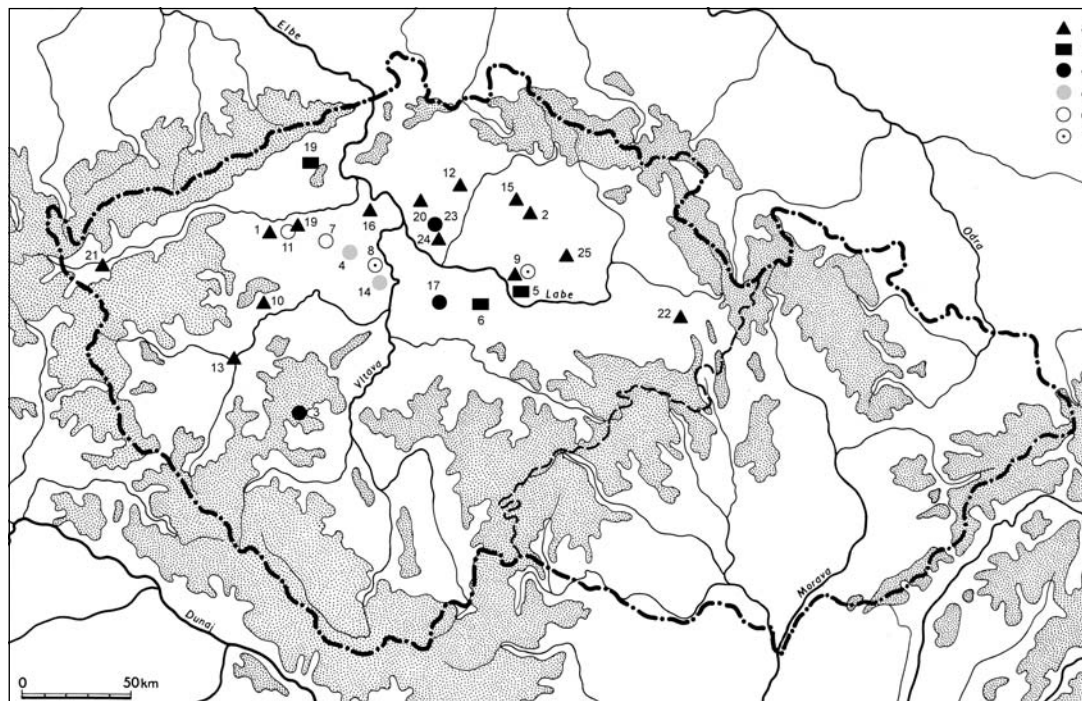


Abb. 8. Wichtigste karolingische und ottonische Münzen (bis Heinrich II) und karolingische Importen in Böhmen (Ende 8. - erste Hälfte 10. Jh.): 1 – karolingischer Import (8/9.-9/10. Jh.), 2 – Grab mit karolingischem Import (9. Jh.), 3 – Münze Karls des Grossen (Prägungen 793-814), 4 – Ludwigs des Frommen (812-840) und Karl des Kalen (840-877), 5 – Münze Arnulfs I. von Bayern, 6 – Münze Heinrichs I. (Prägungen bis J. 955). Lokalitäten: 1 – Dolánky- Rubín, 2 – Češov, 3 – Hudčice/Martinice, Hradec, 4 – Jedomělice, 5a – Kolín, fürstliches Doppelgrab, 5b – Steigbügel, 6 – Kouřim, Grab 55, 7 – Kozojedy-Dřevič, 8 – Kováry Budeč, 9 – Libice-Vorburg, 10 – Milíčov, 11 – Nové Sedlo, 12 – Plužná (Hortfund), 13 – Plzeň-Doudlevec (Schwert), 14 – Praha-Šárka, 15 – Prachov (Hortfund), 16 – Roudnice-Bezděkov, 17 – Tismice, 18 – Žatec/Saatz, 19 – Želénky bei Duchcov, 20 – Hradsko bei Mšeno, 21 – Eger und Jindřichov, 22 – Stradouň, 23 – Kostelní Hlavno, Bez. Prag-východ, 24 – Skorkov, Bez. Prag-východ, 25 – Kosičky, Bez. Hradec Králové.

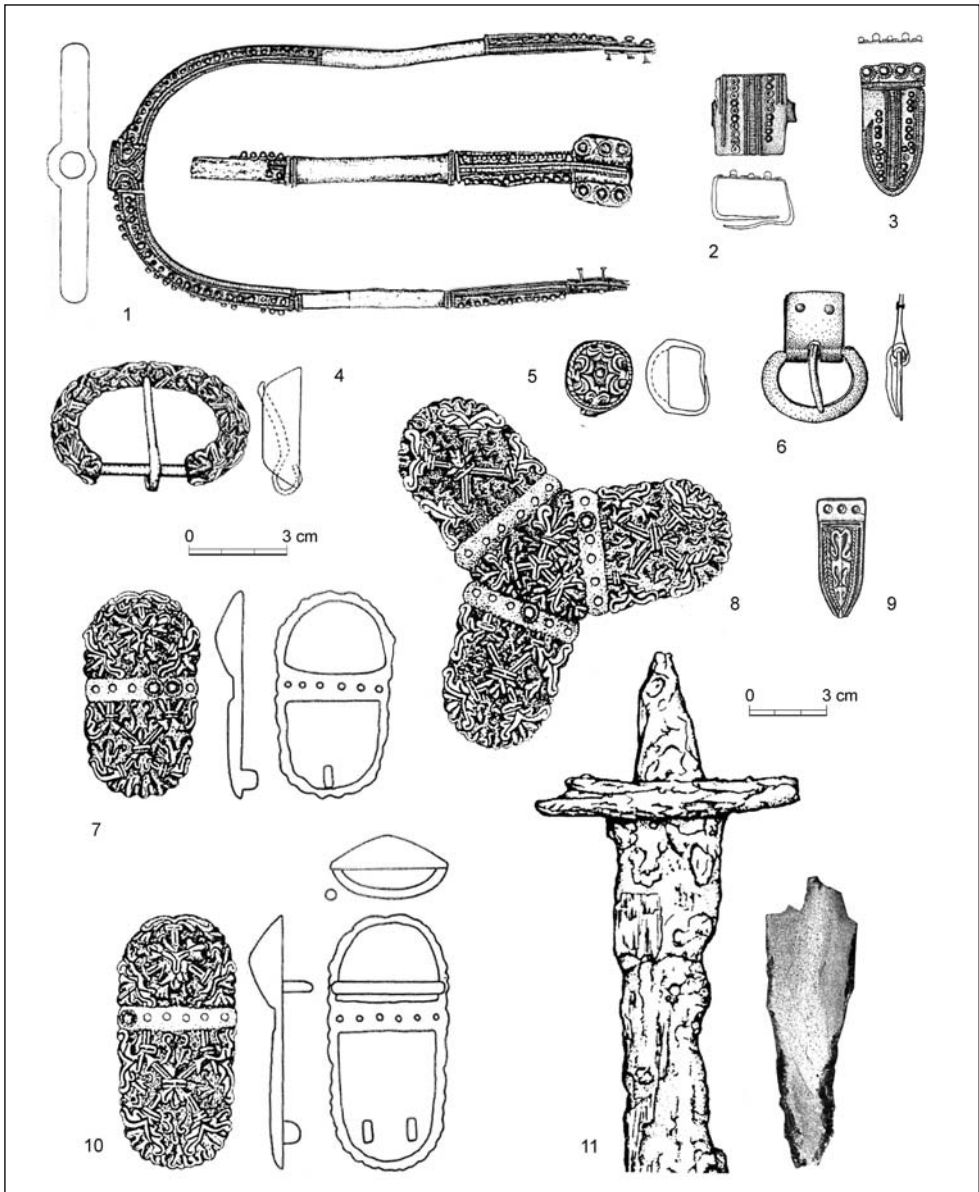


Abb. 9. Kolín Bez. Kolín. Auswail der karolingische Funde aus fürstliche Doppelgrab. 9. Jh. (850-890). Nach N. Profantová 2011.

MAREK JAGODZIŃSKI
ELBLĄG

SCANDINAVIANS AND WEST-BALTS

CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY ON THE ISSUE OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCANDINAVIANS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SETTLEMENT AND ECONOMIC-POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN WEST-BALTS DURING THE VIKING AGE



In 2013 and 2014, were created in Europe two large and important archaeological exhibitions: “Vikings. Life and Legend”, which was created by three European Museums: Staatliche Museen (Berlin), British Museum (London) and National Museum of Denmark (Copenhagen) and “The World in the Viking Age” organised by the Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde. For both exhibitions were prepared extensive catalogues that represent the newest state of knowledge about the Viking Age¹. At these exhibitions are presented artefacts discovered during the archaeological research in Truso emporium. Since these exhibitions, only marginally discuss relationships between Scandinavian and Balts, should be, even fragmentary discusses this issue.

In European archaeology, which deals with “Viking Age”, there is a continuous increase of interest about the problems of craft and commercial centres in the Baltic Sea region – the so-called “early urban settlements”. This is due to the fact, that such settlements appeared in all locations: Scandinavian, Slavic and Baltic areas, as well as the fact that their role in the social and economic development of early medieval communities has not yet been conclusively determined. The appearance of places, especially in the regions of Slavic and Baltic colonisation, where foreign influence (usually Scandinavian) is easily observable and perhaps even dominated culturally,

¹ *Vikings. Life and Legend*, eds. G. Williams, P. Pentz, M. Wemhoff, London 2014; *The World in the Viking Age*, eds. S.M. Sindbæk, A. Trakadas, Roskilde 2014.

has instigated a focus of recent research on Slavic-Scandinavian and Baltic-Scandinavian connections.

The excavations, which took place in the last few decades in such settlements, resulted in a significant increase in the amount of the material remains that can allow to analyse this problem in details. Also previously explored sites were re-visited and individual artefacts as well as the whole settlements were analysed, which, together with the results of the latest research, helped to partially correct the chronology. It also resulted in the broader picture of the significance of contacts between the Slavs, Balts and the Scandinavians in the process of creation and development of such settlements². An example of such settlement in Poland is Truso on Druzno Lake and on the estuary of large Vistula River. Alfred the Great mentioned Truso, as an emporium located on the border of West-Balts and Slavic settlement³.

Before approaching the problematic of Scandinavians-Balts contacts in the "Viking Age" a clear definition of the aforementioned period of time should be given. The terms: *Wikinger-Periode* (Viking Period), *Frihe Wikingerzeit* (Early Viking Age) and *Haupt-Wikingerzeit* (Main Viking Age), has been introduced into the humanities by German archaeologists in the 1920s and 1930s⁴ as a addition or expansion of chronological division of Early Middle Ages which has been worked out in the beginning of 20th century (Fig. 1)⁵.

2 W. Duczko, *Scandinavians in the Southern Baltic between the 5th and the 10th Centuries A.D.*, in: *Origins of Central Europe*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warsaw 1997, pp. 191-211; idem, *Obecność skandynawska na Pomorzu i słowiańska w Skandynawii we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Salsa Cholbergensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu*, eds. L. Léciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Kołobrzeg 2000, pp. 23-44; idem, *Ruś Wikingów. Historia obecności Skandynawów we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie Wschodniej*, Warszawa 2007; W. Łosiński, *Rola kontaktów ze Skandynawią w dziejach gospodarczych Słowian Nadbałtyckich*, "Przegląd Archeologiczny" XLV (1997), pp. 73-86; M.F. Jagodziński, *Zagadnienie obecności Skandynawów w rejonie ujścia Wisły we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Pruthenia" IV (2008), pp. 117-192.

3 Orosius Paulus, *Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII* in: *Chorografia Orosjusza w anglosaskim przekładzie króla Alfreda*, in: *Źródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, ed. G. Labuda, Warszawa 1961; *The Old-English Orosius*, ed. J. Bately, London 1980; *King Alfred's Orosius, I: Old-English Text and Latin Original*, ed. H. Sweet, "Early English Text Society's Publications" LXXIX (1883); J. Bately, *Wulfstan's Voyage and His Description of Estland. The Text and the Language of the Text*, in: *Wulfstan's Voyage. The Baltic Sea Region in the Early Viking Age as Seen from Shipboard. Maritime Culture of the North*, II, eds. A. Englert, A. Trakadas, Roskilde 2009, pp. 14-28.

4 W. Gaerte, *Urgeschichte Ostpreussens*, Königsberg 1929, p. 320; C. Engel, *Beiträge zur Gliederung des jüngsten heidnischen Zeitalters in Ostpreussen*, "Acta Universitatis Latviensis Philologorum et Philosophorum Ordinis Series" I (1931), p. 314; idem, *Aus ostpreußischer Vorzeit*, Königsberg 1935, p. 60.

5 O. Tischler, H. Kemke, *Ostpreußische Altertümer aus der Zenit der großen Gräberfeld nach Christi Geburt*, Königsberg 1902; A. Bezzenberger, *Analysen vorgeschichtlicher Bronzen Ostpreussens*, Königsberg 1904 (refer to Fig. 1).

Viking period has been singled out within the confines of *Jüngere Eisenzeit* (Younger Iron Age) connected with many archaeological discoveries (mainly burial sites or loose artefacts, seldom settlement sites), where a clear or significant participation of Scandinavian substrate in arms or jewellery or forms of burial rites has been noted (Fig. 2).

This problematic has been repeatedly brought into scientific literature, because of spectacular findings either in Sambia (Kaliningrad Oblast: Kaup-Wiskiauten burial site), either near Nemunas estuary to Curonian Lagoon (Linkuhnen burial site) or in Elbląg (Pole Nowomiejskie burial site)⁶. A fine recapitulation of this period of research (up to World War II) has been published by Bernt von zur Mühlen⁷. This work gathers all published or accessible archaeological units in museum inventories worldwide or single artefacts, which can be connected with Scandinavian impact. Created especially for this task enabled author to clear division of the area between centres near Truso in the West, Sambia in the centre and Nemunas estuary in the East (Fig. 3).

Scientific research on this topic began to thrive only in 1980s when a new period of archaeological surveys occurred⁸. From the early 1990s a new

6 M. Ebert, *Truso*, "Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft" III (1926) 1; B. Ehrlich, *Elbing, Benkenstein und Meislatein. Ein neuer Beitrag zur Trusoforschung*, "Mannus" XXIV (1932), pp. 399-420; idem, *Truso und seine Beziehungen zur Wikingerfrage*, "Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Gesichts- und Altertumsvereine" LXXX (1933) 3, pp. 212-218; idem, *Der preußisch-wikingische Handelsplatz Truso*, "Elbinger Jahrbuch" XIV (1937), pp. 1-17; C. Engel, *Beiträge zur Gliederung...*, pp. 313-336; idem, *Das vierstöckige Gräberfeld von Linkuhnen*, "Fornvänner" XXVII (1932), pp. 168-177; idem, *Aus ostpreußischer Vorzeit*, Königsberg 1935; K. Gloger, *Germanen in Osteuropa. Versuch einer Geschichte Osteuropas von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1943; W. la Baume, *Die Wikinger*, in: *Vorgeschichte der deutschen Stämme. Germanische Tat und Kultur auf deutschem Boden*, III, ed. H. Reinerth, Berlin 1940, pp. 1345-1355; K. Langenheim, *Spuren der Wikinger um Truso*, "Elbinger Jahrbuch" XI (1933), pp. 262-283; idem, *Nochmals 'Spuren der Wikinger um Truso'*, "Gothiskandza. Blätter für Danziger Vorgeschichte" I (1939), pp. 52-61; B. von zur Mühlen, *Die Kultur der Wikinger in Ostpreußen*, "Bonner Hefte zur Vorgeschichte" IX (1975); W. Neugebauer, *Die Bedeutung des wikingischen Gräberfeldes in Elbing für die Wikingerbewegung im Ostseegebiet*, "Elbinger Jahrbuch" XIV (1937) 1, pp. 19-28; idem, *Ein wikingisches Gräberfeld in Elbing*, *Regierungs-Bezirk Westpreussen*, "Nachrichtenblatt für deutsche Vorzeit" XIII (1937), pp. 54-58; idem, *Das wikingische Gräberfeld in Elbing*, "Altpreussen. Vierteljahresschrift für Vorgeschichte und Volkskunde" III (1938) 1, pp. 2-6; idem, *Das wikingische Gräberfeld von Elbing-Neustädterfeld und die Lage Trusos*, in: *Bericht über die Kieler Tagung der Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft 'Das Ahnenerbe'*, Neumünster 1939, pp. 154-161; B. Nerman, *Swedish Waking Colonies on the Baltic*, "Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua" IX (1934), pp. 357-380; F.E. Peiser, *Gräberfeld in Splitter, Kr. Tilsit*, "Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia" XXII (1900-1904), pp. 336-346; E. Petersen, *Der ostelbische Raum als germanisches Kraftfeld im Lichte der Bodenfunde des 6-8 Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1939.

7 B. von zur Mühlen, *Die Kultur...*

8 Truso was founded in 1981, see M.F. Jagodziński *Truso. Między Weonodlandem a Witlandem*, Elbląg 2010, p. 46, n. 61.

period of discussion on Scandinavian-Balts relations in Early Medieval Ages has started⁹.

A 60-year-old publication of Henryk Łowmiański has to be mentioned in this place, since this medieval researcher was the first to notice the diversity of the whole process¹⁰. He was the one to distinguish the relations between Scandinavians and the Eastern Balts, like Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians and Western Balts on contrary. Analysis of accessible data done by Łowmiański forced him to think that

in the age of the greatest Viking expansion in Europe, as well as growth of Scandinavian settlement grid in England a migration to nearby lands,

9 M. Bertašius, *Vikingiškosios tarpregioninės kultūros atspindžiai Marvelės kapinyne Kaune*, "Lietuvos Archeologija" XXI (2001), pp. 193-204; S. Brather, M.F. Jagodziński, *Nadmorska osada handlowa z okresu Wikingów z Janowa (Truso). Badania geofizyczne, archeo-pedologiczne i archeologiczne w latach 2004-2008*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters" XXIV (2012); W. Duczko, *Scandinavians...*, pp. 191-211; M.F. Jagodziński, *Archeologiczne ślady osadnictwa między Wisłą a Pasłęką we wczesnym średniowieczu. Katalog stanowisk*, Warszawa 1997; idem, *Archeologiczne ślady osadnictwa między Wisłą a Pasłęką we wczesnym średniowieczu. Komentarz do katalogu stanowisk*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 159-197; idem, *Truso – Siedlung und Hafen im slawisch-estnischen Grenzgebiet*, in: *Europas Mitte um 1000*, ed. A. Wiczorek, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 170-174; idem, *Wikingowie i Truso*, in: *Pacifica Terra. Prusowie – Słowianie – Wikingowie u ujścia Wisły*, ed. J. Trupinda, Malbork 2004, pp. 55-63; idem, *Zagadnienie obecności Skandynawów w rejonie ujścia Wisły we wczesnym średniowieczu*, "Pruthenia" IV (2009), pp. 117-192; idem, *The settlement of Truso*, in: *Wulfstan's Voyage. The Baltic Sea Region...*, pp. 182-197; idem, *Truso. Między Weonodlandem...*; idem, *Zasady funkcjonowania handlu w Truso – kwestia wymiany dalekosiężnej oraz zagadnienie roli zaplecza w codziennym obrocie rynkowym*, in: *Pogranicze kulturowe w Europie średniowiecznej. Słowianie i ich sąsiedzi*, eds. K. Grażawski, M. Dulinicz, Brodnica-Warszawa-Olsztyn 2012, pp. 57-74; V.I. Kulakov, *Truso i Kaup (protogorodskije centry v zemle Prussov)*, "Rossijskaja Archeologija" III (1996), pp. 134-147; idem, *Die wikingerzeitliche Siedlung und das Gräberfeld Kaup bei Wiskiauten. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen der Jahre 1956-2004*, "Offa-Zeitschrift" LIX-LX (2005), pp. 55-79; W. Łosiński, *Rola kontaktów ze Skandynawią w dziejach gospodarczych Słowian Nadbałtyckich*, "Przegląd Archeologiczny" XLV (1997), pp. 73-86; idem, *Miejsce rzemiosła w dziejach handlu dalekosiężnego w krajach strefy nadbałtyckiej*, in: *Archeologia w teorii i w praktyce*, eds. A. Buko, P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa 2000, pp. 493-506; W. Nowakowski, *Korzenie Prusów*, "Pruthenia" I (2006), pp. 18-21; idem, *Geneza Prus – komentarz archeologa*, "Pruthenia" III (2008), pp. 209-250; W. Wróblewski, *Ziemie pruskie i jaćwieskie w okresie plemiennym (VII/VIII-XII/XIII wieku)*, in: *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Polsce – 15 lat później*, eds. W. Chudziak, S. Mozdziuch, Toruń-Wrocław-Warszawa 2006, pp. 285-309; idem, *Aschenplätze. The Forgotten Burial Rituals of the Old Prussians*, "Archeologia Litwana" VII (2006), pp. 221-234; idem, *Wiskiauten*, in: *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, XXXIV, Berlin-New York 2007, pp. 140-145; B. Wyszomirska-Werbart, *Baltic and Scandinavian Connections in Southern Area of the Baltic Sea during the Late Iron Age*, in: *Regions and reflections. In honor of Märta Strömberg*, eds. K. Jennbert et al., Lund 1991, pp. 231-247; V. Žulkus, *Armed and Expected. Traders and Their Ways in Viking Times*, "Archeologia Baltica" VIII (2007), pp. 310-320.

10 H. Łowmiański, *Zagadnienie roli Normanów w genezie państw słowiańskich*, Warszawa 1957, pp. 82-92.

e.g. Finland, Estonia and Latvia ceases, [...] the only exception was the Sambia (Prussia), where Danish and Swedish expansion intercrossed and where the Scandinavian immigration has not ceased, also in the Viking Age.

Łowmiański mentioned that

two Scandinavian colonies have functioned. The first one near Elbląg or in the vicinity of Druzno Lake active between 8th-9th century, whilst the second one near Wiskiauten active from 9th till start of 11th century¹¹.

The concepts of this work have been quoted, because they are a very good basis for further discussion about Scandinavian-Balts contacts and relations. Recent archaeological findings (as well as those in Truso) seem to confirm aforementioned framework. A short comparison with Bernt von zur Mühlen's data and research leads eventually to the core of this analysis, which will be pointing out three major hypotheses on the Viking impact centres.

NEMUNAS ESTUARY

The burial site in Linkuhnen (Rus. *Rževskoe, raj. Slavsk*), which for most of the researchers is an flag example of Scandinavian presence, has been recently criticized. Wojciech Nowakowski, pointed out a vast time span of discovered burials (fall of 2nd up to 13th century), a lack of comprehensive publication about few hundred discovered burials (Fig. 4; Fig. 5)¹² and in this context on lack of base for definite conclusion whenever the burial site has been used by the same, local inhabitants, who adopted burial customs and equipment of Scandinavians or was it used by several groups, including Scandinavians¹³. The first of those possibilities is supported by huge amount of skeleton burials near Tilsit (Pol. *Tylża*, Rus. *Sovetsk*)¹⁴.

In the same direction research of Wojciech Wróblewski has been carried out¹⁵, who pointed on the Baltic character of burial sites in Linkuhnen, especially in context of great probability of old Prussian and specific burial rite known under term *Aschenplätze*¹⁶. This is confirmed by discoveries of

11 Ibidem, pp. 83-84.

12 Only a little amount of graves from Viking Age has been published by Carl Engel (*Beiträge zur Gliederung...*, pp. 313-336; *Das vierstöckige Gräberfeld...*, pp. 168-177).

13 W. Nowakowski, *Geneza Prus...*, p. 241.

14 F.E. Peiser, *Gräberfeld in Splitter...*, pp. 336-346; F.E. Peiser, O. Luckmann, *Gräberfeld in Splitter, Kr. Tilsit*, "Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia" XXIII (1919) 2, pp. 362-373, Fig. 148-154.

15 W. Wróblewski, *Ziemia pruskie i jaćwieskie...*, p. 295, n. 35.

16 W. Wróblewski, *Aschenplätze...*, pp. 221-234; idem, *Wiskiauten...*, pp. 140-145.

presence of deposits of arms (for example in a single grave six swords or twelve heads of spear in second grave have been discovered), which was unknown to Scandinavians. Those places are hard to be interpreted as single graves and currently they are connected with burial places, where ashes of deceased were spilled, whilst the arms are were put in the ground as gifts. A confirmation for this rite might be the results of another burial site, which was discovered on Northern suburbs of the city of Elbląg, earlier called Benkenstein-Freiwalde¹⁷.

SAMBIA

The key site is Kaup-Wiskiauten known from early 1850s¹⁸. Together with traces of settlement it is considered as one of the major complexes from the Viking Age in Sambia. Recent discoveries on this site (shallow pit graves with horse skeleton remains together with human ashes) indicates that present knowledge about significance, function, chronology and cultural dimension of this complex still need further research. This is followed by a discovery of heterogeneous burial place, where kurgans with Scandinavian artefacts characteristic for Gotland, Denmark and southern Sweden have been found, as well as shallow pit graves¹⁹. Probably this site can be connected to *Aschenplätze* burial rite²⁰. An attempt to connect the discoveries of burials with horses at *Kleine Kaup*, seems to go well with hypothesis about a Curonian group that came to Sambia and buried their fallen in Eastern part of the burial place²¹.

Curonians, who settled in Early Medieval Age most of the territories of nowadays Latvia and Lithuania and Curonian Spit are a relatively unknown Baltic tribe. Kaup-Wiskiauten might be a remnant of a much sophisticated, heterogeneous mosaic, which was created by Prussians, Scandinavians and Curonians.

The settlement, or settlements discovered near the burial site do not represent typical Scandinavian *Seehandelsplatz* known in the Baltic Sea area²².

17 M.F. Jagodziński, *Zagadnienie obecności...*, p. 130, n. 46.

18 V.I. Kulakov, *Truso i Kaup...*, pp. 66-79.

19 В.И. Кулаков, *Куршский погребальный обряд на Каупе (полуостров Самбия), "Pruthenia" VI (2011) currently issued.*

20 W. Wróblewski, *Aschenplätze...*, pp. 221-234.

21 В.И. Кулаков, *Куршский погребальный...*

22 For a characteristic of *Seehandelsplatz* see J. Jagodziński, *Wczesnośredniowieczna osada w Janowie Pomorskim jako przykład miejsca centralnego typu Seehandelsplatz w basenie Morza Bałtyckiego*, Bachelor Thesis, Institute of Archeology, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń 2013.

This can be transferred to functional as well as urban conceptions²³ – harbour and craft-trade character, size of the complex and division to regular building plots. Maybe a discovery of such central core is ahead, especially near the Curonian Lagoon, what would match to findings in Truso (a similar idea has been stated by Fedir Androshchuk²⁴).

AREA AROUND TRUSO AND EMPORIUM TRUSO

A major appearance of cremation burials equipped with Scandinavian arms and jewellery is noted together with fall of 8th and in the beginning of 9th century in the region of Elbląg. A detailed analysis of those findings was presented in my article *The issue of Scandinavian presence in Vistula Estuary in Early Middle Ages*²⁵ (Fig. 6).

Also a vast analysis on settlement of Truso and its' artefacts has been published up to present date²⁶. Truso as a significant centre, had a decisive Scandinavian character²⁷. It was situated in the western frontier of Estian/Prussian settlement grid. It had a great territorial backroom, which was economically connected with it. The size of this backroom is described by range of findings of Arabic coins called dirham (Fig. 7). Its' multiethnic character is confirmed by burial places found in the vicinity of the settlement (Fig. 6) and loose arms artefacts (Fig. 8; Fig. 9).

The research concerning Truso settlement, including excavations, has been carried out with only few interruptions for almost thirty years²⁸. During

23 T. Ibsen, J. Frenzel, *In Search of the Early Medieval Settlement of Wiskiauten/Mohovoe in the Kaliningrad Region*, "Lietuvos Archeologija" XXXVI (2010), pp. 47-58.

24 F. Androshchuk, *Vikings in the East*, in: *The Viking World*, eds. S. Brink, N. Price, London-New York 2008, pp. 517-542.

25 M.F. Jagodziński, *Zagadnienie obecności...*; see also: idem, *Archeologiczne ślady...*; idem, *Komentarz do katalogu stanowisk...*

26 M.F. Jagodziński, *Truso – Siedlung...*; idem, *Wikingowie i Truso...*; idem, *The Settlement of Truso...*; idem, *Truso. Między Weonodlandem...*; idem, *Zasady funkcjonowania...*; S. Brather, M.F. Jagodziński, *Nadmorska osada...*; *Janów Pomorski stan. 1. Wyniki ratowniczych badań archeologicznych w latach 2007-2008*, ed. M. Bogucki, B. Jurkiewicz, *Studia nad Truso*, I, Elbląg 2012; E. Cnotliwy, *Przedmioty z poroża i kości z Janowa Pomorskiego*, *Studia nad Truso*, II, Elbląg 2013.

27 M.F. Jagodziński, *Truso. Między Weonodlandem...*; S. Brather, M.F. Jagodziński, *Nadmorska osada...*

28 Approximately 3000 square meters of the settlement has been examined so far. In years 1982-1991 the research was financed by the Province Conservator of National Heritage, in years 2000-2008 by Elbląg Museum, Polish-German Co-operation Foundation, Elbląg Town Council and Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg (geophysical research, co-operation in development of weights). From 2007-2008 rescue excavations were also carried out in the northern periphery

that time rich and valuable material remains have been gathered on, which lays the foundation for detailed studies of many problems, among others, the question of status, function, layout and chronology. Needless to say that thanks to a quite exceptional variety of functions, from the very beginning, the settlement required a special approach to the above problems. Such an approach was also significant because of the state of preservation of the settlement in fact the most recent cultural layers as well as almost all the large structural elements of the settlement²⁹ have been destroyed, and the specific local conditions have caused almost total destruction of organic elements including wood, thus excluding the possibility of dendrochronological analysis. Therefore, in an attempt to specify the period of its existence, I will begin with a short description of problems related to the layout and function of the settlement.

Research and test indicate that Truso was established directly on the shores of Druzno Lake, between the forks of a small river/stream flowing into the lake. Therefore it is obvious that Truso was an area with strongly marked boundaries, with some features of an enclosed, fortified place. It has been determined that during its apogee of development Truso occupied the area of app. 15 hectares, whereas taking into account the fact that fortifications may have possibly existed (as described below), the area can be estimated at even as much as 20 hectares (Fig. 10; Fig. 11).

Thanks to the analysis of the preserved and identifiable parts of buildings (Fig. 12; Fig. 13), it was possible to reconstruct them and to determine their function. Two basic types of houses of rectangular outline were identified: one with dimensions app. 5×10 metres, the other app. 6×21 metres – the so-called long house. For some of these houses it was possible to determine what type of structure was employed to build walls. In many cases – those best preserved and documented – this was a lattice work covered with clay, often reinforced by buttresses. The majority of houses had three chambers, each of them of a different function, e.g. in typical living quarters usually the traces of open fire were found, as well as the remains of looms. It has

of the settlement, within the perimeters of the planned route for the new no. 7 trunk road. In 2007 and 2008 the Museum team excavated more than 420 areas. This research was funded by the General Directorate for National Roads and Highways. In years 1995-1997 within the scope of the research project No 1 H01G 060 08: *Truso – Early Medieval Port and Trade Centre in the Baltic Region*, financed by the Scientific Research Committee, the results from years 1982-1991 were processed.

²⁹ Such state of preservation is the result of intensive farming which took place in the settlement as early as in the 18th century, as well as works connected with the construction of the railway line, which caused levelling of the mound and the moat which surrounded the settlement. Then, as a result of the land reclamation works as well as construction of the dam around the Druzno Lake, the shoreline changed its position.

also been found that usually such rooms were divided into three or two parts for different functions. The evidence for this was indicated by wood and earth footing along walls. These houses, together with other buildings, often grouped as separate households, were built to create a regular urban centre in the shape of rows facing the same direction and passages between them. Also traces of a regular network of ditches were found, which most probably marked individual pieces of land, and we can definitely say that they separated the port area from the craft and commercial centre. Traces of flat-bottomed clinker-built boats were found in the port area, with strakes fastened with rivets. From preserved details it can be ascertained that the boats were 9-11 meters long and 2,5-3 metres wide³⁰. Also a significant number of barrels with tar, split rivets as well as unused rivets were found nearby, which suggests that repairs of boats were carried out here as well.

At present stage of research it can be ascertained that the functional and structural features of the settlement were determined by following factors: firstly, it was a lake dwelling (a port), and thus the buildings were constructed in stages and in a regular manner, and, secondly, that undoubtedly trade and craft was the main occupation of the dwellers, apart from the advanced animal husbandry and fishing. Among many crafts, which were found to be developed in Truso, the most important were smithery, gold-smithery and glass, amber and horn ornaments production. The specific style of buildings, characteristic of this ethnic and cultural circle, as well as the fact that almost all artefacts found here are of Scandinavian origin, shows that the dwelling was populated mostly by the Scandinavians³¹. A majority of artefacts was produced locally, also by Scandinavian goldsmiths (Fig. 14). This is indicated by tools which were found during the excavations, among others goldsmith's hammers, anvils, etching needles, pieces of melting-pots and casting moulds as well as semi-manufactured articles, scrapped articles and manufacturing wastes. In addition, other crafts show Scandinavian or West-European influences; for such crafts as glass, amber and horn ornaments production, there are distinctive analogies in Friesland, the Netherlands, Central and South Sweden. Trade was highly valued, which is confirmed by the discovery of 16 pieces of scales (balance's), more than 1100 weights,

³⁰ The boat from Truso is closest in its parameters to a wreck discovered approximately 15 kilometres to the south from Truso, in the valley of the Dzierzgoń River near Bagart.

³¹ Out of necessity I do not mention pottery here. The majority of pottery is of Slavic or Slavic-Prussian form. Since the Slavic pottery is also frequently found on Scandinavian sites and is inseparable from the material culture of craft and commercial centres, and also because the problems connected with the appearance and use of the Slavic utility pottery in the Baltic Sea region are quite complex and comprehensive, hereby I only direct the reader to the literature on the subject.

as well as 1000 oriental silver coins, including several West-European coins such as – Denmark deaneries KG3 and KG5, sceat “Wodan/monster” type, a pence of English king Ethelwulf and Northumbrian stycas³².

A significant part of the vast number of artefacts found during the excavations has direct analogies in other settlements, which are well-documented from the chronology point of view³³. This group of artefacts helped to create basic chronology for Truso by dating separate layers and structures, thus determining the phases of the development of the settlement.

A bronze equal-armed fibula made in Vendel style, as well as a bronze disc brooch and a bronze belt element – both Esta-style details – are characteristic of the 8th century. Equal-armed fibula of JP-58 – Ljones style as well as an equal-armed fibula of JP-80 type (Tanumtypen) are characteristic of the first half of the 9th century³⁴. In general the following artefacts are typical of the 9th century: oval brooch JP-22, which can be classified as group D of Berdal³⁵ style, three-pieces silver belt element decorated by palmet³⁶ ornament, bronze three-leaf clasp JP-92 type as well as a hoop of an iron necklace.

The following artefacts are typical of the 9th and 10th century: combs of IB group, type VII, variety 2c according to classification by Zofia Hilczerówna and Eugeniusz Cnotliwy³⁷, which can be correlated with A2 type acc. to

32 M. Czapkiewicz, M. Jagodziński, Z. Kmietowicz, *Arabische Münzen aus einer frühmittelalterlichen Handwerker- und Handelssiedlung in Janów Pomorski, Gem. Elbląg*, “Folia Orientalia” XXV (1988), pp. 157-169; S. Suchodolski, *The Finding of a Scandinavian Coin of the Earliest Type (KG 3) on the Southern Coast of the Baltic Sea*, in: *Festskrift till Lars O. Lagerqvist*, Stockholm 1989 (Numismatiska Meddelanden, XXXVII), pp. 425-430; A. Bartczak, M.F. Jagodziński, S. Suchodolski, *Monety z VIII i IX w. odkryte w Janowie Pomorskim, gm. Elbląg – dawnym Truso*, “Wiadomości Numizmatyczne” XLVIII (2004) 1, pp. 21-48; M. Bogucki, *Two Northumbrian Stycas of Eanred and Athelred II from Early Medieval Truso in Poland*, “The British Numismatic Journal” LXXIX (2009), pp. 34-42.

33 M.F. Jagodziński, *Truso. Między Weonodlandem...*, pp. 98-108 (there illustrations of artifacts).

34 Clasps of this type found in Janów Pomorski/Truso are decorated by a special lace ornament. The pieces, who are closest to these in appearance were found mostly in burial places in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia as well as in the south-west coast of the Baltic Sea.

35 The closest analogy is the fibula found in Jylland in Denmark, which is generally dated back to the 9th century (J. Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker*, Stavanger 1928, p. 19).

36 This type of ornamentation originated from the regions of Saltovian culture, identified with Bulgarians and Hazarians living on Volga river. Silver elements of this type appeared in Viking settlements in the 9th century and are generally regarded as imported (I. Jansson, *Wikingertidlicher orientalischer Import in Skandinavien*, “Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission” LXIX (1988), p. 610, Abb. 23-3). The majority of these ornamental elements come from the burial grounds in Birka and the southern region of Finland.

37 E. Cnotliwy, *Przedmioty z poroża...* They are usually large, with wide cladding of straight base and arched edge. The main ornament in the shape of a horizontal letter “S”

classification by Kristina Ambrosiani³⁸, combs of IB group IB, VIII, 1-2 (acc. to Cnotliwy), combs A3 type (acc. to Ambrosiani), equal-armed fibula JP-69/70 made in Borre style³⁹, ring fibula's FAC:US*sex:a type⁴⁰, silver bead JP-202, pendants in the form of miniatures of iron hammers and Thor's hammers, bronze chains JP-204 type⁴¹, pin's JP-238⁴², bronze cuboctahedral weights "A" Steuer's type⁴³, iron flints with bronze lace elements, iron arrowheads type 1a, 1b, 2 and 5 (acc. to Torsten Kempke)⁴⁴, iron spurs with hooks bend towards the inside, keys for locks of latch type and revolving type.

drawn as two circles with a dot in the centre appears in the space between the double, deep grooves along the edges of the cladding. The closest analogies were found mostly in the west region of the Baltic Sea as well in the Frisian coast of the North Sea, i.e. in Haithabu (where they were dated back to the end of the 8th-10th century), in Birka (dated back to the 9th-110th century), Århus (where in general they were dated back to 10th-early 13th century), Ralswiek (dated back to the middle of the 9th century-late 11th century) as well as in Dorestad and Old Ladoga (dated back to the 9th-10th century).

38 K. Ambrosiani, *Viking combs...*

39 Each arm was decorated by three masks – a schematic image of a human face. Filigree baskets, also with an ornament in the shape of a mask, were placed in the central part of these buckles. Buckles JP-69/70 originate from the South of Norway and are dated back to the 9th century. In the South of Sweden as well as on the south-east coast of the Baltic Sea the appearance of these artefacts is documented only since the 10th century (J. Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker*, pp. 79-82; P. Paulsen, *Studien zur Wikinger – Kultur*, Neumünster 1933, pp. 41-33).

40 Faceted bosses as well as hexagonal cross-section of the hoop are characteristic of this type of ornament. Such clasps were also commonly used as a part of men's outfit in Gotland, Finland and on the south-east coast of the Baltic Sea in 9th and 10th century (A. Carlsson, *Vikingatida ringspännen från Gotland. Text och katalog*, "Stockholm Studies in Archaeology" VIII (1988), pp. 22, 69-72).

41 This may be connected with the way the clasps were worn or how they were protected against losing the clasp. The majority of the artefacts found were braided from the chain links in the figure eight shape. Such chains were often found with clasps in Viking settlements in 9th and 10th century (H. Arberman, *Birka I. Die Gräber. Tafeln*, Uppsala 1940, Taf. 76, 77; B. Nerman, *Grobin – Seeburg. Ausgrabungen und Funde*, Stockholm 1958, Taf. 14, 15n; B. von zur Mühlen, *Die Kultur...*, taf. 56).

42 They have knobs in a characteristic shape of double-conical circular segment, limited by cubical/octahedral shapes or flanges (one-sided or double-sided). The knobs were embedded on iron spikes, which are only partially preserved. Such artefacts are quite common in burial grounds in Sweden and Gotland, and are dated back to the 9th and 10th century (J. Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker*, pp. 191-193; H. Arberman, *Birka I...*, Taf. 170, 1-3, 12-14; H. Jankuhn, *Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu (1937-1939)*, Berlin 1943, Abb. 73 g, h).

43 Cubical/octahedral forms type "A" acc. to the classification by Heiko Steuer (H. Steuer, *Waagen und Gewichte aus dem mittelalterlichen Schleswig. Funde des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts aus Europa als Quellen zur Handels- und Währungsgeschichte*, Köln 1997), appeared at the end of the 9th century and are typical especially of the 10th and 11th century.

44 The oldest of these are the leaf arrowheads; blades of these arrowheads gently blend with the tang. According to the classification of T. Kempke these forms belong to the type 1a and, similarly to the type 1b identified by the same author which has a separate tang, they are dated back to the 9th century (T. Kempke, *Zur überregionalen Verbreitung der Pfeilspitzentypen des*

A bronze belt element with equilateral cross with groove enamel is characteristic of the first half of the 10th century or of the middle of the 10th century⁴⁵.

Of the 10th century typical are: horn combs type B1:1, B1:2 and B3 (acc. to Ambrosiani), silver clasp with an image of a Valkyrie with a horse as well as bronze ornaments with an image of a human head.

Of the 10th-11th century characteristic are: silver buckle pendant⁴⁶, sword X-type, spurs with long goads type I (acc. to Hilczerówna), spherical weights with surfaces type B1 intermediate form and type B2 acc. to Steuer⁴⁷, as well as an amber cross.

Considering the above, the majority of artefacts is characteristic of the period between the 9th and the 10th century. There are also pieces characteristic

8.-12. Jahrhunderts aus Starigard/Oldenburger, "Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission" LXIX (1989), pp. 294-295). Type 2 of the same classification comprises arrowheads with a separate tang, but with a very narrow leaf of tetragonal cross-section. Arrowheads of this form are dated back to the 9th and 10th century. All three groups of arrowheads mentioned above are common in the land of Viking settlements, as well as in the lands of the obodrzycko-wieleckie settlements. From time to time such elements are also found in Pomerania (T. Kempke *Zur überregionalen Verbreitung...*, p. 296). Also the arrowheads with sleeves can be dated back to the 9th-10th century. These specimens have hooks and twisted shaft. They are classified as type 5 according to the classification of Kempke. Such arrowheads were common in the land of Slaves as well as the Balts. (T. Kempke, *Zur überregionalen Verbreitung...*, pp. 300-301; V. Kazakevičius, *Oružyje baltskich plemien II-VIII vekov na terytorii Litvy*, Moskva 1988, p. 65n).

⁴⁵ This is quite a unique and rare element for this part of Europe. Such small, enamel ornaments appeared in the region of the Baltic Sea in the first half of the 10th century or in the middle of the 10th century, see M. Schulze-Dörlamm, *Kreuze mit herzförmigen Armen. Die Bedeutung eines Ziermotivs für die Feinchronologie emailierter Bronzefibeln*, "Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt" XVIII (1988), p. 407; idem, *Schmuck der spätottonischen bis frühsalischen Zeit (ca. zweite Hälfte 10. und erste Hälfte 11. Jahrhundert)*, in: *Das Reich Salier 1024-1125*, Sigmaringen 1992, pp. 115-120; J. Giesler, *Zu einer Gruppe mittelalterlicher Emailscheibenfibeln*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters" VI (1978), pp. 57-72. The style as well as the process of manufacturing indicate (for both brass casing as well as for the enamel, the analysis of the chemical composition has been made), that the specimen was manufactured in workshops in Rhineland.

⁴⁶ Such ornaments are common in Scandinavia as well as in Russia and they are dated back to the 10th and the first half of the 11th century. The closest analogies are the specimens from Sigsarve and Grausne on Gotland and from Klint on Oland, see W. Duczko, *Runde Silberblechanhänger mit punzierten Muster*, Stockholm 1989, Abb. 2, 4, 2, 5; M. Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit. Fundbeschreibung und Tafeln*, Lund 1947, Abb. 49, 230-5; idem, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit. Text*, Uppsala 1958, Abb. 41-9.

⁴⁷ As established by Steuer (*Waagen und Gewichte...*, pp. 44-51), at the end of the 9th century and in the 10th century the older form of weights dominated, of B1 type. The intermediate form of this type appeared at the end of the 10th century and is characteristic of the 11th century, similar to type B2. At first these weight appeared on the south, Slavic coast of the Baltic Sea, later on spread in the whole region of the Baltic Sea. This is regarded as one indication of the advanced phase in the development of the weight and monetary economy, characteristic of the 11th century.

of the 8th, 9th or 11th century only. Thus, the settlement in Janów Pomorski/Truso may have been populated from the late 8th century until the beginning of the 11th century. Confronting these conclusions with identified structures of the settlements as well as its functional characteristic, an attempt can be made to separate individual phases of the development of Truso. The first phase (end of the 8th century until the middle of the 9th century) was the period when manufacturing and trade were carried out seasonally (which is documented by the records of deals transacted in boats, as well as amber and horn working). The second phase (from the middle of the 9th century to the middle of 10th century), was the period when the temporary, seasonal settlement was prepared for a regular, permanent settling, by dividing the land into individual pieces – lots (in these numerous houses combined with workshops, as well as sheds for storage and livestock were built). In this phase roads were marked and constructed, and the nearby stream was flood-controlled. Most probably at this time even the port started to take shape – the natural bays were made deeper, thus forming regular docks. The third phase (the second half of the 10th century – the first half of the 11th century), was probably marked by greater urban investments – it can be speculated, that this was when the rampart was built, and most probably also the palisade from the water side (Fig. 15).

We can also speculate, that the water side was also fortified. The numerous poles in the bed of Lake Druzno, which are often found by fishermen, are probably the remains of a navigational barrier in the shape of a palisade. The places where the poles were found are thus named “The Depth of Thousands of Poles”, “Four-Pole Depth”, etc.⁴⁸

Considering the above elements of the structural design as well as functional characteristic, it can be assumed that the type of settlement discovered in Truso was connected with a specific type of settling, which can be identified as early urban, developed and functioning in the Baltic Sea region between the years 700 and 1100. The places of craft and trade, which appeared in this period both on the north and on the south coast of the Baltic Sea, were of this type⁴⁹. These places were situated at some distance from the open sea, however still within an easy reach.

48 R. Klim, *O toniach rybackich jeziora Druzno*, “Jantarowe Szlaki” XXII (1979), p. 39.

49 Regarding the origin of early cities see, among others: L. Leciejewicz, *Początki nadmorskich miast na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Wrocław 1962; idem, *Normanowie*, Wrocław 1979; J. Herrmann, *Slawen und Wikinger in der Frühgeschichte der Ostseevölker*, in: *Wikinger und Slawen*, eds. J. Hermann et al., Berlin 1982, pp. 9-148; W. Filipowiak, *Handel und Handelsplätze an der Ostseeküste Westpommerns*, “Bericht der Romisch-Germanischen Kommission” LXIX (1988), pp. 690-719; H.B. Clarke, B. Ambrosiani, *Towns in the Viking Age*, Leicester 1991; J. Callmer, *Early Urbanism in Southern Scandinavia ca. 700-1100 AD. Trading Places, Central Settlements and New Model Centres in Continuity Change*, “Archaeologia Polona” XXXII (1994), pp. 73-93; W. Łosiński,

ANALOGIES AND DISCUSSION QUESTION

In South and West Scandinavia were located among others: Norwegian Kaupang/Skiringssal mentioned by Ottar at the end of 9th century, Paviken on the west coast of Gotland, Århus on Jutland, Åhus on the north shores of the Helge River in Eastern Scania, Löddeköpinge on the Lödde River in West Scania, Helgö on the coast of Mälär Lake in Central Sweden, Birka on the Björkö Island mentioned in *Vita Ansgarii*, or Hedeby and Ribe, which at that time were the principal port cities of the Jutland peninsula, described by Adam of Bremen and At-Tartuschi.

The settlements – emporia, which appeared at that time in other countries of the Baltic Sea region, also in the south, Slavic coast of the Baltic Sea, were of a similar character. Examples of such craft and commercial centre in North Połabie are, among others, Oldenburg-Starigard on the Ina River, Gross-Strömkendorf on Wismar Bay – recently identified as the seaside market Rerik mentioned in *Annales regni Francorum*, Rostock-Dierkow at Warnowa River's estuary, Ralswiek on Rugia, Menzlin-Görke complex on the Lower Piana River. On West Pomerania such examples are: the Wolin city on Dziwna River, Szczecin at the Odra River's estuary, as well as Kołobrzeg-Świelubie-Bardy complex on Parsęta River. Examples on East Pomerania are Gdańsk on Motława River and probably even Puck. Also in the east lands of the Slavs there was a number of settlements of early urban character, among others Old Ladoga at the Volhov River's estuary, which is described as the oldest capital of Russia, Great Novgorod on Lake Ilmen, Gniozdovo on the Dniepr River, as well as the settlement complex in Timieriev neraby Yaroslav.

Similar site situation are found in the lands of Balts. In Sambia, on the Bay of Kur, a significant centre of this type existed nearby Kaup-Wiskiauten. In the former Land of Kurs, on the Ālanda River, Seeburg-Grobin was situated, as described by Rimbert. In the borderland between the settling lands of the Slavs and the Prussians then was Truso, mentioned by the description of Wulfstan, that served as such a centre.

W sprawie genezy osiedli wczesnomiejskich u Słowian nadbałtyckich, "Slavia Antiqua" XXXV (1995), pp. 101-128; idem, Pomorze – bardziej słowiańskie czy bardziej 'bałtyckie'?, in: Ziemia polskie w X wieku i ich znaczenie w kształtowaniu się nowej Europy, ed. H. Samsonowicz, Warszawa 2002, pp. 119-141; M. Dulicz, Uwagi o początkach ośrodków handlowych na południowym brzegu Bałtyku (VIII-IX w.), in: Centrum i zaplecze we wczesnośredniowiecznej Europie Środkowej, ed. S. Moździoch, Wrocław 1999, pp. 97-110; H.W. Böhme, Gedanken zu den frühen Marktplätzen und Handelsplätzen in Südsandinavien, in: Archäologisches Zellwerk. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte in Europa und Asien. Festschrift für Helmut Roth zum 60. Geburtstag, eds. E. Pohl, U. Recker, C. Theune, Rahden 2001, pp. 483-498; P. Urbanczyk, Wczesna urbanizacja ziem polskich, in: Civitas et villa. Miasto i wieś w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej, eds. C. Buško, I. Klapšte, L. Leciejewicz, S. Moździoch, Wrocław-Praha 2002, pp. 37-47.

However, quoting the above examples of early urban settlements, we should remember that their appearance was connected with various factors of both economic as well as social and political nature. This problem is more widely discussed by Władysław Łosiński with respect to the early urban settlements of the Baltic Slavs⁵⁰. The author, by showing how traditional structures of settlements were reconstructed and how new forms of social ties were created, concluded that the economic factors were those most significant. According to the author, the wealth and economic capabilities of individual communities, and particularly their ability to trade on a larger scale, was of utmost importance when it came to accept new trends.

The comments of the author concerning the two different models of settlement of early urban character, which appeared in later stages of early Middle Ages among the Baltic Slavs, are also of great interest. The first model originated from settlements of rural character, fixed in the traditional structures of settlements. These settlements, which utilised the advantages of the emerging market of long-distance trade, gradually developed into craft and commercial settlement, then into early urban settlements, and finally they achieved the status of fully urban, economic and social centres⁵¹. The above model is regarded as a Slavic example of creation of early urban forms in the Baltic Sea region.

The second model, the so-called *Seehandelsplätze*, according to Łosiński was brought from the outside and can be compared to other settlements of this type found on the coast of the Baltic Sea. These settlements, which were founded by foreigners (mostly by Scandinavians) were of a pre-determined economic functions, usually related to the operation of specialised craft workshops and trade; usually they also were built according to a uniform structural plan. This model also appeared on the borderland of the Slavs and the Prussians, and Truso can be regarded as an example of such a settlement.

The centres of this type, which partially have already been identified in West Pomerania and South Scandinavia, indicate that the urbanisation processes in these regions varied slightly, even though there were similarities

50 W. Łosiński, *W sprawie genezy...*; 1996; *Rola kontaktów...*; 2000a.

51 As an example of a settlement of this type Wolin is often quoted (regarding this question see: E. Cnotliwy, W. Łosiński, J. Wojtasik, *Rozwój przestrzenny wczesnośredniowiecznego Wolina w świetle analizy porównawczej struktur zespołów ceramicznych*, in: *Problemy chronologii ceramiki wczesnośredniowiecznej na Pomorzu Zachodnim*, Warszawa 1986, pp. 62-117; W. Filipowiak, *Handel und Handelsplätze...*), as well as the complex Kołobrzeg-Świelubie-Bardy (recently W. Łosiński, *Osadnictwo plemienne w dorzeczu Parsęty we wczesnym średniowieczu*, in: *Salsa Cholbergensis...*, pp. 13-22). S. Brather is of different opinion in this matter (S. Brather, *Archäologie der westlichen Slawen. Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa*, Berlin-New York 2001, p. 142), including Wolin in the settlements of *Seehandelsplätze* type.

in timeline and often in organisation. However, it has to be stressed, that in both Scandinavian and Slavic craft and commercial settlements there many of the finds an indication of their multiethnic character. An example of such settlement in Slavic lands can be Gross Strömkendorf and Wolin, where the diversification appears also in the style of building⁵². A question arises, whether the Scandinavians played the initiating role in the creation of such centres in Pomerania⁵³? It is not easy to answer this question, and the arguments should be sought in other areas of research. In my opinion the Scandinavian element, however distinctive, was not decisive in the creation of these centres, even though it greatly influenced the trends and the rate of development. The general trend to create new economic solutions, often inspired by a political factor, was of fundamental importance here, both within the tribe organisation as well as later, when the territorial countries emerged.

Probably another local curiosity has to be taken into account in case of Truso, which, operated as a significant trade and commercial centre in specific economic, political and ethnic conditions. An analysis – which has been carried out elsewhere – of archaeological sites for the region between the rivers of Wisła and Pasłęka showed that they were created in the borderlands between the lands of Prussian and Slavic settlements⁵⁴. The basic question which has to be asked here is: what were the relations between the neighbouring communities of the Prussians, the Slavs, and the Scandinavian settlers? Who governed the settlement? To what extent the local and regional authorities participated in the government? We have limited ability to find an answer with respect to these questions, mainly due to the still limited condition of research. It is however certain, that such ties must have existed. Further research is of fundamental importance in solving this problem, and it should comprise not only Truso itself, but also its background. It can be speculated that this background was created not only by Prussian, but also by Slavic domains. The borderland between Prussian and Slavic lands – which is in a shape of a long, though narrow strip of land located nearby to attractive tracks and water routes (on the Bay of Wisła, Druzno Lake and Dzierzgoń River) – where an exceptional accumulation of elements of craft and long-

52 H. Jons, W. Mazurek, *Gross Stromkendorf – nadmorska osada rzemieślniczo-handlowa i cmentarzysko z okresu wczesnosłowiańskiego nad Zatoką Wismarską*, “*Slavia Antiqua*” XXXIX (1998), pp. 181-214. Apart from the Slavic dugout houses also other buildings were found there, which can be connected with the Saxon and Scandinavian building tradition. Similar comments can refer to the types of burial ceremonies found in the burial ground belonging to this settlement.

53 W. Duczko, *Obecność skandynawska...*, pp. 23-44.

54 M.F. Jagodziński, *Archeologiczne ślady...*, pp. 159-197.

distance trade has been documented and where Truso was situated, could then be regarded as a separate and unique territorial unit of interregional and multiethnic character.

It is also significant, that objects found in this strip of land dated even back to the 6th century can be attributed to the influences either from Gotland and South Scandinavia or from Jutland and Rhineland. At the end of the 8th and at the beginning of the 9th century crematory burials started to appear, which have been found so far, for example, in the city of Elbląg. These burials also included ornaments and weapon of Scandinavian origin. In years 1937-1939 Werner Neugebauer examined approximately 35 of such burial sites, in the cemetery in Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie (Elbing-Neustädterfeld). He found that those were burrow graves; in most cases females were buried there. The graves included, among others, bronze necklaces (worked from two or three chains made from single or double circular chain links), filigree clasps, can-shaped or turtle-shaped fibulae of "Ovale Birkaspange" type and JP-37 type, bronze bracelets, plates with chains, keys and glass beads⁵⁵. In this burial ground also one crematory grave of a man was found, which can be classified as Scandinavian type. The grave included weapon, among others an iron sword H-type and two javelin heads E-type according to the classification of J. Petersen⁵⁶. In another burial ground in Elbląg-Kępa Północna (Kämmerei-Sandland) were found, among others: a silver ring with filigree and elements of bronze pans of scales, decorated by a hexagonal star-shaped rosette and two bronze weights in the shape of a flattened sphere with circles stamped on the surfaces⁵⁷. Individual pieces of contents of graves of Scandinavian origin, for example heart-shaped belt ornaments, were also found in the burial ground in Elbląg-Zawada (Pangritz-Colonie) and Elbląg-Winnica (Weingarten, Pulverhaus). The above mentioned finds can be dated back to the period between the first half of the 8th century and the turn of the 9th and the 10th century.

Currently the conclusions which can be drawn after the analysis of the results of research on Truso, indicate that significant influence on the creation of the centre can be attributed to the Danes. This is supported both by the artefacts as well as the layout of the settlement, which are most similar to the once principal port cities of the Jutland peninsula – Hedeby (Haithabu) and Ribe. The political activity of the rulers of Danes, and all the economic influences that follow, have already been documented, especially

55 On the subject see: M.F. Jagodziński, *Zagadnienie obecności...*

56 M. Haftka, *Wczesnośredniowieczne uzbrojenie żelazne z grobu ciałopalnego z Elbląga*, "Rocznik Elbląski" VI (1973), pp. 21-32.

57 B. Ehrlich, *Elbing, Benkenstein und Meislatein. Ein neuer Beitrag zur Truso Forschung*, "Mannus" XXIV (1932), pp. 399-420.

for Mecklenburg and West Pomerania. Therefore it is possible that a similar situation can be encountered in the Wisła estuary region, where Truso may have marked the Eastern limit of the territory under the Danish influence⁵⁸.

ABSTRACT

The terms: „Wikinger-Periode“ (Viking Period), „Frühe Wikingerzeit“ (Early Viking Age) and „Haupt-Wikingerzeit“ (Main Viking Age), has been introduced into human sciences by German archaeologists in the 1920s and 1930s as a addition or expansion of chronological division of Early Middle Ages, which has been worked out in the beginning of 20th century. This problematic has been repeatedly brought into scientific literature, because of spectacular findings either in Sambia (Kaliningrad Oblast – Kaup-Wiskiauten burial site), either near Nemunas estuary to Curonian Lagoon (Linkuhnen burial site) or in Elbląg (Pole Nowomiejskie burial site).

A fine recapitulation of this period of research (up to Second World War) has been published by Bernt von zur Mühlen. This work gathers all published or accessible archaeological units in museum inventories worldwide or single artefacts, which can be connected with Scandinavian impact. Created especially for this task enabled author to clear division of the area between centres near Truso in the West, Sambia in the centre and Nemunas estuary in the East.

The concepts of this work have been quoted, because they are a very good basis for further discussion about Scandinavian-Balts contacts and relations. Recent archaeological findings (as well as those in Truso) seem to confirm aforementioned framework. A short comparison with Bernt von zur Mühlen data and research leads eventually to the core of this analysis, which will be pointing out 3 major hypotheses on the Viking impact centres.

58 We have to remember about the slightly older information concerning the activity of the rulers of the Danes in the area of the Vistula's estuary – in 1210 an expedition of Waldemar the Second, the king of Denmark reached these regions, as well as west Prussian lands. The written sources on this mission include the information, that Lanzania – a land located in Elbląg Uplands, directly to the north from the hypothetical land of Drusen and the Truso settlement: J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie do 1230 r. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli Pomorza Gdańskiego*, Toruń 1968, p. 139; idem, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad dziejami Elbląga w średniowieczu*, „Rocznik Elbląski” XI (1989), pp. 63-64.

CHRONOLOGICAL DIVISION OF THE GREAT MIGRATION PERIOD & EARLY MIDDLE AGES OF WESTERN BALTS				
<i>OTTO TISCHLER & HEINRICH KEMKE</i>	<i>ADALBERT BEZZENBERGER</i>	ESTIMATED TIME	NAMES OF THE PERIODS (1930)	<i>MAREK F. JAGODZIŃSKI</i>
AFTER PAGAN AGES	J PERIOD	XIII-XIV CENT. A.D.	EARLY TEUTONIC EPOCH	TEUTONIC-PRUSSIAN PERIOD
YOUNGER PAGAN AGE	H PERIOD	XI-XIII CENT. A.D.	LATE PAGAN PERIOD	YOUNGER EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD PRUSSIAN TRIBAL PERIOD
	G PERIOD	X-XI CENT. A.D.	VIKING PERIOD	VIKING-PRUSSIAN PERIOD
	F PERIOD	END OF VIII-IX- BEGINNING OF X CENT. A.D.	PRE-VIKING PERIOD	
E PERIOD		VII-VIII CENT. A.D.	LATE MIGRATION PERIOD	OLDER EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD ESTIAN PERIOD
D PERIOD		V-VI CENT. A.D.	EARLY MIGRATION PERIOD	MIGRATION PERIOD

Fig. 1. Juxtaposition of Western Balts chronology based on: C. Engel, *Beiträge zur Gliederung...*, p. 314 and M.F. Jagodziński, *Archeologiczne ślady...*; idem, *Komentarz do katalogu stanowisk...*, pp. 159-197.

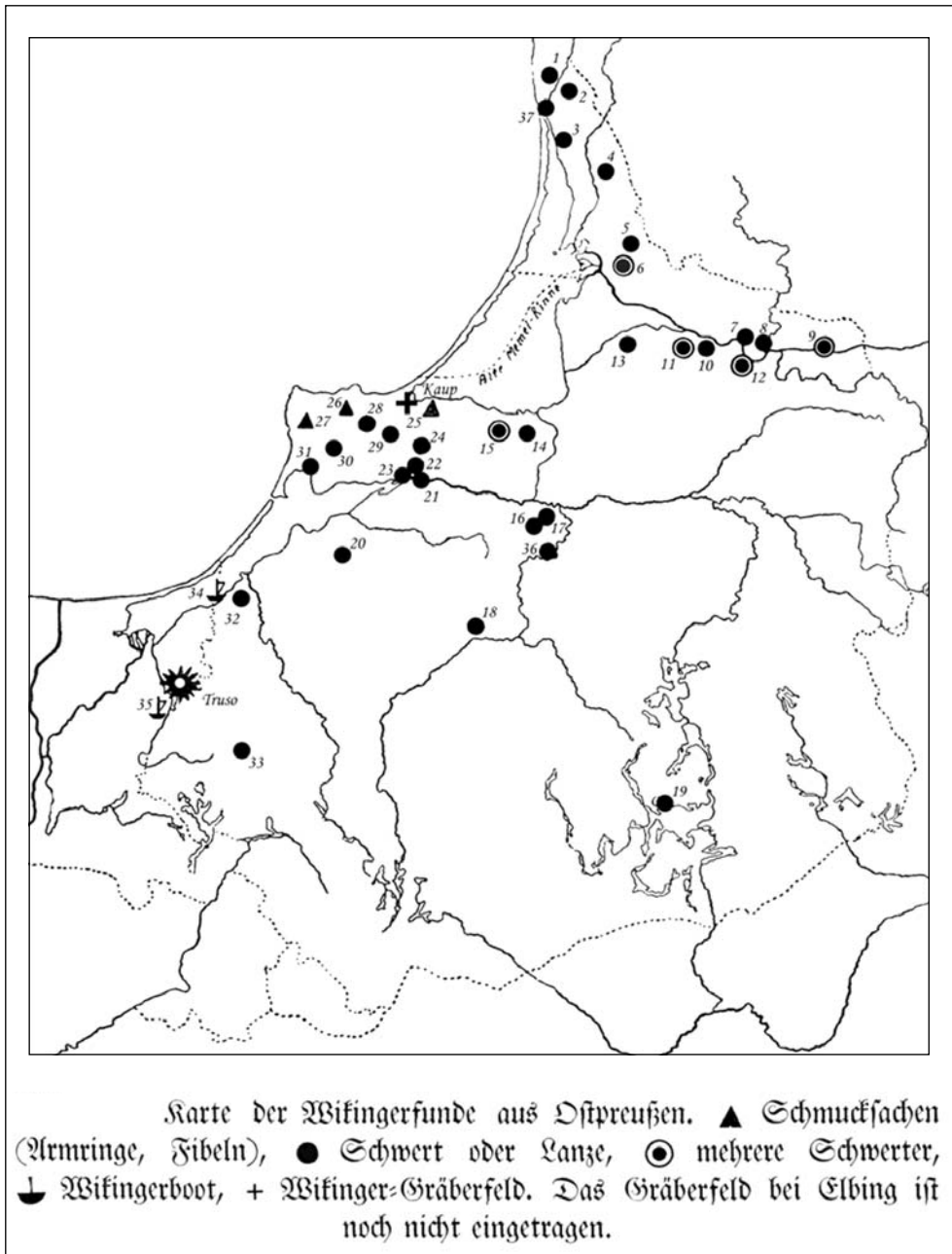


Fig. 2. Traces of settlements and Scandinavian penetration on western Baltic area – as for 1931 (W. la Baume, *Die Wikinger*, p. 1346, Fig. 279; C. Engel, *Beiträge zur Gliederung...*, p. 330, Fig. 5; p. 331 with lists of findings).

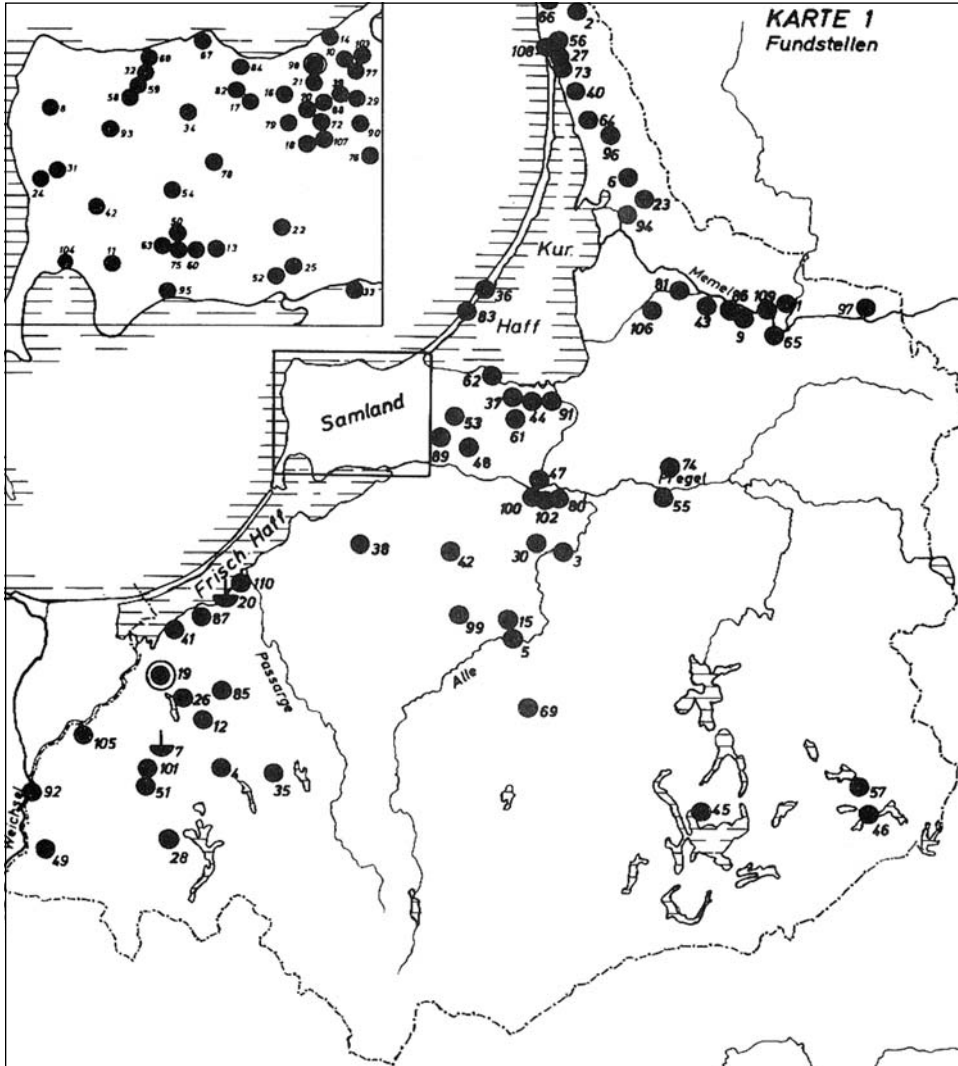


Fig. 3. Traces of settlements and Scandinavian penetration on western Baltic area – recapitulation (B. von zur Mühlen, *Die Kultur...*, p. 261, map 1 (sites); pp. 259-260 – list of sites and character of findings).

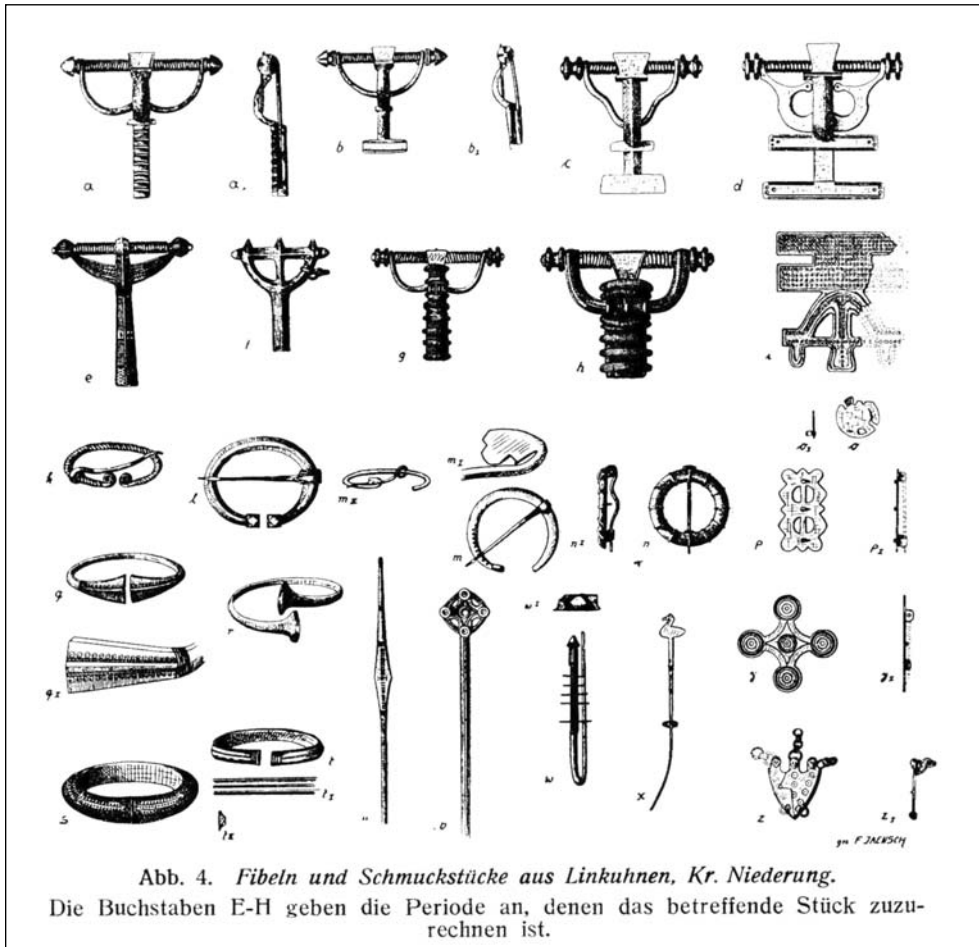


Fig. 4. Examples of burial equipment in Linkuhen (C. Engel, *Beiträge zur Gliederung...*, p. 321).

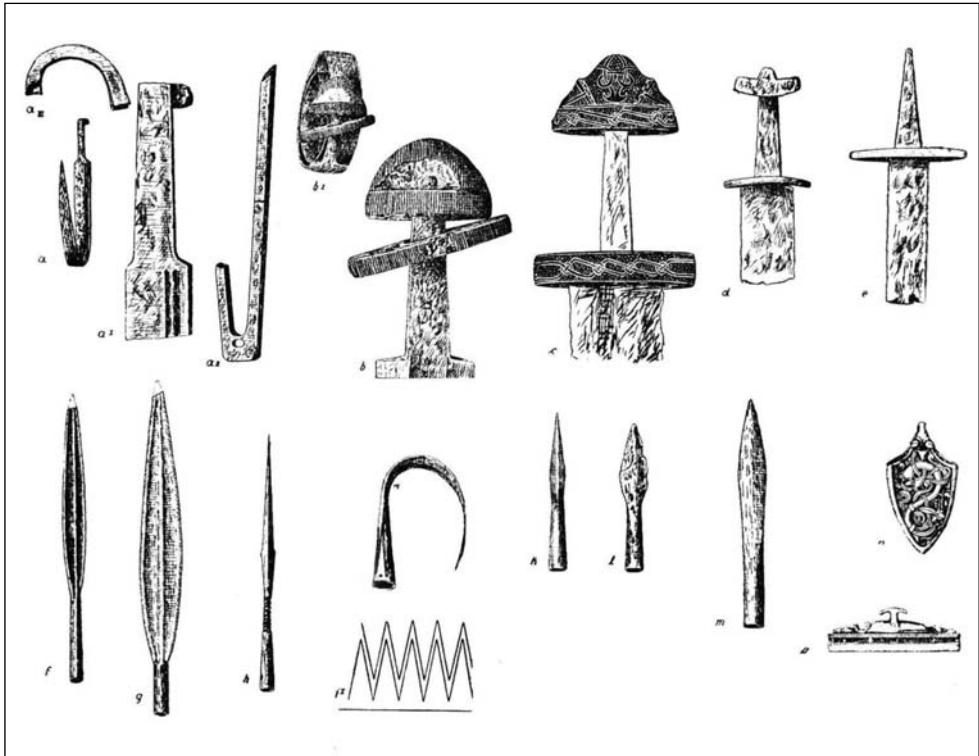


Fig. 5. Examples of burial equipment in Linkuhnen (C. Engel, *Beiträge zur Gliederung...*, p. 322).

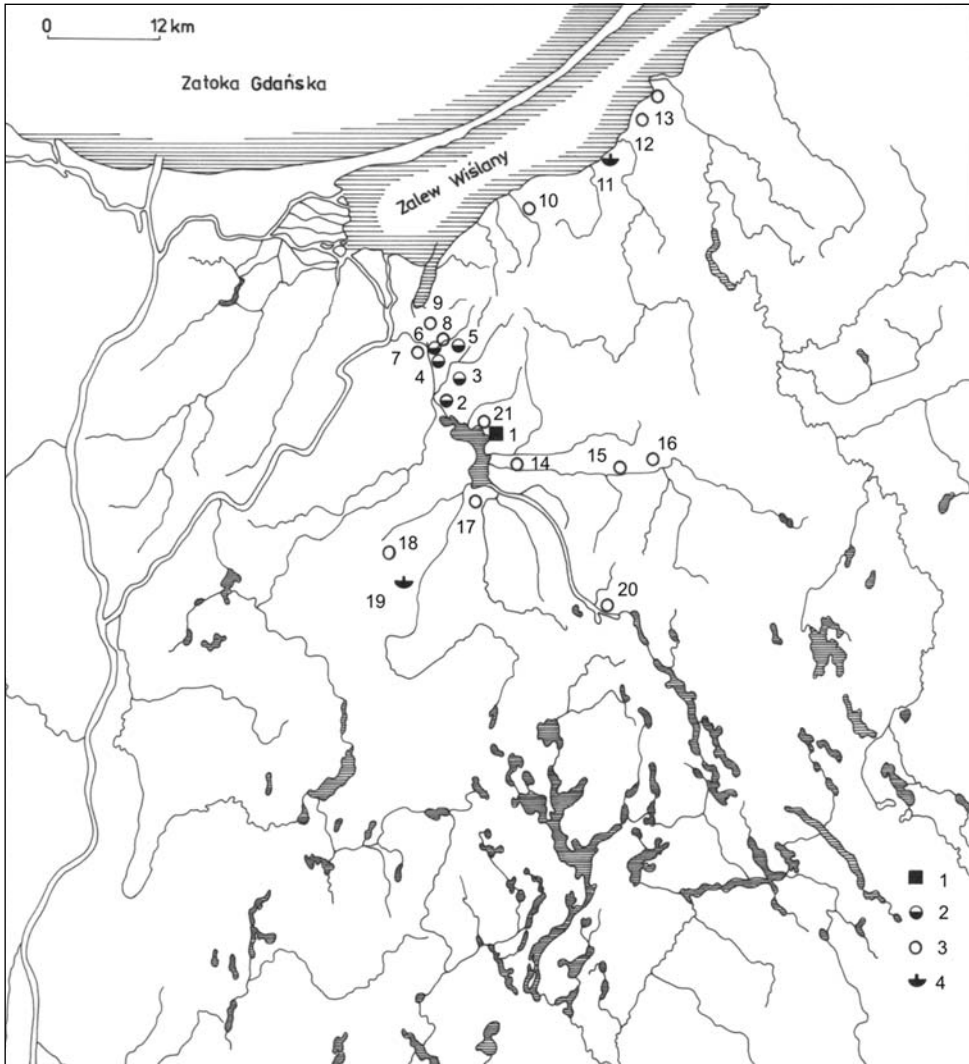


Fig. 6. Traces of penetration and Scandinavian settlement in the vicinity of Drużno Lake and Vistula Lagoon. Legend: 1 – Truso; 2 – burial grounds; 3 – weapons, jewellery and everyday objects of Scandinavian origin, found as single finds or excavated from settlements or strongholds; 4 – wrecks of boats interpreted as Scandinavian ones. List of sites shown on the map see M. Jagodziński, *Roots of Truso*, in: *Scandinavian Culture in Medieval Poland*, eds. S. Moździoch, B. Stanisławski, P. Wiszewski, *Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies II*, Wrocław 2013, Fig. 17, pp. 135-136.

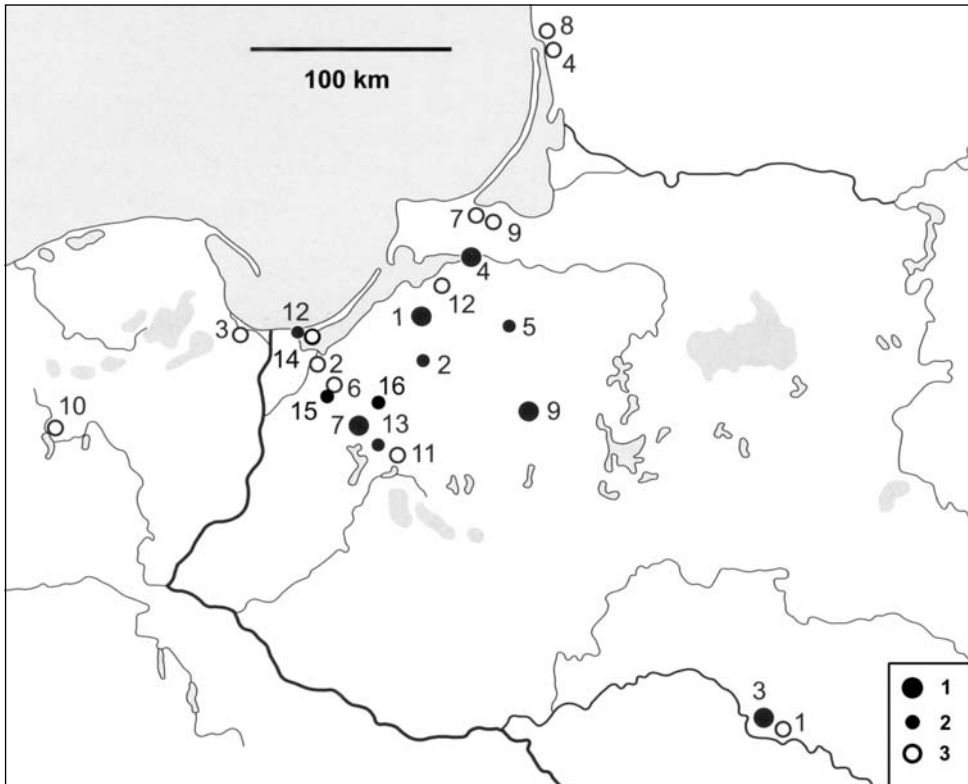


Fig. 7. Findings of dirham emitted before 900 near the Central-Eastern bank of Baltic Sea according to S. Brather, *Early Dirham Finds in the South-East Baltic. Chronological Problems in the Light of Finds from Janów Pomorski (Truso)*, in: *Transformatio Mundi. The Transition from the Late Migration Period to the Early Viking Age in the East Baltic*, ed. M. Bertašius, Kaunas 2005, p. 134, Fig. 1 with authors replenishments (M.F. Jagodziński, *Zagadnienie obecności...*, p. 190, Fig. 21). Legend: 1 – hoard (the size means up to 500); 2 – hoard (the size means up to 100); 3 – single find.

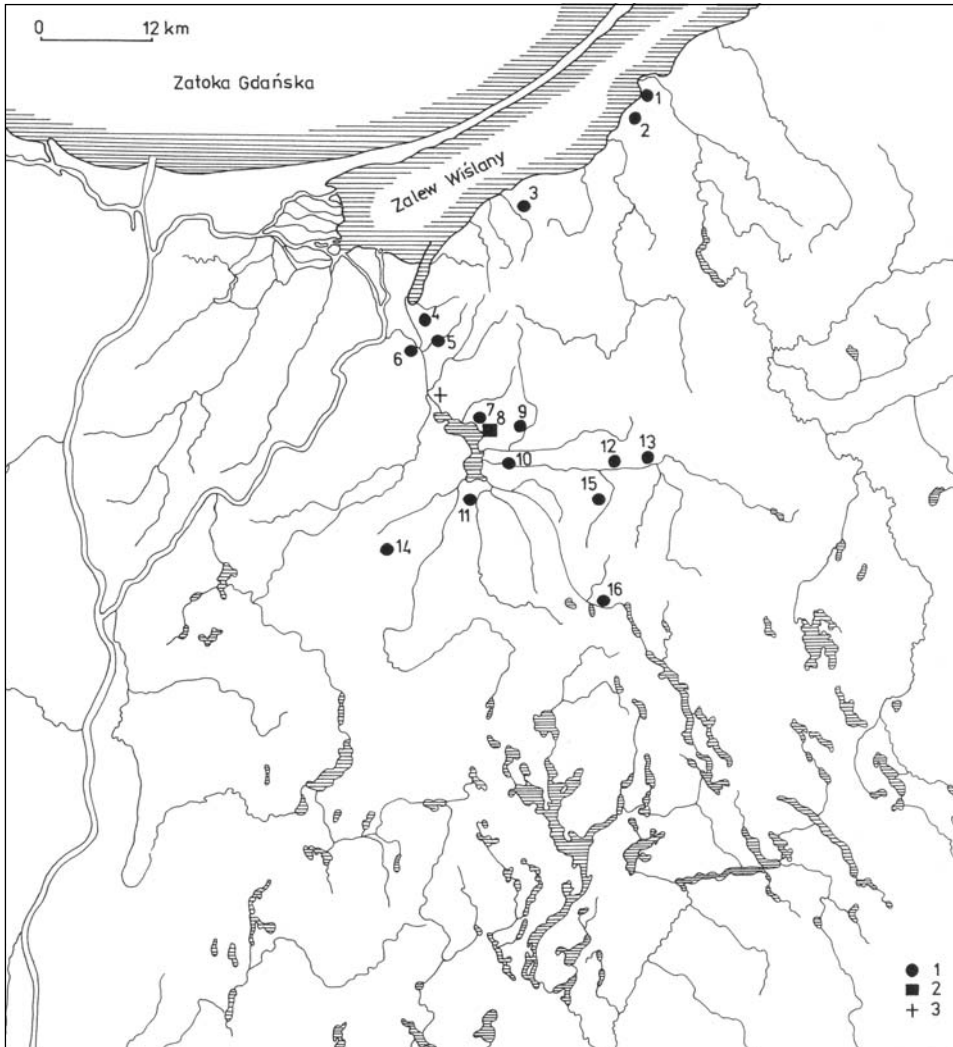


Fig. 8. Findings of Early Medieval arms in the vicinity of Truso. Legend: 1 – places of discoveries arms; 2 – Truso; 3 – burial ground Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie (*Neustädterfeld*). List of findings shown on the map see: M.F. Jagodziński, *Zagadnienie obecności...*, pp. 180-181, Fig. 11.

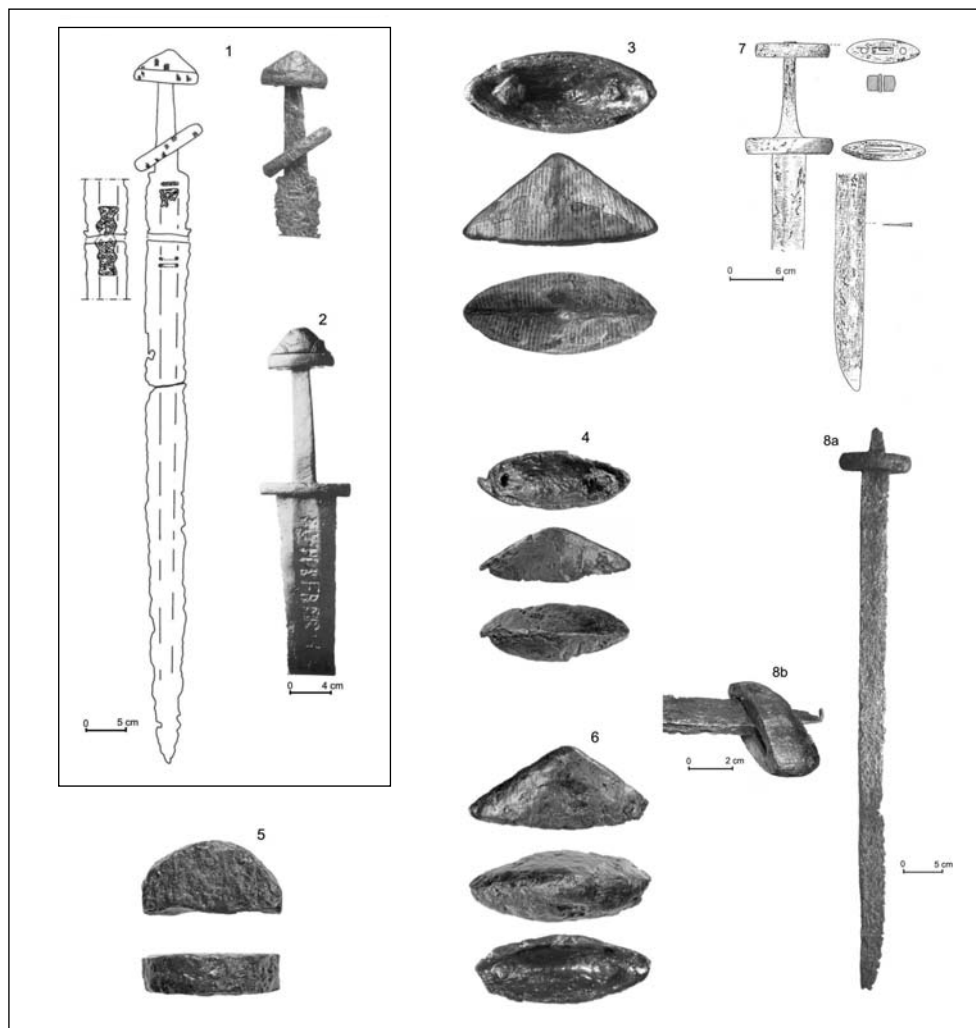


Fig. 9. Swords found in the area of Truso. 1 – Elbląg-Pole Nowomiejskie (*Neustädterfeld*), iron sword of type H after Petersen with marking on both sides of the blade in the form of welded steel bands in an oblique pattern (A.N. Kirpičnikov, M.F. Jagodziński, *Wczesnośredniowieczny miecz znaleziony w Elblągu*, w: *Świat Słowian wczesnego średniowiecza*, eds. M. Dworaczyk, A.B. Kowalska, S. Moździoch, M. Rębkowski, Szczecin-Wrocław 2006, pp. 437-442); 2 – Awajki (*Awecken*), iron sword of type T II after Petersen with the inscription on the blade “Ulfber(th)” (K. Langenheim, *Spuren der Wikinger...*, pp. 266, 279); 3 – Truso, pommel head of sword of type I after Petersen; 4 – Truso, pommel head of sword of type H/I after Petersen; 5 – Truso, semimanufactured pommel head of sword of type X after Petersen; 6 – Truso, pommel head of sword of type H after Petersen; 7 – Studzianki (*Kühlborn*), gm. Markusy, iron sword of type H-J after Petersen (K. Langenheim, *Spuren der Wikinger...*, pp. 266-267, Abb. 5); 8 – Orsy, gm. Górowo Iławeckie, iron sword of type H (?) after Petersen – held in the Muzeum Warmii i Mazur in Olsztyn.

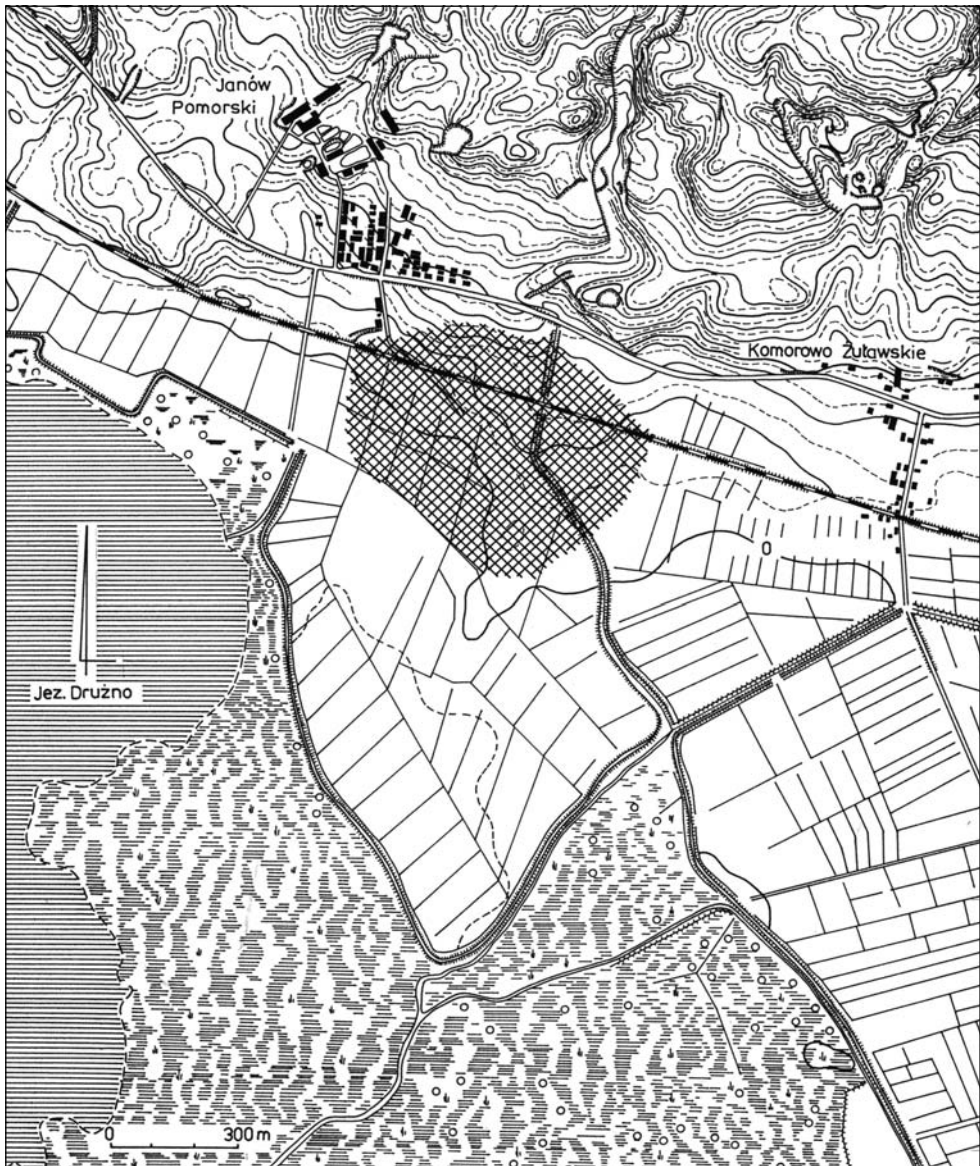


Fig. 10. Limits of the Truso settlement, market as the cross-hatched area.

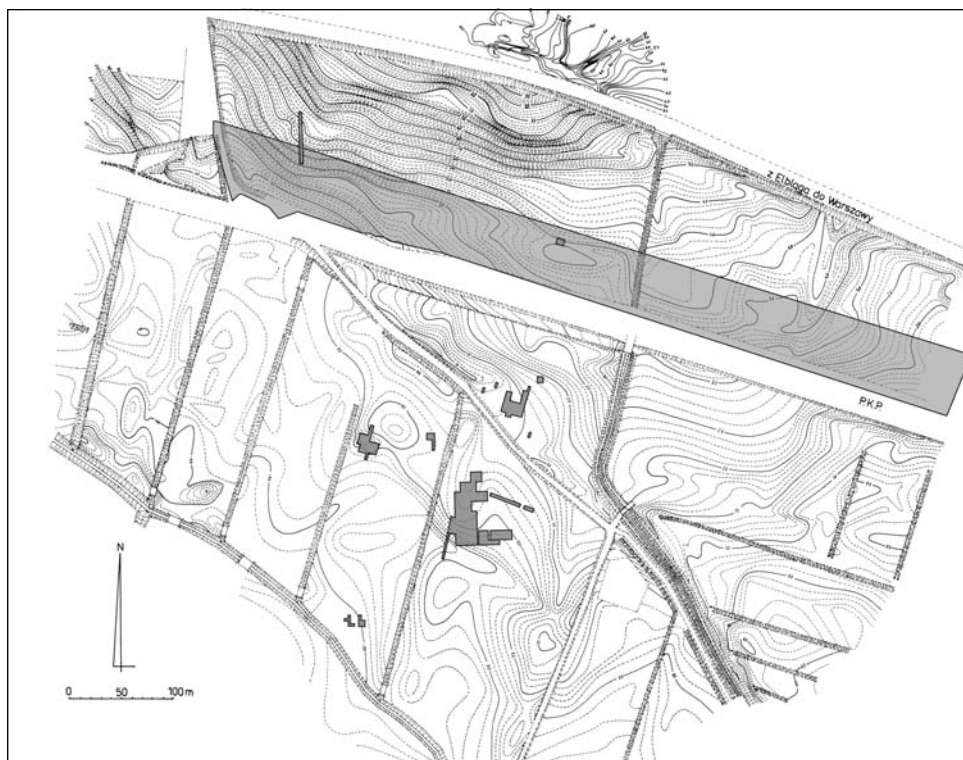


Fig. 11. Contour map of the Truso settlement marked with the research trenches.

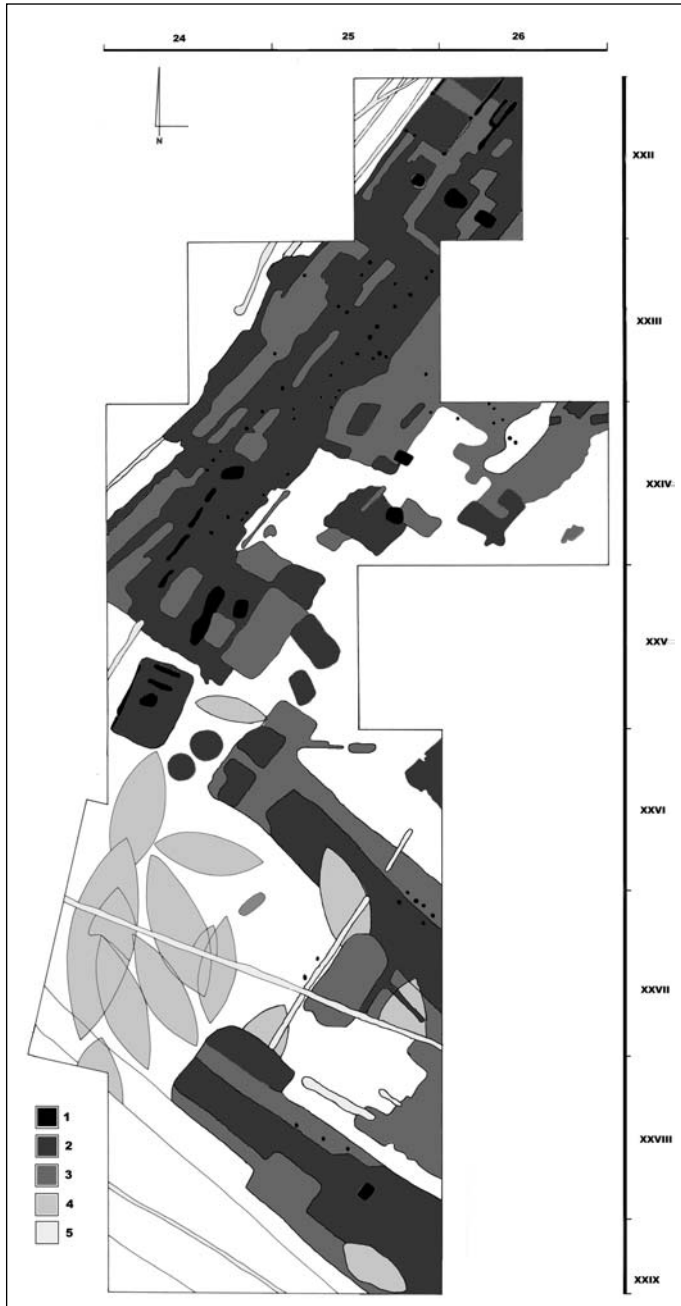


Fig. 12. Remains of the regular buildings and boats found in the craft and commercial part of the Truso settlement. Legend: 1 – fireplaces, fired beams, postholes; 2 – intensive used parts of houses – the places of concentration everyday life, productions and trading activity; 3 – traces of benches and storage areas; 4 – traces of boats; 5 – traces of ditches – border-lines of plots.

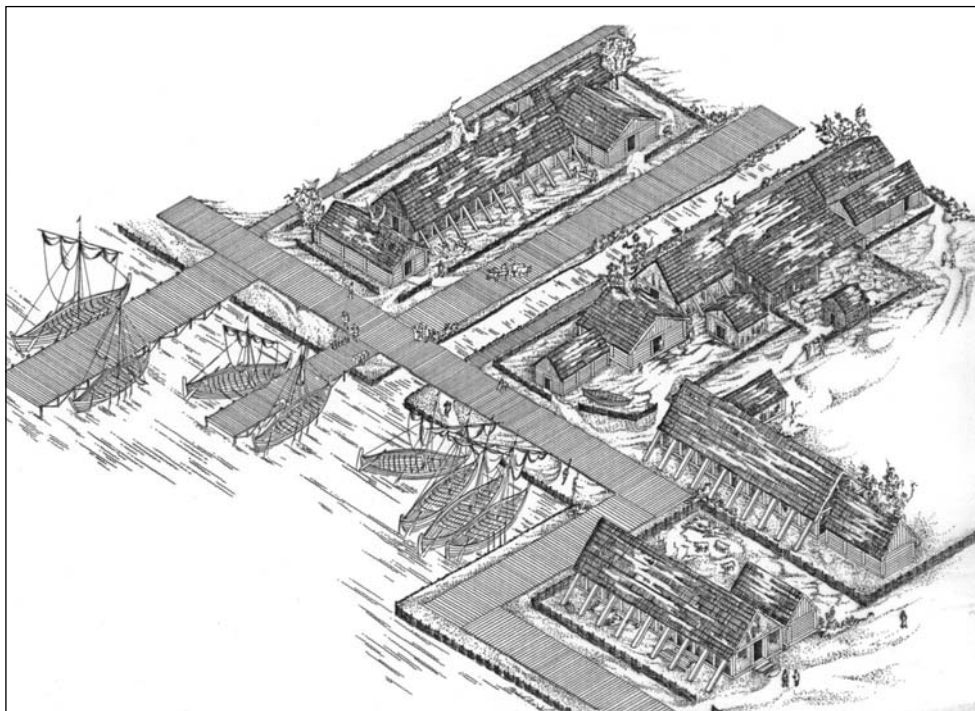


Fig. 13. Proposed reconstruction of a fragment of built-up area in the port area of the settlement based on excavation – reconstruction: M.F. Jagodziński; drawing: B. Kiliński.

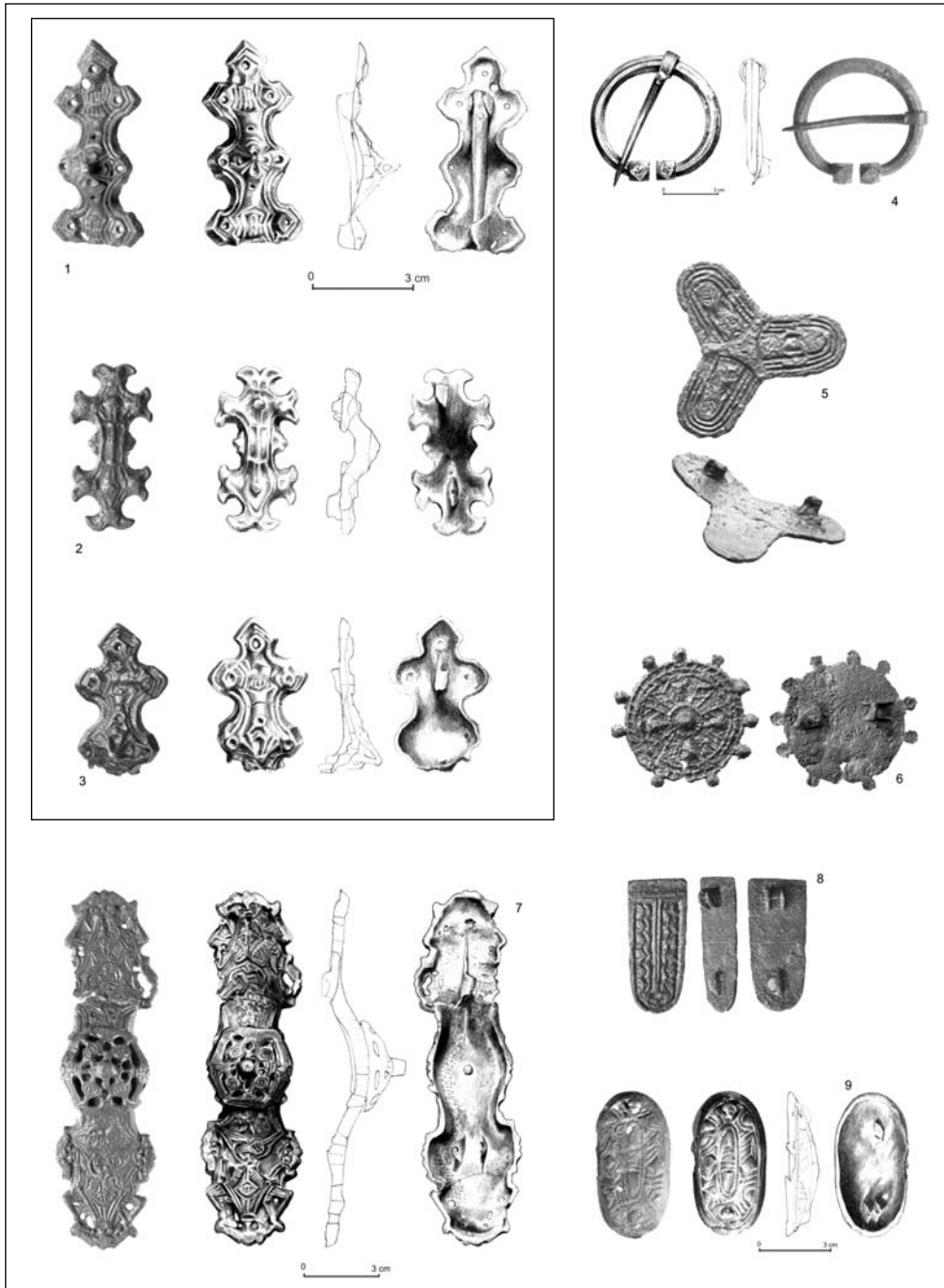


Fig. 14. Truso – examples of Viking jewellery (9th-10th centuries). 1-3, 7 – equal-armed brooches; 4 – penannular brooch; 5 – three-armed brooch; 6 – shield-shaped brooch; 8 – tongue-shaped brooch; 9 – oval brooch.

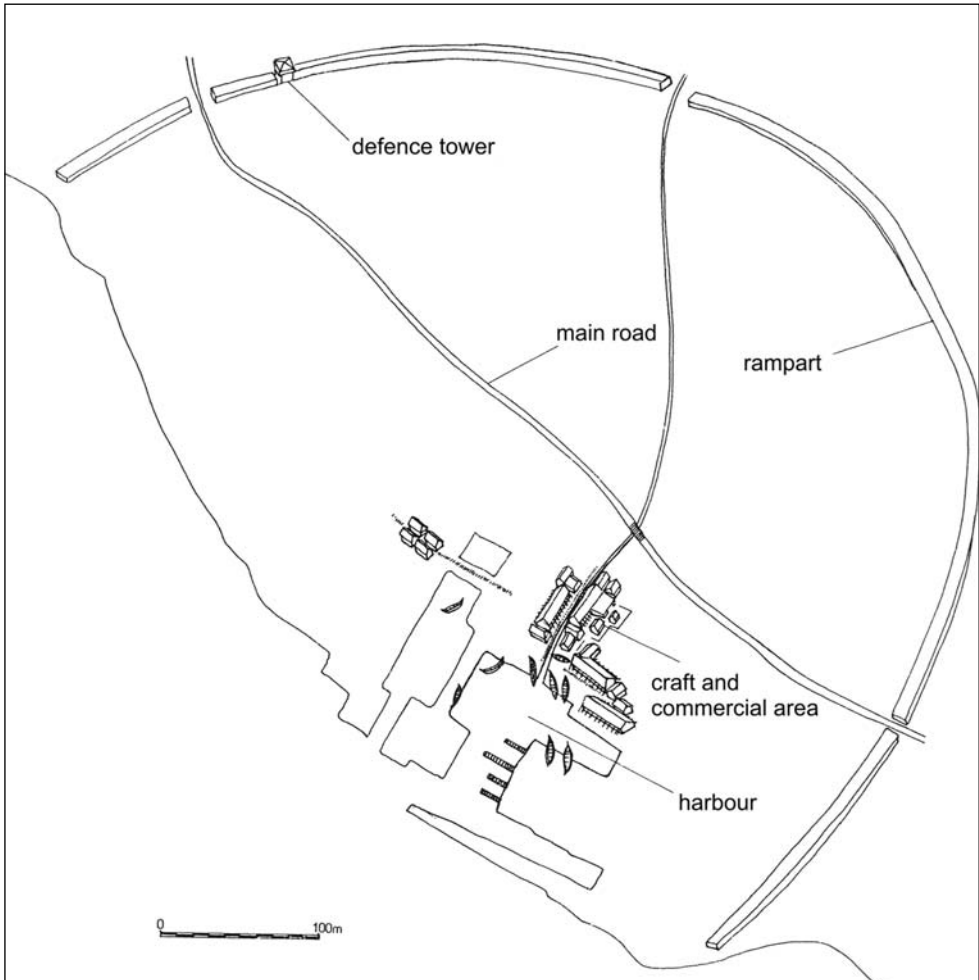


Fig. 15. Truso settlement in the tenth century – plan drawn based on research excavations conducted up until 2006. Compiled M.F. Jagodziński based on own research. Drawing: B. Kiliński.

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WROCLAW

THREE VARIANTS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPE: PRAGUE, WROCLAW AND KRAKÓW



The article aims at contributing to the discussion on medieval urbanization in Central-Eastern Europe. The choice of Prague, Wrocław and Kraków, the most important municipal centres of the Czech Kingdom, Silesia and Lesser Poland, is caused by the fact that these very cities demonstrate in a clear manner the cultural breakthrough that took place in Central-Eastern Europe in the high Middle Ages. The change seen in the 13th century did not have a political character. It was based on acceptance of a new economic model and the driving force behind it was the inflow of settlers from the West. It is not by chance that this process is often called “commercialization”¹. According to such an approach the transformation of Central European proto-cities into communal cities was a process of adjusting them to new economic challenges. It was also to them that the law and the spatial structure of a city were adjusted.

The recent years saw a rapid increase in the repository of new archaeological sources, enriching but also altering the earlier state of knowledge on medieval cities and their inhabitants. Not all of these sources have been introduced into the scholarly information circuit. Despite that one may say an intensive discussion on them brings actual effects. Some important phenomena gain a new historical context. Problems of information flow, trade contacts as well as those of population migrations between the Western and the Eastern zone of Central Europe in the 12th-14th century require a new

¹ S. Gawlas, *Komercjalizacja jako mechanizm europeizacji peryferii na przykładzie Polski*, in: R. Czaja, M. Dygo, S. Gawlas, G. Myśliwski, K. Ożóg, *Ziemia polskie wobec Zachodu. Studia nad rozwojem średniowiecznej Europy*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 25-94.

assessment. The legal and social change as well as the commercialization of the economic systems of Prague, Wrocław and Kraków in the light of new sources seem to be earlier and more intensive than we had previously thought. The phenomenon described traditionally as establishing a town, called "location" in regional literature, requires a different assessment. A question arises whether the municipal privileges issued in the 13th century always aimed at stimulating the economy or were rather aimed at the economy's fiscal regulation and a change in the system of control. New chronological findings allow us to conclude the flow of merchants and craftsmen from the West to the East is attested in some places even before the civic communes were constituted in the legal sense.

PROTO-CITIES

What are the characteristic features of the first phase of urbanization in the Central-Eastern Europe's internal zone? Trying to characterize shortly the beginnings of Prague, Wrocław and Kraków one can say in each of these places there were polycentric settlement aggregates combining central political, religious and economic functions (Fig. 1-3). To distinguish them from cities in the legal sense we shall call them "proto-cities". Each of them is unique and has its own character. On the other hand they do share features determined by the specificity of the cultural zone in which they emerged. They developed in the area deprived of the Antiquity's legacy of civilization. They had no access to maritime trade routes. They remained in the shadow of the earlier and more intensively developed cities of Central Europe's Western zone².

The burgh and the craft-and-trade suburbium formed a proto-city's main axis. Let's add, however, that the structure of each of the discussed locations was also formed by monasteries, courts of lay lords and agricultural settlements. The emergence of a proto-city with a developed structure was in every case a long, complicated process. Subsequent parts of the aggregate emerged at various occasions, responding to the political, military and religious opportunities and needs, as well as to the economic situation. The proto-cities did not have a linear border. So we cannot say which of the neighbouring settlements should be treated as bound with them in a stabilized manner.

Although archaeology does not have, within its method, tools suitable to identify the ethnic affiliation of researched communities, yet by combining

2 J. Piekalski, *Von Köln nach Krakau. Der topographische Wandel früher Städte*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters", Beiheft XIII, Bonn 2001, pp. 63-158.

material facts and written sources we may formulate some conclusions. The presence of guests is confirmed in all the researched proto-cities, yet on various stages of their development. It is accepted the Jewish merchants and entrepreneurs were present in Prague as early as in the 11th century. Western-European building constructions – of stone, as well as those of wood – may at least partially be attributed to German and Romanic population, attested in the written sources for the second half of the 12th and first decades of the 13th century³. In Wrocław we may speak of a permanent presence of ethnically alien guests in a slightly later period. New building constructions and new tendencies in pottery techniques appear around the turn of the 12th and 13th century. Their dating is roughly consistent with the dating of the matzevas from the destroyed kirkut and with written sources attesting the permanent stay of Jews, Germans and Romanic people in Wrocław⁴. One has to consider the presence of Jewish merchants in Kraków as early as in the 11th century⁵. We can find traces of a German commune organization in the 1220s there⁶. It is hard to overestimate the value of the ethnically alien guests' activity for the development of proto-cities⁷. It was them who operated the supra-local trade, transmitted information crucial to the organization of economy, for the technology of crafts, for architecture, but also for the lifestyle and civilization development in general. At today's state of knowledge one may risk the thesis that the presence of newcomers was one of the conditions for the emergence and functioning of a proto-city. The proto-cities, existing in this manner, were thus a phenomenon in both social and settlement terms, reflecting the demographic, political-legal and economic needs and conditions of the time. The change in these conditions in the 13th century led to the end of the proto-cities' existence in the old form and to their transition to a form dictated by new needs.

THE PROBLEM OF INCORPORATION AND THE NEW CITY STRUCTURE

The transition of Prague, Wrocław and Kraków to the new form was caused by tendencies shared by all Europe of the high Middle Ages, among them

3 J. Klápště, *The Czech Lands in Medieval Transformation*, Leiden-Boston 2012, pp. 344-354.

4 M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Wrocław w XII-XIII wieku. Przemiany społeczne i osadnicze*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 51-67.

5 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*, Warszawa 2011.

6 J. Wyrozumski, *Lokacja czy lokacje Krakowa na prawie niemieckim*, in: *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, ed. J. Wyrozumski, Kraków 2007, pp. 121-152.

7 Ch. Lübke, *Multiethnizität und Stadt als Faktoren gesellschaftlicher und staatlicher Entwicklung im östlichen Europa*, in: *Burg, Burgstadt, Stadt. Zur Genese mittelalterlicher nichtagrarischer Zentren in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. H. Brachmann, Berlin 1995, pp. 36-50.

mainly the economic, demographic and cultural expansion of the Latin West⁸. It was driven by a new thinking on economy, a demographic growth in the lands of the Empire and new legal solutions elaborated in the cities developing in the 12th century in lands East of the Elbe-Saale line⁹. The transformation's course was dictated by local factors in each of these locations.

Prague

As in the case of many cities established through a long development it is hard to determine the actual border between proto-urban and incorporated Prague. Several factors and events that took place in the city between the 1230s and 1260s contributed to this breakthrough. Among them are the structural changes of the old craft-and-trade settlement on Vltava's right bank, the emergence of St. Gallus Town, the erection of a city wall and the subsequent dissolution of the suburbium by the Hrad and the marking out of the Lesser Town (Fig. 4).

The location privilege for the right-bank Prague, that is for the later Old Town, was issued by King Wenceslaus I in 1234¹⁰. The area covered with the charter already had a developed structure with an irregular street grid. The market square's central position had already caused development of a radial street plan. Of these the most important was the road to the Judith Bridge and further to the Hrad. Therefore in this case the incorporation did not mean marking out of new streets. Subsequent traffic routes established in the late Middle Ages often amplified this irregularity¹¹. The roughly rectangular market square became the Old Town's communal centre. The legal relationships in effect in the city were reflected with the presence, within this downtown, of two centres of power – the king-controlled Ungelt court

8 L. Benevolo, *Die Geschichte der Stadt*, Frankfurt-New York 1990 (*Storia della città*, Roma-Bari 1975), pp. 337-542; L. Génicot, *On the Evidence of Growth of Population in the West from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century*, in: *Internal Colonisation in Medieval Europe*, eds. F. Fernández-Armesto, J. Muldoon, London 2008, pp. 29-44.

9 J.M. Piskorski, *Kolonizacja wiejska Pomorza Zachodniego w XIII i w początkach XIV wieku na tle procesów osadniczych w średniowiecznej Europie*, Poznań 1990, pp. 17-19; J. Kejř, *Vznik městského zřízení v českých zemích*, Praha 1998, pp. 115-133; S. Gawlas, *Przełom lokacyjny w dziejach miast środkowoeuropejskich*, in: *Civitas Posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania*, eds. Z. Kurnatowska, T. Jurek, Poznań 2005, pp. 134-162.

10 R. Nový, *K počátkům středověké Prahy*, "Documenta Pragensia" IX (1984), pp. 27-42.

11 V. Huml, Z. Dragoun, R. Nový, *Der archäologische Beitrag zur Problematik der Entwicklung Prags in der Zeit vom 9. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts und die Erfassung der Ergebnisse der historisch-archäologischen Erforschung Prags*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters" XVIII-XIX (1990-1991), p. 57; F. Kašička, *Půdorysné změny struktury Starého Města pražského ve fázi gotiky*, "Archaeologia Historica" XCIII (1992), pp. 255-262.

(Týn Court) by the Eastern edge of the square, and, several dozen years later, the seat of the burgher self-government – the city-hall on the Western side. The emergence of a civic centre did not mean a breakdown of the old settlement structure but an intensification of its development. This, however, did not apply to the entire settlement already present in the right-bank terrace. The area included within the incorporation-city borders was closed from the West and North by a river bend, thus adopting the form of an irregular oval. The incorporation soon led to encircling this area with a stone city wall which has thus cut off the built-up zones that remained outside the newly constituted city. Outside the newly delimited border remained the settlements by the Visegrád with the ten Romanesque churches already present there¹². This situation may be explained with the need to maintain the defense of the new creation. The settlements by the Visegrád were aligned along the river in a manner that made it hard to encircle them with fortifications. Why, however, was the rich merchant quarter in the North-West left outside the walls? Its intensive development confirmed with discoveries of large, possibly two-storey, wooden houses as well as stone houses, including an impressive palace, was disrupted after incorporation and the terrain abandoned¹³. The architecture remaining outside the fortifications line was subject to destruction. Yet the churches of St. Clement and St. Peter survived. Around the latter a new separate suburban settlement – Petřín – evolved, deprived however of its former significance. Treating incorporation of a city as a thoughtful royal investment we understand not everybody could take part in this venture.

In the South-East part of the marked out incorporation city the aforementioned new structure found its place – Havelské Město (St. Gallus Town). This zone, earlier occupied by modest half-dugout dwellings, was in the 1230s bought out by the merchants and entrepreneurs represented by the mint-master Eberhard. New settlers were brought in from Bavaria and granted civic rights¹⁴. A new spatial plan was marked out with a large

12 M. Wallisová, *Praha 1 – Nové Město, Opatovická ul. čp. 1659/II*, in: Z. Dragoun, *Archeologický výzkum v Praze v letech 1995-1996*, "Pražský Sborník Historický" XXX (1998), p. 283; J. Podliska, M. Wallisová, *Záchranný archeologický výzkum na parcele domu čp. 125/II v Ostrovní ulici na Novém Městě pražském*, "Zprávy České Archeologické Společnosti. Supplément" XXXVIII (1999), pp. 12-13.

13 M. Ježek, *A Mass for the Slaves. from Early Medieval Prague*, in: *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, eds. J. Machaček, Š. Ungerman, Studien zur Archäologie Europas, XIV, Bonn 2011, pp. 623-642.

14 J. Kejř, *K interpretaci práv měšťanů Svatohavelského města pražského (...civibus habere solas concedimus...)*, "Pražský Sborník Historický" IX (1975), pp. 5-17; F. Hoffmann, *Mincmistr Eberhard*, "Pražský Sborník Historický" XII (1980), pp. 70-84.

market square in the shape of an elongated rectangle. The spot for the St. Gallus' church as well as townsmen parcels were marked out. The market square's surface was paved with cobblestone covering the relics of an earlier settlement¹⁵. The new structure, however, has not kept its autonomy and was merged, in both spatial and legal sense, into the Old Town.

Mendicant monasteries appear in Prague in the phase of the city's transition to a new form. Unlike in Italy, Spain or France the rulers took a mindful care of them. It was reflected in these monasteries' strongly privileged position within the city. Particularly privileged were the Poor Clares in Prague, whose first superior was Duchess Agnes of Bohemia. The Dominicans in Prague were given the already existing church of St. Clement near the bridge over Vltava¹⁶. The Franciscans found their seat in a privileged and densely populated part of the city – behind the Týn Court, near the marketplace. Both latter locations had therefore a substantial economic significance.

As a result of these events the structure of the whole agglomeration was subject to significant and far-reaching changes. Its area, and first of all its inhabitants, were differentiated in law. The control over trade and crafts, executed in allotted areas, seems to be the main basis of the royal decisions. The area which we may call "urban" decreased considerably.

Wrocław

The incorporation of Wrocław took place in the left-bank side of the proto-urban agglomeration. It was a long process regulated with several legal acts in the 13th century. Written sources do not inform us to a satisfactory degree on the contents of these regulations. Most researchers of this city accept, upon indirect evidence, that the first incorporation on German law took place during the reign of Duke Henry I the Bearded (1201-1238) or Henry II the Pious (1238-1241). The incorporation contract was not a written one but issued in form of an oral decree¹⁷. The second legal act was issued after the

15 J. Muk, *Příspěvek k poznání památkové hodnoty Havelského města v Praze*, "Zprávy památkové péče" XXIV (1964), pp. 65-72; D. Líbal, J. Muk, M. Pavlík, *Raně gotické Havelské město*, "Pražský Sborník Historický" III (1966), pp. 44-55; V. Huml, *K počátkům Havelského města. Předběžná zpráva o výzkumu na Ovocném trhu v letech 1985-1986*, "Archaeologia Historica" XVII (1992), pp. 63-82; idem, *K osídlení Ovocného trhu na Starém Městě pražském*, "Archaeologica Pragensia" XII (1996), pp. 247-272.

16 V. Huml, *K počátkům kostela sv. Klimenta na Novém Městě pražském*, "Archaeologia Historica" III (1977), pp. 83-93; idem, *Kostel sv. Klimenta na Novém Městě pražském ve světle historickoarcheologického výzkumu*, "Archaeologica Pragensia" VIII (1987), pp. 157-254.

17 M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Wrocław...*, pp. 100-101.

Mongol invasion in 1241 but before 10 March 1242 by Duke Boleslaus II the Bald (also called the Horned). We only know about it from references in other documents. Another regulation was carried out in 1261 by the Duke Henry III the White and his brother Wladislaus, bishop of Salzburg. It is also the first one unquestionably confirmed in writing. The matter of the document concerns relations between the commune and the duke, but it does not provide clear information on the spatial changes to the city's structure¹⁸.

It is not easy to determine clearly the limits of the terrain assigned to Wrocław townsmen as these borders did not fully comply with the belt of fortifications built after incorporation (Fig. 5). They encircled some forty hectares of land thus forming an irregular oval adjoining Odra's left bank. Placed within it was not only the area assigned to the new commune but also the main part of the old pre-incorporation settlement functioning without an incorporation privilege, as well as the area by the river remaining under direct control of the duke. Part of the terrain inhabited already in the pre-incorporation phase ended up outside the fortifications' range, so definitely outside the municipal law's zone of operation too.

At the centre of a communal city was a marketplace, described as the Ring (Pol. *Rynek*, Germ. *Ring*) in Wrocław. Results of archaeological research allow to date its origin to the 1220s-1230s. Within this period the square, the connected streets and city blocks were marked out. At the moment we can't offer a definite answer to the question whether the regular city plan can be connected directly, also in the chronological sense, with any of the city charters. Małgorzata Chorowska, after years of research on medieval Wrocław's urban development, believes the charter and the division of land within the city may be two separate events¹⁹. She supports an early dating of the incorporation and of developing the area around the Market Square, yet she emphasizes that erection of a large city is for obvious reasons a long process. Wrocław's regular plan within the inner belt of fortifications is a result of several subdivision actions organized throughout several dozen years. Simultaneously with the incorporated city's development, the old *ad sanctum Adalbertum* settlement functioned until it was eliminated as late as after 1261. It was also then that a broad stripe of land on the South and West was added thus concluding the spatial development of the zones enjoying municipal law.

¹⁸ *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, II, ed. W. Irgang, Köln 1977, pp. 138-139, no. 229; III, Köln 1984, pp. 241-243, nos. 373-374; M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Wrocław...*, pp. 100-121.

¹⁹ M. Chorowska, *Regularna sieć ulic. Powstanie i przemiana do początku XIV w.*, in: *Ulice średniowiecznego Wrocławia*, eds. J. Piekalski, K. Wachowski, *Wratislavia Antiqua*, XI, Wrocław 2010, pp. 67-89.

Thus, the performed spatial changes resulted in a regular, checkered city plan. Within it three rectangular market squares were accommodated: the Market Square located in the centre measuring 180×200 metres, the Salt Market neighbouring the Market Square from the South-West measuring 80×120 metres) and the most recent of them, the New Market, measuring 85×120 metres, marked out in the place of the former pre-incorporation settlement. Archaeological surveys of the streets attest to the stability of their course in late Middle Ages and in the Modern Period²⁰.

In Wrocław, as in Prague, the mendicants were in a specific situation. Here, too, they arrived before the city's incorporation or during the transformation. They had been treated differently than the modest congregations of Dominicans or Franciscans in Southern or Western European cities²¹. In 1226 the Dominicans took over St. Adalbert's which formerly used to be a parish church in the Southern part of the left-bank settlement. The Franciscans received the area by the bridge leading to the Piasek island, which is possibly where the pre-incorporation market square used to be located. They gained a privilege to serve the ducal court of Henry II. The development of incorporated Wrocław changed the spatial position of monasteries. Delimitation of the city's new borders and city's new centre in the Market Square petrified their peripheral location, in line with the general European tendency of the time.

Trying to define the manner of Wrocław's incorporation in the shortest way possible one can say that its main feature is the lack of a strict division between the functioning of a proto-urban settlement and that of an incorporated city. Transformation towards a structure typical for a new-model city had a character of an accelerated process. Legal regulations served the purpose of systematization and control of this process under a significant domination by the representative of the Silesian Piast dynasty.

Kraków

In older literature it used to be accepted that the erection of the Holy Virgin parish church in the 1220s as well as references to a *scultetus* formed a sufficient basis to conclude it was then that the incorporation of Kraków on German

²⁰ C. Buško, *Nawierzchnie ulic średniowiecznego Wrocławia*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona" V (1997), pp. 117-132; P. Konczewski, J. Piekalski, *The Streets of Medieval Wrocław – Methods of Construction and Functions*, in: *Ulica, plac i cmentarz w publicznej przestrzeni średniowiecznego i nowożytnego miasta Europy Środkowej*, eds. S. Krabath, J. Piekalski, K. Wachowski, *Wratislavia Antiqua*, XIII, Wrocław 2011, pp. 155-162.

²¹ J.R. Moorman, *A History of Franciscan Order from the Origins to the Year 1517*, Oxford 1968, pp. 62-72; B.E.J. Stüdeli, *Minoritenniederlassungen und mittelalterliche Stadt*, Werl 1969, pp. 68-84.

law had taken place²². Right now not all scholars of the Lesser Poland's main city are convinced about it any longer. A second analysis of these same sources brings different conclusions. It is understood that in Kraków, as in other centres, the city's transformation was a long process with a climax at the only legal regulation attested in sources – that of 1257²³. The luckily surviving written accounts inform us that the delimitation of the burgher commune territory, the pulling down of old buildings as well as marking out of the city's new plan were connected with the contemporary decision by Bolesław V the Chaste, duke of Kraków.

Organization of the incorporated city, open to newcomers from various countries – for “*homines inibi de diversis climatibus congregare*” – in practice for those from German-speaking countries, took place within the zone situated to the North from the old Okół suburbium and from the existing Dominican and Franciscan monasteries²⁴. This area had already been colonized in the pre-incorporation phase. It also had its churches. Yet the artisan settlement developed there was destroyed by the Mongols in 1241 and only partially rebuilt later²⁵. Such a situation, paradoxically, favoured the decision of locating a new structure there. The presence of the Polish population – including the un-free or half-free ducal people (*ascripticium*), who were to be left outside the municipal law – must have been limited. This state of affairs is in line with the general tendency underlined in the literature – that of founding incorporated cities near the old settlement, thus leaving in the old place the ducal people or those dependent on ecclesiastic institutions²⁶.

The manner of spatial planning applied to the structure of incorporated Kraków was analyzed by Bogusław Krasnowolski, an art historian. His

22 J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje Krakowa do schyłku wieków średnich*, Kraków 1992, pp. 159-160.

23 *Kodeks dyplomatyczny miasta Krakowa*, II, ed. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1879, no. 1; J. Wyrozumski, *Lokacja...*

24 *Rocznik Kapituły Krakowskiej*, in: *Najdawniejsze roczniki krakowskie i kalendarz*, ed. Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Historia nova series V*, Warszawa 1978, p. 86; J. Rajman, *Kraków. Zespół osadniczy, proces lokacji, mieszczanie do roku 1333*, Kraków 2004, p. 212.

25 J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje...*, p. 159; J. Rajman, *Kraków...*, pp. 182-184; C. Buśko, W. Głowa, *Osada przedlokacyjna na Rynku krakowskim (Pre-Charter Settlement in Main Market Squar in Kraków)*, “*Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa*” XXVIII (2010) 1, pp. 151-152.

26 J.M. Piskorski, *Kolonizacja...*, p. 225; M. Rębkowski, *Pierwsze lokacje miast w Księstwie Zachodniopomorskim. Przemiany przestrzenne i kulturowe*, Kołobrzeg 2001, pp. 53-58; S. Moździoch, *Dwa wielkie plany. Wczesnomiejskie zespoły osadnicze a miasta lokacyjne na Śląsku*, in: *Słowiańszczyzna w Europie średniowiecznej*, ed. Z. Kurnatowska, II: *Miasta i rzemiosła*, Wrocław 1996, p. 33; M. Goliński, *Wokół problematyki formowania się stanu mieszczańskiego w Polsce*, in: *Studia z historii społecznej*, eds. M. Goliński, S. Rosik, *Scripta Historica Medievalia*, II, Wrocław 2012, pp. 24-27.

works are at the same time a summary of previous studies on this subject²⁷. A metrological analysis of the Modern Period and the most recent city plans was applied in this research. The extant relics of medieval architecture were used to a lesser extent (Fig. 6). A significant historical stability of Kraków's architectural structure and the fact that this city avoided destruction during World War II justifies to a large extent the choice of this particular method. Unlike in Wrocław and in Prague, the limited advances in archaeological exploration of the city quarters and streets do not provide us with a satisfactory alternative to the metrological method. It can be safely claimed that in the designed city plan nine quadratic parcels were mapped out, of which the central one was to be the main square. Each of the remaining quadratic parcels was to be divided with streets into four blocks. A structure of highly emphasised regularity came as the result. The area to the South from the Main Square retained, however, its irregular plan. This irregularity's main accent was the Southern corner of the Square funnelling into the Grodzka street (Burgh Street) – the main axis of the Okół suburbium, leading to the Wawel burgh.

Okół – the most important (apart from Wawel) zone of the former proto-city, remained outside the incorporated city. Its role is not entirely clear. What seems clear is its attractiveness for the upper strata of the Cracovian society – lay dignitaries and clergy. The planning of Okół remained irregular²⁸.

The relation between municipal fortifications and borders of the incorporated city is not entirely clear. We know there were fortification works underway after 1285²⁹. It is highly possible that the moat and earthen rampart

27 J. Jamroz, *Układ przestrzenny miasta Krakowa sprzed lokacji 1257 r. Stan dotychczasowych badań nad miastem*, "Biuletyn Krakowski" II (1960), pp. 10-25; idem, *Układ przestrzenny miasta Krakowa przed i po lokacji 1257 r.*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" XII (1967) 1, pp. 17-49; M. Borowiejska-Birkenmajerowa, *Kształt średniowiecznego Krakowa*, Kraków 1975; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy urbanistyczne na obszarze ziemi krakowskiej w XIII i XIV w.*, Kraków 2004, pp. 91-119; idem, *Lokacje i rozwój Krakowa, Kazimierza i Okołu. Problematyka rozwiązań urbanistycznych*, in: *Kraków. Nowe studia nad rozwojem miasta*, Kraków 2007, pp. 361-372; idem, *Rynek Główny w Krakowie – kompozycja i funkcja na tle regularnych układów urbanistycznych średniowiecznej Europy*, "Krzysztofony. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa" XXVIII (2010) 1, pp. 53-55.

28 J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje...*, p. 259; M. Bicz-Suknarowska, W. Niewalda, H. Rojkowska, *Zabudowa ulicy Kanoniczej na tle urbanistyki średniowiecznego Okołu*, in: *Sztuka około 1400. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki. Poznań, listopad 1995*, ed. T. Hrankowska, Warszawa 1996, pp. 89-95; B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, pp. 108-122; J. Rajman, *Kraków...*, pp. 209-211; M. Słoń, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne w średniowiecznej Europie Środkowej*, Wrocław 2010, pp. 295-306.

29 J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje...*, pp. 183-184; T. Dębowski, *Archeologiczny ślad najstarszych umocnień Krakowa lokacyjnego*, "Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" XLVIII (1996), pp. 199-207; J. Poleski, *Vor der Burg zur Stadt – zur genese der städtischen Zentren in Kleinpolen*, "Acta

surrounded only the incorporated city. We do know that the burghers at the time were against conjoining the municipal fortifications with the Wawel³⁰. The construction of a municipal stone wall was started as late as at the turn of 13th and 14th century (Fig. 7). The city and the castle were conjoined with one defensive system perhaps as late as around mid-13th century³¹.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE BREAKTHROUGH

The acceleration of the urbanization process and proceeding to its second, burgherly phase resulted, in Central-Eastern Europe, largely from the phenomena occurring in the territories East of the Elbe and Saale. The demographic growth of "old Europe" in the high Middle Ages made the so called Eastern colonization possible. It is understood as a part of a larger scale phenomenon, also pertaining to other zones of the continent. Other colonization movements of comparable size are the crusades, the reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula or the colonization of the British Isles. This hardly interpretable process is discussed in the literature as intensively as the problem of the origin of cities³². Without going deeper into that discussion one may say the inflow of foreign settlers had a profound meaning for the urbanization of Central-Eastern Europe and for its cultural spectrum in the centuries to come. The other city-making factor, symmetric in a way to the emerging over-population of the post-Carolingian zone, was the need for settlers and new forms of economy in Western-Slavic states and in Hungary, which found its manifestation in the incorporation contracts³³.

The principle, applied in Kraków and perhaps in Wrocław too, of a legal distinction between the indigenous and the incoming population, is

Praehistorica et Archaeologica" XLII (2010), Abb. 6; D. Niemiec, P. Nocuń, K. Nowak, A. Szyber, M. Wojenka, *Stratigraphy of Cultural Deposits in Western Part of the Jagiellonian University's Ogród Profesorski in Kraków*, "Recherches Archéologiques" Nouvelle Serie III (2011), pp. 241-257.

³⁰ J. Wyrozumski, *Dzieje...*, p. 215; J. Rajman, *Kraków...*, pp. 206-208.

³¹ W. Niewalda, H. Rojkowska, E. Zaiz, *Sredniowieczne fortyfikacje Krakowa. Odcinek północny*, "Krakowska Teka Konserwatorska" II (2001); B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacyjne układy...*, pp. 204-208.

³² *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung als Problem der europäischen Geschichte*, ed. W. Schlesinger, Vorträge und Forschungen, XVIII, Sigmaringen 1975; C. Higounet, *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter*, München 1990; R. Bartlett, *Tworzenie Europy. Podbój, kolonizacja i przemiany kulturowe 950-1350*, Poznań 2003; S. Gawlas, *Znaczenie kolonizacji niemieckiej dla rozwoju gospodarczego Śląska*, in: *Korzenie środkowoeuropejskiej i górnośląskiej kultury gospodarczej*, ed. A. Braciak, Katowice 2003, pp. 22-46; *Internal Colonisation...*

³³ A. Körmندی, *Melioratio terrae. Vergleichende Untersuchungen über die Siedlungsbewegung im östlichen Mitteleuropa im 13.-14. Jahrhundert*, Poznań 1995.

explained in the literature as aimed at preservation of old settlements where the indigenous inhabitants were charged with traditional duties towards the rulers³⁴. The need to uphold these duties resulted in a legal ban on accepting ducal people into urban communes. In a short time, however, this led to pauperization of these settlements and then their disappearance or absorption into the incorporated city. The fate of those who inhabited pre-incorporation settlements, still under traditional feudal obligations, remains unknown. Did they join the disenfranchised urban plebs? Or were they moved to ducal villages? Written sources don't mention them. So the demographic basis of the transformed cities were the guests – mainly German-speaking colonists who came to the East either before incorporation or, most of them, as a result of it. It was for them, as Mateusz Goliński emphasized, that the new municipal law was introduced – to set their position in order, as well as to safeguard the ducal interests³⁵.

In each of the discussed cities the incorporation breakthrough had a slightly different character. The development of a proto-city, intensive and effective in settlement terms, limited the range of the chartering transition. Lack of stability in the pre-incorporation phase resulted in a greater interference in the city's structure. The proto-urban right-bank Prague had in 1234 a spatial structure developed and valuable enough to make the then concluded incorporation contract not lead to any drastic change in the settlement's spatial disposition. The extant stonemasoned substance petrified the streets and at least some parcels, thus limiting the meaning of incorporation to fiscal regulations. The most part of the old settlement was included in a zone that was soon to be surrounded with fortifications. The suburbium by the Hrad, on the river's left bank, met a different fate – in the ruler's opinion it wasn't worth keeping and further development. In Wrocław we have to identify the first incorporated city with the settlement part attached to the already existing agglomeration. Its regular street grid with a market square in the middle became one of the three structures soon to be jointly surrounded with fortifications. The other two are the pre-incorporation settlement and a stripe of ducal land on the Odra river. A dynamic growth of the new unit soon resulted in the old settlement's absorption and in a further territorial expansion. Also in Kraków, the old Okół suburbium was excluded from incorporation. The new structure was marked out in the zone bordering Okół from the North, replacing the former metallurgists' settlement destroyed by the Tatars. A regular city plan was developed in its full form there, defined

³⁴ J. Piskorski, *Kolonizacja...*, p. 225; J. Rajman, *Kraków...*, p. 346; S. Moździoch, *Dwa wielkie plany...*, p. 33.

³⁵ M. Goliński, *Wokół problematyki...*, pp. 22-27.

by fiscal goals and adjusted to economic needs, but also being a testimony to high geometrical skills. From today's point of view Kraków's planning of 13th/14th century may be considered an object of urbanistic art. A significant spatial reduction of the old settlement structure is a common feature of Prague, Wrocław and Kraków. A loose, multi-part agglomeration was replaced with a concentrated civic hub which had a clearly accentuated multi-functional centre. In case of each of the discussed cities it took (space-wise) the form of a square – the old one in Prague and newly-set in Wrocław and in Kraków.

translated by Kajetan Małachowski

ABSTRACT

The article contributes to the discussion on medieval urbanization in Central-Eastern Europe. The choice of Prague, Wrocław and Kraków – the most important municipal centres of the Czech Kingdom, Silesia and Lesser Poland is caused by the fact that these very cities reflect in a clear manner the cultural breakthrough that took place in Central-Eastern Europe in the high Middle Ages. This breakthrough was based on acceptance of a new, commercial model of economy and the main driving force behind it was the inflow of settlers from the West. Archaeological sources convince us the transformation of Central European proto-cities into communal cities was a process of adjusting them to new economic challenges. It was also to them that the law and spatial structure of a city were adjusted. In each of the discussed cities the incorporation breakthrough had a slightly different character. The development of a proto-city, intensive and successful in settlement terms as in the case of Prague, would limit the range of the incorporation transition. Lack of stability in the pre-incorporation phase, as in Kraków after the Mongol invasion of 1241, resulted in a deeper intervention in the city's structure.

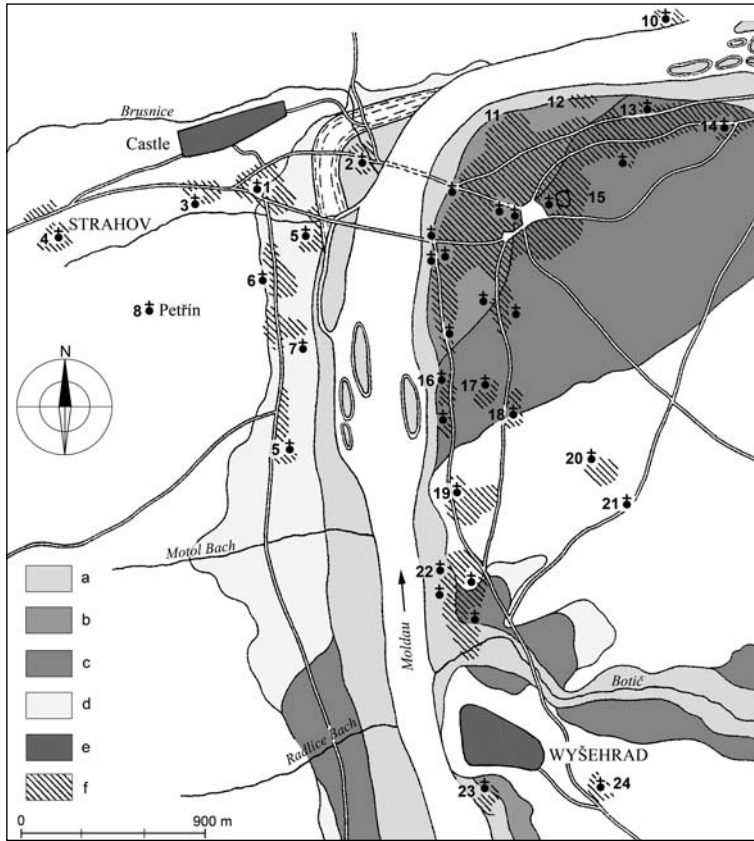


Fig. 1. Prague ca. 1200: 1 – suburbium with St. Nicholas’ and St. Martin’s churches; 2 – Rybáře settlement with St. Peter’s church; 3 – Obora settlement with the church of St. John the Baptist; 4 – Strahov with the Premonstratensian monastery; 5 – Trávník settlement with the Commandry of the Knights of St. John; 6 – Nebovidy settlement with St. Lawrence’s church; 7 – Ujezd settlement with the church of St. John the Baptist; 8 – Petřín settlement with St. Lawrence’s church; 9 – settlement around St. Philip’s and St. James’ church; 10 – Rubna settlement with St. Clement’s church; 11 – settlement at the place of the later St. Cyriac’s monastery; 12 – settlement at the place of the later Poor Clares’ nunnery; 13 – Ujezd settlement with St. Clement’s church; 14 – settlement with St. Peter church; 15 – area of the later Old Town with Romanesque churches; 16 – Na Struze settlement with St. Peter’s church and St. Adalbert’s churches; 17 – Opatovice settlement with St. Michael’s church; 18 – settlement around St. Lawrence’s church; 19 – Zderaz settlement with St. Wenceslaus’ church; 20 – Rybník settlement with St. Stephen’s church; 21 – St. John’s church; 22 – suburbium by the Visegrád with the churches of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas, St. Andrew; a – fluvial terrace; b – floodplain by the Visegrád; c – Old Town terrace; d – gravel; e – burghs; f – open settlements. According to V. Huml, Z. Dragoun, R. Nový, *Der archäologische Beitrag...*, with author’s additions.

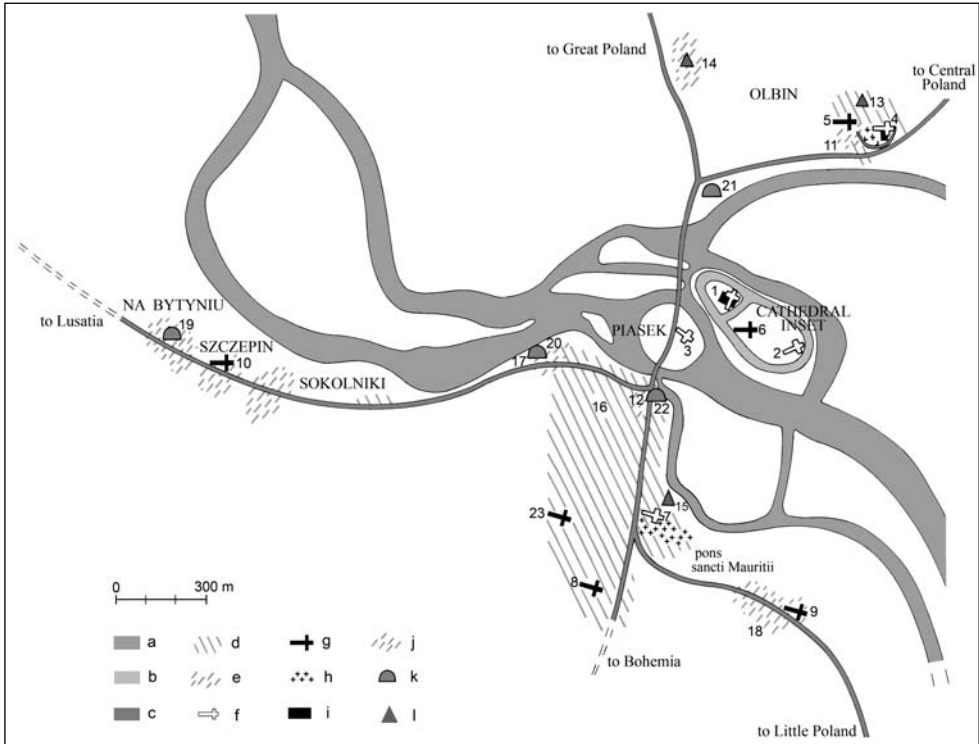


Fig. 2. Wrocław, prior to the incorporation: a – river; b – burgh rampart; c – main roads; d – settlement according to archaeological sources; e – settlement according to written sources; f – churches; g – churches, approximate locations; h – cemetery; i – ducal residence; j – marketplace; k – inn; l – lordly residences, approximate locations; 1 – burgh with St. Martin’s chapel; 2 – St. John’s Cathedral; 3 – Augustinian abbey with Our Lady church; 4 – Premonstratensian abbey with St. Vincent’s church; 5 – St. Michael’s church; 6 – St. Peter’s church; 7 – St. Adalbert’s church; 8 – church of St. Mary of Egypt; 9 – St. Maurice’s church; 10 – St. Nicholas’ church; 11 – annual fair in front of St. Vincent’s church; 12 – possible location of the marketplace in the left-bank district; 13 – court of the lords Włostowic; 14 – Count Mikora’s court; 15 – approximated location of Gerung’s court; 16 – craft-and-trade settlement; 17 – Jewish settlement; 18 – Walloon settlement; 19 – inn in the “Na Bytyniu” settlement; 20 – the “Birvechnik” inn; 21 – the “ad fine pontis” inn; 22 – inn of the Augustinian abbey; 23 – church of St. Mary Magdalene. By J. Piekalski, based on data from M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Wrocław...* Drawing by N. Lenkow.

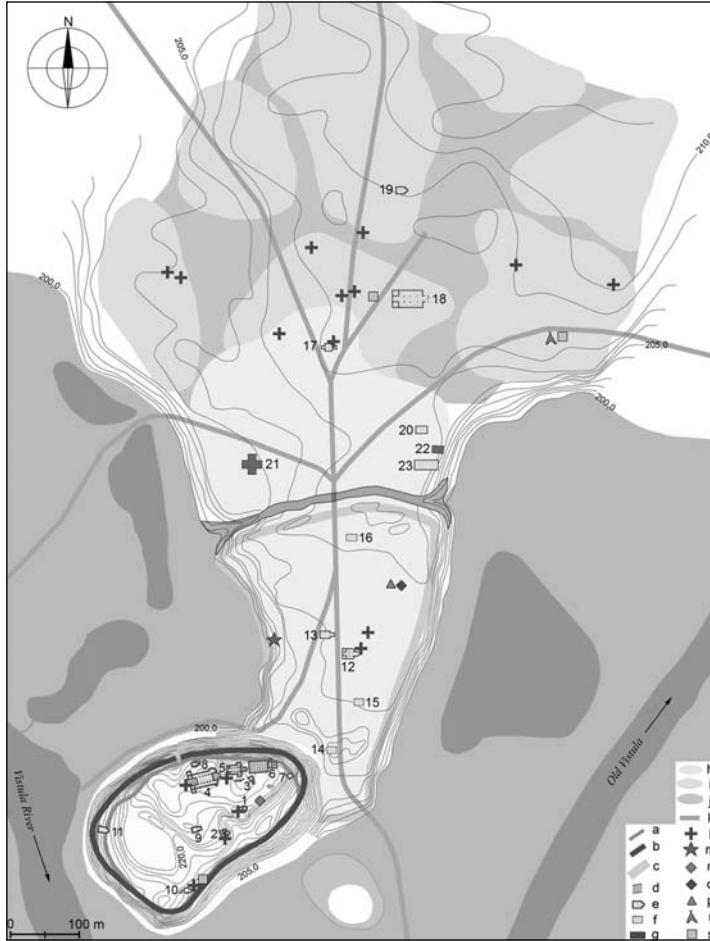


Fig. 3. Kraków. Settlement structures prior to mid-13th century: a – Wawel burgh rampart, ca. mid-13th century; b – projected line of the Wawel Hill rampart, second half of the 11th century – first half of the 13th century; c – rampart of the Okół suburbium; d – dry moat; e – pre-Romanesque and Romanesque masonry works; f – possible location of Romanesque churches; g – early-Gothic churches and monasteries; h – zone settled before 11th century; i – zone settled in the 11th century; j – zone settled in the 12th – first half of 13th century; k – projected road network prior to mid-13th century; l – graves; m – hoard of iron currency bars; n – Carolingian golden strap-mount from the second half of the 8th century; o – Great Moravian bronze temple ring; p – old-Magyar bronze strap-end from the late 9th – first half of the 10th century; r – iron spur with hook-like grips, s – relics of timber dwellings. Buildings: 1 – St. Felix’ and St. Adauctus’ church, 2 – two-apsed rotunda; 3 – “rectangular building” in the courtyard; 4 – St. Wenceslaus’ Cathedral; 5 – chapel and later basilica of St. Mary of Egypt; 6 – palatium with chapel; 7 – residential tower; 8 – chapel, North of the Cathedral; 9 – St. Michael’s church; 10 – rotunda next to Sandomierz Tower; 11 – chapel by the Smocza Jama cave; 12 – St. Andrew’s church; 13 – St. Mary Magdalene church; 14 – St. Giles’ church; 15 – St. Martin’s church; 16 – St. Peter’s church; 17 – St. Adalbert’s church; 18 – Our Lady church; 19 – St. John’s church; 20 – original (Romanesque?) Holy Trinity church; 21 – St. Francis’ church; 22 – the so called “chapter house” of the Dominican monastery; 23 – early Gothic Holy Trinity church. According to Poleski 2005.

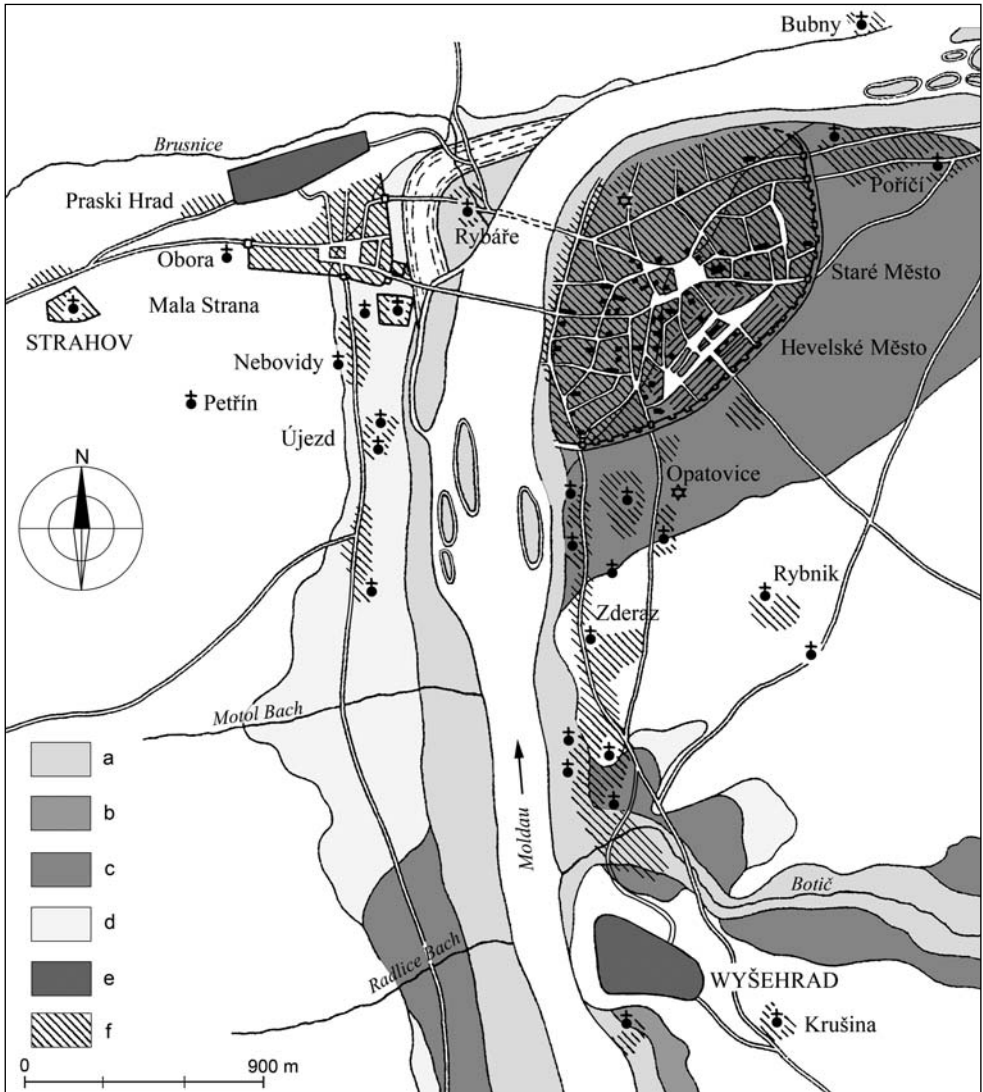


Fig. 4. Prague in the second half of the 13th century: a – fluvial terrace, b – floodplain by the Visegrád; c – Old Town terrace; d – gravel; e – castles; f – built-up area. According to V. Huml, Z. Dragoun, R. Nový, *Der archäologische Beitrag...*, with author's additions.

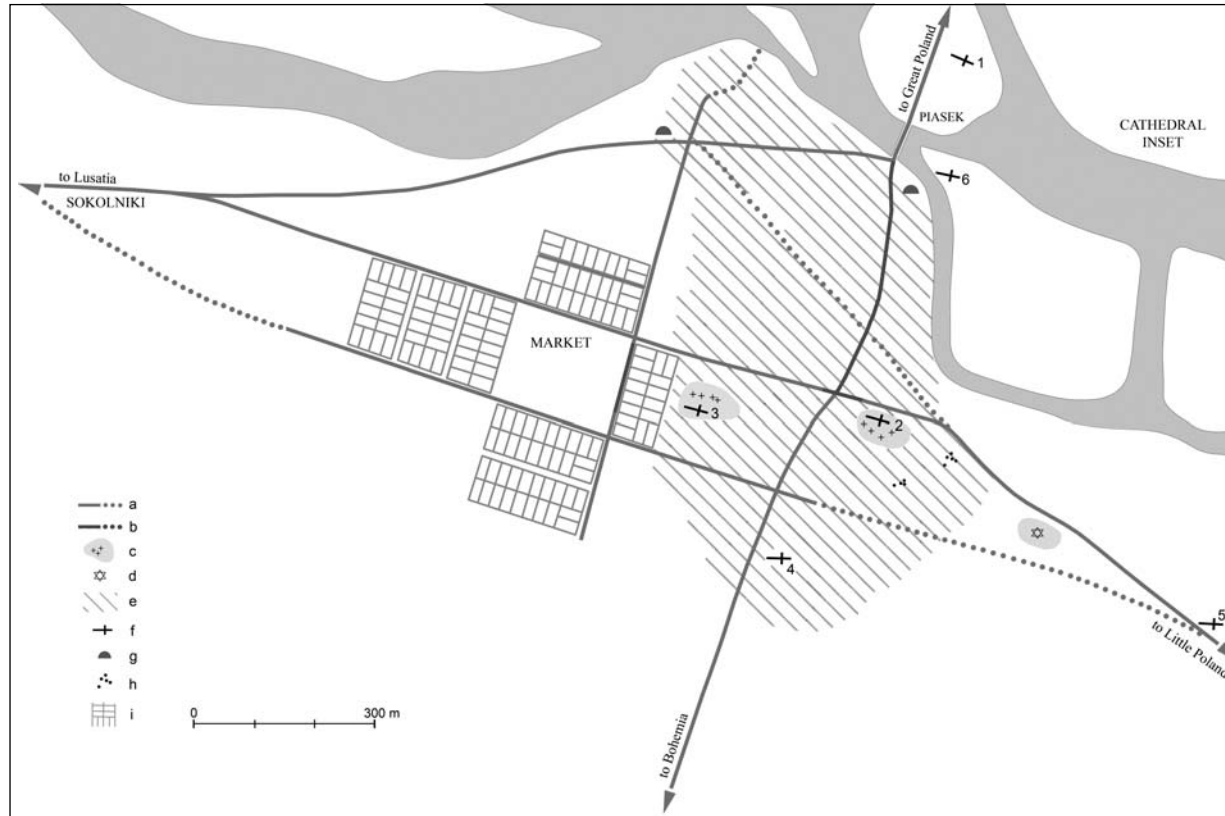


Fig. 5a. Left-bank Wrocław prior to mid-13th century: a – projected roads and streets; b – timber-paved streets; c – cemetery; d – Jewish cemetery; e – old settlement; f – church; g – inn; h – well; i – projected blocks of burgherly dwellings; 1 – Augustinian abbey; 2 – St. Adalbert's church; 3 – St. Mary Magdalene church; 4 – church of St. Mary of Egypt; 5 – St. Maurice's church; 6 – church and hospital of the Holy Spirit. According to M. Chorowska, *Regularna sieć ulic...* with author's modifications. Drawing by N. Lenkow.

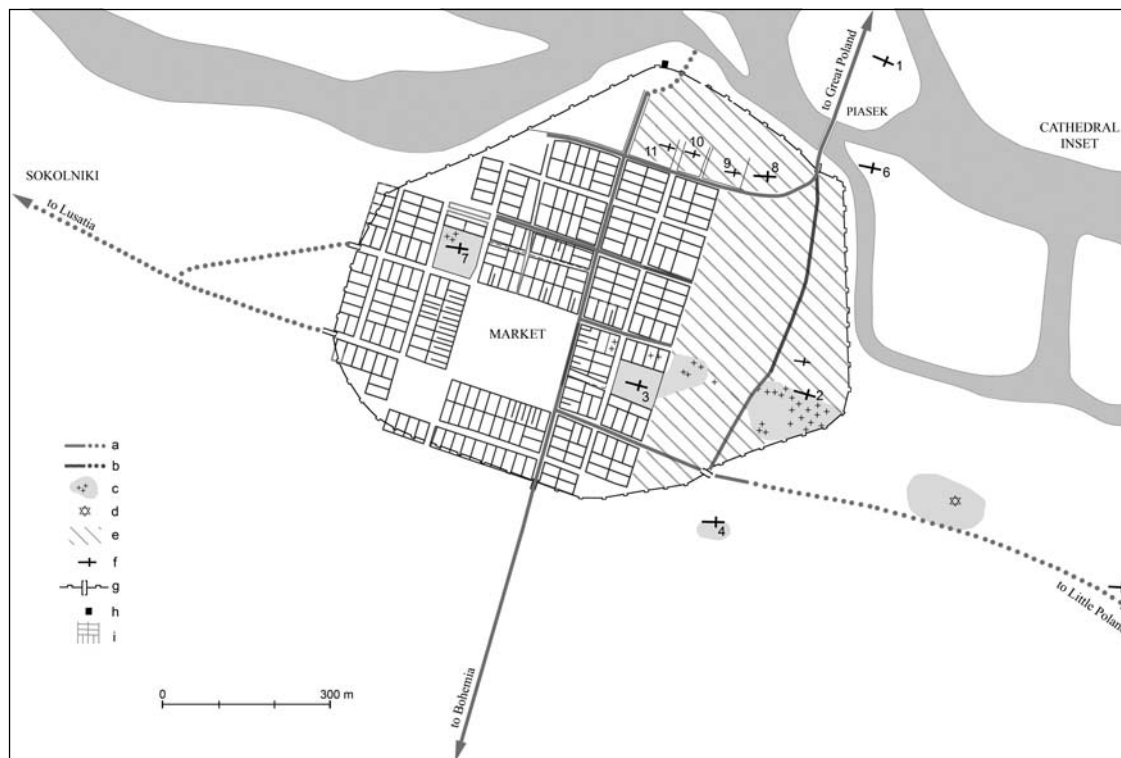


Fig. 5b. Left-bank Wrocław ca. mid-13th century: a – reconstructed roads and streets; b – timber-paved streets; c – cemetery; d – Jewish cemetery; e – old settlement; f – ducal district; g – church; h – city walls; i – tower of the ducal castle; j – projected layout of the incorporated district; 1 – Augustinian abbey; 2 – Dominican monastery with St. Adalbert’s church; 3 – St. Mary Magdalene church; 4 – church of St. Mary of Egypt; 5 – St. Maurice’s church; 6 – church and hospital of the Holy Spirit; 7 – St. Elisabeth’s church; 8 – Franciscan monastery with St. James’ church; 9 – convent of St. Clare, 10 – St. Matthew’s church; 11 – St. George’s (subsequently St. Agnes’) church. According to M. Chorowska, *Regularna sieć ulic...*, with author’s modifications. Drawing by N. Lenkow.

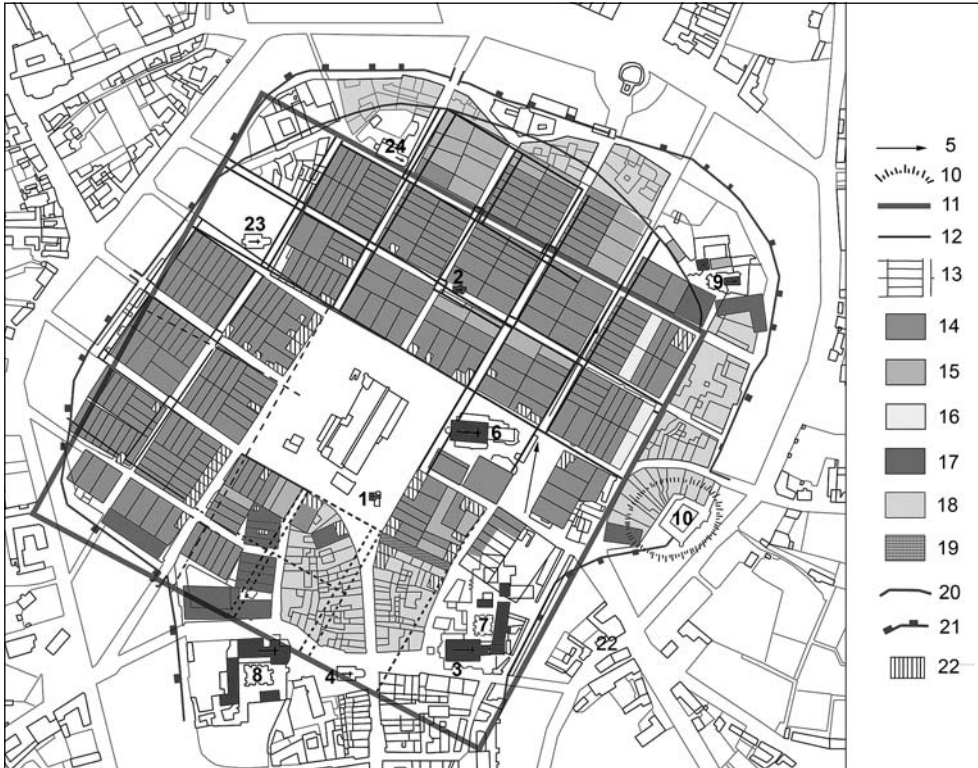


Fig. 6. Kraków after the 1257 incorporation: 1 – St. Adalbert’s church; 2 – St. John’s church; 3 – Holy Trinity church; 4 – All Saints church; 5 – conjectured axes of street layout from 1220; 6 – Our Lady church; 7 – Dominican monastery; 8 – Franciscan monastery; 9 – hospital with churches of the Holy Spirit and the Holy Cross; 10 – stronghold of the city’s headman; 11 – conjectured boundaries of the 1257 “Great Incorporation” zone; 12 – layout of the first complex of residential blocks and streets; 13 – full-curia modular plots (36 × 72 ells) and half-curia modular plots (18 × 72 ells); 14 – area divided into modular plots; 15 – area divided into non-modular plots; 16 – areas associated with expansion of blocks to more than a modular size; 17 – modular plots laid out in irregular layout areas; 18 – areas divided into plots of a size derived from full-curia module; 19 – defunct streets; 20 – earth-and-timber fortifications and moats from ca. 1285; 21 – city walls after 1298; 22 – oldest burgher houses; 23 – St. Stephen’s church; 24 – St. Mark’s church. According to B. Krasnowolski, *Lokacje i rozwój Krakowa...*

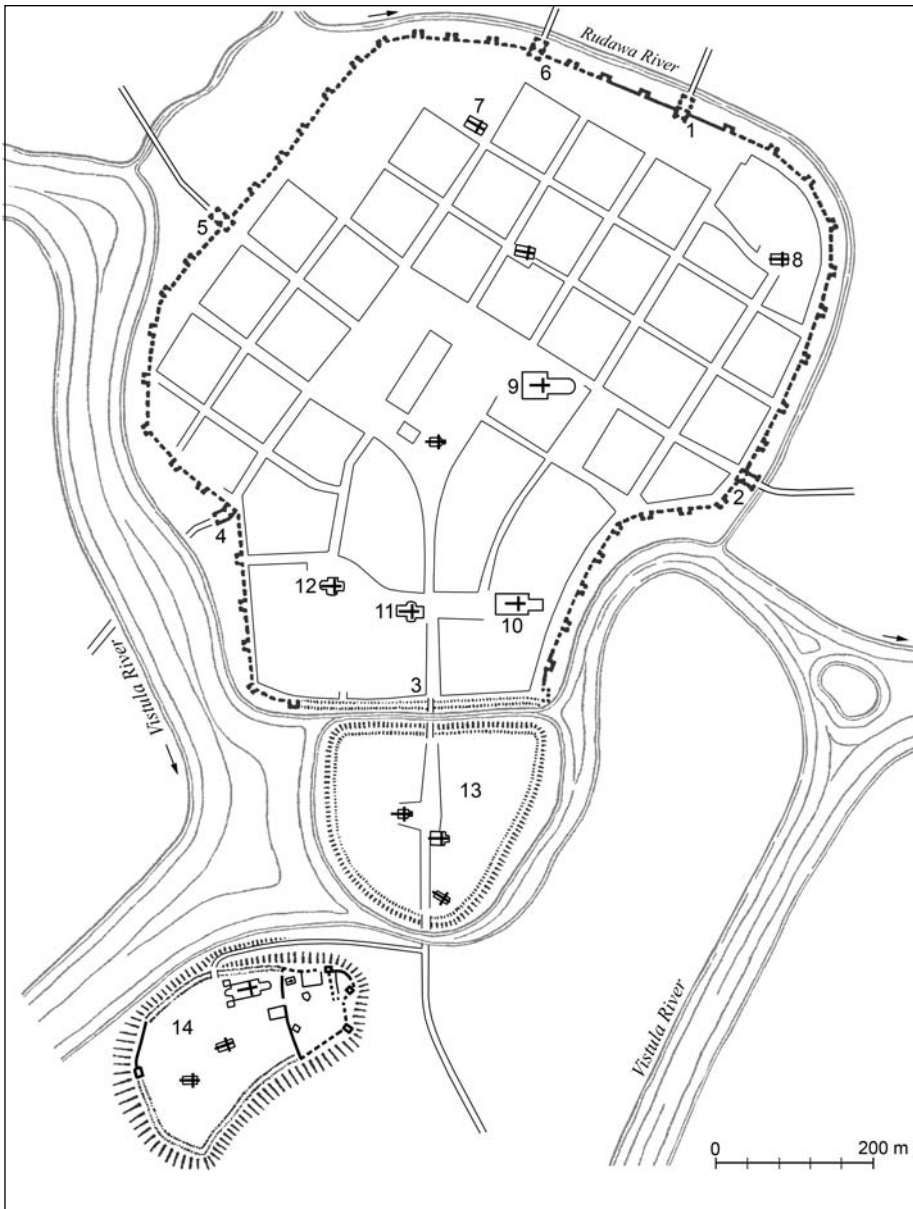


Fig. 7. Kraków: fortification system ca. 1300. 1 – Floriańska (St. Florian’s) Gate; 2 – Rzeźnicza (Butchers’ Gate); 3 – Grodzka (Burgh) Gate; 4 – Wiślna (Vistula) Gate; 5 – Szevska (Shoemakers’ Gate); 6 – Sławkowska (Sławków) Gate; 7 – St. Mark’s church; 8 – hospital church of the Holy Cross; 9 – Blessed Virgin Mary parish church; 10 – Dominican church of the Holy Trinity; 11 – All Saints’ church; 12 – Franciscan St. Francis’ church; 13 – the Okół suburbium; 14 – Wawel. According to J. Widawski 1973.

MAREK DANIEL KOWALSKI
KRAKÓW

THE PAPAL COLLECTORATE IN THE 15TH CENTURY POLAND



In connection with a rapid development of the papal fiscal system during the Avignon Papacy and for the efficient collection of financial dues from the clergy, Pope Clement VI (1342-1352) divided Europe into tax districts, known as collectorates¹. They were local branches of the Apostolic Camera. In each of them the general collector appointed by the Camera was entrusted with the task of collecting taxes. He was aided by sub-collectors, whom he had selected from among the local clergy. The period of the Great Schism of the Western Church (1378-1417) in the countries of the obedience of Rome (and later of Pisa), which included, among others, the Kingdom of Poland, was the time of crisis of the papal fiscal system as the professional personnel of the cameral administration remained at the Popes in Avignon. At the same time, the efficient tax system in the countries of the obedience of Avignon augmented among the clergy the feeling of fiscal oppression by the papacy, which provoked a growing wave of criticism. It was not until the reforms carried out at the Council of Constance (1414-1418) that the situation stabilized. The great Council aimed to restore the unity within the Western Christianity, and also to reform the Church *in capite et in membris*. However, the reformers' demands were not put into practice. The only exception was the sphere of the papal fiscal policy, which was subjected to a thorough reform². The decisions to implement changes in the financial duties of the

¹ W. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, I-II, New York 1934, I, p. 13.

² An in-depth discussion on the reforms introduced at the Council of Constance in: Ph. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council of Constance (1414-1418)*, Leiden-New York-Köln 1994. A separate detailed discussion on the reform of papal taxation in: idem, *The Reform of Papal Taxation at the Council of Constance, "Speculum"* LXIV (1989), pp. 69-105.

clergy towards the Holy See were included in the Council decrees and in concordats made by Martin V with Council's nations. The reform resulted in the abolishing of most payments formerly made by the clergy. The papal tithe³, procurations, spoils, *fructus medii temporis* were done away with, and granting indulgences was radically restricted⁴. Only two out of the former fundamental duties of the clergy were sustained: the services (*servitia*) and annates. The services were payments made on account of the assumption of consistorial benefices, i.e. bishoprics and some abbeys⁵. Annates were payments made on account of the assumption of lower benefices, such as prelatures, canonries, parishes, altaries etc.⁶ They were paid by these clergymen whose prebends came from the pope's conferment⁷. In consequence of the above mentioned reforms, the Holy See lost approximately two-thirds of the revenues coming from the taxes paid by the clergy⁸.

Despite such serious restrictions on clergy taxes, the system of papal collectorates, set up in the 14th century, remained greatly unchanged. It was supposed to function like in the Avignon period even though the Council reforms had brought the economic sense of collectorates into question. This was because its two most important taxes were abolished: the papal tithe and the procurations. From among the two dues which still remained, the services were always paid directly to the Apostolic Camera, without the agency of a collector. In these circumstances what was left for collectors was only collecting annates, but even this matter was seriously altered. In the Avignon period annates were generally paid to the local collector in a given country. Such payments made directly to the Apostolic Camera were very rare⁹. After the Council of Constance the Camera readily accepted annates

3 In legal terms, the imposition of the papal tithe on the clergy was still possible, but it required the approval of the local episcopate. In practice the episcopates did not give such an approval, and after the Council of Constance the papal tithe was no longer charged.

4 All kinds of taxes the clergy paid for the papacy are discussed by W. Lunt, *Papal Revenues...* On decisions concerning indulgences see Ph. Stump, *The Reforms of the Council...*, pp. 67-72.

5 Services were not a single payment, but a group of payments which included the so called *servitium commune* and 5 *servitia minuta*. The services were accompanied by minor payments known as *sacra* and *subdiaconum*, see: W. Lunt, *Papal Revenues...*, I, pp. 81-91; M.D. Kowalski, *Proventus Camerae Apostolicae debiti. Opłaty duchowieństwa polskiego na rzecz papieżstwa w latach 1417-1484*, Kraków 2010, pp. 47-53, 124-127.

6 W. Lunt, *Papal Revenues...*, I, pp. 93-99; M.D. Kowalski, *Proventus...*, pp. 133-144. There were other payments which were derivatives from annates. Such were the payments for incorporated benefices known as *integra annata*, and later *quindennia*, see below.

7 S. Szczur, *Annaty papieskie w Polsce w XIV wieku*, Kraków 1998, pp. 52-53.

8 P. Partner, *The 'Budget' of the Roman Church in the Renaissance Period*, in: *Italian Renaissance Studies. A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. Ady*, ed. E.F. Jacob, London 1960, p. 259; Ph. Stump, *The Reform of Papal Taxation...*, p. 101.

9 S. Szczur, *Annaty...*, pp. 162-164.

directly from the payers. Very well-preserved papal cameral registers reveal that many clergymen used such an opportunity right from the beginning, and the number of those paying to the Curia grew systematically with the passing of time. In the early days of the pontificate of Martin V their number was insignificant, but a considerable increase of payments by way of annates becomes noticeable in the books of revenues and expenditures (*Libri introitus et exitus*) of the Apostolic Camera from the middle of 1425¹⁰. As it was shown in my book, the turning point was the decision taken by Nicholas V (1447-1455) concerning the mandatory payment of annates directly to the Curia, even before the collection of the papal bull of provision. Only few were exempted from the immediate payment – usually those whose chances to obtain the benefice bestowed upon them were slim¹¹. Thus it only remained for collectors to collect overdue payments from a relatively small number of those who were exempted from the duty of payment on the receipt of the bull. They therefore only played their role as a “bugbear” towards those who would like to evade their financial obligations to the Camera. In addition to the annates, another financial service collected by a local collectorate was the so called *census*, paid by monasteries which remained under the Pope’s protection¹². The last significant payment was Peter’s Pence, but it was only collected in some countries (Poland, England, the Scandinavian countries)¹³. The abolishing by the Council of Constance of the most important taxes once paid in collectorates, as well as the evolution of the way of paying annates reduced the profitability of local collectorates to the minimum.

Just like in other European countries, the Polish collectorate¹⁴ began to function as usual soon after the election of Martin V. In the early 1418 the new Pope confirmed professor of law Peter Wolfram as the general collector, who had already held his office on behalf of the Council since 1415¹⁵. The Polish

10 In the registers “Introitus et exitus” a significant increase in the number of entries with payments of annates is noticeable starting from the volume: Archivum Secretum Vaticanum (henceforth: ASV), Cam. Ap., Intr. et Ex., vol. 383 (1 May 1425-30 April 1426), whereas in earlier volumes (vol. 379, 380, 382) there were more payments of services and other revenues, though annate payments also appeared.

11 M.D. Kowalski, *Proventus...*, pp. 136-139; see also J.P. Kirsch, *Die Annaten und ihre Verwaltung in der zweiten hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, “Historisches Jahrbuch” IX (1888), p. 304.

12 W. Lunt, *Papal Revenues...*, I, pp. 61-63.

13 Ibidem, pp. 65-71; T. Gromnicki, *Świętopietrze w Polsce*, Kraków 1908.

14 A large territory of the Polish collectorate stretched outside the borders of the Kingdom. Thus, whenever in this article the “Polish clergy” are mentioned, this refers to the clergymen from the territory of the Polish collectorate, who at the same time may have been the subjects of different rulers.

15 *Bullarium Poloniae litteras apostolicas aliaque monumenta Poloniae Vaticana continens*, ed. I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, S. Kuraś, IV-VI, Romae-Lublini 1992-1998 (henceforth: BP), IV, no. 141.

collectorate operated according to the rules identical to those all over Europe, but it also had some individual features. In comparison with other countries, it seems to be the best-documented. On the one hand, the collection of the registers of the Apostolic Camera has been very well preserved, where all kinds of payments to the papal treasury were recorded, including individual payments of annates and common services as well as the payments of the sums raised by the collectors. A unique way of entering payments – every amount was recorded in a few different books – allows us to supplement all gaps in individual series of registers with the information that comes from other series. Thanks to this the picture received is almost full¹⁶. Of course, this documentation concerns also other countries. Exceptional, however, are a few extant thorough and detailed accounts (financial reports) which were written by the Polish collectors during their service to square accounts with the Camera. All receipts and expenses of the collector were recorded there. There we have the accounts of Peter Wolfram (1425/1426)¹⁷, Giacomino Rossi (1426-1433)¹⁸ and Uriel of Górká (1476-1485)¹⁹, as well as the accounts of Battista Enrici da Roma, Bishop of Camerino and the papal legate to Poland, who was licensed as the collector (1448)²⁰. Particularly precious are the accounts of Rossi as he acted soon after the reforms of the Council of Constance, when the collectorate functioned quite efficiently and annates were collected for it. In turn the accounts of Uriel of Górká date back to the end of the 15th century, when following the decision taken by Nicholas V concerning payments of annates to the Curia the collector practically ceased to collect annates, but almost only Peter's Pence. Exceptionally rare are numerous private letters of the collector Giacomino Rossi, addressed to a curialist Bartolomeo de Monte, which allow us to notice usually elusive aspects of the activity of a collector²¹.

¹⁶ A in-depth analysis of the 15th century books of the Apostolic Camera, see M.D. Kowalski, *Die päpstlichen Rechnungsbücher zu Benefizienabgaben 1417-1484*, in: *Zahlen und Erinnerung von der Vielfalt der Rechnungsbücher und vergleichbarer Quellengattungen*, eds. H. Flachenecker, J. Tandecki, Toruń 2010, pp. 135-168.

¹⁷ Edited by: S. Szczur, *Skarbowość papieska w Polsce w latach 1378-1431*, Kraków 2008, pp. 303-306.

¹⁸ Edited by: M.D. Kowalski, *Rationes Iacobini de Rubeis, collectoris in Regno Poloniae (1426-1434)*. *Rachunki Giacomina Rossiego, papieskiego kolektora generalnego w Polsce, z lat 1426-1434*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" XLIX (2011), pp. 61-96.

¹⁹ *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia...*, ed. A. Theiner, II, Romae 1861 (henceforth: Theiner), no. 224.

²⁰ ASV, Arm. XXXIII, vol. 24, f. 10r-12r.

²¹ *Una corrispondenza fra curiali della prima metà del quattrocento*, ed. A. Mercati, in: idem, *Dall'Archivio Vaticano*, Studi e testi, 157, Città del Vaticano 1951, pp. 47-63.

Throughout the 15th century the Polish collectorate covered the same territory as in the previous age²², even though towards the end of the 14th century the structure of the Polish Church greatly expanded. In the 15th century the Polish Church consisted of two ecclesiastical provinces. One of them was the old metropolis in Gniezno, established in the year 1000 and finally shaped in the first half of the 12th century. Apart from the Archbishopric in Gniezno it included six other dioceses: in Kraków, Poznań, Wrocław, Włocławek, Płock and Lubusz. In connection with the expansion of the Kingdom of Poland to the south-west, the Ruthenian territories, another church province was set up at the beginning of 1375. Its capital was Halicz (from 1412 Lviv) and within its jurisdiction were five bishoprics: in Przemyśl, Łuck (Vladimir) and in Chełm, and later they were joined by the dioceses in Kamieniec Podolski and Kiev²³. The overwhelming majority of the population in the area of the new metropolis were orthodox believers and the network of Roman-catholic churches there was exceptionally thin. After the Polish-Lithuanian union was signed and Lithuania was baptised the dioceses in Wilno (Vilnius) and Miedniki, which were incorporated in the Gniezno province²⁴, were established. The young Lithuanian bishoprics were relatively poor, and the network of parishes was only being established in their territories. Despite the expansion of the Church structure described above, the Polish collectorate still covered only the old part of the province of Gniezno. The authority of the collector spread across neither the province of Lviv nor the Lithuanian bishoprics. They did not arouse the interest of the Apostolic Camera as the local Church institutions were poorly endowed and no Peter's Pence was paid there²⁵. Thus the boundaries of the Polish collectorate did not match the boundaries of the Church metropolis, but there was an even bigger divergence as regarded the state borders. Behind the territory of the Kingdom of Poland was the Diocese of Wrocław (within the Kingdom of Bohemia), of Lubusz (in Brandenburg), almost half of the Diocese of Włocławek (the Archdeaconry of Pomerania was located within the Teutonic State till 1466).

22 Between 1337 and 1377 the Polish collectorate was connected to the Hungarian one. Here, of course, only the Polish collectorate is concerned, see: S. Szczur, *Annaty...*, pp. 121-128.

23 W. Abraham, *Powstanie organizacji Kościoła tacińskiego na Rusi*, I, Lwów 1904, pp. 296-299. Here I pass over the Bishopric of Moldova as it practically did not work.

24 J. Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu. Ustrój i uposażenie*, Poznań 1972; G. Błaszczak, *Diecezja żmudzka od XV do początku XVII wieku. Ustrój, Poznań 1993*, pp. 13-19.

25 A detailed discussion on the boundaries of the Polish collectorate in the 15th century see M.D. Kowalski, *Zasięg terytorialny jurysdykcji kolektorów polskich w XV wieku*, in: *Historia vero testis temporum. Księga jubileuszowa poświęcona Profesorowi Krzysztofowi Baczkowskiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, eds. J. Smołucha, A. Waśko, T. Graff, P.F. Nowakowski, Kraków 2008, pp. 295-306.

In the territories of the Duchies of Mazovia were: the Diocese of Płock and part of the Diocese of Poznań (the Archdeaconry of Czersk). Traditionally, the Polish collectorate included also the Diocese of Culm (Chełmno), which was situated within the Teutonic State and subordinated to the Archbishop of Riga. The reason why it was incorporated to the Polish collectorate was the fact the Chełmno Land had been under the authority of Polish dukes and the inhabitants of this territory paid Peter's Pence. Just because of the necessity of collecting this payment the province was subordinated to the Polish collectors, despite the protests of the Teutonic Knights²⁶. In 1457 an attempt was made to subordinate the Diocese of Wrocław to the Bohemian collectorate. Henry Roraw, the elect of Litomyśl and the collector in the Kingdom of Bohemia, received from the Pope the right to include also Silesia in his jurisdiction. This action was met with strong opposition from the Polish collector Nicholas Spicymir, strongly supported by the King, and the Pope withdrew his decision the following year. At the same time he admitted that the Bishopric of Wrocław had once been located in the Polish territory and had always been subordinated to the Polish collectorate²⁷. Besides, between 1434 and 1448 the authority of Polish collectors spread across Bohemia, but it was of no practical value as the clergy of the kingdom affected by the Hussitism did not pay taxes to the papacy²⁸.

Only in exceptional cases did the jurisdiction of the Polish collector go beyond the boundaries of the old part of the province of Gniezno. In 1450 the Pope entitled Nicholas Spicymir to collect payments on account of the jubilee year, which were made, among others, in cathedrals of Wilno and Lviv. Between 1451 and 1455 Nicholas V appointed him the collector for the territories of Lithuania and the province of Lviv. Interestingly, in 1457 Pope Callixtus III appointed a foreigner, Marinus of Fregeno, not Nicholas Spicymir, as the collector of the money for a crusade, to be collected in Lithuania and in the province of Lviv. Marinus held his office for more than twenty years²⁹.

Polish dioceses were not numerous, but they covered large territories. This fact was meaningful for the Camera. A small number of bishoprics translated

²⁶ J. Ptaśnik, *Denar świętego Piotra obrońcą jedności politycznej i kościelnej w Polsce*, "Rozprawy Wydziału Historyczno-Filozoficznego Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie" LI (1908), pp. 72-83.

²⁷ *Repertorium Germanicum. Verzeichnis der in den päpstlichen Registern und Kameralakten vorkommenden Personen, Kirchen und Orte des Deutschen Reiches, seiner Diözesen und Territorien vom Beginn des Schismas bis zur Reformation*, VII, ed. E. Pitz, Tübingen 1989, no. 976; BP VI, nos. 1245-1246; M.D. Kowalski, *Zasięg terytorialny...*, pp. 302-303.

²⁸ M.D. Kowalski, *Zasięg terytorialny...*, pp. 302-303.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 303-305.

into a small number of cathedral chapters. Thus in consequence there were few prelatures and cathedral canonries, whereas these particular benefices were most often subject to the papal reservations and paid annates. In the second half of the 15th century there were only 214 prebends of such kind in the Gniezno Church province³⁰. There was also a relatively insignificant number of collegiate chapters. Even though the parish network was dense, there were few cases when the Church offices were filled on the strength of the Pope's provisions.

In the 15th century, between 1417 and 1496, the office of the general collector was held by nine clergymen (in one case the office was held twice). As it was already mentioned, soon after his election Pope Martin V appointed the precentor of Wiślica Peter Wolfram as the collector to Poland. He was a Pole and professor of law at the University of Kraków, who came from a family of merchants. Between 1417 and 1425 he was a loyal papal collector. It seems that the nomination to be the next collector for an Italian, Giacomino Rossi (1426-1436), canon at the collegiate church of S. Maria di Castello in Genova, was an attempt to return to old practices when foreigners, not associated with the local clergy, had been sent to the collectorate. Rossi collected money for the Camera quite efficiently, but he was not accepted by his Polish milieu and therefore did not manage to assume any significant Church benefices in the Kingdom. Perhaps the reason for this was Giacomino's origins that, while noble, may have been too humble³¹. During the Basel schism the papal collectorate actually ceased to operate, as the Polish Church sympathised with the Council. Admittedly, Eugene IV appointed the collectors (Pietro Conti of Venice, 1439-1442 and Andrea de Palatio, 1442-1445), but they were not able to work as usual. Beginning from 1445 all the collectors were Polish, and the two of them held their office for over twenty years (Nicholas Spycymir of

³⁰ The number of prebends in particular cathedral chapters was the following: Wrocław – 45 prebends (7 prelatures + 38 canonries), Poznań – 45 (10+35), Kraków – 36 (6+30), Płock – 32 (9+23), Gniezno – 31 (7+24), Włocławek – 25 (7+ 18); A. Radziwiński, *Duchowieństwo kapituł katedralnych w Polsce XIV i XV w. na tle porównawczym*, Toruń 1995, pp. 61- 62, 78-80; P. Dembiński, *Poznańska kapituła katedralna schyłku wieków średnich*, Poznań 2012, pp. 21-43. Moreover, in the Chapter of Lubusz (Fürstenwalde) there were 23 prebends (6+17), but they were very poorly endowed, and there were exceptionally few cases when an annate was paid by their holders, see A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji lubuskiej w średniowieczu*, Studia kościelno-histeryczne, I, Lublin 1977, pp. 104-109. The Chapter of Chełmno was incorporated into the Teutonic Order, so its members did not receive papal provisions and did not pay annates, see A. Radziwiński, *Biskupstwa państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach XIII-XV wieku. Z dziejów organizacji kościelnej i duchowieństwa*, Toruń 1999, pp. 28-41.

³¹ M.D. Kowalski, *Rola prowizji papieskich w obsadzaniu prebend katedralnych za czasów Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego*, in: *Zbigniew Oleśnicki, książę Kościoła i mąż stanu*, eds. F. Kiryk, Z. Noga, Kraków 2006, pp. 187-189.

Krakow, 1437-1439 and 1449-1469 and Uriel of Górką, 1475-1496). Particularly interesting is the case of the latter one. He received his nomination to be the collector when he was holding one of the highest posts in the state, as at that time he was Chancellor of the Kingdom³². Four years later he became Bishop of Poznań (1479-1498), but despite this, he continued to be the collector almost until the end of his life³³. It was the first case in over one hundred and fifty years that a representative of the local episcopate became the collector. Insofar as for Uriel's predecessors the reason for becoming papal collectors was their drive for a Church career, in his case this motive may have been insignificant. Perhaps of some importance for him was the opportunity the new appointment offered to increase his influence on the Polish Church, and to extend it outside the boundaries of his own diocese.

Each of the collectors appointed from among the local clergy his collaborators known as sub-collectors. In Poland they were indispensable because of an annual collection of Peter's Pence in extensive dioceses. Nomination bulls recommended that there should be no more of them than one in each diocese³⁴. The extant accounts of the collectors let us precisely retrieve the list of sub-collectors in some periods. One can observe that Giacomino Rossi closely followed the papal recommendations, and in the diocese where he resided he even collected Peter's Pence in person³⁵. Due to the political situation in the Diocese of Włocławek, the sub-collector worked in the Polish part of the bishopric, while the Teutonic part (the Archdeaconry of Pomerania) was subordinate to the collector in the neighbouring Diocese of Culm (Chełmno). In all probability other general collectors also had one deputy each in every diocese. During the tenure of Uriel of Górką the situation looked completely different. Although at that time Peter's Pence was the only payment made within the collectorate, Uriel had two sub-collectors in the Diocese of Poznań, and as many as three in the Archdiocese of Gniezno³⁶. The sub-collector of the small Diocese of Lubusz appears in none of the sources. This diocese was probably served by the collector from Wrocław, especially that the annates from the Diocese of Lubusz were very rarely paid. This bishopric had very few well-endowed benefices. Even the canonries of the cathedral were so poor that they were exempted from the duty of annates³⁷.

32 Uriel of Górką was Chancellor of the Kingdom between 1473 and 1479, see *Urządnicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, eds. K. Chłapowski, S. Ciara, Ł. Kądziała, T. Nowakowski, E. Opaliński, G. Rutkowska, T. Zielińska, Kórnik 1992, p. 53, no. 200.

33 *Wielkopolski Słownik Biograficzny*, Warszawa-Poznań 1981, pp. 222-223.

34 See e.g. ASV, Reg. Vat., vol. 383, f. 32r-33r.

35 See M.D. Kowalski, *Rationes...*, pp. 72, 82-84.

36 See e.g. Theiner, II, no. 224, pp. 189-190 and next.

37 A. Weiss, *Organizacja diecezji...*, pp. 103-109.

In most cases the collected money was transferred by the collectors to Rome without cash, by bills of exchange. For this purpose they used the services of societies of bankers and merchants. It happened only once that Giacomino Rossi attempted to send cash to Italy, but near Nuremberg his courier was attacked and robbed of the money³⁸. It was Peter Wolfram who stood out against other collectors. Based on the merchant experience of his family, he did not use the agency of bankers, but he was personally engaged in transferring the collected sums, from which he charged a typical margin of 10 per cent³⁹.

Obviously, from the point of view of the Apostolic Camera, the most important was the height of the income that could be reached from the Polish collectorate. After the reforms of the Council of Constance the collector in Poland, like in other countries, collected only annates, the fees for incorporated benefices (which were derivatives of annates), and sporadically the so called *fructus male percepti*⁴⁰. In Poland there was also Peter's Pence and sometimes donations on the occasion of indulgences. It is not known whether a Polish monastery ever paid the so called *census*.

As it has been mentioned above, in the 15th century an increasing number of clergymen paid annates directly to the Curia. The first such payments from the Polish clergy did not take place until 10 June 1424⁴¹, and for the next two years there were still few of them. Apparently, for the first few years after the Council everybody paid their annates the old way, to the collector, yet from the middle of 1426 the number of those paying without the agency of the collector began to grow systematically⁴². The registers of the Apostolic Camera and the accounts of the collector Giacomino Rossi show us that between 1426 and 1433 almost half of the Polish clergymen paid their annates to the Camera, and a slightly bigger number paid to the collector. At the same time one can notice that the collector mainly received "overdue" payments, those whose due date had expired a few years before. On the other hand, from among the annates paid on time the most of them were directly received by the Apostolic Camera, usually on the occasion of issuing the provision bull⁴³. The number of

38 M.D. Kowalski, *Rationes...*, p. 89.

39 S. Szczur, *Skarbowość papieska...*, pp. 273-274.

40 The Apostolic Camera took over the revenues from the benefices held illegally, i.e. without a sufficient legal title, see W. Lunt, *Papal Revenues...*, I, pp. 101-102.

41 *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas Illustrantia*, VII, ed. J. Eršil, Prague 1996-2001, nos. 1214, 1215.

42 M.D. Kowalski, *Proventus...*, p. 135.

43 Between 1426 and 1433 41 persons paid their annates directly to the Camera, while 64 – to the collector, but only 12 of the latter paid their obligation on time. The remaining sum was made of a few-year overdue annates and provisions, see M.D. Kowalski, *Proventus...*, pp. 154-155.

payers of annates in the collectorate slumped in the mid-15th century, which was a natural consequence of accepting during the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-1455) the rule that payments were to be made directly to the Camera, before the collection of the provision bull. Payments within the collectorate at that time were made only by few clergymen who were exempted from the duty to make an immediate payment to the Curia (in most cases of account of an ongoing litigation over a benefice) and who still managed to assume the disputed prebend. Their number was, however, tiny. The accounts of Uriel of Górká show that in a ten-year period (1476-1485) he only received seven payments by way of annates⁴⁴. Almost all the other, remaining receipts of the collector came from Peter's Pence. In this way the local collector primarily exerted pressure on those clergymen who would like to avoid paying annates to the Curia hoping that no one in the country would demand the payment. Such a role of the collector was quite significant, as the number of those who received bulls of provision without a prompt payment grew systematically. During the pontificate of Sixtus IV they numbered half of all the recipients of papal provisions⁴⁵.

A tax derivative of annates was the payment for the benefices incorporated into other Church institutions. In Poland they were usually the parishes included in the endowments of monasteries. Unlike the classic annates, defined as *medii fructus primi anni*, or simply *medii fructus*, the payment for an incorporation was described in sources as *integra annata*. It was made in the amount equal to the whole annual income from a benefice, so a double annate. Payments of this kind finally formed the so called quindennia⁴⁶. Between 1426 and 1433 the collector Giacomino Rossi received 10 payments for the incorporation. However, one should remember that this payment cannot be regarded as a separate kind of tax from the clergy as *integra annata* was only paid on one occasion – when a benefice was incorporated, which naturally happened incidentally, and it was *de facto* a sort of an annate.

Thanks to the accounts made by Rossi it is known what part of the income of the collectorate were the receipts from annates in the first half of the 15th century. During an eight year period of his activity, Giacomino collected for this purpose approximately 1900 florins, which amounts to as little as around 238 florins per year. This was only 17 per cent of all the revenues of the collectorate, while the remaining funds came from Peter's Pence. As it has

⁴⁴ Theiner, II, no. 224, p. 195.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Annatae e Regno Poloniae saeculi XV (1421-1503)*, ed. M.D. Kowalski, in: *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana X*, Cracoviae 2002, nos. 711-878.

⁴⁶ Quindennia were a payment for an incorporated benefice, paid every 15 years, which amounted to half of a yearly income. This was a kind of 'annate' paid to the papacy every 15 years, see M.D. Kowalski, *Proventus...*, pp. 157-159.

been mentioned, in the second half of the century the receipts from annates paid within the collectorate fell to almost zero.

One of the financial duties to the papacy typical of Poland was the so called Peter's Pence. In the 15th century it was paid in the form of a fixed payment at a flat rate from parish priests⁴⁷. The amount collected on a yearly basis should have remained mostly the same⁴⁸. In practice the collector was not always able to raise the whole sum of money. In extraordinary situations (e.g. in case of war damage) parishes could not pay their Peter's Pence. Although the payment was not high, the total sum that came from all parishes brought quite a big yearly income. The accounts of Giacomino Rossi show that the collector received in 1427, i.e. at the beginning of his term of office, 1651 florins as this payment, but in the following years the sums were increasingly smaller until 1433, when the sum was 890 florins. The reason was a decrease in the revenues of the Diocese of Wrocław, which had suffered damage following the invasions of the Hussites. In later years Peter's Pence revenues never returned to their original amount, and between 1476 and 1485 Uriel of Górka collected approximately 1036 florins yearly⁴⁹. In the 15th century it happened sporadically that the Pope transferred the money from Peter's Pence to the Polish king. For the first time such a situation occurred in 1444, when the monarch asked for Peter's Pence to be conveyed to him in connection with the war against Turkey⁵⁰.

According to the information included in cameral sources, between 1417 and 1484 the Polish collectors transferred the total sum of more than 37300 florins to the papal treasury⁵¹. This does not mean that such amount was collected by them. This sum should be increased by the fees charged by banks for the transfer of money to Rome, which in the first half of the 15th century amounted to 10 per cent, and in the second half – 8 per cent of the sums sent there. This was accompanied by the remuneration of the collectors, which was customarily one florin a day. During the whole above mentioned period the salaries of the papal collectors amounted to more than 20,000 florins. Finally, the collector could also have other, extraordinary expenses, which he included

47 T. Gromnicki, *Świętopietrze w Polsce*, pp. 67-71.

48 In justified cases it was possible to change the amount of the payment which was due from a parish, but it happened rarely, see K. Nabiałek, *Akta procesu o wymiar świętopietrza w parafii Książnice Wielkie w diecezji krakowskiej z 1491 roku (Biblioteka Jagiellońska, rękopis 1815), "Roczniki Historyczne" LXXV (2009), pp. 123-150.*

49 The sums of Peter's Pence are given above on the basis of the accounts made by both collectors, see M.D. Kowalski, *Proventus...*, pp. 161-162.

50 T. Gromnicki, *Świętopietrze w Polsce*, p. 166.

51 This amount, apart from the money sent to Rome, includes a few hundred florins transferred on the orders of the Camera to the Pope's envoys staying in Poland. The biggest sum was received in 1448 by legate Battista Enrici da Roma, Bishop of Camerino, see ASV, Arm. XXXIII, vol. 24, f. 10r-12r.

in the accounts as long as they were accepted by cameral officials. It is worth mentioning that this 37000 florins made approximately 29 per cent of all revenues of the Holy See from the clergy of the Polish Church province. The remaining 71 per cent came from the services and annates paid directly to the Curia⁵². As it can be observed, the revenues of the Apostolic Camera from the Polish collectorate were not high and they even decreased over the years. The reason were dropping incomes from Peter's Pence and the disappearance of annates. During the pontificate of Martin V (1417-1431) the collectors sent to Rome on average more than 900 florins a year. During Sixtus IV (1471-1484) it was only more than 450 florins. An interesting phenomenon can be observed when Uriel of Górká was the collector. Between 1476 and 1484 he sent to the Camera on average 430 florins a year⁵³. It was only in 1485, just before he presented the accounts of his ten year activity to the Camera, that he paid in 2400 florins, which was a huge amount exceeding more than twice a yearly income from Peter's Pence. This action raised the average amount of money, conveyed to the Camera between 1476 and 1485, to approximately 630 florins a year. Such a big single payment made just before the accounts with the Camera were settled down arouses suspicion that the collector usually kept due cash, which he could deal in, thus giving himself an illegal loan from the papal treasury⁵⁴.

The above mentioned accounts of both collectors also show how high were the costs of running the collectorate. In 8 years Giacomino Rossi collected 10,912 florins. His remuneration took 2920 florins, the costs of bank transfers amounted to 802 florins, and other expenses – 88 florins⁵⁵. In total it amounted to 34 per cent of the whole revenue. In 10 years Uriel of Górká collected 10,726 florins (including 1200 florins from indulgences and 481 from annates), of which he had taken 3640 florins as his remuneration. Taking into consideration 8 per cent of the total sum as the cost of transferring money to Rome, it turns out that the activity of Uriel cost as much as more than 39 per cent of the sums collected⁵⁶.

One has to remember that in reality the cost of running the collectorate may have been even higher, because of ineptitude or negligence of the collectors. It is worth noticing that the sums collected by Rossi as annates (1900 florins) were not enough even to cover his remuneration. It explicitly

⁵² For detailed calculations, including source documentation, see M.D. Kowalski, *Proventus...*, pp. 206-210.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 208, no. 28.

⁵⁴ Theiner, II, no. 224, p. 200.

⁵⁵ M.D. Kowalski, *Rationes...*, p. 91.

⁵⁶ Theiner, II, no. 224, p. 200. The calculations made by the clerks of the Camera on this page, regarding the sums collected and spent by Uriel, include numerous mistakes, yet they are of no significant importance for our attempt to assess the balance of the collectorate.

shows that the Polish collectorate already in the first half of the 15th century was profitable thanks to Peter's Pence only.

It is a very difficult task to assess whether the late medieval Polish collectorate was typical when compared with other collectorates in Europe, yet in my opinion one should not be too hasty in calling it "peripheral". It worked according to the same general rules like all the others, though it had its unique features as well. The comparison of the revenues transferred to the Apostolic Camera by collectors from different European countries (regions) reveals quite a surprising phenomenon. The receipts from the Polish collectorate amounted to as much as those from far richer countries, such as France, Italy or Germany⁵⁷. It is not until further research carried out on papal collectorates in other parts of Europe that such comparisons will be possible.

translated by Robert Bubczyk

ABSTRACT

During the Council of Constance most financial dues paid by the clergy to the Holy See were abolished with only two essential payments, namely the services and annates, sustained. At the same time, however, the old system of papal collectorates (tax districts) was preserved. Papal collectors were supposed to collect only part of the annates (those which were not paid directly to the Apostolic Camera) and in some countries – including Poland – also Peter's Pence. The Polish collectorate operated according to the same principles as all others in Europe, though it had its own distinct features. The territory of the collectorate spread across only part of the province of Gniezno, its old and affluent dioceses. It did not expand into the new bishoprics which were established towards the end of the 14th century in eastern parts of the monarchy (the province of Lviv, the Lithuanian dioceses), because the local benefices were rare, poor, and Peter's Pence was not paid there. A significant part of the collectorate stretched outside the borders of the Kingdom of Poland. After the reforms made in Constance the collectorate in Poland collected annates and Peter's Pence, and sporadically donations for indulgences, *fructus male percepti*, and payments from incorporated benefices. In the second quarter of the 15th century almost half of the clergy paid their annates directly to the Camera, and the remaining others paid them in the country. The proceeds from annates were at that time only 17 per cent of the sums collected in the collectorate (on average approximately 238 florins per year), and as of the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-1455) they fell almost to zero, as from that time onwards annates were paid directly to the Curia. The remaining revenues came from Peter's Pence. In the second half of the 15th century this brought approximately 1000 florins per year. In sum, between 1417-1484 the Polish collectors transferred to the papal treasury more than 37,000 florins. The sums they collected were significantly bigger, but the operational costs of the collectorate ate up almost 40 per cent of the receipts. In the 15th century the Polish collectorate generated income only thanks to regular payments made in the form of Peter's Pence, and it brought the papacy the proceeds similar to most affluent French or German collectorates. Much more income was received by the Holy See from the services of Polish bishops, but they were always paid directly to the Curia, not to the collector.

57 Ch. Schuchard, *Die päpstlichen Kollektoren im späten Mittelalter*, Tübingen 2000, p. 137.

IV. IN MEMORIAM

FRAU PROFESSOR ZOFIA HILCZER-KURNATOWSKA (1932-2013)

EIN VERSUCH RESÜMIERENDER DARSTELLUNG IHRES
WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN SCHAFFENS



Am 11. August 2013 verstarb in Posen (Poznań) nach kurzer schwerer Krankheit Frau Professor Dr. hab. Zofia Kurnatowska, geborene Hilczer, die langjährige und verdiente Mitarbeiterin des Instituts für Archäologie und Ethnologie der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (PAN), seit 1966 Ehefrau des Archäologen Stanisław Kurnatowski. An den Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten, die auf dem Posener Junikowski-Friedhof am 19. August stattfanden, nahmen neben den nächsten Familienmitgliedern auch zahlreich versammelte Freunde, Bekannte und Mitarbeiter teil, vor

allem Repräsentanten des Milieus polnischer Archäologen und Historiker (u.a. Vertreter der Direktion und des Präsidiums des Wissenschaftlichen Rates des Instituts für Archäologie und Ethnologie der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften) wie auch Vertreter der Benediktinerabtei in Lubiń bei Kościan, wo die Eheleute Zofia und Stanisław Kurnatowski mehrere Jahre lang ihre Ausgrabungen führten, sowie Vertreter der Posener Metropolitankurie unter der Leitung Seiner Exzellenz Erzbischof Stanisław Gądecki, der die feierlichen Exequien verrichtete. Auf dem letzten Weg begleitete man nicht nur eine berühmte Gelehrte, wahre Autorität im Bereich der Archäologie des frühen europäischen Mittelalters sowie der Ursprünge der polnischen Kirche, ein Mitglied polnischer und ausländischer wissenschaftlicher Gremien, eine sich für das Organisieren der polnischen Archäologie eifrig einsetzende Forscherin, sondern auch eine charismatische Pädagogin und

Erzieherin mehrerer Generationen polnischer Archäologen. 2012 feierte Zofia Kurnatowska ihren 80. Geburtstag. Die *Fata* wollten es, dass das Todesjahr mit dem 60. Jubiläum der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit Professor Kurnatowska's zusammenfiel (1953 erschien im 9. Band des „Przegląd Archeologiczny“ die erste Abhandlung Zofia Kurnatowska's, damals Zofia Hilczer, unter dem Titel *Przyczynki do handlu Polski z Rusią Kijowską* [Beiträge zur Geschichte der Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Polen und der Kiewer Rus], S. 8-23). Das Jubiläum sollte in Dezember 2013 gefeiert werden. Bedauerlicherweise konnte die Jubilarin diesen feierlichen Tag nicht miterleben. Die angesichts des Jubiläums geplante Publikation sollte bereits als zweite Festschrift veröffentlicht werden: Im Jahre 1998 ehrte die wissenschaftliche Gemeinschaft Frau Professor Zofia Kurnatowska mit einer Festschrift *Kraje słowiańskie w wiekach średnich. Profanum i sacrum* [Slawische Länder im Mittelalter. Profanum und Sacrum] (hrsg. von H. Kóčka-Krenz, W. Łosiński, Poznań 1998) angesichts des 45. Jubiläums ihres wissenschaftlichen Schaffens.

Zofia Kurnatowska wurde am 9. Juni 1932 in Posen geboren. Ihr Vater Juliusz war Chemieingenieur, ihre Mutter – Janina geborene Chomicka – Pharmazeutin. Ausgenommen die Jahre 1939-1946, die sie gemeinsam mit ihrer Mutter bei ihren nächsten Verwandten in Lemberg (Lwów) verbrachten, wo sie bereits Ende August 1939 angesichts der sich nähernden Gefahr des deutsch-polnischen Kriegs ihre Zuflucht fanden, blieb Zofia Kurnatowska der Stadt Posen bis zu ihrem Lebensende treu. Lemberg, der Heimatstadt ihrer Eltern, schenkte sie aber herzliche, sogar sentimentale Zuneigung, und dies trotz der Grausamkeit der Besatzung der Stadt durch das Dritte Reich und die Sowjetunion. Nach Posen kehrte sie 1946. Nach dem Abiturabschluss im elitären Posener Lyzeum der Ursuliner begann sie in 1949 das Direktstudium im Bereich Frühgeschichte an der Posener Universität. Bei der Wahl ihres Studiums spielten die Freunde der Familie eine bedeutende Rolle: Die aus Lemberg stammenden berühmten Mediävisten Prof. Dr. hab. Zygmunt Wojciechowski und seine Ehefrau Doz. Dr. Maria Wojciechowska, Mitbegründer des Instytut Zachodni (Westinstitut) in Posen, das zu jener Zeit als wichtiges Diskussionsforum für allerart Probleme im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung und Gestaltung frühmittelalterlicher Staaten in Mitteleuropa, vor allem in Hinsicht auf Slawen, galt. Zofia Kurnatowska, damals Hilczer, hatte die Gelegenheit, die wissenschaftlichen Aktivitäten der genannten Gelehrten aus direkter Nähe zu beobachten und es trug bedeutend zur Vertiefung ihrer Interessen an der Geschichte und Archäologie Polens der Piasten bei. Der Zeitpunkt des beginnenden Studiums Kurnatowska's fiel mit einem anderen wichtigen Zeitpunkt zusammen: Die polnischen Archäologen und Historiker leiteten ein multidisziplinäres wissenschaftliches Forschungsprojekt im Bereich des frühen Mittelalters an, ge-

plant für die Jahre 1948/1949 - 1965/1970 angesichts der Feierlichkeiten zum Millennium des Polnischen Staates. Mit dieser Initiative traten die Professoren der Posener Universität auf und zwar der Archäologe Witold Hensel und der Historiker Kazimierz Tymieniecki. Es handelte sich dabei nicht nur um ein in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht wichtiges, sondern auch um ein gesellschaftlich akzeptables Projekt, das – und es war nicht zu überschätzen – durch die damalige kommunistische Behörde unterstützt war und trotzdem auf Wohlwollen der katholischen Kirche stieß, die 1966 das Millennium der Taufe Polens feierte. Die Gelegenheit, an der groß angelegten und in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht wichtigen archäologischen Erforschung von Burgresten und Siedlungen aus der Zeit der ersten Piasten, das heißt aus der Prachtzeit Polens, teilzunehmen, galt für die damaligen Studierenden der Archäologie (Urgeschichte), die zur Generation des Zweiten Weltkrieges gehörten, als Gegenmittel sowohl gegen die Grausamkeit der Zeit der Besatzung als auch der Zeit des stalinistischen Terrors in Polen (1944/1949-1956) wie auch gegen die doktrinäre Regierung Władysław Gomułkas (1956-1970). Für Zofia Kurnatowska war auch die Tatsache wichtig, dass – im Gegenteil zu anderen gesellschaftlichen und historischen Disziplinen – das Archäologiestudium an der Posener Universität 1949 immer noch keine nach den Grundsätzen der „stalinistischen“ Wissenschaft durchgesetzte Reform erlebte. Als Leiter des Lehrstuhls für Archäologie war nämlich der hervorragende, auf der internationalen Ebene hoch anerkannte Frühhistoriker Prof. Dr. hab. Józef Kostrzewski tätig, Entdecker der der Lausitzer Kultur zugeschriebenen Wehrsiedlung in Biskupin und zugleich Wegbereiter der Archäologie des Mittelalters in Polen, der offiziell die marxistische Weltanschauung nicht teilte. Erst 1951 wurde er kraft der Entscheidung der kommunistischen Behörde von der Liste der berufstätigen Professoren der Posener Universität gestrichen. Weiterhin bekleidete er jedoch das Amt des Leiters des Archäologischen Museums in Posen, was für den Bildungsprozess der jungen archäologischen Kader ein außerordentlich günstiger Umstand war, und dies angesichts dessen, dass die enge wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit zwischen dem Lehrstuhl für Archäologie der Posener Universität und dem Museum weiter aufrechterhalten wurde.

Den Studienabschluss leistete Zofia Kurnatowska 1953. Nachdem sie ihre Diplomarbeit im Lehrstuhl für Polnische und Weltarchäologie an der Posener Universität über Typologie, Chronologie und Periodisierung von frühmittelalterlichen Sporen aus dem 10.-13. Jahrhundert, gefunden auf polnischen Gebieten, (Tutor: Prof. Witold Hensel) verteidigt hatte, wurde ihr der Titel Magister der Philosophie im Bereich Anthropologie, Ethnologie samt Ethnografie und Urgeschichte verliehen. Unter der wissenschaftlichen Leitung von Herrn Prof. Józef Kostrzewski wie auch dessen Schüler Herrn

Prof. Witold Hensel, der 1951 die Leitung über den Lehrstuhl für Archäologie der Posener Universität übernahm, erhielt Zofia Kurnatowska allseitige berufliche Ausbildung, und dies sowohl in Hinsicht auf ausgezeichnete Kenntnis der Berufswerkstatt eines Archäologen im Bereich Geländeforschung als auch der analytischen und synthetisierenden Studien. Während ihres Universitätsstudiums eignete sich Zofia Kurnatowska noch ein weiteres, für einen Wissenschaftler äußerst wichtiges Prinzip an. Es war die Notwendigkeit, die Relation „Meister – Schüler“ als übergeordnete Form der Überweisung des Wissens und der Forschungserfahrung an die jungen Archäologen zu gestalten.

Im Jahre 1951, noch bevor sie ihren Studienabschluss geleistet hatte, wurde Zofia Kurnatowska bei der oben erwähnten wissenschaftlich-didaktischen Einrichtung als stellvertretende Assistentin beschäftigt (nach 1953 wurde der Name der Einrichtung durch den Namen Gesamtlehrstuhl für Geschichte der Materiellen Kultur der Posener Universität ersetzt, wobei die Universität selbst seit 1955 den offiziellen Namen Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität zu führen begann). Im Jahre 1961 verzichtete Zofia Kurnatowska auf Universitätskarriere und wechselte – ihrem Meister Prof. Witold Hensel folgend – zum Institut für Geschichte der Materiellen Kultur der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (jetzt Institut für Archäologie und Ethnologie der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), wo sie, dem Profil der Einrichtung gemäß, bis zu ihrer Emeritierung 2002 vornehmlich wissenschaftliche und Forschungstätigkeit führte. Im beruflichen Leben Zofia Kurnatowska's war jene Arbeitsperiode höchst kreativ. Im Jahre 1964 wurde Kurnatowska im Institut für Geschichte der Materiellen Kultur der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften aufgrund der Dissertation *Dorzecze górnej i środkowej Obry od VI do początków XI wieku [Einzugsgebiet der Oberen und Mittleren Obra vom 6. bis zu den Anfängen des 11. Jahrhunderts]* (Tutor: Witold Hensel) promoviert. Eben dort wurde sie 1970 habilitiert, und zwar aufgrund der unveröffentlichten wissenschaftlichen Abhandlung *Początki wczesnego średniowiecza w Polsce zachodniej [Die Anfänge des frühen Mittelalters in Westpolen]*. Zum Schluss – als Dozentin im Institut für Geschichte der Materiellen Kultur der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften – wurde ihr 1982 der wissenschaftliche Titel des außerordentlichen und zehn Jahre später des ordentlichen Professors verliehen.

Die wissenschaftlichen Interessen Zofia Kurnatowska's fanden ihre Widerspiegelung in mehr als 620 wissenschaftlichen Publikationen im Bereich der mittelalterlichen Archäologie. Die meisten hiervon beziehen sich auf drei Hauptthemen, die Zofia Kurnatowska mit unterschiedlicher Stärke bis zum Ende 2012, und dies hauptsächlich seit ihrer Beschäftigung im Institut für Geschichte der Materiellen Kultur der Polnischen Akademie der Wis-

senschaften analysierte. Das erste Forschungsthema umfasst die komplexe Problematik allerart gesellschaftlich-kultureller und Siedlungsumwandlungen auf polnischen Gebieten im Frühmittelalter, mit besonderer Beachtung der Gebiete Großpolens und Aspekte der ältesten slawischen Kultur. Das zweite bezieht sich auf Probleme der Entstehung und Entwicklung des Piastenstaates sowie der Anfänge der hiesigen Kirchenorganisation. Der dritte Problemkreis, der eng mit der Teilnahme Zofia Kurnatowska's an der Erforschung der Ausgrabungsfunde auf Gebieten der frühmittelalterlichen Burganlagen in Styrmern und Odercy in Bulgarien (1960-1972) wie auch mit ihren Stipendienaufenthalten in Bulgarien (1964) und Rumänien (1965) verbunden ist, umfasst Fragen, die im Zusammenhang mit archäologischen Problemen der südlichen Slawengebiete im frühen Mittelalter stehen, vor allem im Lichte der ethnokulturellen und sozialwirtschaftlichen Umwandlungen. Der eben genannten Problematik widmete man sowohl quellenurkundliche, analytische und synthetisierende Beiträge, als auch problembezogene Monographien, Quellenkataloge sowie mehrere auf in- und ausländischen (u.a. Internationaler Kongress Slawischer Archäologie) Symposien gehaltenen Referate wie auch die für „Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich“ [„Wörterbuch der Slawischen Altertümlichkeiten“] sowie für „Enzyklopedie zur Frühgeschichte Europas“ verfassten enzyklopädischen Stichwörter (die letztere Publikation wurde nicht veröffentlicht; Zofia Kurnatowska beteiligte sich an diesem Vorhaben als Redaktionsmitglied)¹.

Die Archäologie hat Zofia Kurnatowska mindestens drei Monographien zu verdanken: *Ostrogi polskie z X-XIII wieku* [*Polnische Sporen aus 10.-13. Jahrhundert*] (Poznań 1956), *Dorzecze górnej i środkowej Obry od VI do początków XI wieku* [*Einzugsgebiet der Oberen und Mittleren Obra vom 6. bis zu den Anfängen des 11. Jahrhunderts*] (Wrocław 1967), *Słowiańszczyzna Południowa* [*Süd-slawische Gebiete*] (Wrocław 1977). Die wissenschaftlichen Vorteile dieser Publikationen ließen die Autorin zur Gelehrten nach europäischen Standards werden. Es ist darauf zu verweisen, – so der Studienkollege Zofia

1 Bibliographie Zofia Hilczer-Kurnatowska's für die Jahre 1953-1997, zusammengestellt von A. Łosińska, siehe *Kraje słowiańskie w wiekach średnich. Profanum i sacrum*, hrsg. von H. Kóćka-Krenz, W. Łosiński, Poznań 1998, S. 15-28; Bibliographie Zofia Hilczer-Kurnatowska's für die Jahre 1998-2011, zusammengestellt von K. Zamelska-Monczak, siehe „*Archeologia Polski*“, LVIII (2013) 1-2, S. 13-21. Das Verzeichnis soll um folgende Publikationen ergänzt werden: Z. Kurnatowska, *Wielkopolska była niezwykle chłonnym obszarem*, in: *Po drogach uczonych. Z członkami Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności rozmawia Andrzej M. Kobos*, IV, Kraków 2009, S. 255-285; Z. Kurnatowska, S. Kurnatowski, *Parę uwag o odkrywaniu rzeczywistości kulturowej poprzez źródła archeologiczne*, in: *Historia Narrat. Studia mediewistyczne ofiarowane Profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi*, hrsg. von A. Pleszczyński, J. Sobiesiak, M. Tomaszek, P. Tyszcza, Lublin 2012, S. 21-64; Z. Kurnatowska, *Okoliczności polityczne i ogólnokulturowe utworzenia opactwa Benedyktynów w Lubiniu*, „*Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses*“, XLIX (2013), S. 39-54.

Kurnatowska's, der hervorragende Kenner der Archäologie der frühslawischen Gebiete Prof. Dr. hab. Lech Leciejewicz (+) – dass die 1977 vom wissenschaftlichen Sekretär der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften mit dem Joachim-Lelewel-Preis ausgezeichnete Monographie über die südslawischen Gebiete zu den am häufigsten zitierten Studien zur Frage der Kultur der frühmittelalterlichen Slawen zwischen Karpaten und dem Ägäischen Meer gehört. Die Abhandlung über die Sporen aus dem 10.-13. Jahrhundert sowie das archäologische Studium zur Frage der sich im Bereich der frühmittelalterlichen Ansiedelung im Einzugsgebiet der Obra vorziehenden Umwandlungen (das Ergebnis u.a. der Grabungsuntersuchungen der Autorin in den frühmittelalterlichen Burganlagen in Daleszyn bei Gostyń im Jahre 1955 und in Bonikowo bei Kościan in den Jahren 1951-1959, im letzteren Fall im Rahmen einer Zusammenarbeit mit Zofia Hołowińska) gehören zu den Publikationen, auf die sich nicht nur die an Waffenkunde beziehungsweise Ansiedlungsstudien interessierten Forscher berufen.

Es ist auch daran zu erinnern, dass Zofia Kurnatowska Mitautorin (ab dem 4. Band) der seit 1950 herausgegebenen monumentalen Verlagsreihe *Studia i materiały do osadnictwa Wielkopolski wczesnohistorycznej* [Studien und Materialien zur Siedlungskunde frühgeschichtlichen Großpolens] war. Es handelt sich hierbei um ein seinem Charakter nach außerordentliches Quellenwerk, das Großpolen zu einer der im Bereich der Archäologie des frühen Mittelalters bestens aufgeklärten Regionen im Einzugsgebiet der Oder und der Weichsel werden lässt. Zu Beginn wurde die oben genannte Verlagsreihe von Witold Hensel, seit 1972 gemeinsam mit Zofia Kurnatowska, vorbereitet. Der 7. Band, der zugleich die Gesamtausgabe abschließt, wurde unter Teilnahme von Mag. Alina Łosińska bearbeitet, einer für die Archäologie frühmittelalterlichen Großpolens und Westpommerns hoch verdienten Gelehrten. Es ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass die komplexe Analyse der in den aufeinander folgenden Bänden der *Studien und Materialien* enthaltenen Quelleninformationen in der letzten Dekade zur Entstehung mehrerer synthetisierender Darstellungen im Bereich der Ursprünge des polnischen Staates führte, zu deren Autoren u.a. Zofia Kurnatowska gehörte (z.B. *Początki Polski* [Ursprünge Polens], Poznań 2002; *Początki i rozwój państwa* [Ursprünge und Entwicklung des Staates], in: *Pradzieje Wielkopolski. Od epoki kamienia do średniowiecza* [Urgeschichte Großpolens. Von der Steinzeit bis zum Mittelalter], hrsg. von M. Kobusiewicz, Poznań 2008, S. 297-395). Die angeführten Abhandlungen sind – nach allgemeiner Meinung des wissenschaftlichen Milieus – von grundlegender Bedeutung für diesen Problemkreis.

Die hohe Rangstellung im wissenschaftlichen Milieu verdankte Zofia Kurnatowska nicht nur ihrem hervorragenden wissenschaftlichen Werk, sondern auch ihrer aktiven Beteiligung an der Redigierung polnischer Fach-

zeitschriften von inländischem und internationalem Ausmaß. So war sie seit 1989/1990 als Redakteur (früher als langjähriger Redaktionssekretär) der „Slavia Antiqua“ tätig, eines der wichtigsten multidisziplinären Periodika, die den Fragen der so genannten slawischen Antike gewidmet war und seit 1948 ununterbrochen in Posen herausgegeben wurde. Bis 2009 redigierte sie auch die „Wielkopolskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne“ – eine Publikation des Wissenschaftlichen Verbandes Polnischer Archäologen (Abteilung Posen), die u.a. aus ihrer Initiative siebzehn Jahre früher ins Leben gerufen wurde. Sie war auch Redakteur der Zeitschrift „Studia Lednickie“ sowie der ausgewählten Bände der „Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich“ – der durch das Museum der ersten Piasten zu Lednica herausgegebenen Publikation, wo Ergebnisse multidisziplinärer Erforschung der Piasten-Burg auf der Insel Ostrów Lednicki wie auch deren kulturellen und Naturumgebung präsentiert wurden.

Professor Zofia Kurnatowska redigierte auch zahlreiche monographische und Reihenstudien: Die wichtigsten hiervon präsentierten Ergebnisse der von ihr organisierten drei (darunter zwei internationalen) wissenschaftlichen Konferenzen: „Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Polsce“ [„Stand und Bedürfnisse der Forschung zum Frühmittelalter in Polen“] (Poznań 1987), „Opactwo Benedyktynów w Lubiniu. Pierwsze wieki istnienia“ [„Benediktinerabtei Lubin. Die ersten Jahrhunderte ihrer Geschichte“] (Lubin 1995), „Tropami Świętego Wojciecha“ [„Auf den Spuren des heiligen Adalbertus“] (Poznań-Gniezno 1997). Von Seiten Polens (anfangs gemeinsam mit Prof. Aleksander Gieysztor, dessen Mitwirkung an dem Projekt der unerwartete Tod unterbrach) organisierte Zofia Kurnatowska die internationale Ausstellung „Europas Mitte um 1000“ (2000-2002). Ihre Teilnahme an diesem prestigeträchtigen Projekt als Koordinatorin der polnischen Organisatoren der Ausstellung, die in Budapest (2000), Berlin und Mannheim (2001), Prag und Bratislava (2002) präsentiert wurde, soll als Folge der positiven Beurteilung allerart Aktivitäten Professor Zofia Kurnatowska's durch die internationale Gemeinschaft der Mediävisten verstanden werden, und dies nicht nur im Bereich wissenschaftlicher Forschung, sondern auch auf dem Gebiet der Organisation der Wissenschaft.

Es ist somit zu beachten, dass der Wissenschaftliche Verband Polnischer Archäologen eben aus der Initiative Professor Zofia Kurnatowska's gegründet wurde und sie war dessen erste Vorsitzende (1989-1998). Für ihre hervorragenden wissenschaftlichen und organisatorischen Verdienste wurde Zofia Kurnatowska die Ehrenmitgliedschaft dieser Körperschaft verliehen und für ihre Gesamtleistung im Bereich der Archäologie wurde sie 1993 mit dem durch diesen Verband verliehenen Józef-Kostrzewski-Preis ausgezeichnet. In den Jahren 1993-1995 war sie als Vorsitzende des Wissenschaftlichen Ra-

tes des Instituts für Archäologie und Ethnologie der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften tätig. Während der laufenden Amtszeit des Rates (2011-2014) war sie dessen Mitglied. Zofia Kurnatowska beteiligte sich auch an Aktivitäten des Komitees für prä- und protohistorische Wissenschaften der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, der Archäologischen Kommission der Posener Abteilung der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften sowie an der Posener Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wissenschaften (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk [PTPN]), wo sie mehrere Jahre das Amt der Vorsitzenden der Archäologischen Kommission bekleidete. In den Jahren 1976-2002 leitete Zofia Kurnatowska die Frühmittelalterliche Abteilung der Lehranstalt für Archäologie Großpolens des Instituts für Materielle Kultur der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Posen. Es ist zu betonen, dass sich rund um diese wissenschaftliche Einrichtung Forscher des frühen Mittelalters versammelten, die den unterschiedlichen großpolnischen Einrichtungen entstammten (2012 wurde die oben genannte Abteilung in eine multidisziplinäre Arbeitsgruppe „Polen der Piastenzeit: Gesellschaft und Kultur“ umgestaltet, die ihre Tätigkeit im Rahmen des Studienzentrums für Urgeschichte und Mittelalter des Instituts für Archäologie und Ethnologie der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Posen führte, das wiederum infolge der Reorganisierung des Instituts die Lehranstalt für Archäologie Großpolens ersetzte). Darüber hinaus übte Zofia Kurnatowska die Funktion des Leiters der am Museum der Ersten Piasten in Lednica tätigen Interdisziplinären Arbeitsgruppe aus, sie war auch Vorsitzende des Musealrates dieser Einrichtung wie auch Mitglied des Musealrates des Museums der Ursprünge des Polnischen Staates in Gnesen (Gniezno) sowie des Archäologischen Museums in Danzig (Gdańsk).

2003 wurde Professor Zofia Kurnatowska zum korrespondierenden Mitglied des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Berlin (Institutum Archaeologicum Germanicum). 2007 wurde sie zum korrespondierenden Mitglied der Polnischen Akademie der Gelehrsamkeit in Krakau (Polska Akademia Umiejętności [PAU] w Krakowie) gewählt. Zwei Jahre später verlieh die Posener Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wissenschaften Professor Zofia Kurnatowska in Anerkennung ihrer hervorragenden Verdienste auf dem wissenschaftlichen und organisatorischen Gebiet die Ehrenmitgliedschaft der Gesellschaft. Diese Würdigung wusste sie besonders hoch zu schätzen.

Der Gelehrten wurden hohe staatliche Auszeichnungen verliehen (u.a. Goldenes Verdienstkreuz, Ritterkreuz des Ordens Polonia Restituta, Medaille zum 100-jährigen Jubiläum der Bulgarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften). Sie war auch mehrmalige Preisträgerin im Bereich der Wissenschaft: 2010 wurde ihr die Statuette des Piastenadlers zu Lednica als Anerkennung ihrer hervorragenden Verdienste im Bereich der Organisation

der Forschungen über den Staat der ersten Piasten und dessen zentralen Burganlagen: Gniezno, Poznań, Giecz und Ostrów Lednicki übergeben.

Ein außerordentlich aktives Engagement Zofia Kurnatowska's an der Tätigkeit des wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften störte sie keineswegs dabei, den didaktischen Unterricht im Bereich Archäologie der frühmittelalterlichen polnischen und slawischen Landen zu halten, den sie zeitweilig (1965-1982) am Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität in Posen sowie am damaligen Institut für Archäologie und Ethnologie an der Mikołaj-Kopernik-Universität in Thorn [Toruń] (1983-1984) gab. Es gelang ihr, einen zahlreichen Kreis von berufstätigen Archäologen-Mediävisten zu erziehen, beschäftigt im Studienzentrum für Urgeschichte und Mittelalter des Instituts für Archäologie und Ethnologie der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Posen (Prof. der PAN Dr. hab. Michał Kara, Dr. Joanna Koszałka, Dr. Kinga Zamelska-Monczak, Mag. Beata Banach), im Forschungszentrum für Kultur der Spätantike und des Frühmittelalters am Institut für Archäologie und Ethnologie der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Breslau [Wrocław] (Dr. Justyna Kolenda), im Archäologischen Museum in Danzig (Mag. Bogdan Kościński), im Archäologischen Museum in Posen (Dr. Jarmila Kaczmarek), im Museum der ersten Piasten zu Lednica (Dr. Janusz Górecki, Mag. Teresa Krysztofiak), im Museum der Ursprünge des Polnischen Staates in Gnesen (Mag. Tomasz Janiak, Mag. Tomasz Sawicki) wie auch im Denkmalschutzamt der Woiwodschaft Großpolen (Dr. Grzegorz Teske; zu den Schülern Professor Zofia Kurnatowska's sind auch Dr. Dionizy Kosiński [†] aus Krotoszyn, Prof. der UMK Dr. hab. Krystyna Sulkowska-Tuszyńska und Mag. Mariusz Tuszyński [†] aus Thorn zu zählen). Die oben genannten Gelehrten sind Mitglieder der „Schule“ Zofia Kurnatowska's, die mit Professor Kurnatowska in besonderer Beziehung „Meister – Schüler“ standen (eine derartige Relation sei zurzeit recht selten zu verzeichnen); für zahlreiche Schüler war sie wahre Mentorin und dies nicht nur in Berufssachen. Die Entstehung der genannten „Schule“ (der eben erwähnte Kreis von Archäologen erschöpft gar nicht die viel längere Liste der Mitarbeiter Zofia Kurnatowska's) wäre sehr viel schwieriger, wenn Frau Professor ihre seit 80er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts geführten wissenschaftlichen Seminare nicht gehalten hätte, die das breite Problemspektrum im Bereich der Archäologie des frühen Mittelalters sowie der Urgeschichte Polens umfassten und vornehmlich den Fragen des Slawentums gewidmet waren. Sie promovierte sechs Doktoren der Archäologie (Janusz Górecki, Jarmila Kaczmarek, Michał Kara, Dionizy Kosiński, Joanna Koszałka, Grzegorz Teske) und beteiligte sich an mehr als zwanzig Promotionsverfahren als Rezensentin. Die Pflichten der Rezensentin übernahm sie auch bei mehr als neun Habilitations- und bei elf Professurverfahren.

Eine wichtige Rolle in der wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit Zofia Kurnatowska's im Laufe der letzteren dreißig Jahre spielten Forschungsgrabungen in der auf die 2. Hälfte des 11.-19. Jahrhunderts datierten Benediktinerabtei in Lubiń bei Kościan. Professor Kurnatowska führte diese Forschungen in den Jahren 1978-1991 gemeinsam mit ihrem Ehemann und Dr. Krystyna Józefowicz (+). Betonenswert sei hierbei, dass die meisten Schüler Zofia Kurnatowska's eben der zu jener Zeit tätigen Lubiner Expedition gehörten. Es sei hinzuzufügen, dass die romanische Abtei in Lubiń als eines der am besten erforschten Objekten dieser Art in Mitteleuropa gilt und es handelt sich hier um einen für Studien zur Christianisierung der Piastenmonarchie außerordentlich wichtigen Grabungsort. In diesem Fall ließen die auf dem Abteigebiet durchgeführten archäologischen Untersuchungen den bisherigen historischen Wissensstand nicht nur in Hinsicht auf dieses Einzelobjekt weitgehend erweitern und teilweise verifizieren. Die eben genannten Forschungen hatten auch zur Folge, dass Zofia Kurnatowska ihre Studien über die Ursprünge des polnischen Staates und der darin entstehenden Kirchenorganisation wieder aufnahm. Die von der Autorin sukzessiv in polnischer wie auch in mehreren Kongresssprachen veröffentlichten Forschungsergebnisse trugen dazu bei, dass Professor Kurnatowska als internationale Autorität in diesem Fachbereich allgemein anerkannt wurde. Die quellenbezogene und analytische Bearbeitung der in der Abtei Lubiń durchgeführten archäologischen Untersuchungen wurde glücklicherweise endgültig abgeschlossen, bevor ihre Autorin krank geworden war. Der Ehemann Prof. Dr. hab. Stanisław Kurnatowski bereitet gegenwärtig eine monographische Ausgabe vor.

Mit dem Tode Professor Zofia Kurnatowska's verlor die polnische Ur- und Frühgeschichte im Laufe der letzteren Jahre wiederum eine Gelehrte, die der großen Generation der „Millenium-Archäologen“ gehörte, die die Fundamente der polnischen, in ganz Europa hoch geschätzten Mediävalarchäologie aufbauten und sich gleichzeitig an der archäologischen Erforschung unseres Kontinents aktiv beteiligten. Gestorben ist nicht nur eine Archäologin mit erheblichem wissenschaftlichem Werk, sondern auch die hervorragende Gelehrte und Forscherin des frühmittelalterlichen Slawentums, die bewusst die Tradition der „Posener“ archäologischen Schule der Professoren Józef Kostrzewski und Witold Hensel (Meister Zofia Kurnatowska's) fortsetzte und schöpferisch entwickelte. Die Verstorbene ließ nämlich einen zahlreichen Kreis der Schüler, denen sie Regeln und Prinzipien übergab, die sie sich wiederum von ihren eigenen Meistern angeeignet und die sie um eigene Erfahrung bereichert hatte. Zu jenen Regeln und Prinzipien würde ich vor allem die feste Überzeugung von der fundamentalen Bedeutung der gründlichen, vielseitigen und methodischen Analyse der fossilen Quellen

für archäologische Studien zählen, die zwar Ergebnisse anderer Disziplinen berücksichtigt, die jedoch stets autonom bleibt; der Respekt vor Quellen, der deren methodische Dokumentierung und Sicherung impliziert, und dies im Interesse künftiger Forscher; die Notwendigkeit argumentierte Hypothesen zu formulieren und keine Vermutungen anzustellen, die eher „sensationalen Medienberichten“ ähneln; die Hochachtung vor Widersachern; Missbilligung gegenüber allerart Versuchen, die wissenschaftliche Kritik durch dilettantische, oft ihrer Form nach unkultivierte Kritikelei zu ersetzen.

Zum Abschluss der skizzenhaften Darstellung der Persönlichkeit der Gelehrten möchte ich nach Horaz zitieren: *Non omnis moriar* (*Carmina* III.30.6). Meiner Meinung nach widerspiegelt diese Horazsche Sentenz ausgezeichnet den eigentlichen Sinn des wissenschaftlichen Schaffens Professor Zofia Kurnatowska's.

Michał Kara

übersetzt von Dorota Fałkowska

JACQUES LE GOFF (1924-2014)*



Jacques Le Goff nous a quittés le 1^{er} avril 2014, à l'âge de 90 ans et trois mois très exactement. Il n'était pas seulement l'un des plus grands historiens du siècle écoulé. Il était aussi un ami fervent de la Pologne, à laquelle le liait de nombreux liens familiaux, amicaux et intellectuels. Encore étudiant, il avait rencontré une première fois l'Europe centrale grâce à une bourse de recherche à Prague, où il travaillait sur l'histoire de l'Université. C'est ainsi qu'il avait assisté au Coup de Prague de 1948, une expérience en direct de la mise à mort de la démocratie

qui l'avait détourné à jamais, à l'inverse de la plupart de ses amis, comme Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, François Furet, Jean-Pierre Vernant, d'adhérer au Parti communiste français). Né à Toulon le 1^{er} janvier 1924, étudiant à Marseille puis à Paris (Ecole Normale Supérieure de la rue d'Ulm, agrégation d'histoire), il profite d'une dizaine d'années d'errance intellectuelle (il passe une année à Oxford, où il s'ennuie énormément, mais profite avec délectation les charmes de l'Italie grâce à un séjour à l'Ecole Française de Rome), entre au Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et devient assistant à l'Université de Lille (sous la direction du médiéviste Michel Mollat). En 1956 et 1957 paraissent ses deux premiers livres, petits en volume mais d'une grande portée scientifique et qui le font immédiatement connaître d'un vaste public: *Marchands et banquiers du Moyen Âge*, puis *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Âge*. Dans la foulée, en 1959, il est recruté à la VI^e Section de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes par Fernand Braudel, sur la recommandation de Maurice Lombard (au séminaire duquel il fait la connaissance et se lie d'amitié avec un jeune étudiant polonais, Bronisław Geremek). Dès 1962, il est élu directeur d'études (professeur) dans cette institution. A la demande de Fernand Braudel, il entre aussi à la direction de la revue des „Annales”, qu'il ne quittera plus jusqu'à sa mort.

* Bio-bibliographie complète: <http://gahom.ehess.fr/index.php?1018>. Dossier consacré à Jacques Le Goff dans le *Lettre de l'EHESS* de juin 2014 <http://lettre.ehess.fr/?clearcache=oui>.

Jacques Le Goff ne tarde pas à occuper une place centrale dans la vie de la VI^e Section de l'EPHE, encore toute jeune et de taille modeste (elle avait été fondée après la Guerre par Lucien Febvre et Fernand Braudel). La décision de Fernand Braudel de conclure un accord de coopération avec l'Académie polonaise des Sciences aura de profondes conséquences non seulement pour l'Ecole et l'historiographie française en général, mais sur un plan personnel pour Jacques Le Goff. Celui-ci prend une part active aux négociations avec les collègues de Varsovie. Des liens durables sont noués entre les archéologues polonais et français: Jean-Marie Pesez devient du côté français l'un des acteurs de cette coopération, anime des fouilles archéologiques communes et introduit la notion de „civilisation matérielle” dans le vocabulaire des historiens français. Les historiens polonais Witold Kula, Bronisław Geremek, Aleksander Gieysztor, Jerzy Kłoczowski, Karol Modzelewski, viennent régulièrement à l'Ecole. Et sur un plan personnel, Jacques Le Goff fait la connaissance d'une jeune femme médecin, Anna Dunin-Wąsowicz, qu'il épouse en 1962 et dont il aura deux enfants, Barbara et Thomas.

À l'Ecole, sa direction d'études s'intitule dans un premier temps „Sociologie Historique”. Jacques Le Goff se lie notamment avec le „sociologue de l'art” Pierre Francastel, qui lui donnera une contribution remarquée au volume *Hérésies et société*. Dirigé par Jacques Le Goff, ce colloque international, qui a marqué durablement l'historiographie des hérésies, s'est tenu à Royaumont en 1962 et les actes en seront publiés en 1968 avec de prestigieuses collaborations polonaises (Tadeusz Manteuffel) et d'Europe centrale (František Graus, Josef Macek de Prague par exemple). Quelques années plus tard, la prise en compte de l'anthropologie structurale de Claude Lévi-Strauss le pousse à faire le choix d'un nouvel intitulé, „Anthropologie Historique de l'Occident Médiéval” auquel il restera fidèle jusqu'à la fin. En 1964, le grand public cultivé découvre avec enthousiasme *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval* (Arthaud), portrait d'un Moyen Âge totalement inattendu et bien différent de l'image qui en était donnée habituellement: plutôt que l'éclat spirituel des „lignes de faîte” célébrées par certains, plutôt que l'obscurité „moyenâgeuse” dénigrée au contraire par d'autres, il s'y montre attentif aux réalités quotidiennes, aux gestes, aux difficultés et à la fragilité de l'existence, mais aussi au dynamisme matériel et intellectuel de la société médiévale et notamment des villes. Tout le programme de travail de Jacques Le Goff est déjà esquissé dans ce livre. Lui-même et d'autres poursuivront ensuite l'exploration de ces pistes dans les années suivantes.

Pour ce faire, son séminaire – qui se tint toujours le mardi soir – sera le lieu d'élaboration et de mise à l'épreuve critique des hypothèses qui donnèrent naissance aux articles les plus fameux, généralement parus dans les „Annales”, tels *Temps de l'Eglise et le temps du marchand* (1960) ou les études sur *La culture cléricale et les traditions folkloriques* (1967), *Saint Marcel de Paris*

et le dragon (1970), *Mélusine maternelle et défricheuse* (1971), ce dernier ayant donné lieu à une collaboration fructueuse avec Emmanuel le Roy Ladurie. Il anime aussi des enquêtes collectives, genre alors fort prisé au Centre de Recherches Historiques: c'est d'abord l'enquête sur „la ville médiévale et les ordres mendiants”, qui part de l'hypothèse que la présence et le nombre des couvents – de un à quatre (franciscain, dominicain, augustin, carme) – dans une localité peuvent être pris respectivement pour critère du „fait urbain” et mesure de l'importance relative des villes. Cette enquête a donné lieu à une collaboration intense avec le *Laboratoire de graphique* de Jacques Bertin, lequel initia le médiéviste aux subtilités de la „sémiologie graphique”; les „Annales” rendirent compte abondamment en 1970 des résultats de cette enquête, qui aussitôt fit des émules à l'étranger, notamment en Europe centrale, où s'est posée la question de savoir si la dynamique urbaine, lisible à travers l'implantation des couvents, était la même que dans le royaume capétien. Cette réflexion comparative donnait corps à une autre hypothèse de Jacques Le Goff concernant les relations entre „centre” et „périphérie”. Puis il lance une autre enquête, qui perdure aujourd'hui après s'être convertie à l'informatique et aux bases de données, lesquelles étaient inconcevables en ses débuts: l'enquête sur la littérature des *exempla*, ces milliers de récits brefs que les prédicateurs inséraient dans leurs sermons. On peut dire que Jacques Le Goff a réhabilité sinon „inventé” les *exempla*, tenus jusqu'alors pour un genre mineur et négligeable de la littérature latine médiévale, dont il a su montrer au contraire l'apport décisif à une compréhension approfondie de la culture commune et de la société au Moyen Âge.

En 1972, Jacques Le Goff fut appelé par ses pairs à succéder à Fernand Braudel à la tête de la VI^e Section de l'EPHE. Il entreprend aussitôt la réforme des statuts qui aboutit en 1975 à la naissance de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, institution autonome jouissant de la collation du doctorat (en plus du traditionnel diplôme de l'Ecole, qui est conservé) et présentant un mode de fonctionnement et de gouvernance dérogatoire par rapport aux universités. L'EHESS s'installe alors au 54 Boulevard Raspail, une adresse que de très nombreux chercheurs et professeurs étrangers apprendront à connaître.

Après cinq ans de présidence, en 1977, Jacques Le Goff revient pleinement à ses recherches et à son séminaire (qu'il n'avait jamais interrompu en dépit de ses tâches administratives). Il publie ses deux recueils d'articles principaux, *Pour un autre Moyen Âge. Temps travail et culture en Occident: 18 essais* (1977) suivi de *L'imaginaire médiéval* (1985), puis met la dernière main à un nouvel ouvrage depuis longtemps en gestation: *La naissance du Purgatoire*, qui paraît en 1981. Un fait de vocabulaire, qu'il a le mérite de remarquer et de mettre en valeur, est le point de départ de ce livre: que signifie le passage, à la fin du XII^e siècle, de l'adjectif (*ignis purgatorius* – le „feu purgatoire”, au substantif

purgatorius, „le purgatoire”? La mutation du vocabulaire, tenue jusque-là pour négligeable, lui semble au contraire révéler une mutation essentielle de la „géographie de l’au-delà”, la naissance d’un „troisième lieu” de l’au-delà chrétien, le purgatoire. Mutation aussi des représentations de la mort, avec la promotion du jugement individuel de l’âme juste au moment du décès (sans attendre le jugement dernier): la quasi-totalité des défunts – à l’exception des damnés qui vont directement en enfer et des saints qui vont directement au paradis – sont voués aux épreuves du purgatoire, mais pour un temps seulement et avec la certitude d’être au bout du compte sauvés. Car le purgatoire n’a qu’une issue, en direction du paradis. „Le purgatoire, c’est l’espoir”. Comment expliquer cette innovation dans l’ordre des croyances? Jacques Le Goff la met en rapport avec toute une série de transformations sociales et culturelles, dont l’émergence de la bourgeoisie urbaine et marchande, qui excelle à compter le temps comme elle compte son argent.

Jacques Le Goff fonde en 1978, au sein du Centre de Recherches Historiques de l’EHESS, le Groupe d’Anthropologie Historique de l’Occident Médiéval (GAHOM), qu’il animera jusqu’à sa retraite en 1992. C’est dans ce cadre que se développe l’enquête sur les *exempla*, tandis qu’un autre axe de recherche, sur les images médiévales, prend son essor. Le travail collectif lui apparaît comme une nécessité intellectuelle. Il débouche entre autres sur de grandes entreprises éditoriales comme *L’Histoire de la France urbaine*, avec Georges Duby (1980), *L’Histoire de la France religieuse*, codirigée avec René Rémond (1988), le *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’Occident médiéval*, codirigé avec Jean-Claude Schmitt (1999). Européen convaincu, Jacques Le Goff a lancé la collection internationale (publiée en cinq langues puis d’autres encore) *Faire l’Europe*.

Dans la multitude des recherches qui s’enchaînent simultanément, l’une des inflexions les plus notables est l’intérêt de Jacques Le Goff pour la biographie. Si son *Saint François d’Assise* de 1999 ne consiste qu’en la réunion d’articles plus ou moins anciens, le livre majeur est incontestablement son *Saint Louis*, en 1996. Qu’on ne s’y trompe pas, ce livre est plutôt une „anti-biographie” qu’une biographie, l’auteur posant d’entrée de jeu cette surprenante question: „Saint-Louis a-t-il existé?” Certes, nous ne pouvons douter de l’existence réelle du roi en son temps, mais il n’est possible de saisir celui-ci qu’à travers des sources fort diverses qui toutes restituent „leur” Saint Louis et font douter de la possibilité de cerner jamais le „vrai” portrait du roi. Analysant les multiples facettes mouvantes de ce kaléidoscope, l’auteur, une fois encore, donne une admirable leçon de méthode.

D’abord médiéviste, Jacques Le Goff a aussi contribué plus largement au renouvellement de la science historique en général, proposant aux historiens, avec Pierre Nora, de „nouvelles approches”, de „nouveaux problèmes” et de „nouveaux objets” (*Faire de l’histoire*, 3 tomes, 1974), puis attachant son nom

au projet de la „nouvelle histoire” (*La Nouvelle Histoire*, avec Roger Chartier et Jacques Revel, 1978), une appellation qui n’avait au départ que des raisons éditoriales, mais qui s’est rapidement imposée dans le champ scientifique. Dans d’autres essais, il réfléchit sur les notions à la fois opposées et liées d’histoire et de mémoire (*Histoire et mémoire*, Paris 1998), jusqu’à ce que, tout récemment encore – ce fut son dernier livre –, il défende avec prudence et lucidité la nécessité d’une périodisation en histoire, notamment à des fins pédagogiques, tout en mettant en garde contre ses risques: *Faut-il vraiment découper l’histoire en tranches?* (2014). La périodisation doit s’entendre comme une scansion de la „longue durée” selon Fernand Braudel, repensée pour ce qui le concerne dans le cadre d’un „long Moyen Âge” allant de la fin de l’Antiquité tardive (IV^e-V^e siècle) aux Révolutions industrielles et politiques du XVIII^e-XIX^e siècle européen.

Plutôt que d’énumérer les innombrables travaux et publications de Jacques Le Goff, insistons sur son rayonnement international. Il est très tôt et fréquemment reçu avec enthousiasme en Italie, où il noue des liens d’amitié durable. Son autre „deuxième patrie” est la Pologne, les raisons personnelles s’ajoutant aux raisons scientifiques. Il se rendait chaque été en famille à Varsovie. Les liens noués avec les intellectuels polonais sont particulièrement précieux au moment du mouvement „Solidarność”. En 1981, la proclamation de l’ „état de guerre” par le général Jaruzelski entraîne l’arrestation de nombre d’amis intellectuels. Jacques Le Goff prend alors l’initiative de l’appel des „5000 scientifiques pour la Pologne” qui rencontre un large écho; de nombreux chercheurs et enseignants polonais persécutés pour leurs engagement social et politique trouvent alors refuge en France et un emploi au CNRS ou à l’Université. En décembre 2004, la disparition de sa femme le laisse inconsolable. Son but exclusif devient dès lors de dédier à sa mémoire le petit livre qui paraît enfin quatre ans plus tard: *Avec Hanka* (2008). C’est une libération, qui décuple ses forces et lui permet dans les années suivantes de publier presque tous les ans un nouveau livre, souvent d’entretiens, toujours dicté, puisque la maladie l’empêche et depuis longtemps déjà, d’écrire à la main.

Jacques Le Goff s’est aussi beaucoup soucié de la diffusion du savoir au-delà du cercle restreint des spécialistes. Il est l’auteur d’un manuel scolaire (1962) et publie *L’Europe racontée aux jeunes* (1996). La simplicité et la limpidité de son écriture, sa manière personnelle de rendre concrètes et vivantes les réalités du passé, ses dons de conteur, ont beaucoup fait pour rendre accessible au plus grand nombre le savoir du médiéviste. Jacques Le Goff a créé et animé à partir de 1968 l’émission de radio de France Culture „Les lundis de l’histoire”, à laquelle il a convié plusieurs générations de médiévistes et d’historiens, et plus généralement de spécialistes des sciences humaines et

sociales, pour discuter avec eux de leur dernier livre. Il a enregistré la dernière de ses émissions quinze jours avant d'entrer à l'hôpital, et elle fut diffusée le lundi 31 mars, veille de sa mort...

Lorsque Jacques Le Goff reçut en 1991 la Médaille d'or du CNRS, il s'écria au cours de son discours, prononcé dans le grand amphithéâtre de la Sorbonne: „J'aime les hommes!“. Cela sonnait comme un manifeste. Les hommes, tous les hommes, il les dévorait avec appétit, se rassasiait de leur „chair fraîche“ et de leurs „façons de sentir et de penser“, comme disait Marc Bloch, ce maître et modèle qu'il regretta de n'avoir pu connaître. A pleines mains il embrassait l'humanité entière, en s'inspirant pour la comprendre des autres sciences sociales, mais en la saisissant toujours dans le temps historique, afin d'écouter la lente respiration d'un „long Moyen Âge“ étiré sur treize siècles. Dans son immense projet, rien ne lui est resté étranger et il n'a eu de cesse de lancer de nouvelles pistes, d'en explorer lui-même un bon nombre, mais aussi d'inviter les autres à s'y engager, en semant à tous vents les idées novatrices, pour en faire don aux plus jeunes. Ses intuitions étaient toujours surprenantes de vérité et d'intelligence, il excellait dans les rapprochements les plus inattendus, et rendait limpides la complexité, la cohérence et les contradictions d'un document, d'une situation, d'une époque. Chez lui, la réflexion sur la profondeur du temps de l'histoire et les espérances du citoyen ne furent jamais dissociées. Jacques le Goff a vécu un long et tragique XX^e siècle, au long duquel il n'a cessé de réfléchir sur tous les problèmes, d'indiquer des pistes, de mobiliser les énergies, de donner sans compter. „Plus on est de fous, plus on rit!“ aimait-il à dire pour justifier la recherche collective qu'il affectionnait par-dessus tout. Jacques Le Goff était tout le contraire d'un solitaire: un homme de cœur attentif aux autres, et heureux de partager et de vivre dans le tumulte de la ville, son terrain d'observation privilégié. De fait, il ne séparait jamais la réflexion sur la profondeur du temps de l'histoire et les espérances du citoyen.

Jean-Claude Schmitt

V. BOOK NOTICES

Grzegorz Białuński, *Studia z dziejów rycerskich i szlacheckich rodów pruskich (XIII-XVI wiek)* (Studies from the History of Prussian Gentry Families /Thirteenth-Sixteenth Century/), part 1, Ośrodek Badań Naukowych im. W. Kętrzyńskiego, Olsztyn 2012 (=Monumenta Literaria Prussiae), 262 pp., bibliography, index, summary in German, tables, illustrations.

The book by G. Białuński presents the history of selected knights' families and subsequently the Prussian gentry in the Teutonic Order state from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. This is a genealogical study, with the author planning a second part that will discuss successive families and attempt a synthesis. The detailed findings made by G. Białuński were preceded by an extensive survey conducted predominantly at Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin as well as Polish state archives in Gdańsk, Toruń, Olsztyn and Bydgoszcz, the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw and the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. Apart from an introduction the book contains five chapters, each about a different family. The first chapter discusses the Wajsylewicz family, and the second – the Tessymids; the protagonists of the next chapter are members of a family using the Kot Morski coat of arms, the fourth chapter focuses on the Skomands, and the fifth – on the Pipinids. Each chapter has a summary with a number of genealogical tables and illustrations.

Radosław Krajniak

Krzysztof Bracha, *Des Teufels Lug und Trug. Nikolaus Magni von Jauer: Ein Reformtheologe des 15. Jahrhunderts gegen Aberglaube und Götzendienst*, J.H. Röhl Verlag, Dettelbach 2013 (=Quellen und Forschungen zur Europäischen Ethnologie, hrsg. von Dieter Harmenig, XXV), 272 pp., 8 illustrations, bibliography, index of persons.

The presented work is an expanded version of a study published in Polish (*Teolog, diabeł i zabobony. Świadectwo traktatu Mikołaja Magni z Jawora De superstitionibus /1405 r./*, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa 1999, 267 pp.), whose author presented Nikolaus Magni as a student of philosophy and theology in Prague, subsequently active at the university of Heidelberg (since 1402) and as a theologian and a preacher. Next, K. Bracha discussed thoroughly the circumstances of the origin of the treatise *De superstitionibus* within the context of the late mediaeval Church reform and associated Central European writings. The fundamental part of the monograph is a comprehensive analysis of the work of Nikolaus Magni, and in particular his learned critique of errors and abuse within the Christian cult. K. Bracha attempted to explain the causes of the immense popularity of the treatise, preserved in over 150 manuscripts scattered all over Europe.

Problems linked with superstition were followed in a number of articles and studies expanding the research so as to encompass the writings of other mediaeval authors from the thirteenth-fifteenth century, i.a. Rudolf of Rudy Raciborskie, Jan Milicz of Kromieryż, Łukasz of Wielki Koźmin, Johannes of Wünschelburg, Werner of Friedberg, Jakub of Paradyż, Mikołaj Waschenhay and Johannes of Frankfurt. The extremely interesting results of these studies produced an in-depth image of popular religiosity and varied religious stands during the Late Middle Ages, the different errors and abuses committed within religion as well as assorted efforts aimed at eliminating the latter from the life and awareness of the faithful. The presented study is supplemented by appendices, including a list of more than 150 preserved manuscripts containing *De superstitionibus* by Nikolaus Magni, a *dispositio* of the contents of the treatise (scheme and contents), and a comparison of fragments of *Refutatio* with *De superstitionibus*.

Krzysztof Ożóg

Katarzyna Chmielewska, *Role wątków i motywów antycznych w "Kronice polskiej" Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem* (The Role of Classical Motifs in *Kronika Polska* by Master Wincenty Known as Kadłubek), Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Częstochowie, Częstochowa 2003, 245 pp., bibliography, appendices.

The vast literature pertaining to *Kronika polska* by Wincenty Kadłubek is now augmented by a publication, which, it must be said, was needed much earlier as a modern aid for studying Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian motifs and impact upon one of the most prominent historical sources for the history of Poland. The author – an historian dealing with mediaeval Poland and a classical philologist – attempted to resolve the intentions of writing the chronicle (as an historical? didactic? philosophical work?), the establishment of the chronicle's purpose and readers, and the reason why the chronicler was the first (or so Chmielewska claims) to concentrate on recording the history of a nation and not, like his predecessors (an Anonymous, known as Gallus), merely on the history of a dynasty. Finally, the author tried to determine whether the selection of classical references and quotations was not supposed to realise a certain historiosophic conception and whether the use of Latin as the language of the text affected the form and reliability of the source (owing to the necessity of describing Polish reality with the assistance of foreign terminology). One of the two opening chapters concerns the reception of the Bible and Patristic literature (with the Bible as a model of world history *via* an analogy between the history of Poland and Israel), while the other chapter ponders the presence of classical pagan literature (with a division into works by historians, poets, and philosophers). A separate paragraph in the second chapter focuses on *Epitome* by Justyn as a source of Wincenty's historiographic conceptions since those of the Roman historian were Kadłubek's favourite – in *Epitome* he also discovered material with whose help he could connect Polish and world history. In the third chapter Chmielewska proposed a classification (types: stylistic, historiographic-fact graphic and philosophical-moral) and a statistical study (the presence of quotations in particular parts of the chronicle) of literary references in the chronicle. The fourth chapter examines the relations between the chronicle and the heritage of the classical theory of literature, arriving at the conclusion that Kadłubek deserves to be considered an erudite and a well-educated person whose thorough knowledge was matched by an indubitable literary talent; furthermore, his work corresponded to the primary principles of ancient rhetoric, although the style of

the chronicles is *stricte* mediaeval. Part five of the reflections examines the typology and characteristic of the classical figures in Kadłubek's writings with a division into historical and mythical protagonists; the manner in which he created analogies between classical protagonists and Polish dignitaries is yet another topic. The chapters – the outcome of a distinction of 145 references to the Bible and the Fathers, and 166 references to Roman pagan literature – end with a summary chiefly about the conditions in which the chronicle originated (*Mistrz Wincenty – między kulturą oralną a literacką*). The author wrote about connection between the borrowings and the state of Polish culture in the twelfth and thirteenth century, informed about the chronicler's biography, and briefly compared his work with the earlier chronicle by the Anonymous. Mention is due to the superiority of Kadłubek over Gallus as a bilingual author, especially owing to a competent use of Latin, which in his writings appeared to be lively and vibrant. The first appendix is a list of motifs from ancient literature (arranged according to authors, together with the localisation of the borrowings in the chronicle and the sources of their origin), while the second is a summary list (tables together with comments) of the number of borrowings (with a division into classical Christian and pagan literature) and a simultaneous reference to motifs demystified by earlier researchers (Henryk Zeissberg, August Bielowski, Oswald Balzer, Brygida Kürbis, Marian Plezia). Apparently, each consecutive scholar indicated a greater number of analogies – although Chmielewska does not consider all the findings made by her predecessors as correct. She is inclined to accept the thesis that future researchers may find even more references and thus the number mentioned in her study does not have to be final. The presented publication, written in a pleasing style, is decidedly useful for all scholars dealing with *Kronika polska*.

Piotr Goltz

Witold Chrzanowski, *Świętopetk I Wielki: król Wielkomorawski (ok. 844-894?)* (Svatopluk I the Great: The King of Great Moravia /ca. 844 - d. 894/), Avalon, first edition (second edition: 2010), Kraków 2008, 228 pp., maps, bibliography, index of personal and geographic names, genealogical trees, summary in English.

Among publications pertaining to Great Moravia available in Polish attention is drawn by an interesting work by the Polish historian Witold Chrzanowski, written in a straightforward and comprehensible style and with a diversified narration. The author combined archaeological knowledge and historical research, and presented controversial questions perceived from assorted viewpoints. Moreover, he did not conceal views often maintained in a spirit of warm-hearted irony. Though the list of publications mentioned in the bibliography is not imposing the reader must appreciate the use of books that appeared at the time when the author was writing his study. W. Chrzanowski made use of facts effortlessly and some of his opinions might seem controversial. He embarked upon a difficult task of writing a biography of an early mediaeval ruler about whom available information is sparse and frequently originates from later periods. The entire theme is embedded within the international context in which *Magna Moravia*, whose most prominent ruler was Svatopluk, functioned.

The table of contents tells us that the book is composed of eight chapters, a fact not reflected in the text in which only a division into sub-chapters is conspicuous. In part one, the author replaced a prologue with a discussion held in Czech science about grave no. 12/59, discovered in the course of excavations in Staré Město (near the town of Sady

[Velehrad]), the supposed burial site of Svatopluk I. In the second chapter the reader becomes acquainted with the origin of the future duke, while chapter three considers the latter's youth and seizure of power in the Duchy of Nitra (part of the State of Great Moravia) within the context of welcoming the Byzantine Christianisation mission of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia. The fourth chapter describes events accompanying the toppling of Rastislav, the ruler of Great Moravia, by his nephew, the titular Svatopluk. Chapter five focuses on the annexation of Bohemia and mysterious records from *Annales Fuldenses* about a bride named Svatozina, possibly the daughter of an unidentified duke of Bohemia, captured by Bavarians in the vicinity of the settlement of Mikulčice together with her dowry, a great number of horses, and weapons abandoned by the armed squad. Two subsections discuss the duke of the Wiślanie, invaded and baptised by Świętopełk, an event described in *The Life of Saint Methodius*. The sixth chapter tries to discover the capital of Svatopluk, the seventh considers the duke's private affairs, and the eighth is rather provocatively titled: *Król morawski*, although it asks whether the protagonist of the biography was granted a crown. Furthermore, Chrzanowski reflected on the territorial shape of the state of Great Moravia and analysed legendary motifs of the death of Svatopluk. The story starts and ends in grave 12/59 in Staré Město, and in the closing sentence the author declared that this burial site contains the body of Svatopluk I the Great, who, *nota bene*, died as a monk (!). A list of the sources to which the author referred demonstrates that in the case of German texts he resorted to Latin editions, while citing Bohemian and Polish authors from translations into the two native languages.

Piotr Goltz

Zbigniew Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka: opowieść Galla Anonima o konflikcie Bolesława Krzywoustego ze Zbigniewem* (Ritual and Politics: The Story by Gallus Anonymus about the Conflict between Bolesław the Wrymouth and Zbigniew), Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa 2005, 260 pp., bibliography, index of persons, summary in English.

The author, working in the Institute of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences and at the University of Białystok, specializes in the political culture of the Middle Ages and in particular the ideology of power as well as associated rituals and symbolic. The discussed monograph is envisaged as an attempt at a detailed study of the ways, in which the Anonymus known as Gallus, author of the oldest Polish chronicle: *Kronika polska* (*Cronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*), constructed a narration about a controversy between two half-brothers, dukes from the Piast dynasty. Dalewski is interested in the sense of meanings present in the source as evoked images of ritualised attitudes and behaviour. According to him, his attempt at deciphering the Anonymus could contribute to a better and more complete comprehension of the source as well as provide a chance for defining the fundamental principles of conducting political activity, a description of the methods of political impact and becoming familiar with cardinal forms of the ideological space of early mediaeval Poland. The author claims that the blinding of Zbigniew by Bolesław the Wrymouth won the chronicler's approval since Zbigniew dared to apply a ritual due only to rulers. In order to capture the political reality of the period Dalewski undertook a review of the actual measures of political impact and the conception of moulding the image of the deployed undertakings in the sources, especially those of a narrative nature. The publication demonstrates that the text by the Anonymus contains assorted depictions whose roots are embedded in different narrative traditions.

As a consequence, the way in which the conflict between Bolesław the Wrymouth and Zbigniew was shown is multi-strata and thus additionally interesting to uncover. The text is composed of four main parts corresponding to three fragments of the Anonymous' chronicle (the titles of the chapters are: [I] *Przybycie*; [II] *Poddanie i pojednanie*; [III] *Pokuta*; [IV] *Przysięga*). The book is recommended particularly for readers interested in the ideology of power in Poland during the first decades of the twelfth century.

Piotr Goltz

Jan Drabina, *Papiestwo – Polska w latach 1384-1434* (The Papacy – Poland in 1384-1434), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2003, 189 pp., summary in English.

Jan Drabina, an expert on religion and a mediaevalist, tried to sum up the copious accomplishments of historiography dealing with contacts between the Polish centre of power (Queen Jadwiga, then the royal couple and, subsequently, Władysław Jagiełło alone) and the papacy (five successive Roman popes and two Pisan popes; there are no traces of contacts with the four Avignon popes). Hints of an exchange of information between Cracow, Pisa, and Rome in the half a century between 1384 and 1434 are connected, i.a. with the great war waged against the Teutonic Order in 1409-1411 or the formation of anti-Hussite crusades. On the other hand, the author presented the outcome of studying an extensive source material base during a survey conducted at the Vatican Archive and the Vatican Library thanks to a Lanckoroński Foundation scholarship. The publication is divided into eight chapters arranged into two fundamental parts. Part one considers relations between Queen Jadwiga and Władysław Jagiełło with assorted popes, while part two studies forms and types of contacts between the papacy and Poland during the titular period. The contents of the chapters in the first part are defined by a chronological framework: the first pertains to the years 1384-1389 (from the coronation of Jadwiga to the death of Pope Urban VI), the second – to the 1389-1409 period (from the election of Pope Boniface IX to the Council of Pisa), the third – to Polish support for the Pisan obedience (1409-1415), the fourth – to the pontificate of Pope Martin V (1417-1431), and, finally, the fifth – to the time from the election of Pope Eugene IV to the Council of Basel (1431-1434). The first chapter in the second part deals with correspondence (mention is made of the character of the documents as well as the principles and dates of their issue; an auxiliary table illustrates the number of papal and royal letters as well as requests, with a division into particular years), the second – with papal legates (the list acknowledges that some of the persons fulfilling this function were not taken into consideration), while the third – with royal envoys (the list is accompanied by a commentary asking who else could perform this role, e.g. bishops, and what other tasks could have been carried out by the envoys); the final, fourth chapter discusses the defenders of Poland and King Jagiełło at the Roman See. In the closing reflection the author declared that despite gaps in the archives the preserved sources undoubtedly confirm the growing role played by Poland in papal diplomacy, even more considering the former's connections with Lithuania; hence, the solution of Central-European questions had to take into account the opinions of Cracow. Drabina stated that the pontificate of Martin V (1417-1431) was a period of 51 known royal letters and 49 papal bulls, i.e. news from Rome was sent to Cracow on an average four times a year. In turn, 85 royal requests are proof that the king dispatched couriers to the pope more than four times a year; the ruler's letters were probably not the only documents with whose delivery the envoys were entrusted.

Piotr Goltz

Wojciech Drelicharz, *Idea zjednoczenia królestwa w średniowiecznym dziejopisarstwie polskim* (The Idea of the Unification of the Kingdom in Mediaeval Historical Writings), Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, Kraków 2012 (Monografie Towarzystwa Naukowego Societas Vistulana, I), 520 pp., 16 illustrations, summary, index of persons and geographical names.

The profound socio-economic, systemic, and political transformation of Piast realms in the thirteenth century within a wide European context as well as the revival of the Polish Kingdom at the end of that century comprise the fundamental problems studied by medievalists, in particular Polish historians. This current of research contains an extensive publication by Wojciech Drelicharz about the idea of the unification of the kingdom in mediaeval Polish historical writings. In pertinent literature on the renaissance of the kingdom and the political conceptions of the Piast dukes as well as members of the Přemyslid dynasty (Přemysl Ottokar II and Wenceslaus II) in the second half of the thirteenth century and at the beginning of the fourteenth century the question of the so-called unification ideology was discussed only fragmentarily by such eminent historians as: O. Balzer, R. Grodecki, J. Baszkiewicz, H. Łowmiański, B. Kürbis, J. Banaszkiewicz, S. Gawlas, Z. Piech and T. Jurek, but has never been systematically examined. This is why W. Drelicharz chose to pursue comprehensive research on the origin and development of the idea of the unification of the kingdom, its functioning and social transformations during the period of feudal fragmentation in Poland and subsequently in the renascent Polish Kingdom during the reign of the last Piasts and the first Jagiellons. Due to the fact that the idea in question assumed shape in historiography and functioned the longest in monuments of mediaeval historical writings, the latter became the base of a multi-motif analysis. The author correctly applied a wide comprehension of mediaeval historiography by including into the range of his studies, alongside annals and chronicles, also assorted lesser historical works (e.g. collections, genealogies) and lives of the saints. Nonetheless, he did not restrict himself to historiographical sources but examined traces of the unification ideology in other written and iconographic sources, e.g. documents (monarchic, papal), the pilgrims' sign featuring St. Stanisław, Piast seals, coins, collections of particular Church laws, documents from the Polish-Teutonic Order trials, etc. All these monuments of historical writings and iconography connected with the titular problem have been subjected to meticulous source material studies offering a firm foundation for an all-sided scrutiny of the idea of the rebirth of the Polish Kingdom. The study is composed of an introduction, four chapters, a summary, a bibliography of sources and selected writings, indices and illustrations. The construction scheme delineates four stages in the history of the idea of the unification of the kingdom, thus bringing order into the presentation. In the first chapter W. Drelicharz depicted three basic early mediaeval historiographic sources introducing the idea of the royal crown and the unity of the Piast monarchy, i.e. *Annales regni Polonorum deperditi*, *The Chronicle of Gallus Anonymus* and *The Chronicle of Master Wincenty*. The second chapter is a comprehensive description of the origin of the idea of the unification of the Polish Kingdom in historical writings and its function to the 1280s, starting with an analysis of legends about the failed efforts made by Mieszko I to obtain the crown in Rome in *The Life of St. Stephen* by Hartwig and *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle*. Subsequently, W. Drelicharz examined with extraordinary thoroughness the already formed idea of the revival of the Polish Kingdom in the historiosophic conception of the history of Poland envisaged by Wincenty of Kielcza in his lives of St. Stanisław and on the pilgrims' sign as well as different notions of the renaissance of the Polish Kingdom

in *The Polish Chronicle*, written probably by Engelbert, a Cistercian from Lubiąż, and *Miracula sancti Adalberti*. Chapter three depicts variations of the idea of unification during the course of the renaissance of the Polish Kingdom at the turn of the thirteenth century in successive monuments of historical writings: *The Chronicle of Dzierżwa*, *The Life of St. Stanisław*, the so-called *Tradunt*, *Annales Polonorum deperditi* and vast compiled chronicles as well as *The Chronicle of Greater Poland*. The last chapter deals with the functioning of the idea of the unification of the Polish Kingdom in the most prominent monuments of Jagiellon-era historiography by Jan of Dąbrówka, Sędziwoj of Czechel, Jan Długosz, and Maciej of Miechów. The author investigated the history of the idea in question within a wide context of the prevailing political situation and the endeavours of certain Piasts and Přemyslids competing for the royal crown in Poland at the turn of the thirteenth century. The impetus and scope of the studies focused on mediaeval historiography and conducted by W. Drelicharz are truly imposing. Consequently, the presented publication assumed the features of a *sui generis* compendium of Polish mediaeval historiography and will prove extremely useful for mediaevalists pursuing assorted fields of research.

Krzysztof Ożóg

Gnieźnieńskie koronacje królewskie i ich środkowoeuropejskie konteksty (Royal Coronations in Gniezno and Their Central European Contexts), ed. Józef Dobosz, Marzena Matla, Leszek Wetesko, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza. Instytut Kultury Europejskiej, Gniezno 2011 (=Colloquia Mediaevalia Gnesnensia, II), 320 pp.

This publication is a précis of an International Scientific Conference held under the same name on 7-9 June 2011 to inaugurate a scientific discussion about the Polish monarchy and the role of the ruler; the organisers invited a number of outstanding scientists from Poland and abroad. In Polish history and tradition Gniezno is a symbol of the beginnings of statehood and a site of the coronation of Polish kings, conducted at the grave of St. Wojciech (Adalbert). The book, apart from its scientific nature, is to fulfil also educational purposes and hence was forwarded to universities across Poland, scientific centres, more important libraries, and selected schools in Greater Poland so that its social reception would be as extensive as possible. The publishers hope that it will enable the question of Gniezno as a Royal Town to find a suitable dimension, not merely a scientific one. Both the conference and the published collection are part of a project launched by the Town of Gniezno: "Royal Gniezno in the Heart of Greater Poland", co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund as part of the Greater Poland Regional Development for 2007-2013. The objective did not involve following a sequence of coronations from the time of Bolesław the Brave to Wenceslaus II, but approaching the Middle Ages from the viewpoint of coronation rites, including a search for their analogies in neighbouring countries, i.e. on a Central European scale. This is particularly essential considering that the studies pertain to a region that underwent a similar development, in which statehood assumed shape at more or less the same time, and the growth of societies was alike, making it possible to present interesting comparative material. The publication was issued as a second volume in a series, whose premises, however, were not elucidated. Acquaintanceship with the volume also allows the reader to learn about the current state of research. The published studies are as follows: (I) Henryk Samsonowicz, *Idea władzy królewskiej*; (II) Zbigniew Dalewski, *Dlaczego Bolesław Chrobry chciał koronować się na króla?*; (III) Grzegorz Pac, *Koronacje władczyń we wcześniejszym średniowieczu – zarys problematyki*; (IV) Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Powołanie i koronacja króla niemieckiego (X–XIII wiek). Miejsca, rytę, insygnia – zarys problematyki*; (V) Karolina Buschmeier, *Krönen und Sterben – Zu*

den (Dis)kontinuitäten ottonischer Königsherrschaft; (VI) Giovanni Izabella, *Comparing Models of Kingship: the Royal "ordo coronationis" of Mainz and the Royal Coronation of Otto I by Vidukind of Corvey*; (VII) Krzysztof Skwierzyński, "O majestacie królewskiej potęgi" – koronacja Bolesława II Szczodrego; (VIII) Marzena Matla, *Czy Bolesław Śmiały uświetnił swoją koronację fundacją złotego kodeksu?*; (IX) Vratislav Vaniček, *Polský královský titul Vratislava II (tradice, kontinuita a inovace v 11. století)*; (X) Dániel Bagi, *Papieskie przystanie korony dla św. Stefana w legendzie św. Stefana pióra biskupa Hartwiga*; (XI) Marcin Rafał Pauk, "Plenariae decimationes" św. Wojciecha. *O ideowych funkcjach dziesięciny monarszej w Polsce i na Węgrzech w XI-XII wieku*; (XII) Edward Skibiński, *Koronacje pierwszych Piastów w najstarszych źródłach narracyjnych*; (XIII) Marek Cetwiński, *Gnieźnieńskie koronacje w przekazach rocznikarskich*; (XIV) Antoni Barciak, *Czeskie koronacje drugiej połowy XIII wieku*; (XV) Robert Antonin, *Hnězdenská korunovace krále Václava II. v kontextu jeho zahraniční politiky na počátku 14. století*; (XVI) Jarosław Nikodem, *Krakowska koronacja Władysława Łokietka*; (XVII) Marie Bláhová, *Korunovace Karla IV; Petr Čornej, Pražské korunovace 15. století a polské aspirace na český trůn*.

Piotr Goltz

Michał Tomasz Gronowski OSB, *Spór o tradycję. Cluny oczyma swoich i obcych: pomiędzy pochwałą a negacją* (Dispute about Tradition. Cluny in the Eyes of Local Monks and Outsiders), TYNIEC Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, Kraków 2013 (Źródła Monastyczne. Monografie, I), 416 pp., bibliography, index of persons and geographical names, summary in French.

The author discussed the history of the Benedictine abbey in Cluny during the tenth-twelfth century, its monastic identity, and the twelfth-century polemic about the comprehension of the Rule and Benedictine tradition. The book is composed of an introduction, six chapters, a summary, an epilogue, a calendar-appendix, a bibliography, indices, and a résumé. The first two chapters comprise an introduction of sorts, with the first outlining the historical backdrop and the second considering the state of research about the abbey and its role in the Church from the tenth to the twelfth century. The successive chapters present the most important aspects of monastic life within the Cluny context and its references to older tradition as well as the twelfth-century debate conducted by the Cluniacs and representatives of new orders regarding the most essential elements of that tradition. Chapter three thus outlines monastic transformation in Latin Europe and the onset of the Cistercians at the turn of the eleventh century, an order that strove towards a faithful observation of the Rule of St. Benedict and the tradition of the first Desert Fathers. This situation forced the Benedictines, and in particular Cluny Abbey in its capacity as a reform centre, to embark upon a re-definition of its identity in reference to monastic tradition. Chapter four determines the specificity of monastic life at Cluny and the monasteries they reformed. M.T. Gronowski drew attention to the complexity of the Cluny phenomenon and its evolution while analysing the ideas of the reform propagated by the Cluny abbots, the *consuetudines*, which rendered the Rule of St. Benedict more precise and were binding in the Burgundy abbey, as well as numerous lives of the holy abbots: Odo, Majolus, Odilo and Hugh of Semur. The author correctly stressed that the lives formulate an ideal (*speculum*) of a holy monk (Benedictine) and abbot not only for internal use but also for an external one, i.e. as an apology in polemics with the Cistercians and even in relations with the papacy, the Empire, and secular lords. Moreover, M.T. Gronowski indicated that the crisis of the abbey, which took place in the third decade of the twelfth century, was the result of an

extensive pro-reform expansion of Cluny without creating a well-conceived structure of the congregation at the time of the 60 years-long rule of Abbot Hugh of Semur. He went on to claim that the activity of Abbot Peter the Venerable (1122-1156) aimed not only at tackling the attacks launched by the Cistercians and demonstrating that monastic life at Cluny was concurrent with tradition, but also at introducing order into the customs prevailing at the abbey and dependent monasteries and redefining certain models. The last two chapters are a detailed examination of the debate concerning monastic tradition and involving Bernard of Clairvaux, Wilhelm of Saint-Thierry, and Idung of Prüfening (the last two left the Benedictines for the Cistercians) on the one hand, and representatives of Cluny: Peter the Venerable, Hugh of Amiens, and Matthew of Albano, on the other hand. The author analysed thoroughly their writings and polemic pertaining to the most important elements of the monastic ideal, i.e. liturgy, prayer, humility, obedience, stability, conversion, virginity, chastity, silence and formation as well as poverty, means of subsistence, manual labour, hospitality, nourishment, and apparel. By depicting the dispute within the context of existing monastic tradition the author tried to delve into the most profound determinants of the differences between the adversaries. Finally, M.T. Gronowski wrote about loyalty to the Rule of St. Benedict in monastic life and the possibilities of its adaptation in changing reality. The reflections end with the ideological programme of Cluny and its spirit, expressed by *maior ecclesia Cluniacensis* – the Cluny III basilica, erected from the 1080s to the middle of the twelfth century. In the *Epilogue* the author noticed a certain similarity between the view expounded by the most eminent polemicists: Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable at the end of their lives and regarding a possible adaptation of the Rule of St. Benedict and the subsequent departure of the Cistercians from its originally zealous observation. The publication is supplemented with *Kalendarium* of the history of Cluny to the mid-twelfth century and the dispute about tradition, together with an appendix containing three sources connected with the reform of life in Benedictine monasteries in the Reims province, translated by Elwira Buszewicz into the Polish: *Postanowienia opatów zebranych na kapitule w Reims w 1131 roku*, *List Mateusza, biskupa Albano* and *Odpowiedź opatów autorstwa Wilhelma opata Saint-Thierry*. The sources in question essentially supplement the image of the debates concerning the reform of the Benedictines maintained in the Cistercian spirit.

Krzysztof Ożóg

Maksymilian Grzegorz, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny komturstwa świeckiego w średniowieczu* (Historical-Geographic Dictionary of the Secular Komturei during the Middle Ages), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, Bydgoszcz 2012, 110 pp., map; Maksymilian Grzegorz, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny prokuratorstwa bytowskiego komturstwa gdańskiego/malborskiego w średniowieczu* (Historical-Geographic Dictionary of the Bytow Procuratoria in the Gdańsk/Malbork Komturei during the Middle Ages), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, Bydgoszcz 2012, 55 pp., map; Maksymilian Grzegorz, *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny wójtostwa lęborskiego komturstwa gdańskiego w średniowieczu* (Historical-Geographic Dictionary of the Lęborg Voytship in the Gdańsk Komturei during the Middle Ages), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, Bydgoszcz 2013, 102 pp., map.

The presented three books by M. Grzegorz were written as part of *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziem polskich w średniowieczu* and fragments of the volume: *Słownik*

historyczno-geograficzny Pomorza Gdańskiego w średniowieczu. The purpose of the historical-geographical dictionaries is to provide all source information concerning towns, villages, lakes, and rivers, arranged in chronological order to the end of the sixteenth century. In an introduction to each dictionary the author outlined a brief history of the territory discussed in the given volume and presented a scheme of the entries, identical in all volumes. Each entry is composed of eight points and contains the same chronological arrangement of the information. Point 1 discusses the type of settlement and its political, administrative and Church-administrative affiliation. Point 2 informs about the boundaries of the given settlement and the lakes, rivers, marshes, forests, roads and bridges located therein. Point 4 contains information about, i.a. *locatio*, the scultetus, feudal rent or tithe, and in the case of towns also the municipal authorities and, e.g. fairs. Point 5 encompasses information primarily about churches, chapels, parishes, patronia, the clergy, schools and monasteries. Point 6 offers data about the history of the settlement and its inhabitants, i.a. celebrated persons. Point 7 collects data pertaining to sources and writings, while point 8 – information about the outcome of archaeological excavations and monuments of architecture. The fundamental parts of the dictionary are preceded by lists of abbreviations, subjects, and documents. Finally, the book was enhanced with added maps showing the settlement networks of the analysed administration units together with a division of property at the turn of the fourteenth century.

Radosław Krajniak

Czesław Hadamik, *Kasztelania tarska* (The Castellany of Tarczek), Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2011, 209 pp., summary, 24 illustrations, 15 maps, bibliography.

The territorial organisation of the second Piast monarchy and subsequently the realms of the Piasts is one of the most difficult and complex problems of Polish mediaeval studies. Several generations of historians, historians of law, and archaeologists have been involved in disputes concerning the character, function, and time of the establishment of the castle-town organisation and its transformation into a castellany. This extremely difficult domain of research is considered also in the presented study by Cz. Hadamik, discussing an administrative-economic castle-town region within the Piast monarchy, i.e. the castellany of Tarczek, functioning from the turn of the eleventh century in the Łysogóry mountain range and granted to a bishopric in the twelfth century. The publication is composed of eight chapters, a summary, a catalogue of archaeological sites, and a bibliography of sources and publications. The two opening chapters discuss the research premises (pp. 11-20) and the state of historical studies on the titular castellany (pp. 21-26). Chapter three (pp. 27-35) depicts the natural environment of the castellany conceived as an inevitable context for becoming acquainted with the history of the settlement and the economy. Written, archaeological, and toponomastic sources for the history of the Tarczek castellany are presented extensively in the fourth chapter (pp. 36-92). Heretofore conceptions proposed by historians and archaeologists about settlements from the tribal period (to the eleventh century) in the region of Tarczek and its scarce traces in the sources are critically discussed in the fifth chapter (pp. 93-102). The successive chapter (pp. 103-107) focuses on the borders of the supposed Tarczek ducal region, the property of the castellany from the eleventh century to the mid-fourteenth century. In chapter seven (pp. 108-118) Cz. Hadamik posed a convincing hypothesis about the existence in the eleventh-twelfth century of a royal Tarczek region, and in doing so tried to gather all possible source premises in favour of its functioning. The author

suggested with great caution that the main castle-town centre of the region in question was situated on Mt. Łysiec. The last chapter (pp. 119-136) considers the granting of the Tarczek region to the bishopric of Cracow and its transformation into a castellany. The author convincingly proved that the donation was carried out by Bolesław the Wrymouth in 1136-1137 together with a foundation of the Benedictine monastery of the Holy Cross on Mt. Łysiec. Finally, Cz. Hadamik followed the history of the oldest churches within the discussed castellany: the Holy Virgin Mary in Świętomarz (Stary Tarczek) and St. Giles in Tarczek, as well as the bishop's manor house in Tarczek. Finally, he devoted much attention to the *locatio* of towns and settlements as well as economy in the castellany to the middle of the fourteenth century, in particular the *locatio* of Tarczek (prior to 1259) and then of Bodzentyn (between 1348 and 1355), which incorporated the worse developing Tarczek. In the summary the author gathered the most important findings and proposed a synthetic interpretation of the history of the titular castellany to the mid-fourteenth century. The publication is supplemented by a catalogue of archaeological sites with recognised vertical stratigraphy (examined by applying excavation methods).

Krzysztof Ożóg

Historia społeczna późnego średniowiecza: nowe badania (The Social History of the Late Middle Ages: New Studies), ed. Sławomir Gawlas, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warszawa 2011 (=Colloquia – Centrum Historii Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, IV), 403 pp.

This publication is the outcome of an international conference held in December 2008 in the Institute of History at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. The Polish, Lithuanian, and German authors attempted to present a survey of the most prominent aspects of mediaeval Polish society as well as the societies of other European countries. In doing so, they, on the one hand, concentrated on the shape of social structures and, on the other hand, on the directions of further studies. The meeting became an occasion for a discussion on the role of oral and written sources, combined with genealogical research, in the quest for, and determination of a method for becoming acquainted with the past. Each of the several parts of the book deals with the current state of investigations into assorted aspects of social history. Dominating research concerns society in general and is conducted with the help of the genealogical-family method; several works are about generally conceived culture (mainly writings). Another sub-group concentrates on the causes, course, and – most importantly – significance of conflicts in society of the period against a background more extensive than late mediaeval reality. Finally, two articles are about multi-ethnicity exemplified by Red Rus' and Lvov. The texts contained in the volume are: Sławomir Gałas, *Wstęp*; (I) Tomasz Wiślicz, *Dziedzictwo tradycji badawczych historiografii francuskiej, anglosaskiej i niemieckiej we współczesnej historii społecznej*; (II) Thomas Wunsch, *Sozialgeschichte zum Spätmittelalter in Deutschland. Zwischen Tradition und neuen Forschungsfeldern*; (III) Rita Regina Trimonienè, *Badania nad społeczeństwem Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Aktualne problemy*; (IV) Sławomir Gawlas, *Badania nad społeczeństwem polskim późnego średniowiecza. Aktualne problemy*; (V) Jan Wroniszewski, *Metoda genealogiczno-rodowa w badaniach historii społecznej. Bilans i perspektywy*; (VI) Marian Dygo, *Historia gospodarcza a historia społeczna*; (VII) Halina Manikowska, *Spoleczne zróżnicowanie zjawisk kultury*; (VIII) Ewa Wólkiewicz, *Późnośredniowieczna rezydencja jako zjawisko społeczne w badaniach niemieckich*; (IX) Jerzy Kaliszuk, *Przemiany społecznych funkcji pisma w późnym średniowieczu. Programy badawcze i ich rezultaty*; (X) Anna Adamska, *Czy*

potrzebna nam jest społeczna historia języka?); (XI) Tomasz Jurek, *Pismo w życiu społecznym Polski późnego średniowiecza*; (XII) Roman Czaja, *Pismo i przekaz ustny w służbie władzy w Prusach w XV wieku*; (XIII) Marek A. Janicki, *Inskrypcja w przestrzeni publicznej – przykład Krakowa i Małopolski w XIV-XV wieku. Uwagi historyczne i metodologiczne*; (XIV) Agnieszka Bartoszewicz, *Piśmienność mieszczańska w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*; (XV) Aneta Pieniądz, *Sądowe i pozasądowe metody rozwiązywania konfliktów we wczesnym średniowieczu. Zarys problematyki*; (XVI) Marcin Rafał Pauk, *Konflikt i pojednanie w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym. Przypadek Fryderyka z Schönburga i biskupa ołomunieckiego Dytryka (1285)*; (XVII) Sobiesław Szybowski, *Konflikt, pojednanie i autorytety ziemskie w piętnastowiecznej Polsce. Przykład Kujaw*; (XVIII) Andrzej Janeczek, *Zróżnicowanie etniczne wobec integracji państwowej i stanowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*; (XIX) Jürgen Heyde, *Ethnische Gruppenbildung in der spätmittelalterlichen Gesellschaft. Die Armeni in Lemberg und das Armenische Statut von 1519*.

Piotr Goltz

In memoriam honoremque Casimiri Jasińskiego, ed. Jarosław Wenta, Piotr Oliński, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2010 (=Publikacje Centrum Mediewistycznego Wydziału Nauk Historycznych UMK, no. 2; Scientiae Auxiliares Historiae, I), 299 pp.

The presented book was issued to publish the results of most recent research and to commemorate Professor Kazimierz Jasiński (1920-1997), an outstanding historian, an expert on the Polish and European Middle Ages, a specialist in the auxiliary sciences of history (in particular genealogy and chronology), and a correspondent member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. The publication is composed of the following parts: Jarosław Wenta, *Wstęp* (actually a reminiscence about the professor); Ireneusz Czarcziński (prep.) *Bibliografia prac Profesora Kazimierza Jasińskiego za lata 1950-1997*; (I) Henryk Samsonowicz, *Trzy rodzaje źródła: głos, obraz, pismo*; (II) Jan Tęgowski, *Perspektywy badań nad genealogią dynastyczną w Polsce*; (III) Zenon Piech, *W drodze do podręcznika sfragistyki (staro)polskiej*; (IV) Dariusz Dąbrowski, *Miejsca pochówków Mściławowiczów (XII-XIII w.)*; (V) Joachim Zdenka, *Zapisy genealogiczne ksiąg śląsko-ziębickich w rodzinnej Biblii Podiebradów*; (VI) Janusz Grabowski, *Dokument starosty krzyżackiego, Jana z Narzymia – Hannusa von Wildenau z 6 X 1395 roku*; (VII) Roman Stelmach, *Toruniana zachowane w zbiorach Archiwum Państwowego we Wrocławiu*; (VIII) Błażej Śliwiński, *Rola i znaczenie grodu w Sartowicach w pierwszej połowie lat 40. XIII wieku*; (IX) Edward Rymar, *Wojna z Brandenburgią (1299) przyczyną upadku rządów Władysława Łokietka?*; (X) Marek Cetwiński, *Radków, grudzień 1425 roku: wspólnota w godzinie próby*; (XI) Piotr Oliński, *Spoleczne uwarunkowania zapisów testamentowych w średniowiecznym Elblągu*; (XII) Jan Szymczak, *Grzyby, ryby i polewki na średniowiecznym stole i w kotle obozowym*; (XIII) Franciszek Sikora, *Dyplomatyka i towy, lecieństwo i pszczoły. Z dziejów Puszczy Radłowskiej w średniowieczu*; (XIV) Antoni Barciak, *Dorobek naukowy Profesora Kazimierza Jasińskiego i perspektywy badań nad średniowiecznym Śląskiem*; (XV) Stanisław Szczur, *Zjazd praski Kazimierza Wielkiego z 1341 roku*; (XVI) Alicja Szymczakowa, *Współwłaściciele Burzenina nad Wartą w późnym średniowieczu*; (XVII) Rościsław Zerelek, *Litera "W" w symbolice miejskiej. Mały herb Wrocławia*. The collection of texts appeared as part of two publishing series, of which neither was precisely defined although in the case of one of them we may suspect that in the future its range will include studies on the auxiliary sciences of history.

Piotr Goltz

Kazimierz Wielki i jego państwo: w siedemsetną rocznicę urodzin ostatniego Piasta na tronie polskim (Kazimierz the Great and His State: Upon the 700th Anniversary of the Birth of the Last Piast Ruler on the Polish Throne), ed. Jacek Maciejewski, Tomasz Nowakowski, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, Bydgoszcz 2011, 248 pp.

This collective work about the reign and person of King Kazimierz the Great (1310-1370) is a summary of a conference held in Bydgoszcz on 25-27 April 2010 at a university named after this outstanding ruler; the event was organised to mark the 700th anniversary of his birth. In 16 studies researchers from Poland, Germany, Ukraine, and Hungary presented numerous aspects of the life and accomplishments of the last representative of the Piast dynasty on the Polish throne: (I) Jerzy Wyrozumski, *Wielki organizator zjednoczonego państwa*; (II) Dániel Bagi, *Kazimierz Wielki i jego czasy w historiografii węgierskiej XIX i XX wieku*; (III) Thomas Wünsch, Roepell – Schmid – Seibt. *One and a Half Centuries of German Historiography on Casimir III the Great (Middle of 19th-End of 20th Century)* (summary in Polish); (IV) Leontiy Voytovich, *Walka o spadek po Romanowiczach a król polski Kazimierz III Wielki* (translation into the Polish, a summary in English); (V) Tomasz Nowakowski, *Kazimierz Wielki w dawnej i współczesnej historiografii polskiej*; (VI) Jacek Woźny, *Archeologia wobec przelomu cywilizacyjnego w XIV-wiecznej Polsce*; (VII) Dariusz Dąbrowski, *Genealogia Kazimierza Wielkiego na tle porównawczym*; (VIII) Stanisław A. Sroka, *Węgierskie i luksemburskie zabiegi o legitymizację córek Kazimierza Wielkiego*; (IX) Andrzej Marzec, *Geneza stronnictwa "panów krakowskich" w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*; (X) Jacek Maciejewski, *Zabiegi króla Kazimierza III Wielkiego o obsadę stolic biskupich*; (XI) Zbigniew Zyglewski, *Polityka klasztorna Kazimierza Wielkiego*; (XII) Wiesław Sieradzan, *Proces warszawsko-uniejowski w 1339 roku na tle średniowiecznych metod rozwiązywania konfliktu między państwowego w późnym średniowieczu*; (XIII) Robert Bubczyk, *Miejsce gier i zabaw w kulturze dworskiej i rycerskiej monarchii Kazimierza Wielkiego*; (XIV) Lech Łbik, *Pamięć podszyta tęsknotą. Król Kazimierz Wielki w legendach i podaniach ludowych*; (XV) Teresa Maresz, *Polska Kazimierzowska w polskich, rosyjskich, białoruskich i ukraińskich podręcznikach do historii*; (XVI) Piotr Zwierzchowski, *Kazimierz Wielki Ewy i Czesława Petelskich w kontekście filmowych wizerunków władców Polski*.

Piotr Goltz

Krzysztof Kowalewski, *Rycerze, włodcy, panosze: ludzie systemu lennego w średniowiecznych Czechach*, (Knights, włodcy, panosze: People of the Feudal System in Bohemia), Instytut Historii PAN i Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa 2009, 230 pp., bibliography, index of persons, summary in German.

A presentation of the emergence of the feudal system in the royal demesne of the last Přemyslids and the first representatives of the Luxembourg dynasty (chapter one) together with the formation of groups of vassals, their legal status and typology. The author also examined the crisis of the system and the reasons for the exclusion of estates from under feudal control. The chronological range encompasses a period spanning from the origin of the feudal system in the royal demesne (end of the thirteenth century) to the early sixteenth century. The author is interested in representatives of a gradually distinct legal-social group: royal servants, whose appearance coincided with feudal organisation in the royal demesne; hence, their existence depended on the condition of the institution of the

monarchy. Within a wider context their fate could introduce new information about social processes in late mediaeval Bohemia and the emergence of an estate society, in particular the gentry. The introduction is a survey of existing studies and a wider presentation of the titular problem. The second chapter considers the feudal system at the time of the crisis of the monarchy (fifteenth century-early sixteenth century).

Piotr Goltz

Rafał Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w XIII-XV wieku (do 1454 r.)* (Milling in the Teutonic Order State in Prussia during the Thirteenth-fifteenth Century /to 1454/), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 2012, 609 pp., 9 maps, bibliography, indices of geographical names, persons and subjects, CD.

The presented work depicts the functioning of mills as a *sui generis* branch of the food industry within a wider context of the organisation of social life, urbanisation, and the development of trade and crafts in the Teutonic Order state in Prussia from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century. An extensive survey of mediaeval and modern written sources (including cartographic ones) conducted by R. Kubicki provided information about watermills and windmills in the region in question in the middle of the fifteenth century. Examined sources became the foundation of all the analyses carried out by the author. In the introduction (pp. 9-18) R. Kubicki presented the state of research focused on milling in the Teutonic Order state, the sources, and the applied methods. Chapter one (pp. 19-115) discusses in detail legal issues pertaining to grain mills in Teutonic Order Prussia from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, with the author stressing that the legal order was based on a mill regale binding and consistently observed in the Teutonic Order state; this was the reason why the right to build and use a windmill was enjoyed only after obtaining a suitable privilege from the supreme authorities, i.e. the Knights, a bishop, a chapter, a monastery, a town or a knight. R. Kubicki characterised the policy pursued by the Order regarding the mill regale, together with suitable privileges issued by the grand master and officials of the Order as well as by bishops, chapters, and monasteries in their estates and by knights on their landed estates. The author portrayed the situation of mills in particular categories of the estates and the varied legal position of the millers. Moreover, he studied individual types of mill ownership (according to the Chełmno, Magdeburg and Prussian law), inheritance, the reservation of sites for erecting a mill, and the legal aspect of turnovers (purchase, sale, exchange). The second chapter (pp. 117-170) is an exhaustive analysis of source information about different varieties of mills, their construction, outfitting and technology of erection as well as the costs of the latter. In turn, chapter three (pp. 171-251) delves into the prominent problem of the organisation of production in mills situated in the Teutonic Order state. In doing so, the author considered a number of issues, starting with the mill masters administering the Teutonic Order mills and showing the annual cycle of the work performed by the mills, the productivity of watermills and windmills, the mill products, the provisions delivered by the mills to the authorities (rent, *plużne*), the payments made to the parish priest, the mill obligation, and payments in return for using mills. In chapter four (pp. 253-287) R. Kubicki described a group of millers composed of mill owners and leaseholders, indicating their legal and social distinction as well as inner economic and legal differentiation, especially vivid among the village millers. The author pointed out the possibilities of special promotion available to millers, expressly in Prussian towns. The last chapter (pp. 289-341) is about the development of a network of mills in the Teutonic Order state. R. Kubicki showed

the geographical (river network) and settlement conditions for the growth of the network in question. Next, he followed the creation and increasing density of the network of rural, town, Teutonic Order, bishops' and chapter mills to the middle of the fifteenth century, emphasising the dependence between rural and urban settlement structures and the network as well as the consistent policy of the Teutonic Order as regards the colonisation and development of Prussian lands, together with the concern demonstrated by the Order authorities about mills established next to castles and the income produced by them and the town mills. The author also captured the phenomenon of mill regions exemplified by the procuratoria of Szestno. The outcome of research about connections between mills and settlements in select terrains of the komturei of Dzierzgoń, Bałgijsk, Pokarmińsk, and Elbląg and the procuratoria of Szestno has been presented in the form of four maps, while tables show the number of mills mentioned in the Teutonic Order state and its particular administrative units. Moreover, R. Kubicki characterised a network of the Order town mills and the bishops' and chapter mills. The summary (pp. 343-348) is a concise presentation of the outcome of the author's studies about milling in the Order state, supplemented by additional four maps, of which the first portrays mills in the Teutonic Order state mentioned to 1400, the second – mills recorded to 1454, the third – the level of rents paid by the mills in the first half of the fifteenth century, and the last – a network of mills classified according to types of ownership and rent. All told, this is a synthetic interpretation of R. Kubicki's findings. The publication is supplemented by lists of rents obtained from windmills and watermills to 1454 (pp. 357-414) and of windmills and watermills in Prussia, mentioned to 1454 (pp. 420-540), a detailed map on a CD, showing mills added onto a map of Prussia executed by Friedrich Leopold von Schroetter and a single sequence of the Reymann map, followed by a bibliography of sources, publications, and maps, and finally, indices: subject, geographical names, persons, and localities (German-Polish and German-Russian).

Krzysztof Ożóg

Karol Nabiałek, *Starostwo olsztyńskie od XIV do połowy XVII wieku* (The Olsztyn Starostwo from the Fourteenth to the Mid-Seventeenth Century), Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, Kraków 2012, 636 pp., summary, 11 illustrations, 2 maps, bibliography, index of persons and geographical names.

The administration of the royal demesne in mediaeval and modern Poland is rarely studied in historiography. The presented publication is an attempt at a monographic interpretation of the history of the non-castle town starostwo of Olsztyn (lease), located in the northern part of the land of Cracow, spanning from the establishment of a complex of royal landed estates in the first half of the fourteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century. The study, based on copious source material, chiefly handwritten and originating from the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, is composed of an introduction, six chapters, a summary, an appendix, a bibliography, and indices. In the introduction (pp. 17-37) the author summed up the state of research about royal estates and the Olsztyn starostwo; he also characterised the used sources. The first chapter (pp. 39-57) discusses questions associated with the oldest settlements in the territory of the subsequent starostwo of Olsztyn, the Mstów settlement, and the defensive *castrum Przemilowicz* on Castle Hill. In turn, in chapter two (pp. 59-122) K. Niziołek depicted the origin of a complex of royal estates in the first half of the fourteenth century and its organisation and administration as a burgraviate and then as a starostwo to 1391, together

with the changes introduced at the time of Duke Władysław of Opole in 1370-1391. The third chapter (pp. 123-259) deals with the boundaries, properties, and revenues of the titular starostwo (lease) from 1391 to the middle of the seventeenth century and the development of the settlement movement in the region, at the time supervised by Olsztyn Castle. The next chapter (pp. 261-349) considers the history of Olsztyn Castle from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, in particular its architectural transformations, socio-topography, military functions, and political fate. All the Olsztyn starostas-leaseholders, together with their legal titles, duties, rights, and activity are presented in chapter five (pp. 351-453). On the other hand, the starosta's staff (burgaves, deputy starostas, castle garrison, and local functionaries) is discussed in great detail in the last chapter (pp. 455-543). Finally (pp. 545-553), the author summed up the outcome of his analyses, claiming that royal estates organised into non-castle-town starostwas (leases) comprised an essential element of the territorial organisation of the Polish state during the Late Middle Ages and the early modern age. The publication is supplemented with an appendix containing a list of the officials of the Olsztyn starostwo during the titular period.

Krzysztof Ożóg

Rafał Ojrzyński, *Obraz Polski i Polaków w pismach Eneasza Sylwiusza Piccolominięo (papieża Piusa II)* (The Image of Poland and the Poles in the Writings of Enea Silvio Piccolomini /Pope Pius II/), Wydawnictwo DiG, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2014 (Fasciculi Historici Novi, XIV), 200 pp., summary, bibliography, index of persons.

From the time when Ignacy Zarębski published a study about the relations between Enea Silvio and Poland and the Poles (1939) interest in the Italian humanist has been relatively modest in Polish historiography. The problem was approached once again by Rafał Ojrzyński, a young historian from Warsaw, who decided to analyse all the statements made by Piccolomini about Poland and the Poles and to capture their image and the evolution of the pertinent opinions held by the influential Italian humanist. This is the reason for the application of a chronological key in order to analyse particular writings. In doing so, R. Ojrzyński made use not only of Piccolomini's entire printed *oeuvre*, but also of the vast literature on the topic, preserved in numerous languages and pertaining to the writings and activity of the future pope. The book is composed of an introduction, four chapters, a summary, an appendix, and a bibliography of sources and publications. The introduction (pp. 9-29) discusses the accomplishments of world historiography, in particular those from several past decades, concerning Enea Silvio and his works; the author also characterised them within the context of fifteenth-century Italian humanism. The first chapter (pp. 31-44) outlines Piccolomini's concise biography, facilitating a comprehension of the arguments contained in successive chapters. The life and works of Piccolomini were thus divided into three main periods: Basel (1432-1443), Vienna (1443-1458) oraz Rome (1458-1464); adhering to this configuration the author analysed Piccolomini's statements about Poland and the Poles. The second chapter (pp. 45-57) is about the relatively few and brief mentions made by Enea Silvio about the Polish Kingdom and Polish participants attending the Council of Basel. In turn, chapter three (pp. 58-153) encompasses the most productive stage in the activity of the titular humanist, with R. Ojrzyński extracting from assorted writings, including historical and

historical-geographic treatises as well as correspondence, a whole gamut of conclusions made by the Italian humanist about Poland and its problems; the opinions are frequently controversial and adverse towards the Poles. The author attempted to show the context and sources of Piccolomini's knowledge and views about Poland, and carefully followed all changes in the humanist's attitude discernible in his declarations about Polish issues. The last chapter (pp. 154-160) contains R. Ojrzyński's analysis of mentions about Polish missions to the Apostolic See in 1459 (for the congress in Mantua) and 1461 as well as a concise description of the reign of Władysław Warneńczyk in Hungary, described in *Diaries* by Pius II, the pope's most celebrated work, whose range includes the entire pontificate (1458-1464). The summary (pp. 161-167) draws attention to the significant impact of the *oeuvre* of Enea Silvio upon later authors, in particular sixteenth-century Italian historians writing about Poland, and accentuates the essential evolution of the views of the eminent humanist about Poland and the Poles, in this manner undermining the stand represented by numerous researchers writing about the unambiguously anti-Polish attitude represented by Piccolomini. The publication is supplemented by an appendix (pp. 168-172), in which R. Ojrzyński listed in chronological order Piccolomini's writings and their editions.

Krzysztof Ożóg

Persona, gestus habitusque, insignium: zachowania i atrybuty jako wyznaczniki tożsamości społecznej jednostki w średniowieczu (*Persona, gestus habitusque, insignium: Behaviour and Attributes as Determinants of the Social Identity of an Individual in the Middle Ages*), ed. Jacek Banaszekiewicz, Jacek Maciejewski, Joanna Sobiesiak, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2009, 166 pp., colour illustrations.

A collection of studies mainly about the determinants of the social position as well as behaviour suitable for an individual in accordance with his place within the community. The publication features expertise and in-depth methodological reflection. The authors are not solely acclaimed Polish historians but also representatives of the young generation. The collected works pertain to the history of Central Europe, albeit not exclusively. The volume is a summary of a conference held in Lubostroń on 14-16 September 2006 and is composed of an introduction by J. Banaszekiewicz and 13 articles. J. Banaszekiewicz referred to the theory launched by Gerd Althoff (published in particular in the collected works of this German scholar: *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*), thanks to which the recognition of the rite, its mechanism and social application as the fundamental measure for understanding the functioning of the mediaeval community expanded research so as to encompass the possibilities of self-expression by a mediaeval individual. At the same time, the author stressed that the rites, gestures, and accessories encountered in sources are not merely a reflection of a postulated vision of the world but an actual part of the reality of the past. The published works in the collection are: (I) Sebastian Ruciński, *"De habitu, quo uti oportet intra urbem". Strój wyznacznikiem pozycji społecznej i przynależności kulturowej na podstawie regulacji zawartych w Kodeksie Teodozjańskim*; (II) Przemysław Tyszka, *Niewolnicy i panowie – wyznaczniki statusu społecznego w państwie Merowingów (przekazy narracyjne i "leges barbarorum")*; (III) Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Królewskie gesty słowiańskich dynastów w XI wieku na przykładzie Piastów i Przemyślidów*; (IV) Joanna Sobiesiak, *Książę Wacław na uczcie – książę Wacław gospodarz*; (V) Jacek Maciejewski, *Książę i żebrak, czyli jak biskup żyć powinien*; (VI) Zbigniew Dalewski,

"*Pedibus vestris provoltus*". Znaczenie gestu ukorzenia w kulturze politycznej średniowiecza; (VII) Mariusz Bartnicki, *Wizerunki książąt Romanowiczów w kronice halicko-wołyńskiej*; (VIII) Krzysztof Boroda, "*Ipsa est ignarus gracie et in omnibus ydyota*", czyli o tożsamości grupowej średniowiecznych studentów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego; (IX) Sławomir Zonenberg, *Wizerunek heretyka w Preussische Chronik dominikanina Szymona Grunaua*; (X) Lech Łbik, *Grzeszny giermek pruski pobożnym pielgrzymem*; (XI) Robert Bubczyk, *Postacie średniowiecznego pola szachowego*; (XII) Aleksander Jankowski, *Na tropach genezy portretu "en pied" w reprezentacyjnych kompozycjach memoratywnych fundatorów późnośredniowiecznych dekoracji ściennych wewnątrz sakralnych*; (XIII) Andrzej Dąbrówka, *Czynnik czasu w topicie zachowań znaczących kulturowo*.

Piotr Goltz

Piotr Plisiecki, *Relacje dziesięcinne w dekanacie Kije według tzw. Liber Beneficiorum Jana Długosza. Wykazy i tabele* (Tithe Reports in the Deanery of Kije according to the so-called *Liber Beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz. Lists and Tables), Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 2012, 317 pp., tables, bibliography.

The book by Piotr Plisiecki is about select elements of the tithe praxis in reference to the deanery of Kije, part of the praepositura of Wiślica in the diocese of Cracow in 1470-1480, i.e. at the time of the origin of the so-called *Liber Beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz. During this period, the discussed deanery encompassed 23 parishes; hence, the book is divided into 23 parts. The presented material has been arranged into groups according to a scheme in which a description of each parish is accompanied by the parish region, area, type of tithe, and the tithe recipient. Apart from a list of abbreviations the book also contains four tables, with the first showing the estimated population density of the titular deanery in about 1340 and 1470, while the second considers the patronage of the tithe recipients and the ownership of the property from which the tithe originated. Table three describes the types of cultivated fields in the deanery of Kije, from which tithes went to particular recipients, and the last table – localities in the diocese of Cracow with at least 25 lanes, mentioned in *Liber Beneficiorum*.

Radosław Krajniak

Stanisław Rosik, *Bolesław Krzywousty*, Wydawnictwo Chronicon, Wrocław 2013, 339 pp., index of persons, bibliography.

The author of this biography of Bolesław the Wrymouth, a Polish ruler from the Piast dynasty (1102-1138), intended to describe not only the life of the monarch but also the process that moulded historical remembrance. While working on the biography S. Rosik made meticulous use of all written and material sources associated with Bolesław and the most important literature on the subject. At the same time, it must be noted that the basic guide in the biographical narration is composed of written sources, predominantly the chronicles of an Anonymous known as Gallus, and Cosmas of Prague, followed by the lives of St. Otto of Bamberg, *The Polish Chronicle* by Master Wincenty, and later historiographic sources. S. Rosik portrayed the duke in a wide context of the epoch and its political, intellectual, and spiritual culture. The book is divided into four basic periods, starting with Bolesław's childhood, upbringing, education, and adolescence, followed by his youth, conflicts with his brother, Zbigniew, competing for rule over the entire state, the policy concerning Pomerania and the latter's ensuing conquest and conversion, to the

difficult last years of the reign and Wrymouth's "testament". The publication starts with *Prolog. Narodziny herosa*, in which S. Rosik, with the story of the birth of the Wrymouth recorded in *The Polish Chronicle* by Gallus Anonymus as his point of departure, discussed not only the source material foundation of his arguments but also the workshop and methodology questions that an historian encounters while working on a biography. The book ends with the chapter: *Ikona władcy*, showing the likeness of Bolesław the Wrymouth functioning in sources from the period and later tradition, all the way to the twentieth century. The biography, written in an extremely vibrant style, often conducts a polemic with the findings of its predecessors, primarily Karol Maleczyński and Roman Grodecki. In doing so, it discloses the weak points of the assorted hypotheses proposed by numerous researchers and conducts thorough analyses of sources. The afore-mentioned polemic sometimes poses questions that remain suspended, without offering any solutions. Furthermore, while presenting certain problems concerning the foreign policy of Bolesław the Wrymouth, in particular his complex relations with the Přemyslids of Bohemia and the Arpad dynasty of Hungary, the author rarely referred to studies by Czech and Hungarian mediaevalists and remains satisfied with the views proposed by Polish historiography. Nonetheless, his biography of Bolesław the Wrymouth remains a successful attempt at a modern biographical approach.

Krzysztof Ożóg

Waldemar Rozynekowski, *Studia nad liturgią w Zakonie Krzyżackim w Prusach. Z badań nad religijnością w późnym średniowieczu* (Studies on Liturgy in the Teutonic Order in Prussia. From Research into Religiosity in the Late Middle Ages), Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2012, 299 pp., bibliography, summary in German.

The publication deals with several selected aspects of liturgy in the Teutonic Order monastic community in Prussia. The author conducted an extensive survey of mediaeval and early modern sources, both printed and handwritten, extracting debates and little known material (especially from the inventories of Order chapels) pertaining to the liturgical life of the Order in Prussia up to secularisation in 1525. An analysis of sources combined with benefitting from the accomplishments of studies as regards mediaeval liturgy made it possible to characterise the most important elements of the cult observed in the Order monasteries in Prussia. Chapter one (pp. 21-47) thus shows the daily celebration of the Liturgy of the Hours and Holy Mass in the Order monastic community, while the second chapter (pp. 49-76) examines numerous symptoms of the Eucharist cult (including Corpus Christi, the display and storage of the Blessed Sacrament, the granting of Holy Communion, and adoration in the course of Holy Mass). In turn, the author devoted chapter three (pp. 77-102) to symptoms of Marian piety by discussing holidays in honour of the Virgin Mary in the Order's liturgical calendar, altars, likenesses, the Marian chasuble, and the prayer of the Holy Rosary. In chapter four (pp. 103-134) W. Rozynekowski characterised the cult of the most prominent holy patrons (St. Barbara, St. Elisabeth, St. George and St. Hubert) of the Teutonic Order, demonstrated in the liturgical rank of holidays held in honour of these saints, the cult of relics, likenesses, patrocinia, and pilgrimages. Successive parts of the publication are based on preserved sources, chiefly inventories, so as to present in detail the liturgical outfitting of the Order chapels (chapter five, pp. 135-182), the books used for liturgical purposes (chapter six, pp. 183-207), and the vestments worn by the Knights to celebrate the liturgy (chapter seven, pp. 209-238). The book ends with chapter seven (pp. 239-262) commenting on the functioning of certain elements of the Knights' liturgical heritage in Prussian dioceses after the secularisation

of the Order in 1525. The summary (pp. 263-266) contains the author's most significant findings about the religious life of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia.

Krzysztof Ożóg

Joanna Sobiesiak, *Od Lechowego Pola (955) do Mediolanu (1158): w służbie monarchów Rzeszy. Relacje czeskich źródeł narracyjnych o wyprawach Przemyslidów* (From Lechfeld /955/ to Milan /1158/: In the Service of the Monarchs of the Reich. Accounts in Bohemian Narrative Sources about the Expeditions of the Přemyslids), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2011, 148 pp., bibliography, index of persons, index of geographic names, genealogical tables.

This collection of studies is the outcome of a grant issued by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education for the author's project: *Czeski udział militarny w służbie królów i cesarzy niemieckich (X-XII wiek)*. The book is a contemporary reference to problems broached by Arnold Volf and Arnold Köster at the beginning of the twentieth century. The author, a historian from the Department of Mediaeval World History at the Marie Curie-Skłodowska University, intended to expand knowledge about the integration of Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire in the Early Middle Ages, prior to the establishment of the Přemyslid monarchy. The temporal range of the analysis spans from the presence of Bohemian detachments fighting on the German side at the battle of Lechfeld (955) to the Italian expeditions of Frederick Barbarossa. The author placed particular emphasis on the variable conditions of the Přemyslid undertakings both within an inner context and in the Reich. Another essential question involves a definition of the degree of the actual dependence of the successive rulers of Bohemia upon the monarchs of the Reich. It is worth adding that the examined chronicles by Bohemian authors: Cosmas, the Canon of Vyšehrad, the Monk of Sazawa, Vincent of Prague, and Jarloch are treated as expressions of the Bohemian *raison d'état*, written by persons closely attached to the Přemyslids and thus from this position describing and commenting on contemporary socio-political reality as well as events from the distant past.

The objective of the research, outlined in the introduction (where the topics of the particular parts are signalled), was achieved in five *case studies*, of which the third and the fourth are published for the first time. Sobiesiak began the first study: *Bitwa na Lechowym Polu (955 rok)* from the earliest contacts between the Carolingian Empire and the Bohemians confirmed in the source, and went on to analyse the course of the battle. In the second text: *Zależność polityczna a udział Czechów w wyprawach władców niemieckich w opinii Kosmasy* the author examined the relations between the rulers from Prague and the Reich from the time of the recognition by Vladivoj of the supremacy of Henry II (Regensburg, 1002); this event was a precedent according to which the rulers of the Reich enjoyed the right to confirm their counterparts in Prague despite the fact that the Bohemians still elected their duke. Episodes in those relations included the expulsion of all the Germans from the land by Svyatopluk II (1055-1061) at the very onset of his reign, and the battles waged by Bretislav (Břetislav) I (1035-1055) with King Henry III, the cooperation of Vratislav (Vratislav) II (later a king) with Henry IV. Sobiesiak also attempted to resolve why the account by Cosmas includes only a brief and indistinctive mention of the battle of Lechfeld. "*Milites Boemorum*" *we włoskich kampaniach władców Rzeszy. Relacje czeskich dziejopisów z XI-XII wieku* pertains to the praxis of dispatching Bohemian reinforcements supporting the rulers of the Reich in their expeditions to Italy, confirmed in sources, although there is no detailed information about the conditions of

this event. Pertinent data are to be found in the Golden Bull issued by Frederick II in 1226, according to which the Bohemian ruler was to appear voluntarily together with 300 armed men or resign from participation by paying 300 grzywnas of silver; the purpose of the expeditions was exclusively the coronation of the Emperor. Upon the basis of sources Sobiesiak distinguished between two types of expeditions: the objective of the first, earlier one, was the imperial crown for the ruler of Germany, and the second was a war expedition (aimed at subduing the rebels). A discussion of successive expeditions in which the Bohemians took part inclined the author to conclude that the opinions of the Bohemian chroniclers were similar and they treated the expeditions as something obvious, not subject to negotiations or demanding consent by the Bohemian side. The only exception was Cosmas, who resorted to legal arguments in favour of Bohemian assistance for the Italian expedition. The fourth study: *Władysław II w Italii: w służbie cesarza czy dla własnych korzyści?* is about the reasons, course, and consequences of the fact that King Vladislas II accompanied Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in one of the latter's six interventions in Italy (namely, the second one in 1158-1162). Sobiesiak also mentioned a summons to a fourth expedition (1166-11168), addressed, interestingly, no longer to Vladislas but to Daniel, the bishop of Prague, formerly an active and talented diplomat working for the German rulers. Bishop Daniel was to join a successive expedition led by Frederick, possibly together with the king's brother Detpold and Oldřich Sobeslavovic. Sources do not mention the eventual participation of Vladislas II. The author is of the opinion that the characteristic feature of the Bohemian-German relations was pragmatism. The rulers of the Reich treated their Přemyslid allies instrumentally, granting them assorted privileges (including a royal crown) but, at the same time, were capable of turning away from them. Take the example of the fate of Vladislas II, who first collaborated with Frederick II against Bolesław the Curly (1157) and was awarded with the royal crown (Regensburg 1158); despite his presence in the second Italian expedition it remains unknown whether he took part in the fourth one (this was a novelty since the Bohemians usually dispatched to the expeditions the sons, brothers or nephews of their rulers). The Emperor did not express consent for the inheritance of the Bohemian crown by Frederick, the king's son, even after the father's abdication for the latter's sake in 1172 (another unprecedented gesture); subsequently, the ducal throne was presented to Oldřich, who, in turn, bestowed it upon his brother, Soběslav. Finally, all swore an oath to the emperor, promising to take part in a consecutive expedition to Italy. The last chapter: *Królewskie "gesta" Władysława II w przekazie Wincentego z Pragi – wyprawa włoska 1158 roku* describes the expedition of Vladislas against Milan. This *passus* in Wincenty's work was considered to be an expression of strivings to accentuate the ambitions of the chief protagonist, sometimes in an exaggerated manner, intent on stressing the royal potential of Vladislas conceived as worthy of the royal crown. It thus becomes even more obvious that Wincenty dedicated his work to Vladislas and that the king's participation was unfavourably perceived by his subjects.

Piotr Goltz

Błażej Stanisławski, Władysław Filipowiak, *Wolin wczesnośredniowieczny, część I* (Early Mediaeval Wolin, part I), in: (=Origines Polonorum, VI, scientific editor of the series Przemysław Urbańczyk), Warszawa 2013, 470 pp.

The Foundation for Polish Science finances a series of monographs written several years ago as part of the "Polish lands at the turn of millennia" programme launched

by the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology at the Polish Academy of Sciences. The publications in question presented the outcome and interpretation of excavations initiated at the turn of the 1940s in the most prominent early mediaeval centres in Poland and continued in stages during subsequent decades. Previous monographs discussed the results of research carried out in Lublin, Kołobrzeg, Przemyśl, Płock, and Szczecin. Wolin is particularly important owing to the role played by the town, and in time trade centre, from the end to the end of the eleventh century, and in particular its political function, whose interpretation is still incomplete, at the time of the emergence of the state of Mieszko I in the tenth century.

The systematic studies pertaining to Wolin and performed by W. Filipowiak for fifty years were meticulously published by him and his co-workers as reports, works concerning individual sites comprising the entire agglomeration on the Dzwina, and studies on particular types of monuments (pottery, bone, wooden artefacts, natural remnants). The incessant influx of new discoveries, often conducted in the course of construction-technical work (and associated salvage excavations), inclined W. Filipowiak to leave the "great" synthesis of Wolin for the future.

Part I of the monograph and the opening chapter were written by B. Stanisławski (author also of the introduction and the summary), who in recent years has been greatly involved in the Wolin studies, as well as by W. Filipowiak and M. Jusza (author of excellent drawings of monuments and reconstructions). The next chapter, about the crafts, was written by A.B. Kowalska and B. Stanisławski, while the third deals with studies relating to religion and written sources (S. Rosik) while a sub-chapter considers the etymology of Slavonic names (E. Rzetelska-Feleszko and A. Petrulevich). The undoubtedly noteworthy first chapter is wholly concerned with the outcome of archaeological research performed in 1996-2002, which provided extremely valuable findings, especially from a dig known as "Ogrody" – wooden constructions, pottery, militaria, and numerous discoveries connected with religion. For many years, one of the motifs associated with Wolin has been its identification with Jomsborg, well known from sagas, as well as the role played by Scandinavian arrivals. Here, pertinent research produced numerous new monuments indicating the presence, mainly in the second half of the tenth century, of representatives of the Scandinavian elite, evidenced by findings of decorations, militaria, and many objects of symbolic significance and essential importance for the arrivals. In his analyses B. Stanisławski attempted to establish the connection between the emergence of assorted types of pottery and eventual outside impact. This is by no means an easy issue since written sources unambiguously indicate the political character of Wolin and the presence of persons of different origin, co-inhabitants of the local Slavonic population. Without doubt, the second part of the publication, including texts by several authors, should be anticipated with great interest. Unfortunately, Władysław Filipowiak, a scholar who had devoted his lifelong activity to Wolin, died in 2013 but work pertaining to consecutive studies is being continued by Wojciech Filipowiak, his grandson and head of the Polish Academy of Sciences station on Wolin.

Marek Konopka

Robert Urbański, *Tartarorum gens brutalis: trzynastowieczne najazdy mongolskie w literaturze polskiego średniowiecza na porównawczym tle piśmiennictwa łacińskiego antyku i wieków średnich* (*Tartarorum gens brutalis: Thirteenth-century Mongol Invasions in Polish Mediaeval Literature against a Comparative Background of Classical and Mediaeval Latin Writings*), Instytut Badań Literackich PAN i Wydawnictwo Stowarzyszenia Pro Cultura Litteraria, Warszawa 2007 (=Studia Staropolskie. Series Nova, XV), 324 pp., bibliography index of persons.

The author chose as his objective the examination of Polish mediaeval historiography so as to extract an image of the Mongol invasions. A considerable part of the publication is a precisely outlined comparative background, namely, the depiction of the barbarian invader in European culture from the Biblical-classical heritage to the end of the Middle Ages. The research pertained not only to copious sources, well-known to scholars, but also all unexamined testimonies of images and myths pertaining to nomads, scattered in the writings of mediaeval Poland. The study of sources originating from Poland is significant considering that the latter was incessantly susceptible to contacts with the nomads and their assault; hence they were never forgotten or at most the imagery underwent transformations. The point of departure are narrations characteristic for the writings of the period; their collection and study makes it possible to propose wider historical-philosophical reflection and an attempt at defining the place of the Tartars in the intellectual life of the Poles during this period, even more so considering that the boundaries between one's group and the outside world were delineated much more conspicuously and with greater difficulty succumbed to revision due to the physical distance between particular communities. Other factors of isolation included language and customs, i.a. beliefs. The first part of the publication discusses the history of the barbarian invasions of Europe to the twelfth century: the Biblical image of nomads, the visions of Asia cultivated by the Europeans, the manner in which barbarians were perceived by the Fathers of the Church and subsequently (the difference between civilisation and barbarity was to a certain degree replaced by identity based on the Christianity-paganism opposition), as well as migrations of the Slavs, the Magyars, and the Caucasian peoples. The second chapter explains how the confrontation produced by the first destructive onslaughts of the Mongols became the reason both for the actualisation of the image of the Asian people and an opening towards the latter in the shape of expeditions of papal envoys beyond the boundaries of the world familiar to them. The author also analysed first reactions to the nomadic threat from the East, drawing attention to the fact that the Europe invaded by *Tartaria* differed from the one at the time of the Dark Ages owing to its economic progress and cultural progress, a gradual discovery of the classical heritage of antiquity, with intellects animated by the idea of the Crusades and the Lateran Council, as well as the emergence of mendicant communities and universities. On the other hand, Mongol invasions too were a factor enlivening cultural life by stirring curiosity about the world and a readiness to discover it. Finally, they were one of the foundations of European identity by supplying topical stereotypes that acted as the basis of self-identification. The third part of the reflections concerns the barbarians seen by the Poles of the period: the first barbarian peoples with which the latter had contact, successive Mongol invasions, as well as their descriptions in later writings (Jan Długosz). Polish science has studied

this topic, but until now it lacked an interpretation placing the invasions within the context of a historical-cultural confrontation between peoples settled down in Europe and invaders from the Great Steppe. The research conducted by Urbański also offers material for further reflections on the education of the scholars of the period, the sources and the number of borrowings from antiquity and the Bible, as well as the rate of the circulation of information between Poland and other parts of Europe. The volume was published as part of *Studia Staropolskie. Series Nova* inaugurated by Teresa Michałowska and conceived as a continuation and expansion of former *Studia Staropolskie*, encompassing publications serving the dissemination of studies on the widely comprehended culture of the past ages. Up to now, the series has included interesting works on the history of literature, language, and cultural phenomena from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century. The publishers intend to present Old Polish culture in assorted contexts also beyond the Commonwealth of yore.

Piotr Goltz

Zofia Wilk-Woś, *Późnośredniowieczna kancelaria arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich (1437-1493)* (The Late Mediaeval Chancery of the Archbishops of Gniezno /1437-1493/), Archidiecezjalne Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, Łódź 2013, pp. 364, summary, bibliography, appendices, indices of persons and localities, 12 tables, 30 illustrations.

The purpose of the book is to present the activity and organisation of the chancery of the late mediaeval archbishops of Gniezno. Chronologically, the publication encompasses the terms in office of six archbishops: Wincenty Kot (1437-1448), Władysław Oporowski (1449-1453), Jan Sprowski (1453-1464), Jan Gruszczyński (1464-1473), Jakub Siennicki (1474-1480) and Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1481-1493). On the margin, the author discussed also the political activity of these members of the Church hierarchy, concentrating attention on their Church, court, and administrative undertakings. Z. Wilk-Woś also examined the products of the chancery, its staff, and relations between the diocesan bishops and the officials, the vicars general, and the cathedral chapter. In order to portray all these issues, the author conducted an imposing survey in numerous Church and state archives. The publication is composed of six chapters, a summary, a summary in English, a list of abbreviations, a bibliography, four appendices, an index of persons and localities, and lists of tables and illustrations.

The first chapter is a general presentation of the archbishops and the Gniezno archdiocese during the Late Middle Ages, while chapter two is about the activity of the archbishops' chancery in the light of books of records; it analyses, i.a. the functioning of the chancery, the duties of the chancery staff, and the contents of the mentioned books. Chapter three shows the products of the chancery, while the next chapter discusses in detail the chancery staff and the court of the archbishop. The fifth chapter focuses on the officials and the vicars general, the regional officials, and the suffragan bishops, while the sixth – on the cooperation of the archbishops and the cathedral chapter in Gniezno. The author's reflections are supplemented by four indices, with the first containing material for the archbishops' itineraries, which, the author accentuates, cannot be regarded as complete. The second appendix presents documents endowed with the *transiit per manus* formula, the third appendix – documents in the form of a notary instrument, and the fourth – formulae ending the documents issued by the archbishops.

Radosław Krajniak

Małgorzata Wilska, *Mazowieckie środowisko dworskie Janusza Starszego. Studium społeczne* (The Mazovian Court of Janusz the Older. A Social Study), Wydawnictwo Neriton, Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa 2012, 160 pp., appendix, bibliography, summaries in English, French, and German, indices of persons and geographical names, illustrations, maps.

In the introduction M. Wilska explained that the book was written thirty years ago and that while waiting for its publication she supplemented the contents with a number of new findings. Alongside the introduction, in which the author presented the court milieu conceived as a topic of studies, the source material base, and the research method, the book is composed of four chapters. The first discusses the tours made by the ducal court, the second – the court as a centre of ducal administration, and the third – the court as a social milieu, while the fourth chapter offers a cultural characteristic of the titular milieu. The book ends with an essential appendix containing the biogrammes of 181 persons regarded as members of the entourage of Janusz, a list of abbreviations, a bibliography, summaries in foreign languages, indices of persons and geographical names, a list of illustrations, and 18 enclosed colour maps showing the routes traversed by Janusz I the Older and his court (map 1), the localities where the duke and his court stayed (map 2), the itineraries of Duke Janusz in particular periods from 1425 to 1429 (maps 3-17), and the localities in Europe where members of the court of Janusz I the Older were recorded.

Radosław Krajniak

Eugeniusz Wiśniowski, *Parafie w średniowiecznej Polsce: struktura i funkcje społeczne* (Parishes in Mediaeval Poland: Structures and Social Functions), Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 2004 (=Dzieje chrześcijaństwa Polski i Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów, I-II), 444 pp., appendices, bibliography, geographic index, summary in German, maps, tables, diagrams and black-and-white photographs.

Eugeniusz Wiśniowski (1929-2008) was a mediaevalist specialising in the history of the Church in Poland. In the introduction to the presented work he drew attention to the fact that scholars studying the past have in several past decades investigated historical phenomena by analysing their structures and functions, an approach that produced a more complete cognition of the complicated links and impact of a given problem within a certain social system or historical process. In social history an essential role was played by knowledge about the organisation of the Church (or, more extensively: religion) since the influence of the Church encompassed almost all domains of human life; another reason are the multiple sources generated by this institution. During the Middle Ages a parish was not only the lowest administrative level in the Church but also a fundamental unit of social life – hence its examination makes it possible to comprehend the society of yore. Particular attention was paid to the erection of Church buildings and their outfitting, religious practices, and organisations connected with the parish (e.g. schools, hospitals, brotherhoods). The bibliography contains a noteworthy division into published and unpublished sources; many belong to the second category, testifying to Wiśniowski's efforts connected with work on the study. The division of the contents is as follows: (chapter I) *Geneza i rozwój przestrzenny organizacji parafialnej*, (II) *Kler parafialny*, (III) *Wierni*, (IV) *Kościół parafialny* i (V) *Szkolnictwo i opieka społeczna*. The author added

a list of parish schools in the archdiocese of Gniezno and an analogous one in the diocese of Cracow as well as: *Archidiakoniat pułtuski wg Rejestru z roku 1530* and *Liczba beneficjów i duchowieństwa w poszczególnych dekanatach według ksiąg kontrybucji z lat 1513, 1527 i 1539*. The publication was issued as part of a series about the history of Christianity in Poland and the Commonwealth of Two Nations, presenting the accomplishments of historians associated with the Institute of the Historical Geography of the Church at the Catholic University of Lublin.

Piotr Goltz

Wojna Polski i Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411 (Wars Waged by Poland and Lithuania against the Teutonic Order in 1409-1411), Sławomir Józwiak et al., Muzeum Zamkowe, Malbork 2010, 846 pp., bibliography, index of persons, geographical index, list of maps (maps on a CD-ROM), map of the war theatre.

The impetus for issuing this book was the 600th anniversary of the battle of Grunwald (an extremely significant component of Polish historical consciousness) and the fiftieth anniversary of the Castle museum. The resultant publication is an attempt at a thorough, holistic, and extensive analysis conducted from all sorts of viewpoints and regarding the conflict involving Poland and Lithuania battling against the Teutonic Order in 1409-1411. This confrontation, known also as the *great war*, was extremely important for late mediaeval Poland, Lithuania, and Pruthenia, as well as for entire Central-Eastern Europe – it changed the political configuration, which had been rendered permanent for a long time. The publication is supplemented by cartographic addenda, extremely helpful for analysing the course of wartime events (a printed map of the theatre of war and eight detailed maps on an added CD). The introduction discusses existing scientific literature on the topic. Chapter one studies political and diplomatic relations between particular countries on the eve of the outbreak of the war, the latter's direct and indirect causes, the attitudes of the elites and societies *vis a vis* the encroaching conflict, strategic plans and, finally, military preparations. The second part is about the first phase of the war (6 August – 8 October 1409), the third – about the diplomatic stage of the strife and preparations for further confrontations (autumn 1409 - spring 1410), while the fourth part deals with the expedition of summer 1410 and in particular the battle of Grunwald/Tannenberg/Žalgiris and its outcome. The fifth presentation of the titular theme involves the autumn-winter campaign of 1410-/1411. The closing, sixth chapter is an analysis of the results of the war, especially diplomatic undertakings, which resulted in the peace of Toruń (11 February 1411). The publication was issued by the Malbork Castle Museum, a prominent centre whose employees organise assorted events enabling one of the largest castles in Europe to actually *live* the whole year round.

Piotr Goltz

Anna Zajchowska, *Między uniwersytetem a zakonem. Biografia i spuścizna pisarska dominikanina Jana z Ząbkowic († 1446)* (Between a University and an Monastic Order. The Biography and Literary Legacy of the Dominican Jan of Ząbkowice /d. 1446/), Semper, Warszawa 2013, 485 pp., bibliography.

A portrayal of the outstanding Dominican Jan of Ząbkowice (Frankenstein), master at Prague University (1398-1409), co-organiser of the University of Leipzig in 1409-1410,

where he was a doctor of philosophy, *regens* at the Dominican *studium generale* in Cracow (1419-1426), papal inquisitor in the diocese of Wrocław (1429-1441) and reformer of the Polish Dominican province (d. 1446). The publication is divided into four chapters and supplemented with source appendices. Chapter one deals with the biography of Jan of Ząbkowice and discusses his library and literary heritage. The second chapter presents Jan's accomplishments as a theologian, and the next chapter – his activity as an inquisitor. Chapter four is about Jan's participation in the Observant reform of Dominican monasteries in Silesia and his pertinent views. After a thorough analysis of the sermons and treatises of the Polish Dominican the author concluded that Jan was a supporter and a propagator of St. Thomas Aquinas, from whom he borrowed the conception of anthropology, comprising a foundation for reflections about ideal monastic life. A. Zajchowska indicated that Jan's writings contain an interpretation of ecclesiology that, on the one hand, enabled him to assume an attitude towards the debate conducted at the time and concerning the place of theologians in the Church, and, on the other hand, to embark upon a polemic with the Hussites about the nature and role of the institutional Church. Furthermore, she carried out a meticulous analysis of Jan's preaching upon the example of a reception of the writings of Thomas Aquinas, depicting the Polish Dominican as a compiler who borrowed from texts by other authors, adapting them to the demands made by the form of the sermon. The author also accentuated that the compilations performed by Jan of Ząbkowice constituted a *sui generis* interpretation of the texts on which he based his works. The publication is supplemented with appendices containing a catalogue of the writings by Jan of Ząbkowice, his handwritten codicological descriptions of five manuscripts, and an edition of Latin sources pertaining to Jan and the Observant reform introduced by him in Silesian monasteries, together with an index of the incipits of all the sermons attributed to him.

Krzysztof Ożóg

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CONTENTS

I. Women and Femininity	5
Piotr Górecki	
Women and Gender between Two Worlds	5
Sherri Franks Johnson	
Poverty and Property: Ties between Male and Female	
Religious Communities in Late Medieval Bologna	19
Andrzej Radzimiński	
The Woman in Papal Documents of the Late Middle Ages	33
Kimberly LoPrete	
“The Lady Vanishes”: Medieval Texts, Modern Historians	
and Lordly Women	55
Melanie C. Maddox	
Queen or Puppet Lady? Æthelflaed’s Role in the Politics,	
Power and Identity of Mercia	111
Elisabeth van Houts	
Yolanda of Vianden (1231-1283): A Reluctant Bride	127
Marie Kelleher	
Witnessing from the Margins: Legal Testimony of Doubly	
Differenced Women in the Later Middle Ages.....	145
Belle Stoddard Tuten	
Lactation and Breast Diseases in Antiquity: Medical Authorities	
on Breast Health and Treatment	159
Nancy McLoughlin	
Silencing the Widow with a Prayer for Peace	187
Felice Lifshitz	
Ethnicity, Gender and Sexuality in Mid-century Medievalist	
Film: The Example of Becket (1964)	211
II. Kings in Captivity (continuation)	241
Courtney M. Booker	
The Dionysian Mirror of Louis the Pious	241
Yves Sassier	
Louis IV The Blue, King Imprisoned, King Dethroned	265
Francesca Roversi Monaco	
“King of Bologna”: The Captivity of Enzo, King of Sardinia,	
between History and Myth	279

Stanisław A. Sroka	
The Imprisonment of the Hungarian Queens: Elizabeth of Bosnia and Mary (1386-1387)	303
Neil Murphy	
Politics, Honour and Display: The Captivity of John the Good	317
III. Current Research.....	343
Przemysław Tyszka	
Human Body and Corporeality in Provisions of Penitentials (6 th -11 th Century)	343
Jan Videman, Nad'a Profantová	
On the East Border of Carolingian Empire. The Hoardfind of Deniers of Louis the Pious near Jedomělice (district Kladno), Bohemia	367
Marek Jagodziński	
Scandinavians and West-Balts. Contribution to the Study on the Issue of the Influence of the Scandinavians on the Development of Settlement and Economic-Political Structures in West-Balts during the Viking Age	391
Jerzy Piekalski	
Three Variants of Urban Transformation in Medieval Central Europe: Prague, Wrocław and Kraków	425
Marek Daniel Kowalski	
The Papal Collectorate in the 15 th Century Poland	447
IV. In Memoriam	461
Zofia Hilczer-Kurnatowska (1932-2013)	461
Jacques Le Goff (1924-2014)	473
V. Book Notices	479
Authors	507